

Treasures of Knowledge

An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library
(1502/3–1503/4)

VOLUME I

Studies and Sources in Islamic Art and Architecture

Supplements to Muqarnas

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Treasures of Knowledge

An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)

VOLUME I: ESSAYS

Edited by

Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar,
and Cornell H. Fleischer



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Group photograph of participants at the Harvard University Workshop (April 4–6, 2014) on “The Ottoman Palace Library Inventory.”

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VOLUME II: TRANSLITERATION AND FACSIMILE
"REGISTER OF BOOKS" (*KITĀB AL-KUTUB*), MS TÖRÖK F. 59

Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára Keleti Gyűjtemény
(Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

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PREFACE BY THE EDITORS

The subject of this double-volume publication is an inventory of the holdings of the Topkapı Palace book treasury in Istanbul, commissioned by the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II from his royal librarian 'Atufi in the year 908 (1502–3) and transcribed in a clean copy in 909 (1503–4). Preserved in the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára Keleti Gyűjtemény, MS Török F. 59), it was introduced to scholarship by İsmail Erünsal in articles that announced his auspicious discovery of this invaluable primary source.¹ Erünsal focused only on the prefatory folios of the inventory, which precede its catalogue of book titles, and on the librarian's entries on Turkish literature. He expressed the hope that future studies would take up the task of scrutinizing this unique manuscript in greater detail:

[A]s a list of Sultan Bayezid II's Palace library it can offer us much useful information not only on literary and scientific tastes of the Ottoman rulers but also on the subsequent movement of books which were relocated from the Palace library to other libraries. It will also allow us to confirm the existence of certain books which are no longer extant. It is hoped that further articles will deal with these aspects of this important catalogue.²

Our collective study seeks to fulfill his hope, while at the same time inspiring further research.

Without reference to Erünsal's previous articles, another preliminary study on MS Török F. 59 was published in 2003 by Miklós Maróth, who discussed only its "history books and related historical topics."³ We would like to express regret that neither of these pioneering scholars accepted our invitation to participate in this collaborative publication. In 2004, with the precious help of András Riedlmayer, a microfilm of the 365-page

manuscript of MS Török F. 59 was obtained from Hungary to be consulted by Gülru Necipoğlu while preparing her keynote lecture for an exhibition-related conference on "Bellini and the East." Published, with a delay, in 2012, her study briefly analyzed some books in Bayezid II's palace library inventory that were collected by his father Mehmed II.⁴

Realizing that MS Török F. 59 deserved a detailed study of its own, Gülru Necipoğlu and Cemal Kafadar decided to co-edit it as part of an interdisciplinary group project that would be published under the auspices of the Harvard University Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture. In 2010 permission was obtained to publish this primary source in *Supplements to Muqarnas*, a series largely dedicated to sourcebooks on the cultural and artistic history of the Islamic lands. Simultaneously and independently, Cornell Fleischer had begun an informal project to work through the same document with students and colleagues. Hence, it was decided to join forces and pursue this undertaking as a Harvard University and University of Chicago collaborative project, carried out mostly by contributors affiliated with these two institutions or closely associated with the same academic circles.

The important task of transliterating and preparing an edition of the Arabic manuscript, which also features an Ottoman Turkish preface, was undertaken by another Harvard University colleague, Himmət Taşkömür, in cooperation with Hesna Ergun Taşkömür. Their transliteration of the document is published in the second volume, together with a reduced-scale facsimile; these are accompanied in the first volume by essays and a critical apparatus consisting of annotated lists of entries, authored by a team of scholars from diverse

disciplines. The published essays are expanded versions of papers presented by invited scholars in a three-day interdisciplinary workshop convened April 4–6, 2014 at Harvard University.

Following introductory observations on the work as a whole by the editors, the workshop lectures were organized according to the subject categories under which the books are catalogued in MS Török F. 59, echoing the exact sequence of the library inventory itself, as if participants were reading the document together as a group. We asked the participants to evaluate the contents of the inventory in specific disciplines, appraising what was collected in the Ottoman palace library as well as commenting on what was omitted. The primary focus of the workshop, then, was an assessment of Ottoman intellectual and book culture from the viewpoint of the royal palace library collection as it existed at the turn of the sixteenth century, exactly fifty years after the conquest of Constantinople and, presumably, the creation of the palace library. The first group of lectures departed from this norm as the sole art historical talks, which attempted to contextualize and interpret the wider artistic and cultural ramifications of the document.

With a few modifications, the same format has been adopted in the present publication. The first volume begins with a section titled “Overview and Significance of the Palace Library Inventory,” comprising more extensive essays by the three editors that interpret and contextualize the inventory as a whole. The second section, “The Palace Library as a Collection and the Book Arts,” features essays discussing the contents and aesthetic dimensions of the book collection. The essays in the last section on “Book Titles and Their Disciplines in the Palace Library Inventory” closely conform to the order of the workshop presentations, but each is accompanied by a list of entries identifying the book titles cited in the inventory within specific disciplines. The volume ends with appendices on “Some Identified Manuscripts Stamped with Bayezid II’s Seal” (Appendices I–III) and “English Translations of the Librarian ‘Atufi’s Ottoman Turkish and Arabic Prefaces to the Palace Library Inventory” (Appendices IV–V). The color plates that accompany Appendix III illustrate selected pages and bindings from some manuscript copies of works listed in ‘Atufi’s

inventory that survive at the Topkapı Palace Museum Library.

The first volume of this publication includes additional essays not presented in the workshop itself, by the three editors and by Noah Gardiner, Christopher Markiewicz, Judith Pfeiffer, Jamil Ragep (with the McGill Astral Science Team: Sally Ragep, Sajjad Nikfahm-Khubravan, Fateme Savadi, Hasan Umut), and Aleksandar Shopov. Unfortunately, two invited speakers were unable to contribute to this publication. One of them was Snježana Buzov who, due to health problems, could neither attend the workshop nor send us her planned paper on “Books of Prayers and the Science of Talismans.” Guy Burak kindly accepted our request to write an essay evaluating that section of the library inventory. Shahab Ahmed, who delivered a superb paper in the workshop, titled “Books on Interpretations of the Qur’an and the Science of Qur’anic Recitation,” tragically passed away in the meantime. It is especially meaningful that one of his esteemed graduate students at Harvard, Mohsen Goudarzi, agreed to cover this subject with an essay written in grateful memory of his mentor. We would like to use this opportunity to express how deeply we mourn the demise of our dear colleague, a major loss to scholarship on Islamic Studies.

The preparation of this two-volume publication required a prolonged period of gestation. We editors would like to extend thanks to all the authors who participated in our collective enterprise with patience and enthusiasm. Without their learned contributions this interdisciplinary project could not possibly have been realized. In editing their individual contributions to volume one, we decided not to impose a unified transliteration system, given the multiplicity of languages involved (Arabic, Persian, Turkish/Turkic) and the personal preferences of authors. Authors were afforded some degree of flexibility in transliterating and translating the book titles in their essays, and in their organization of accompanying lists of entries. In the essays and lists of entries, cross references to book titles cited in MS Török F. 59 are specified with page and line numbers (e.g., 3 {4–5}, referring to page 3, lines 4 and 5). Some overlaps in content were inevitable, and desirable as

well. Rather than aiming at standardized uniformity throughout volume one, then, we aimed at consistency within each author's contribution, treated as an autonomous piece (following the *Muqarnas* article style). Standardized principles observed in transliterating MS Török F. 59 have been explained at the beginning of volume two, which contains the transliteration and facsimile in reduced scale.

Our special thanks go to Kinga Dévényi, former Keeper of the Oriental Collection Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, who granted us permission to publish this document and provided its high-resolution digital scan for the facsimile edition. We also thank Peri Bearman, who helped standardize and proofread the transliteration of MS Török F. 59, as well as checking the internal coherence of lists of entries appended to essays in volume one. We are particularly grateful to Maria Metzler, our copy editor, and to Damla Özakay and András Riedlmayer, who provided editorial assistance in checking endnotes and transliterations. Gürzat Kami translated Appendices I and II from Turkish into English, along with transliterating the book titles cited therein, which were subsequently edited by the editors. Manuscript references added to Appendix I later in the process were transliterated by Eda Özel, to whom we are also indebted for many other forms of kind assistance, including proofreading the appendices and the lists of entries appended to essays, after Peri Bearman's preliminary suggestions to authors for internal consistency. Finally, we extend our appreciation to the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at the History of Art and Architecture Department of Harvard University for sponsorship of both the 2014 workshop and the present publication.⁵

Gülru Necipoğlu, Harvard University
Cemal Kafadar, Harvard University
Cornell Fleischer, University of Chicago

NOTES

1. İsmail E. Erünsal, "959/1552 Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb," *Erdem* 4, no. 10 (1988): 181–93; and his following publications: "The Catalogue of Bayezid II's Palace Library," *İstanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi Kütüphanecilik Dergisi* 3 (1992): 5–66; "A Brief Survey of the Development of Turkish Library Catalogues," in *M. Uğur Derman Festschrift*, ed. İrvin Cemil Schick (Istanbul, 2000), 271–83. In his monograph on Ottoman libraries, İsmail E. Erünsal updated his previous observations on MS Török F. 59: *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri* (Ankara, 2008), esp. 94, 117, 128, 460–65, 650–58. See also his article published in the same year: "Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinin Arşiv Kaynakları 6: 909/1503 Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb," *Journal of Turkish Studies: In Memoriam Şinasi Tekin = Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları: Şinasi Tekin Armağanı* 3/32 sayı 1 (2008): 213–19; and "909/1503 Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb," in *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinin Arşiv Kaynakları* (Cambridge, MA, 2008), 251–69. A revised and expanded version of this article appeared in a recent volume of his collected essays, "909/1503 Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi," in *Edebiyat Tarihi Yazıları: Arşiv Kayıtları, Yazma Eserler, ve Kayıp Metinler* (Istanbul, 2016), 257–83.
2. Erünsal, "The Catalogue of Bayezid II's Palace Library," 59.
3. Miklós Maróth, "The Library of Sultan Bayazıt II," in *Irano-Turkic Cultural Contact in the 11th–17th Centuries*, ed. Éva M. Jeremiás (Piliscsaba, Hungary, 2003), 113–32.
4. Versions of Necipoğlu's lecture were delivered at two international conferences, one in Boston and the other in London, in conjunction with the traveling exhibition at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum and the National Gallery; exhibition catalogue: Caroline Campbell, Alan Chong, et al., *Bellini and the East* (Boston and London, 2005). Due to the postponed publication of the joint conference proceedings, Gülru Necipoğlu opted to publish her article (submitted in 2007) with new bibliographic references as "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople" in *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 1–81.
5. Many thanks go to the program administrator Cecily Pollard for her invaluable help in organizing the meeting. We are also grateful to the former administrator of the Harvard History of Art and Architecture Department, Deanna Dalrymple, for her administrative support, and to our research assistant Zeynep Oğuz who was present throughout the workshop to assist anyone who needed help.

THE SPATIAL ORGANIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE OTTOMAN PALACE LIBRARY: AN ENCYCLOPEDIC COLLECTION AND ITS INVENTORY

This essay interprets the objectives and intellectual horizons of an inventory of books once kept at the Inner Treasury within the private residential third courtyard of the Topkapı Palace (figs. 1a–b).¹ It considers the implications of the inventory for the imperial library as a building and as a collection shaped under two successive sultans, Mehmed II (r. 1444–46, 1451–81) followed by his son Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512). Focusing on the encyclopedic classification of knowledge in this document, which was commissioned by the latter sultan from his court librarian, I draw attention to the spaces and organization of books in the library, the cataloguing principles implemented in its inventory, and some of its telling holdings with remarkable titles.

A close reading of the inventory promises to yield macro-perspectives. This unparalleled document sheds light on the hierarchies of knowledge and the beginnings of textual canon formation in diverse disciplines at the time of its compilation. It provides invaluable information on epistemological categories prevalent during the formative stages of the palace library collection, the subsequent dispersal of volumes to other libraries, and the titles of unknown or no longer extant manuscripts. I argue that the Inner Treasury was not merely a storehouse but the site for an ongoing production and classification of knowledge, as organized in the systematic subject catalogue of its books, which corresponded to the spatial ordering principles of the library itself. The book treasury constituted the nexus for the compilation, codification, and preservation of a distinctive corpus of manuscripts with simultaneously indigenous and trans-regional dimensions. The lacunae of the inventory must have informed subsequent acquisition strategies for a still expanding encyclopedic collection, which ar-

guably laid the foundation for future directions in the cultures of knowledge, books, and libraries within the imperial palace and beyond. The primary agents of this legacy were the two sultans under whom the core collection of the palace library was assembled, their teachers and intimate circle of courtiers, their librarians, as well as the universalistic ambitions behind the collection itself.

Written in Arabic, with some Arabized Persian and Turkish entries, the library inventory in oblong format (length: 367 mm, width: 145 mm) has a late nineteenth-century European leather binding, possibly added in Hungary. During the rebinding process it lost some folios, and the order of a few others was mixed up (see Transliteration and Facsimile in volume 2). Currently featuring 365 pages, the inventory was prepared during the year 908 (1502–3) and transcribed in a clean copy in 909 (1503–4). It begins with a page containing two Arabic chronograms that provide the latter date, and a table of contents (*fihrist*) whose initial pages are missing. Two prefaces, the first in Ottoman Turkish dated 909, and the second in Arabic giving the date 908 (translated into English in Appendices IV and V at the end of this volume), are followed by the book catalogue itself.² The author indirectly identifies his name in the entries of some treatises he authored, as “the weakest slave al-‘Atufi, the keeper of books at the imperial treasury of Sultan Bayezid Khan” (*aḍ‘aḍi al-‘ibādi al-‘Aṭūfi al-khādimi li-kutubi al-khizānati al-‘āmirati al-Sultān Bāyezīd Khāniyyati*, 151 {14–17}), “the weakest slave of God al-‘Atufi” (*aḍ‘aḍi ‘ibādi Allāhi al-‘Aṭūfi*, 166 {10}); and “the weakest slave al-‘Atufi” (*aḍ‘aḍi al-‘ibādi al-‘Aṭūfi*, 303 {17–18}).



Figs. 1a–b. The Topkapı Palace in Istanbul. [1a] View from the Marmara Sea, with the Inner Treasury (Treasury-Bath complex). (Photo: Gülrü Necipoğlu) [1b] Close-up view of the Inner Treasury (Treasury-Bath complex). (Photo: Doğan Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture* [Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 2010], 186)

Despite limitations possibly due to the relative speed with which it was completed, the inventory-cum-catalogue titled “Register of Books” (*defter-i kütüb, kitāb al-kutub*, hereafter the “inventory”) is a document of considerable historical interest, being the only surviving example of its kind from the Ottoman period. It seems to be the sole comprehensive catalogue of the imperial library that was ever attempted, assuming there were no updated later versions of it that are lost. Further, it is the single known catalogue of an Islamic library that spells out in two prefaces the principles adopted in its own idiosyncratic classificatory system, partly colored by practical concerns. Two surviving pre-1500 public library catalogues from the Arab Middle East that have been identified thus far lack preambles explicating how and why they were prepared.³ Moreover, no original inventory of books has come to light from the palatine libraries of other early modern Islamic dynasties, or from earlier palaces for that matter.

Besides testifying to a previously unknown attempt at the classification of knowledge, the “Register of Books” prepared for Bayezid II by his librarian was tailored to suit the circumstances of a specific architectural space, containing not only the palace library but also the private treasury collection of the Ottoman sultans. With the exception of sporadic references to some manuscripts in chests and cupboards, contemporaneous registers (*defter*) of this “Imperial Inner Treasury” (*hizāne-i ‘āmiri-i enderūnī*) exclude the vast collection of Islamic books that were kept in the same building as an autonomous collection. The library holdings were placed alongside prized artifacts inherited, collected, and commissioned by the sultans, or seized as booty and presented as gifts. Therefore, the inventory of the palace library complements surviving early examples of registers comprising lists of objects stored at the Inner Treasury, the subject of an ongoing book project of mine.

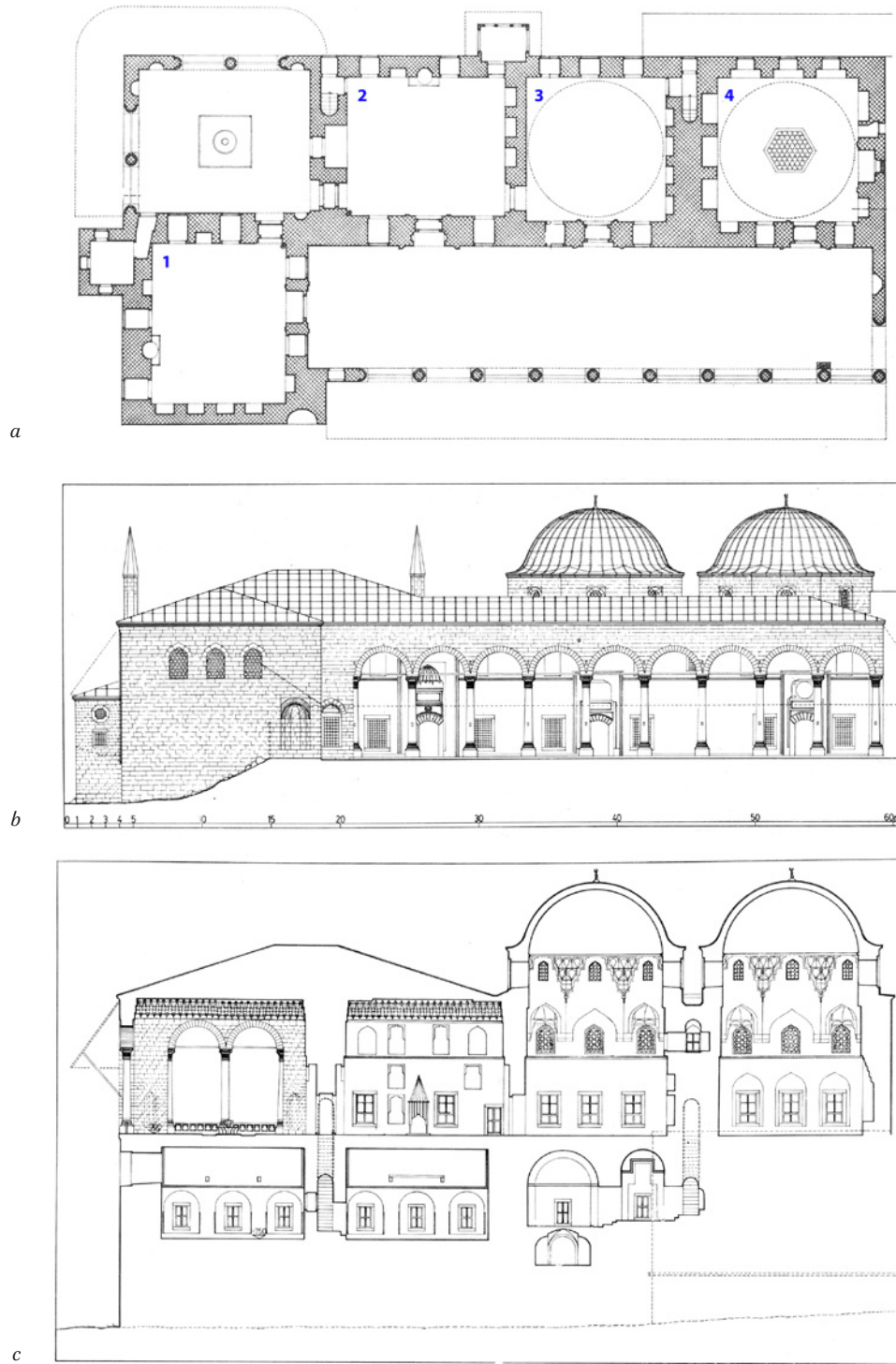
While the co-editors of this volume have contributed multiple essays, I preferred combining several lines of inquiry in a longer essay with three parts. The first part focuses on the palace library, the second part turns to the inventory itself, and the third part considers some outstanding volumes of the book collection. Starting with the architecture and diverse contents of the Inner Treasury, accompanied by a comparison to contemporary palatine libraries elsewhere, I then turn to the mo-

bility of books in the palace’s reading spaces and readership practices. This is followed by a reconstruction of the inventory’s “classification of the sciences” (*taşnīfal-‘ulūm*) and an analysis of cataloguing methods adopted by the librarian, in conjunction with the codicological examination of some extant volumes. The concluding part highlights selected inventory entries along with their surviving manuscript copies that can be associated with Mehmed II, Bayezid II, and the contexts of their court cultures (see my Appendix III at the end of this volume). It thus complements lists of entries provided in other essays that assess the strengths and weaknesses of the library collection in specific disciplines.

PART I: THE PALACE LIBRARY

The Inner Treasury, Its Spaces, Collections, and Librarians

The Inner Treasury is an imposing ashlar masonry building, with its L-shaped suite of three halls abutted by a fourth hall that functioned as the undressing chamber of a vanished bathhouse for the sultans and their male households (figs. 2a–c). This Treasury-cum-Bath complex is believed to have been the first royal edifice constructed by Mehmed II (ca. 1462–63) at a view-commanding corner of the third courtyard of the Topkapı Palace.⁴ Raised above a series of subterranean vaults, each of the four halls has a portal opening to a stately round-arched marble colonnade with Italianate composite “Ionic” capitals extending along the right wing upon entering the courtyard. The muqarnas portal of the second hall, referred to in a mid-sixteenth-century archival document as the throne room or reception hall (*dīvānhāne*), is more monumental than the accompanying three portals.⁵ Its privileged status is further marked by a pair of green porphyry columns that are aligned with the portal along the otherwise white marble courtyard colonnade. This hall communicates with a projecting balcony and a spectacular loggia featuring a central water-jet fountain. The round arches of the loggia rest on white marble columns whose purpose-made Italianate composite capitals are identical to those facing the third courtyard (figs. 3a–c).⁶ Commanding breathtaking vistas at the conjunction of two seas (the Black



Figs. 2a–c. Inner Treasury (Treasury-Bath complex). [2a] Ground plan. [2b] Elevation from the third courtyard. [2c] Cross-section from the third courtyard. (Drawings: Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Feridun Akozan, *Topkapı Sarayı: Bir Mimari Araştırma* [Istanbul, 1982])



a



b



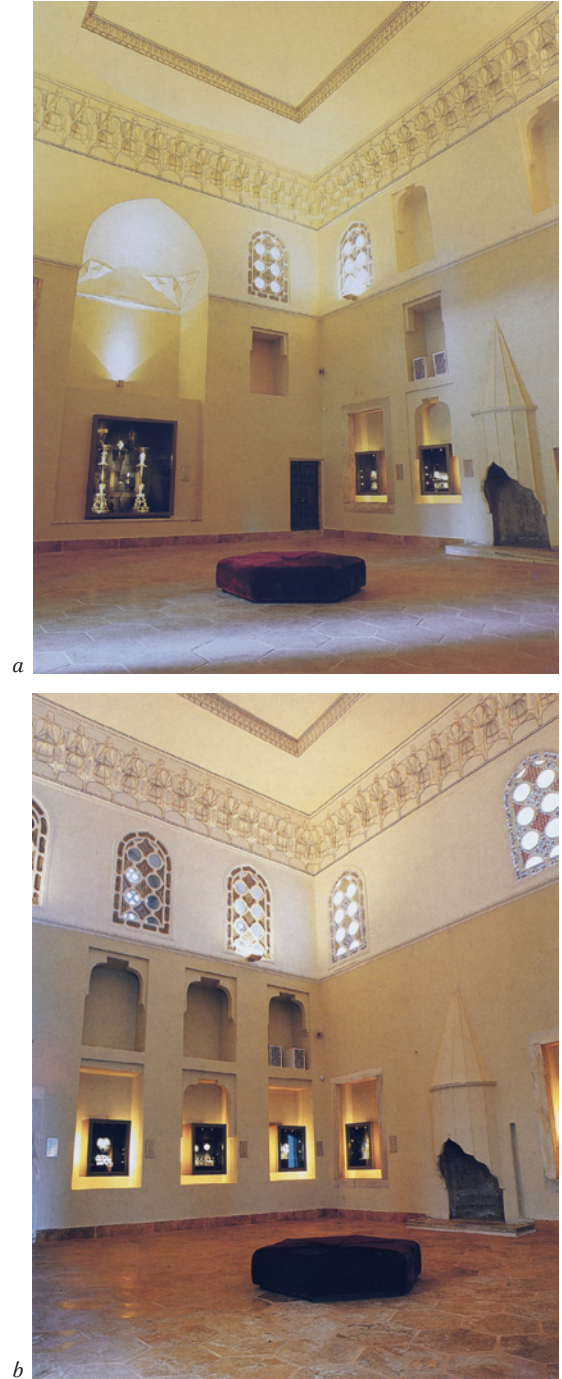
c

Figs. 3a–c. Inner Treasury (Treasury-Bath complex). [3a] Paired green porphyry columns of the courtyard arcade, with portals of the first and second halls (throne room). [3b] Courtyard arcade. [3c] Belvedere loggia with water-jet fountain. (Photos: Hadiye Cangökçe)

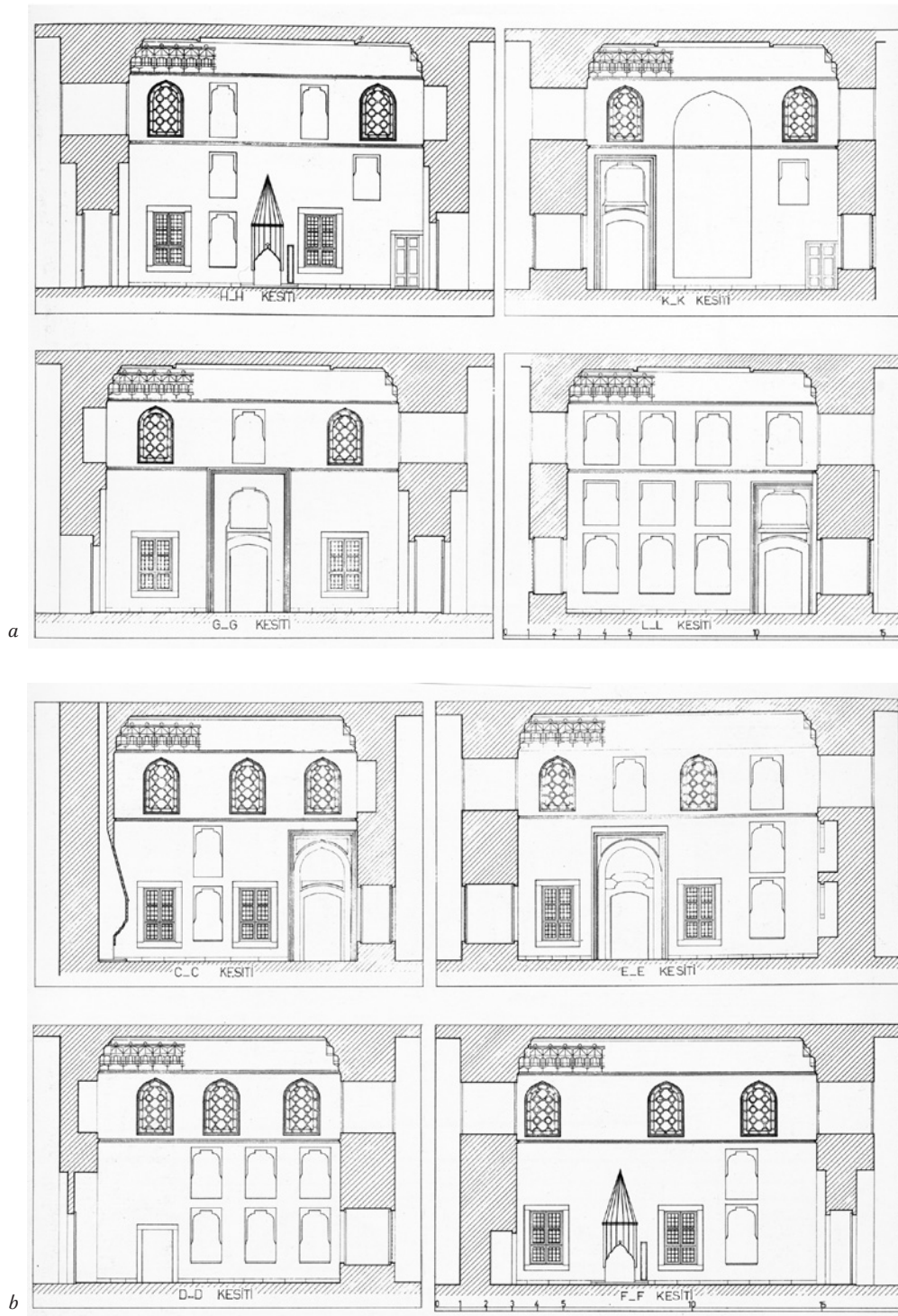
Sea and the Mediterranean) and two continents (Europe and Asia), the interior of the throne room boasts a tall pointed-arched alcove for the royal throne, extending from floor to ceiling, and a bronze fireplace (fig. 4a). The fountained loggia that functions as a belvedere also communicates with a protruding latrine and with the first hall, which features another bronze fireplace (fig. 4b).

The Frenchman Jean-Claude Flachet (d. 1775), who was granted access to the Inner Treasury as premier palace merchant, described the “*casné, ou trésor imperial*” as an immense building lit by windows facing the Marmara Sea with many subterranean chambers in which objects resistant to humidity were stored. He observed that in its upper halls, “they hang on planks (*planches*) in multiple tiers, or in cupboards (*armoires*), all kinds of textiles, harnesses of infinite value, and precious stones raw or worked; in one word, everything valuable that the sultans possess.”⁷ Now completely denuded of their original painted decorations, the three main upper halls are lit by double-tiered windows. They have many built-in wall niches with “Bursa-arched” profiles, some arranged in multiple levels that were once reached by no longer existing wooden galleries and perhaps movable ladders (figs. 5a–b).⁸ The underground chambers are lit by a single row of windows, their walls lined up with spacious alcoves whose height extends from floor to ceiling.⁹

It is clear that the upper and lower halls were intended from the very beginning to display and store treasured possessions, including books. Soon after Bayezid II ordered the library holdings to be catalogued in 1502–3, the magnificent Treasury-Bath complex underwent extensive repairs following a catastrophic earthquake in 1509. This earthquake particularly damaged the fourth hall belonging to the adjacent bathhouse. At that time, a huge buttress was added along the garden façade of the structurally weak bathhouse, extending from the domed fourth hall up to the curtain wall separating the third and second courtyards of the palace complex. The original twin wooden domes of the Treasury-Bath complex, crowning the third and fourth halls, is seen in a copy of Cristoforo Buondelmonti’s city map from the early 1480s. These domes accompanied the colossal wooden hipped roof that covered the rest of Mehmed II’s multifunctional edifice, identified by a late-Ottoman



Figs. 4a–b. Inner Treasury. [4a] Second hall (throne room) interior with throne alcove and fireplace. [4b] First hall interior with multi-tiered niches and fireplace. (Photos: Melisihan Devrim, “Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Hazine Dairesi’ndeki Renovasyondan sonra... Hazinesinin Yeni Yüzü,” *Art decor* 101 [2001]: 90–91)



Figs. 5a–b. Inner Treasury. [5a] Top four: Interior elevations of the second hall or throne room. [5b] Bottom four: Interior elevations of the first hall. (Drawings: Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Feridun Akozan, *Topkapı Sarayı: Bir Mimari Araştırma* [Istanbul, 1982])



Fig. 6. Cristoforo Buondelmonti, the Topkapı Palace in the “Constantinopolis” map of *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, early 1480s. Ink drawing. Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS G 13, fol. 54a. (Photo: courtesy of the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek)

palace tradition as “Fatih Köşkü” (Mehmed the Conqueror’s Pavilion). The presently lower, modern hipped roof covers internal flat ceilings, namely the domeless rectangular first and second halls, which are the only ones provided with a fireplace, and the fountained belvedere communicating with both (fig. 6). An Ottoman elevation drawing made ca. 1509–11 of the massive new buttress built along the outer garden façade identifies the hall adjacent to the domed fourth hall of the damaged bathhouse as the “imperial treasury” (*hizāne-i ‘āmiri*), thereby confirming its function at that time.¹⁰

The suite of three intercommunicating halls, or at least the domed third hall adjacent to the bathhouse, must have already functioned during Mehmed II’s reign

as the private Inner Treasury (differing from the public Outer Treasury of the palace’s second courtyard). This is implied by an archival document dated 881 (1476), which refers to the “new treasury” (*hizāne-i cedīd*), where gold currencies were deposited inside large jars (*küp*), barrels (*varıl*), and chests (*şandūk*) at the “lower treasury” (*aşağa hizāne*) in the basement. Barrels full of silver currencies, a chest containing jewels (*şandūk-i cevāhir*), and gold and silver objects were placed at the “middle treasury” (*orta hizāne*). A note refers to a separate “detailed register” (*defter-i mufaşşal*), itemizing the contents of the jewelry chest.¹¹

The underground treasuries mentioned in this document most likely refer to the interconnected

subterranean spaces beneath the domed third hall, reached from that hall via a locked iron door and a staircase (fig. 2c). These basements consist of two rectangular halls covered by barrel vaults. The inner hall provides access via an additional staircase to the lowermost third space crowned by a quatrefoil vault. This lowest space featured an inbuilt clover-shaped marble baptismal font reused as a repository for treasures. As for the more accessible first rectangular space reached from the upper floor, both of its longer sides are entirely lined with identical "Bursa-arched" alcoves extending from floor to ceiling. As opposed to the other two superimposed spaces protected with a bolted iron door, where gold and silver currencies were apparently locked up, the narrow hall with Bursa-arched alcoves may well have functioned as a book treasury.

These three spaces are independent from a pair of larger rectangular underground treasuries with barrel-vaulted ceilings, which are reached from the throne room via another locked iron door connected to a staircase. Located underneath the throne room and the fountained loggia, these two intercommunicating basement treasuries feature walls spanned by capacious built-in alcoves with round arches also extending from floor to ceiling. These were probably intended for storing certain humidity-resistant items, including furnishings, clothing, objects, astrolabes, and some books in chests.

The 1509 earthquake apparently initiated the gradual transformation of the Inner Treasury into a storage space, which became increasingly cluttered with accumulating treasures toward the end of Bayezid II's reign. This sultan's son and successor Selim I (r. 1512–20), who spent most of his short reign in military campaigns, is said to have willed the lock on the courtyard gate of the third domed hall to be sealed by his own round treasury seal in perpetuity to commemorate his unsurpassable augmentation of its contents. Thereafter, the Inner Treasury appears to have been visited by the sultans only rarely, during special events such as accessions and other festivities, or upon the arrival of annual revenues from Egypt when the sealed lock of the domed third hall was opened ceremonially.¹²

Mehmed II's Treasury-cum-Bath complex fused the pleasures of the mind and body. In this luxurious build-

ing the sultan must have gazed upon his expansive domains and delightful palace gardens, bathed with his companions, contemplated his treasures, engaged in discussions with select scholars and courtiers, and read books from his library. The building's unique blend of Ottoman, Timurid-Turkmen, Byzantine, and Italian Renaissance architectural elements echoed the cosmopolitanism of the treasury collection and multilingual library housed therein.¹³ One may even speculate that Mehmed II temporarily resided at this monumental multifunctional mansion with a few intimates between military campaigns prior to the completion around the mid-1470s of the multi-domed Privy Chamber complex at the opposite corner of the same courtyard, both of which are depicted in the Buondelmonti map from the early 1480s (fig. 6).¹⁴ The well-protected first hall of the Inner Treasury, featuring only a few ground-level windows and conveniently abutting the toilet accessed via the fountained belvedere, could have functioned as the royal bedchamber in the mid-1460s (figs. 4b, 5b).

Also depicted in the Buondelmonti map is the small freestanding private audience hall (Chamber of Petitions) in front of the gate leading from the second courtyard into the third. Constructed shortly after 1477, it inaugurated Mehmed II's newly instituted ceremonial seclusion codified in his book of ceremonies or "Law Code" (*Kānūnnāme*).¹⁵ Before the Chamber of Petitions was built, the sultan may have held private audiences in the second hall of the Inner Treasury, which functioned as a reception hall or throne room. He likely met there with privileged courtiers and guests to whom he would display some of his treasures and library collection (figs. 4a, 5a). One such visitor appears to have been the last reigning Anatolian Seljuq prince, Kılıç Arslan, from whom Mehmed II seized Alanya in 1471, in return for offering him the governorship of Gümülcine (Komatini) in Rumelia. The deposed prince was honorably received at the imperial palace and was showered with gifts by the sultan who, in appreciation of Kılıç Arslan's expertise in gemology, appointed him to assess the value of precious stones and jewels entering the imperial treasury. During one of their private conversations, which likely took place at the Inner Treasury, the sultan showed Kılıç Arslan a slightly flawed jewel, which the prince promised to repair. Before returning this piece to

the royal treasurer, however, Kılıç Arslan defected to the Mamluk court on a merchant's ship from Gümülçine. It is recounted that in order to seek forgiveness from Mehmed II, the prince dispatched the superbly restored jewel with other gifts to Istanbul via the sultan's vizier. When Mehmed II was shown that jewel, he is said to have immediately recognized it, as only a seasoned connoisseur would, to the astonishment of those present.¹⁶

As I have pointed out elsewhere, Mehmed's cherished collection of Byzantine relics was kept at his "palace library" (*dārü's-salṭanatlarında olan kitābhāne*). He was greatly distressed on one occasion when Molla Lutfi (d. 1495), his intimate (*muṣāhib*) and librarian (*ḥāfiẓu'l-kütüb*, lit. "keeper of books"), stepped on a block of marble to reach for a book that the sultan had requested.¹⁷ That marble slab happened to be the purported Cradle of Jesus Christ, which, according to an inventory of the relics, Mehmed II had refused to sell when the Venetians offered 30,000 ducats for it, announcing that he would not sell it for even 100,000 ducats. The Italian translation of that inventory is preserved in a letter of Bayezid II, dated 1488, in which he offered to the king of France all the relics his late father had assembled in the royal palace after the fall of Byzantine Constantinople in exchange for holding his younger half-brother Prince Cem (d. 1495) hostage, so that the prince could not revive his claim for the throne. The inventoried relics included a manuscript as well, the miracle-working Gospel of St. John the Evangelist, written in the hand of St. John Chrysostom.¹⁸

We learn from the Greek chronicle written by Kritovoulos and dedicated to Mehmed II (ca. 1467) that, while resting from military campaigns at his newly completed palace in the summer of 1465, the sultan "occupied himself with philosophy, such as that of the Arabs and Persians and Greeks, especially that translated into Arabic. He associated daily with the leaders and teachers among them, and... held philosophical discussions with them about the principles of philosophy, particularly those of the Peripatetics [Aristotelians] and the Stoics."¹⁹ As is well known, among Mehmed's companions in those years was the Greek scholar-diplomat George Amiroutzes of Trebizond (d. ca. 1470), a relative of the aristocratic Byzantino-Serbian-born grand vizier Mahmud Pasha Angelović (g.v. 1456–66, 1472–74). Knowledgeable in Aristotelian philosophy, theology, medicine, mathe-

matics, geography, and rhetoric, this polymath was honored by the sultan with "frequent audiences and conversations." Amiroutzes had been ordered in the summer of 1465 to combine in a single large-scale world map the charts scattered in Ptolemy's book of geography, which was skillfully completed and inscribed with Arabic names provided by his son, "who was expert in the languages of the Arabs and the Greeks."²⁰ Amiroutzes described how he became one of the "intimates" (*familiars*) of the sultan who "distracted himself with the study of letters and philosophy," so as "to be continually near him" and to accompany him in campaigns behind his army. Mehmed frequently discussed with Amiroutzes "philosophy as well as the dogmatic differences between our two peoples."²¹ Some of these theological, philosophical, and scientific discussions may well have taken place in the recently completed "Fatih Köşkü" (Conqueror's Pavilion) that incorporated the sultan's library. It is probably not a coincidence that the earliest group of manuscripts produced for Mehmed II in his new capital Constantinople/Istanbul date from around the mid-1460s, corresponding to the completion of the Treasury-cum-Bath complex.²²

The episode with Molla Lutfi reveals that the library collection was accompanied by antiquities and marvels kept in the same building, where books and objects engaged in silent conversation. When Mehmed II asked his personal tutor and vizier Sinan Paşa (d. 1486) to suggest a trustworthy scholar for his "book treasury/library" (*khizānati kutubuhu*), the latter had recommended Molla Lutfi, who was a pupil of his. Thus, both of these erudite men who were disciples of Shaykh Vefa (d. 1491) obtained access to the imperial treasury's "exquisite books and rare sciences" (*laṭā'if al-kutub wa-gharā'ib al-ʿulūm*) during the second formative stage of the palace library collection in the 1470s, the first being in the mid-1460s. Not surprisingly, several works of the influential Shaykh Vefa are featured in 'Atufi's inventory. Sultan Mehmed II built a mosque and bathhouse next to the dervish lodge constructed by the shaykh in Istanbul that contained his impressive library, which was endowed in 1485. I am tempted to speculate that among the numerous amulets and talismans listed in 'Atufi's inventory were those prepared by Shaykh Vefa, said to have been coveted by grandees who were his disciples. When Mehmed II urged Sinan Paşa to study

mathematical sciences with the Timurid astronomer-mathematician ‘Ala’ al-Din ‘Ali b. Muhammad Qushji (hereafter ‘Ali Qushji, d. 1474), who had joined the Ottoman court sometime before 1472, the busy vizier sent Molla Lutfi to attend this scholar’s classes on his behalf, thereby indirectly perfecting his own mathematical knowledge.²³ ‘Ali Qushji is reported to have arrived in Istanbul with a large retinue and a vast book collection. ‘Atufi enumerates in the palace library inventory Arabic and Persian works by this renowned Timurid scholar, some of which are known to have been dedicated to Mehmed II.²⁴

To turn to the author of MS Török F. 59, the Ottoman scholar Hayreddin Hızır b. Mahmud b. Ömer el-‘Atufi (d. 1541) was from Merzifon, a town in the region of Amasya where Bayezid II had been stationed as a prince between 1454 and 1481. He refers to himself in the section on medical books as having written two treatises on prophetic medicine and one on preventive healthcare, all bound together in a single volume (151 {14–17}); he also cites a second copy of the latter (166 {10}). Another work by ‘Atufi on dream interpretation is listed in the inventory’s extensive section on occult sciences (303 {17–18}). According to Ottoman biographical dictionaries, ‘Atufi received a broad general madrasa education in the religious and rational sciences. After having served as royal librarian and tutor (*mu‘allim*) of Bayezid II’s palace pages, he became a preacher (*vā‘iz*) in Istanbul’s mosques and wrote books of his own.²⁵

Although it is unclear when exactly ‘Atufi was a palace tutor, I find it worth noting that this position is mentioned alongside that of the royal librarian in an undated wage register attributed to Bayezid II’s reign (for which I propose a date before ca. 1504). The register lists as a self-contained group of inner palace staff “The corps of the royal imam, and the two teachers of the inner palace pages, and the keeper of royal books, four persons” (*Cemā‘at-i imām-i ḥāṣṣa ve mu‘allimān-i ḡulmān-i enderūnī ve ḥāfiẓ-i kütüb-i ḥāṣṣa dört neferdür*).²⁶ Except for ‘Atufi, the tutors and royal librarians employed in Bayezid II’s palace, who likely managed the acquisition of books for the palace library, remain relatively unknown.

Another source reveals that, as “keeper of books” (*ḥāfiẓ-i kütüb*), Mevlana ‘Atufi received a reward of 2,000 aspers and a robe (*cübbe*, worn by the ulema) for a

“book” (*kitāb*) he presented as a gift to Bayezid II in 1503 (16 Jumada II 909). The unnamed book mentioned in this Register of Rewards (*İn‘āmāt Defteri*) could have been a preliminary copy of ‘Atufi’s library inventory, whose Arabic preface, dated 908 (1502–3), glorifies Bayezid II with pompous titles. In the only surviving “clean copy” of ‘Atufi’s inventory, this Arabic preface is preceded by a later one in Ottoman Turkish, dated 909 (1503–4). Several months thereafter, in 1504 (15 Ramadan 909), ‘Atufi received another sultanic donation of 3,000 aspers as a “preacher” (*vā‘iz*). This reveals that upon completing the inventory, ‘Atufi left the palace service with a promotion in the ulema ranks and was no longer Bayezid II’s keeper of books. Nevertheless, ‘Atufi continued to receive regular annual donations of 3,000 aspers as a preacher until the end of the sultan’s reign, with the latest reward given in 1512 (19 Dhu’l-Hijja 917), when he presented a book and received a higher donation of 5,000 aspers plus a *cübbe*. ‘Atufi was subsequently awarded 3,000 aspers for the gift of another book he authored as “preacher” at the beginning of Selim I’s reign in 1512 (5 Rabi‘ II 918). He was still a preacher in 1519 (Muharram 926) during the penultimate year of Selim’s rule, when he was given two houses from the Aya-sofya (Hagia Sophia) endowments.²⁷

The approximately fifteen works ‘Atufi authored ranged in subject matter from Qur’anic exegesis and hadith to theology, medicine, and logic, and consisted mostly of commentaries or glosses. Compared to Mehmed II’s librarian Molla Lutfi—a witty, freethinking intellectual who eventually became a high-ranking madrasa professor but was executed for alleged heresy in 1495—‘Atufi appears to have been a scholar of middling stature.²⁸ Though less famous than the notorious Lutfi, ‘Atufi’s encyclopedic madrasa education prepared him to fulfill the basic criteria required of book keepers (*ḥāfiẓ-i kütüb*) as listed in the endowment deed (*waqfiyya*) of Mehmed II’s mosque complex in Istanbul and that of Bayezid II in Edirne. The former deed required the holder of that position to “know the names of esteemed books and be knowledgeable in details pertaining to books needed by professors, tutors, and capable individuals,” whereas the latter deed expected the book keeper to be “pious, a believer, and trustworthy.” ‘Atufi’s successor as palace librarian is not mentioned in the primary sources. He may have been a Maliki scholar

from the Maghrib (North Africa or Spain), Husain b. Maya al-Maghribi al-Maliki, who dedicated an Arabic manuscript interpreting the Qur'an's first sura (Appendix III: 1) to Bayezid II in the year 911 (1505–6).²⁹ In that manuscript the author identifies himself as “keeper of the book treasury of the lofty noble [sultanic] residence” (*khādiman bihi khizānati kutubi al-maḡarri al-ashrafi al-‘ālī*), nearly the same title by which ‘Atufi refers to himself in the palace library inventory (*al-khādimi li-kutubi al-khizānati al-‘āmirati al-Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khāniyyati*, 151 {17}). This suggests that Husain b. Maya may have been appointed as the successor of ‘Atufi, who had left the post of court librarian by 1504; alternatively, he could have been one of the library scribes.

As indicated earlier, the preacher ‘Atufi continued to present his own works to Bayezid II after he completed the inventory. One of the examples preserved at the Topkapı library is an Arabic commentary concerning hadith on the subject of belief and jihad (Appendix III: 5). Dated 916 (1511), it features a dedication to the sultan and is described as a gift “offered to the Ottoman imperial treasury of Sultan Bayezid Khan” (*fī khidamāti khizānati ‘uthmāniyyati khāqāniyyati Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khāniyyati*). However, this volume lacks impressions of the sultan's almond-shaped sovereignty seal, with which the imperial library books were stamped in their opening and final pages. Moreover, it is missing from ‘Atufi's library inventory, which was prepared earlier (ca. 1502–4) and does not appear to have been updated thereafter except for a few insertions, as we shall see.

The collection of books inventoried by the librarian ‘Atufi was primarily formed over three generations, starting with Mehmed II's father Murad II (r. 1421–44, 1446–51), but it may have also included items belonging to their forebears. Books collected by Mehmed II in the Inner Treasury were not stamped with his seal; nor did those he inherited from his father bear seal impressions of any Ottoman sultan. Bayezid II had all manuscripts accumulated in the Inner Treasury stamped with his own almond-shaped sovereignty seal, featuring his imperial monogram (tughra). This seal was never again used after the death of Bayezid II, given the common practice of annulling the sovereignty seals of deceased sultans by engraving a line over them. Since manuscripts at the palace library were generally stamped

twice with Bayezid's seal on their first and last pages, it may be deduced that those featuring only one seal were repaired at some point, or simply lost their beginning or final pages.³⁰

MS Török F. 59 exclusively catalogues books in Islamic languages that were kept at the Inner Treasury founded by Mehmed II, whose library collection was inherited and expanded by Bayezid II, a keen collector of books like his father.³¹ Mehmed's collection of Byzantine and other manuscripts in non-Islamic languages has not been incorporated into this inventory, even though some of them were produced for him and feature bindings comparable to their Islamic counterparts. Nor were European printed books (incunabula) belonging to the royal library included in ‘Atufi's inventory. Late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century registers of the Inner Treasury record furnishings, robes, objects, and scientific instruments stored in the same building. They also list the number of books in non-Islamic languages as a self-contained group, without enumerating any titles. None of the extant copies of those books at the Topkapı library bear Bayezid II's seal impressions, an absence that seems to signify their different status as treasury items independent from the library collection.³²

The earliest surviving register of the Inner Treasury known to me is dated 901 (1496). This document from the middle of Bayezid II's reign lists unidentified manuscripts and documents stored in certain chests (*şandūk*). Those on the upper floor of the Inner Treasury (*der bālā-i ḥizāne-i ‘āmiri-i enderūnī*) consisted of a chest with sections of the Qur'an in *maghribī-kūfī* script; a chest full of book pouches (*kīsehā-i kitāb*); a chest containing letters, almanacs, and other documents (*mekātīb ve taḳvīm ve sā'ir evrāk*); another chest with figural representations and other documents (*taṣvīrāt ve bākī evrāk*); a chest of paper documents and other miscellanies (*evrāk-i kāğıd ve bākī ḥurdavāt*); a chest of miscellaneous paper documents (*evrāk-i ḥurdavāt*); and three chests holding a total of 59 non-Islamic books (*kitābhā-i ‘imrānī*). The contents of the Inner Treasury's basement (*zīr-i ḥizāne-i enderūnī*) included sections of the Qur'an written in Kufic script by “His Highness ‘Ali” (i.e., the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law); parchment scrolls (*ṭomār ‘an pōst*) in the handwriting of ‘Ali; a volume in

the handwriting of 'Ali; and a chest containing 20 non-Islamic (*imrānī*) books.³³

A larger number of books in foreign languages is catalogued in the next surviving Inner Treasury register, dated Sha'ban 907 (1502). Compared to the 79 non-Islamic books stored in four chests that the previous register lists, this one consolidates the category into a single entry, mentioning a total of 161 unidentified volumes with no reference to chests. These are defined as "non-Islamic books and others" (*kitābhā-i imrānī ve ğayrihā*), thereby setting them apart from the Islamic books catalogued in 'Atufi's inventory a year later in 908 (1502–3).³⁴ One wonders whether non-Islamic volumes would have been classified as treasury rather than library items during the reign of Mehmed II, who collected them with an enthusiasm apparently unshared by his successor. In addition to giving away the Inner Treasury's Byzantine relic collection as diplomatic gifts, Bayezid II is reported to have auctioned off his late father's European paintings at the bazaar, where they were largely bought by the Venetian community of Istanbul. The auctioning and gifting of some contents of the Inner Treasury, however, is also documented in later periods as a common practice that was counterbalanced by the steady inflow of new items. In my interpretation, Bayezid II, who came to power with support from traditionalist factions opposed to Mehmed II's radical imperial project, was making a conspicuous public statement by "deaccessioning" select items from his father's Inner Treasury collection soon after his enthronement.³⁵ Yet, the new sultan would perpetuate Mehmed II's enduring cosmopolitan imperial legacy in many other ways.

The only other manuscripts and works on paper or parchment mentioned in the 1502 Inner Treasury register are sections of the Qur'an in Kufic script stored in a chest; 61 diverse scrolls of written or illuminated papers (*derchā-i ʔomar-i mütenevvī'a*), and a chest full of various maps and documents (*ḥarīṭahā-i mütenevvī'a ve evrāk*). Another Inner Treasury register dated Sha'ban 910 (1505) refers to what is probably the same chest as "one chest with written or illuminated scrolls, maps, and papers by painter-designers" (*bir ʃandūk dercler ve ḥārtalar ve naḳḳāʃ kāğıdlarıdır*), the "papers" presumably being loose sheets with paintings and drawings.³⁶ A later Inner Treasury register from the end of Selim I's

reign (ca. 1518) lists booklets of annual almanacs with prognostications (*eczā'-i taḳvīm*); Samarqandi, Indian, and Herati papers; figures of the climes and a single map (*ʃuver-i eḳalīm, pāre-i ḥarīṭa*); chests containing scrolls of letters and miscellaneous documents (*ʔomar-i mekātib ve evrāk-i ḥurdavāt*); as well as a hugely increased collection of holy books: *ʃūrat al-An'ām* manuscripts in small chests (82 volumes), sections of the Qur'an in *maghrībī* script in boxes (68 volumes), sections of the Qur'an in *naskh* script in six small chests (180 volumes), and two old worn-out volumes of Qur'an sections.³⁷

To sum up, early Inner Treasury registers from the reigns of Bayezid II and his successor Selim I demonstrate that some Qur'ans and paper or parchment items, generally without bindings (such as scrolls, maps, archival documents, and annual prognosticative almanac booklets), were deliberately excluded from 'Atufi's book inventory even though they were kept in the same building, much like the non-Islamic books with bindings belonging to the Inner Treasury collection. The latter books may have been omitted from 'Atufi's inventory not because they were undervalued, but because they were categorized as being of the same order as treasured objects that were not expected to be regularly requested or circulated. The number of 161 "non-Islamic books and others" cited above in Bayezid II's 1502–3 register drops to 149 volumes of "non-Islamic books" (*kütüb-i gebrī*) in Selim I's ca. 1518 register.

I have not come across any further reference to this group of foreign-language books in later registers, which implies that they perhaps faded into oblivion in the Inner Treasury basements. Indeed, the modern cataloguer of the non-Islamic manuscript collection (Gayri İslami, G.İ.), Adolph Gustav Deissmann, reported that these manuscripts were brought out from a cellar of the Inner Treasury (*aus einem der Keller des Schatzhauses*), where they had been stored in chests. In 1927 he was shown these mostly Greek and Latin codices, along with non-Islamic parchment and paper scrolls, loose sheets, and maps. During 1928 he examined these works belonging to the "legendary Serai-Bibliothek," and in 1929 he was shown the underground cellar of the Inner Treasury, where "most books" were once held, but which at that time were kept in cupboards in the ground floor. Some of the non-Islamic items, which had been damaged by

moisture and unfavorable storage conditions, were restored by conservators sent from Berlin in 1929.³⁸

An Inner Treasury register from the end of Sultan Süleyman I's reign (r. 1520–66), dated 971 (1564), shows that some books from the imperial library collection were housed in the throne room (*dīvānhāne*) at that time, possibly in accordance with former tradition. Besides two large coffer (*anbār*) containing palace furnishings and royal garments, the register lists 262 books stored within four cupboards (*dolāb*) in this hall. The itemized volumes are grouped according to language: "Register of Persian books" (*defter-i kitābhā-i fārisī*) with 55 volumes; "Register of Turkish books" (*defter-i kitābhā-i türki*) with 118 volumes; and "Register of the cupboard of Arabic books" (*defter-i dolāb-i kitābhā-i 'arabiyyāt*) consisting of 89 volumes.³⁹

It is striking that the number of Turkish books, which filled two cupboards, surpasses the works in Arabic and Persian, which were kept in a single cupboard each, as the latter languages are predominant in 'Atufi's inventory. This difference in proportion reflects a notable cultural transformation during the Süleymanic age, which ushered in a growing process of Ottomanization in various domains, including language.⁴⁰ Clearly, the 262 books listed in Süleyman's Inner Treasury register do not represent all of the books kept inside that building, but were likely a selected corpus of precious or commonly consulted manuscripts stored in the throne room. The remaining volumes were probably distributed on the upper and lower floors of the Inner Treasury in chests and cupboards subdivided by shelves. Other books could have been stacked on top of one another according to diminishing size—as was common practice in medieval Islamic and later Ottoman libraries—inside some of the "Bursa-arched" built-in wall niches of the upper halls (figs. 7a–c).

The Topkapı Book Treasury and Other Palatine Libraries

Constituting the nerve center of the Ottoman royal workshops overseen by the chief treasurer, the Inner Treasury was not only a site for collecting, but also for commissioning the production of artifacts in multiple media, including manuscripts. Unlike the Timurid and Turkmen institution of the *kitābhāna/kutubkhāna*, which is believed to have combined a treasury/library

(*khizāna*) for storing books and a scriptorium/book workshop for copying and producing them, the Ottoman royal library in the Inner Treasury was spatially separate from, yet institutionally connected to the court scriptorium (*naḳḳāṣhāne*).⁴¹ Most likely established by Mehmed II as a dependency of the Topkapı Palace built between 1459 and 1478, the scriptorium was housed in a converted Byzantine church at the nearby Hippodrome. It boasted figural gold mosaics and its basement curiously functioned as the royal menagerie.⁴² The relatively loose organization of court workshops under Mehmed II would be systematized and amplified by Bayezid II and later sultans.⁴³ An undated wage register from Bayezid's reign shows that his palace staff included a group of eight "book calligraphers" (*kātibān-i kütüb*), another group of nine consisting of "book binders" (*mücellidān*) and their assistants, and painter-decorators (*naḳḳāṣān*) with their assistants consisting of twenty-two persons," adding up to a total of 39 employees.⁴⁴

The no longer extant Timurid-Turkmen palatine libraries were succeeded by libraries in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century royal palaces of Safavid Iran and Mughal India, which have also disappeared without a trace. The latter seem to have been pavilions or halls, whether or not they incorporated workshop facilities. For instance, one of three buildings constructed in 1534 for the Mughal emperor Humayun (r. 1530–40, 1555–56) at a waterfront garden in Agra was a two-story octagonal pavilion whose upper chamber housed a royal library. Called *Khāna-i Dawlat* (House of Felicity), it was furnished with "prayer carpets, books, jeweled pens, beautiful folders, and fine albums with pictures and calligraphy." Upon regaining Delhi, Humayun created a similar library at the Purana Qil'a palace complex. Once again a two-story octagonal pavilion, this extant red sandstone edifice popularly known as Sher Mandal is generally believed to have been the site of a fatal accident. In 1556 Humayun passed away after falling down the slippery stone staircase of his palace "library" (*kitābhāna*), which had recently been constructed.⁴⁵ The emperor had just engaged in astronomical observation with a group of mathematicians on the roof terrace of that building before starting to descend. When he reached the second flight of steep steps, his foot slipped



a



c



b

Figs. 7a–c. Libraries in manuscript paintings. [7a] Abu Zayd and al-Harith meet in a public library at Basra, where a bookcase with niche-shaped shelves contains horizontally stacked volumes. *Maqāmāt* of al-Hariri, 634 (1237), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Arabe 5847, fol. 5b. (Photo: © Bibliothèque nationale de France) [7b] Three men in front of a built-in book cupboard, whose shelves contain horizontally arranged volumes with edges labeled with abbreviated titles. Second half of the fourteenth century, album painting, Iran. (Photo: © Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, PK [SBB-PK], Diez Album, Diez A_fol. 71, p. 6, no. 1) [7c] “Bursa-arched” wall niches with horizontally stacked volumes at the royal observatory in Galata, Istanbul, where the chief astronomer Taqi al-Din is shown working with his colleagues. 1581, Seyyid Lokman, *Shahanshāhnāmāh*, Istanbul University Library, F. 1404, fol. 57a. (Photo: after Gülrü Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* [London, 2011], 149, fig. 123)

as he respectfully bowed upon hearing the call for the evening prayer.

The “illiterate” Mughal emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605) inherited and enlarged his father Humayun’s book collection through gifts, conquests, commissions, and translations. By the time of his death, Akbar’s library in the Agra fort had expanded from about 4,000 volumes to 24,000, from which selected works were read aloud to him daily. According to the *Ā’in-i Akbarī* (Regulations of Akbar), the imperial library collection was divided among several locations rather than being housed in a single purpose-made building. Some books were kept within and others outside of the private royal residence (harem): “Each part is subdivided, according to the value of the books and the estimation in which the sciences are held of which the books treat. Prose books, poetical works, Hindī, Persian, Greek, Kashmīrian, Arabic, are all separately placed. In this order they are also inspected.”⁴⁶ As we shall see, ‘Atufi’s inventory, too, organizes books by subject matter, separating prose works from those in verse, with the latter category subdivided into specific languages: Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and “Mongolian.” Books in non-Islamic languages are excluded from his inventory.

The Safavid royal library in Isfahan was a hall with built-in wall niches, apparently not unlike the extant octagonal *Chīnīkhāna* (House of Porcelain) at the dynastic shrine of Shaykh Safi al-Din in Ardebil. The latter functioned as a “library-repository” to which Shah ‘Abbas I (r. 1588–1629) donated manuscripts and a collection of Chinese porcelain.⁴⁷ The French jeweler Jean Chardin (1660s–70s) described a library staffed with bookbinders and a librarian among the court workshops (*kārkhāna*) of the Safavid palace complex in Isfahan, which were grouped around a courtyard. He states that the library was a rectangular hall, 22 by 12 “paces,” whose walls were pierced with niches from bottom to top, each of them 15 to 16 “fingers” deep. In those niches, volumes were piled up on top of one another according to size and thickness, regardless of their subject matter, with the names of authors mostly inscribed on the edges of books written in Persian, Arabic, Turkish, and “Coptic.” Double curtains covered the niches, such that no books were visible upon entering the hall, but only the curtains and a double row of chests lined up along the walls, each of them four feet high and containing fifty to sixty vol-

umes. Only two chests stored volumes in “Occidental languages,” which were on Catholic rituals, history, and mathematics and had been pillaged from the conquest of Hormuz and from the ambassador of Holstein’s house, where the learned secretary Adam Olearius (d. 1671) had collected fine books. In 1684 the German physician-botanist Engelbert Kaempfer also portrayed the royal library in Isfahan as a storage space or manuscript treasury (*Hofbücherei*). Its 9,000 to 10,000 volumes were kept in shelves and chests, and its staff included binders, calligraphers, and gilders. Kaempfer described the workshop of court painters (*Hofmalerwerkstatt*) as a distinct space.⁴⁸ The spatial detachment of the royal library (*kitābkhāna*) from the workshop of painter-decorators (*naqqāshkhāna*) is also implied by a late Safavid source (ca. 1725), which refers to the separate heads of these two institutions.⁴⁹

While this spatial separation finds a parallel in Ottoman Istanbul, what makes the royal library at the Inner Treasury of the Topkapı Palace special is its survival as a multifunctional building dating from the mid-1460s, along with its partially intact book collection. The earliest developmental stages and contents of this collection can now be reconstructed thanks to the fortunate discovery of ‘Atufi’s inventory. Conceptually, the Ottoman Inner Treasury comes close to its counterparts in fifteenth- to early sixteenth-century palaces in Central Europe, where the private royal treasury (*Schatzkammer*) combined long-prized possessions with “books and reliquaries, including objects that might be called works of art” before the emergence of the *Kunstskammer* from the 1550s onward, when separate libraries became more common.⁵⁰ Not unlike the scenic treasury-cum-library at the Topkapı Palace, the palatine Corviniana library in Buda comprised two vaulted halls overlooking the Danube. Its precious books were arranged on gilded wooden shelves, with less valuable volumes stored in chests. A sofa extending between two windows was utilized by the king of Hungary, Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458–90), for reading and holding discussions with scholars.⁵¹

In an article on Bayezid II’s library inventory, Miklós Maróth has observed that the famous Corviniana library, which was created around the same time, featured only about 2,500 volumes and was the largest private royal library in Europe. By contrast, Maróth counted

about 5,700 volumes with approximately 7,200 titles in the inventory of the Ottoman sultan's library.⁵² It must be noted, however, that the actual number of titles was certainly higher because 'Atufi did not systematically list all items that were bound together in compendiums. Moreover, the palace library collection would expand considerably in the last decade of Bayezid II's (d. 1512) reign and beyond.

The holdings of the Corviniana library were rivaled only in Western Europe by the semi-public papal library at the Vatican. By the end of Pope Nicholas V's pontificate (1447–55) the Vatican library contained 1,160 books, a number Pope Sixtus IV (1471–84) raised to 2,527 in 1475, and to 3,650 at the end of his pontificate.⁵³ Fewer books existed at the celebrated palace library built between 1465 and 1472 for the Duke of Urbino, Federico da Montefeltro, who at the time of his death in 1482 had accumulated over 900 sumptuous manuscripts.⁵⁴ The number of books (about 1,136) removed from the library of the Palazzo Medici at the time of the family's expulsion from Florence in 1494 was not much larger than that of its counterpart in Urbino.⁵⁵

According to İsmail Erünsal, the only contemporaneous Ottoman library that came close to matching the number of manuscripts kept in Bayezid II's Inner Treasury was the private library collection of Mü'eyyetzade Abdurrahman Çelebi (d. 1516), the sultan's former intimate companion when he was a prince in the Amasya palace. After escaping from Amasya in 1479 following Mehmed II's order to execute him for allegedly having corrupted Prince Bayezid with addiction to alcohol and revelry, Mü'eyyetzade spent several years in exile in Mamluk Syria and Aqqoyunlu Iran. During those years he studied with celebrated scholars, including Jalal al-Din Dawani (d. 1502) in Shiraz. Upon returning to the Ottoman empire, Mü'eyyetzade became one of the foremost scholar-statesmen of Bayezid II's reign and was said to have collected 7,000 books, which is probably an exaggeration.⁵⁶ His agency in the transmission of rare books from the Timurid-Turkmen lands to Bayezid II's library must have been considerable. Only 2,112 volumes are recorded in an inventory of Mü'eyyetzade's books, which was prepared by a committee in 1516 upon the order of Sultan Selim I, who commanded that books dispersed after his death be gathered together. There were probably unretrieved items that would have raised

the total count recorded in the inventory, though not to the extent claimed. A note in this inventory explains that some books were marked as being worthy of the sultan, implying that these items could potentially be incorporated into the palace library, while the rest would be sold to pay the debts of the deceased owner.⁵⁷

The books Mehmed II endowed as a *waqf* to the public library of his grandiose mosque complex in Istanbul (featuring eight madrasas, eight preparatory schools, a hospice, and a hospital, built between 1463 and the 1470s) were fewer than those contained in his palace library. Moreover, they had a narrower subject range, with entire areas of knowledge missing or underrepresented. The public library's holdings consisted of 1,241 endowed books, of which only 839 were donated by the sultan and the rest were given by scholars and grandees, according to an updated catalogue prepared during Bayezid II's reign.⁵⁸ Compared to his father's donation, Bayezid II endowed an even smaller number of books to his own mosque-madrasa-hospital complex in Edirne (ca. 1488), merely 42 volumes intended for use in the single madrasa where they were stored in a chest. Thus, the Ottoman palace library surpassed in size and diversity the *waqf* libraries belonging to public religious institutions, as was also the case in the Mamluk Sultanate and most other Islamic polities.⁵⁹

Erünsal notes that the endowed holdings of public libraries in the early modern Ottoman world barely exceeded five to six thousand volumes. According to inflated accounts, their medieval Islamic counterparts boasted fifteen to twenty thousand books, not to mention the legendary proportions of some early medieval royal and semi-royal libraries, whose stock reportedly reached several hundred thousand volumes. The palatine library of the Umayyad caliphs in Cordoba is said to have featured 400,000 to 600,000 books, while that of the Fatimid caliphs in Cairo had 1,600,000 to two million volumes.⁶⁰ These "outlandish" numbers cited in Arabic narrative sources have recently been characterized as "symbolic and of no factual value," having a "topos-like quality."⁶¹

Reading Spaces and the Mobility of Books Stamped with Bayezid II's Seal

In an undated *Relatione*, the Jewish court physician of Sultan Murad III (r. 1574–95), Domenico Hierosolimi-

tano, refers to two large libraries (*libreria*) in the third courtyard of the Topkapı Palace, where the sultan was “served by men.”⁶² Born in Safed in Ottoman Palestine, Domenico held this post for “about twelve years in Constantinople” and then left for Italy upon converting to the Catholic faith in 1593. In my interpretation, the first library can be identified as that of the Inner Treasury and the second library as the one within the Privy Chamber complex in the same courtyard of male palace residents, where the sultans slept until Murad III’s reign. This sultan moved into a new bedroom pavilion at the women’s harem quarters, which was built by the chief architect Sinan in 986 (1578–79).⁶³

Domenico describes the first library (at the Inner Treasury) as “a communal one (*una commune*) behind the rooms of the servants (*camerieri*) and pages” who served the sultan, a library to which Domenico may have had access in his capacity as court physician. He locates the non-Islamic manuscript collection of Mehmed II in this “communal” library,

where there are books in all kinds of languages, of great beauty, all written by the pen, and in particular 120 items from those of Constantine the Great, each one two cubits (*braccia*) long and not more than three palms (*palmi*) wide, made of parchment fine as silk. In them are written the old and new testaments, and other histories and lives of the saints, all in letters of gold, covered [bound] with silver gilt, with jewels of inestimable value. No one is permitted to touch them.⁶⁴

The 120 Byzantine codices of “Constantine the Great” mentioned by Domenico come close in number to the 149 “non-Islamic” books listed in Selim I’s Inner Treasury register (ca. 1518) discussed above, though somewhat reduced. A further attrition occurred when the French ambassador in Istanbul, Pierre de Girardin, acquired fifteen rare Greek manuscripts and one in Latin from the Topkapı Palace collection in 1687 for the library of Louis XIV (now at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris), with the aid of an Italian renegade employed in the service of the “seliktar” (Silahdar or Swordbearer at the Privy Chamber).⁶⁵ It was apparently the same Italian renegade from Livorno, a former royal page called Mustafa Agha, who, with the help of his friends at the palace, sold to Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsili (1658–1730) Greek manuscripts removed from the palace collection,

which he claimed the sultan had donated to him. In 1692 Marsili purchased additional Greek manuscripts inherited by the widow of Mustafa Agha, who was executed at Edirne in 1691. A recently discovered library inventory attributed to Marsili itemizes his 17 Greek manuscripts once belonging to the Topkapı Palace collection, which are now kept at the Biblioteca Universitaria in Bologna.⁶⁶

Domenico describes the more exclusive second library in the courtyard of male servants as “the other library that is private (*secreta*) and more inwards (*più indentro*), which is attached to the rooms of the Grand Signor and is the more famous.” It is unclear whether this private library at the sultan’s Privy Chamber complex extending along the left wing of the third courtyard (which comprised multiple domed halls built by Mehmed II and remodeled by Selim I) existed from the very beginning. The library may have been located near the extant dormitory of Privy Chamber pages that replaced earlier structures demolished in the nineteenth century.⁶⁷ According to Domenico’s account of Murad III’s daily routine, each morning this bibliophile sultan left the harem where he slept. At the Privy Chamber complex in the male quarters, he wrote for half an hour and read for an hour in his study (figs. 8a–b), to which he returned at noon to continue his studies until lunch was served there. In the evening he read books there once again before dinner, and then reentered the harem to sleep.⁶⁸ Domenico adds that some books were kept inside two cupboards in the sultan’s Privy Chamber itself (*nella sua camera*), where

there are on each side, two cupboards (*armarij*) with crystal glass doors, and in these cupboards, there are always some two dozen illustrated manuscripts, which he is accustomed to read often. These cupboards are low, so that, sitting in the Turkish fashion, one can see the books that are there through the transparency of the crystal glass, in such a way that the Grand Signor can conveniently take them out, and he is accustomed to reading them often.⁶⁹

Above these cupboards there was another small open cupboard (*armarietto aperto*) where purses full of coins were placed weekly as the sultan’s pocket money. This most private third space for books seems to be the one depicted in a late sixteenth-century painting, which represents Murad III accompanied by male attendants of



Figs. 8a–b. Sultan Murad III scrutinizing the manuscript that contains this very image at a desk in his study featuring built-in book cupboards, accompanied by two leading Privy Chamber pages and dwarfs. Seyyid Muhammed ibn Emir Hasan al-Su‘udi, *Meṭālī‘ü’l-sa‘āde ve menābī‘ü’l-siyāde* (The Ascension of Propitious Stars and Sources of Sovereignty), ca. 1582. [8a] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Supplement Turc 242, fol. 7b. (Photo: © Bibliothèque nationale de France) [8b] New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.788, fol. 6b, purchased from Demotte and Company, 1935. (Photo: © The Pierpont Morgan Library)

the Privy Chamber complex as he is seated on a domical canopied throne, with a colonnade visible in the background. If so, then the two cupboards described by Domenico would have been located inside the third courtyard’s Privy Chamber, rather than within the sultan’s new bedroom at the women’s quarters. A curious example of micro-architecture, the throne canopy is fronted in the painting by a pool with a central water-jet fountain and flanked by hinged cupboards, whose bookshelves of gilded wood contain horizontally stacked manuscripts (fig. 9). The water-jet fountain is probably a now-lost “fountain near the Privy Chamber” mentioned in a repair document dated 1639–40, which lists expenses for gilding its dragon mouth-, curved-tulip-, and straight-tulip-shaped waterspouts that are visible in the painting.⁷⁰

We learn from other sources that Ottoman sultans had readers at the Privy Chamber where they were customarily served meals in the presence of the chief physician. According to Luigi Bassano da Zara (ca. 1537–40), Ottoman dynastic chronicles and the history of Alexander the Great were always read out there after dinner to Sultan Süleyman. He adds that this sultan was well-versed in matters of philosophy and in the scientific works of Avicenna (Ibn Sina, d. 1037) that were read aloud to him in Arabic (fig. 10). The Venetian diplomat Benedetto Ramberti (1534) reports that Süleyman was especially fond of reading the works of Aristotle along with their commentaries in Arabic and diligently studied theology to such an extent that he claimed to rival the muftis. A reader would read to him once or twice a week the histories of the deeds of his ancestors, which



Fig. 9. Sultan Murad III seated in a domical canopied throne with hinged bookcases featuring horizontally stacked manuscripts, accompanied by two leading Privy Chamber pages, attendants, and dwarfs. Cenabi, *Cevāhirü'l-Ġarā'ib, Tercüme-i Bahrü'l-'Acā'ib* (Gems of Marvels: Translation of the Sea of Wonders), 1582. Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, The Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection, 1985.219.2. (Photo: Imaging Department, © President and Fellows of Harvard College)

Süleyman's secretaries guarded with reverence as "sacred treasures," since the sultan preferred those "true histories" over panegyric flattery. Similarly, when the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan (r. 1628–58) retired to his private royal quarters for dinner after the congregational evening prayers, selections from "reliable books" of dynastic history were read to him "by eloquent courtiers who were knowledgeable about historical matters."⁷¹



Fig. 10. Sultan Süleyman conversing with a prince in the company of two leading Privy Chamber pages and dwarfs in his study, featuring a book cupboard whose shelves contain horizontally stacked volumes. Talikizade Mehmed, *Şehnâme*, ca. 1596–1600. Istanbul, TSMK, A. 3595, fol. 79a. (Photo: Hadiye Cangökçe, courtesy of Emine Fetvacı)

Reading practices, then, were not confined to private contemplation by the Ottoman sultans themselves, but also involved books read out to them in the exquisite spaces of the Privy Chamber complex, fronted by domed pavilions grouped around a large pool on its marble terrace overlooking gardens. As such, spaces of reading in the Topkapı Palace included airy pavilions with ample natural light and garden settings. The presence of books at the Privy Chamber is confirmed by archival docu-

ments from the reign of Selim I onward.⁷² These documents and notes written on manuscripts by librarians testify to the traffic of volumes between the Privy Chamber and the Inner Treasury, each occupying the two most view-commanding corners of the third courtyard across from one another.⁷³

The title pages of several extant books listed in MS Török F. 59 are inscribed with the phrase *odadan çıkan kitâb* (i.e., book transferred from the Privy Chamber to the Inner Treasury). If the private libraries inside and near the Privy Chamber mentioned by Domenico already existed during Bayezid II's reign, one might imagine a similar movement of books loaned to these reading spaces from the Inner Treasury. There was also a treasury known as the Privy Chamber Treasury or Swordbearer's Treasury (*Silahdar Hazinesi*), named after one of the leading pages to whom its key is believed to have been entrusted since the days of Mehmed II. Late-Ottoman chroniclers report that books were stored in cupboards in the treasury of the Swordbearer along with holy relics, currency, and weapons. Manuscripts in the Topkapı library collection that are currently labeled "Emanet Hazinesi Kütüphanesi" came from this treasury.⁷⁴

To return to the Inner Treasury books inventoried by 'Atufi, 784 manuscripts in the current collection of the palace library, which feature either a seal impression of Bayezid II, a dedication, or an annotation of ownership (*ex libris*) referring to him, have been analyzed by Zeynep Atbaş in her essay in this volume. Of these manuscripts, 750 were stamped with the seal of Bayezid II and 117 feature dedications to him. None of the 146 manuscripts in this group that bear dedications to his father were stamped with Mehmed II's seal.⁷⁵ The remaining 521 manuscripts consist of Ottoman works not dedicated to any sultan and others produced in different regions of the Islamic world between the ninth and early sixteenth centuries. Since completing her essay, Atbaş has identified 226 additional volumes at the Topkapı library that were stamped with Bayezid II's seal, which are not discussed in her essay but have been appended as an "addendum" to her list of manuscripts bearing this sultan's seal impressions, comprising 1,010 items (Appendix I). Most likely this number will continue to grow, and it is complemented by Zeren Tanındı's ever-expanding list of 176 manuscripts stamped with Bayezid II's seal that were transferred from the Topkapı Palace to other li-

braries (Appendix II). A total of 1,186 manuscripts with this sultan's seal are listed in the appendices of Atbaş and Tanındı at the end of the present volume. Additional books with seal impressions of Bayezid II are identified in the essays of several authors, including that of Cemal Kafadar, which has its own appendix comprising 130 items.⁷⁶

Accompanied by illustrative plates, my own book list at the end of this volume (Appendix III) is based on that of Atbaş. It presents observations derived from the physical examination of a selected sample of more than fifty books at the Topkapı library, which are stamped with Bayezid II's seal and/or dedicated to him. I have established that in many volumes bearing his seal, the titles written on the opening pages and on paper labels pasted over the binding flaps match 'Atufi's inventory entries exactly, or very closely (Appendix III: 4, 7, 10, 13, 14, 18, 21–23, 25–37, 39–50). The absence of a match in a well-preserved volume must therefore signify that it is a different manuscript copy from the one catalogued in the inventory. Books stamped with Bayezid II's seal but excluded from MS Török F. 59 may initially have been kept in other imperial palaces (e.g., the Edirne Palace, the Galata and Old Palaces in Istanbul), or in the provincial palaces of princes. Alternatively, such books may have been either written or catalogued after the inventory's completion, between ca. 1502–4 and the sultan's demise in 1512 (see Appendix III: 2–3, 6, 8–9, 19–20). There are also examples of books dedicated to Bayezid II that lack his seal impression, some of them undated and others written after the completion of 'Atufi's inventory (Appendix III: 1, 5, 11–12, 15–17, 24, 38).

The opening pages of extant manuscripts listed in the inventory generally identify volumes commissioned by Mehmed II and Bayezid II as having been made "by order of the treasury" (*bi-rasm khizāna*) of the sultanate, sometimes specifying that they were ordered by the ruler himself or made to be read by him (*bi-rasm muṭāla'a; li-muṭāla'a al-sultān*). Although not indicated as such, several inventory entries may refer to volumes inherited from earlier Ottoman sultans, among whom Murad II stands out in particular as a bibliophile. From the luxury books dedicated to him, an example preserved in the Topkapı library bears impressions of Bayezid II's seal and is cited in the inventory without reference to Murad II (in fact, 'Atufi never specifies for whom a book was made and when).

This exquisitely illuminated manuscript in Persian on music theory by the famous theoretician ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Maraghi (d. 1435) was copied in 838 (1435) probably in Timurid Herat, with a dedication to Murad II, shortly before the author’s death. It is one of two manuscript copies of the same work listed in the library inventory: *Maqāṣidu al-alḥāni li-‘Abd al-Qādir al-Marāghī fī al-mūsīqī* (Meanings of Melodies by ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Maraghi, on Music, 335 {17}). The title assigned by ‘Atufi is inscribed verbatim above the opening page and on the paper label pasted on the binding’s flap; the manuscript also bears two seal impressions of Bayezid II at its beginning and end (Appendix III: 46, Pl. 22 [1–3]). The author had served in the courts of the Jalayirids and their successors in Iran, Iraq, and Central Asia. It is believed that ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Maraghi sent this manuscript to the court of Murad II where his youngest son, ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, was a courtier and to whom the Ottoman sultan had donated a fief at Edirne in 1421. In 1423, the author sent an earlier version of the same work (also dedicated to Murad II) to the Ottoman court, where ‘Abd al-‘Aziz and his descendants perpetuated al-Maraghi’s musical legacy in the court circles of Mehmed II and Bayezid II, and continued to be active under Selim I and Süleyman I. Copies of an abridged Persian treatise on music, dedicated to Mehmed II by ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. ‘Abd al-Qadir, are listed in the library inventory: *Naqāwatu/Nuqāwatu al-adwāri fī al-mūsīqī* (Best of the Modes, on Music, 335 {16}, 336 {18}). One of these copies still exists in the Topkapı library: the top of its opening page bears the same title assigned by ‘Atufi in the inventory, while its first and last pages are stamped with Bayezid II’s seal (the sticky label on the binding is lost). The works on music dedicated by ‘Abd al-‘Aziz’s son, Mahmud, to Bayezid II in 1503 and later to Selim I are missing from the library inventory, in keeping with its date.⁷⁷

Some of Bayezid II’s personal books feature a notation of ownership (ex libris) not found in his father’s manuscripts. One such volume produced during his princehood in 870 (1466) is inscribed, “from the books of Sultan Bayezid” (*min kutubi Sultān Bāyezīd*, Appendix III: 29, Pl. 10). Although it was subsequently stamped with Bayezid II’s almond-shaped seal of sovereignty upon his accession to the throne, this volume is not included in ‘Atufi’s inventory. A book listed in the inventory that bears Bayezid II’s seal has a similar ex libris, “from the books of Sultan Bayezid son of Mehmed Khan,

may his sovereignty be everlasting” (*min kutubi al-Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥammed Khān -khallada mulkahu*, Appendix III: 30, Pl. 11 [2]). Yet another book cited in the inventory, but dedicated to Mehmed II, features Bayezid II’s seal impressions and the following ex libris, which is repeated in many other volumes: “owned by Sultan Bayezid son of Mehmed Khan, may his sovereignty be everlasting” (*Şāhibahu al-Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥammed Khān -khallada mulkahu*, Appendix III: 28, Pl. 9 [1]).

Bayezid II’s ownership notes are brief and formulaic compared to those documented later in the holdings of the Mughal imperial library, which are inscribed by the successors of Akbar with comments on the date of acquisition and provenance, as well as personal observations and a ranking according to quality in five classes. Such Mughal imperial notations are often accompanied by numerous seal impressions of successive owners and library supervisors, inspection records, and crowded notes, unlike the sparsely annotated opening pages of manuscripts belonging to the Ottoman palatine library. The quotation above from the *Āṭn-i Akbarī* indicates that the qualitative categorization of books determined their placement in the Mughal imperial library, which was subdivided into sections according to the value of the books and the subjects they dealt with.⁷⁸ However, the annotations and ownership notes of Mughal manuscripts lack the systematic references to fields of knowledge that are specified in the book titles assigned by ‘Atufi in his inventory. These titles are repeated on the opening pages and binding labels of volumes catalogued by him, as we shall see below.

Bayezid II gifted books from his library to his two sons renowned for their own cultural patronage, Ahmed and Korkud, whose manuscript collections were appropriated upon their execution by their reigning brother Selim I and reincorporated into the Topkapı Palace library. From the books Bayezid sent as gifts to the provincial palaces of these two princes, their differing personal interests can be deduced. To Prince Ahmed, the sultan dispatched six divans (collected poems) and a *Shāh-nāmah* in December 1483. Later in February 1486, the same prince received nine more divans from his father.⁷⁹ In contrast, gifts sent to Prince Korkud, a scholar, musician, poet, and calligrapher educated in Mehmed II’s palace, consisted of only one divan and four books on religious sciences. Korkud himself authored works in the latter field, all in Arabic, ranging from theology, ju-

risprudence, and mysticism to ethics. These works, which are now kept in the Ayasofya collection of the Süleymaniye Library, originated from the Inner Treasury of the Topkapı Palace.⁸⁰

The portability and mobility of books meant that they circulated not only within the spaces of the imperial palace, but also beyond, leaving their habitat during royal outings to suburban palaces and military campaigns in which sultans carried their favorite books. For instance, I found lists of books in a register dated 1008–13 (1599–1605) that Mehmed III had requested from the Topkapı Palace during his seasonal stays at the suburban Davudpaşa Palace outside the city walls of Istanbul. It is also known that Selim I lost a chest full of books (*bir şandūk kitāb*) in the course of his campaign in Mamluk Syria-Egypt (1516–17), some items of which were recovered by the governor of Cairo, Khayr Bek. One of the lost books was the Ilkhanid historian Wassaf's (d. 1323) chronicle, *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, which happened to be the sultan's chief "entertainment" during that campaign. Upon conquering Cairo, Selim I ordered the work to be copied by the palace tutor (*sarāy ḥocası*) Mevlana Şemseddin, a speedy copyist who was able to transcribe the Qur'an in merely ten days.⁸¹ When Sultan Süleyman passed away during his last campaign in Hungary in 1566, the inventory of his personal belongings sent back to the Inner Treasury from Belgrade consisted of 41 chests, one of which was "a chest containing books" (*bir şandūkda kitāblar olur*).⁸²

Although the number of Islamic manuscripts listed in 'Atufi's inventory (approximately 5,700 volumes) would increase thereafter, many of these works were gifted by the sultans as personal presents to individuals and as pious endowments (*waqf*) to institutions from the Inner Treasury. It is important to emphasize that 'Atufi's inventory was not a legal document, just as palace library manuscripts stamped with Bayezid's seal were his own private property, rather than a legally inalienable pious endowment collection. Therefore, sultans who subsequently inherited these books as personal property were free to donate them as private gifts to individuals or as pious endowments to libraries within imperial mosque complexes. Starting in the eighteenth century, sultans also endowed separate libraries within the Topkapı Palace grounds, at which point the

selected books were stamped with the *waqf* seals of those rulers.⁸³

Although Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703–30) had the Inner Treasury books inspected and stamped with his seal, this inventory check does not seem to have produced a new all-encompassing catalogue like that of 'Atufi. Book collections confiscated from deceased individuals, which had been catalogued in separate registers, were stored at that time as self-contained sub-collections in designated windowsills, alcoves, cupboards, or chests in the Inner Treasury.⁸⁴ The freestanding library pavilion built for Ahmed III at the middle of the Topkapı Palace's third courtyard in 1719 brought together some of these separate collections as a charitable endowment of nearly 5,000 books, intended for the male inhabitants of the inner palace. This sultan's endowment deed (*waqfiyya*) explains that, because the countless exquisite books accumulating since the foundation of the palace through "possession, purchase, or presentation to the royal treasury" had remained hidden and dusty in cupboards (*dolāblar*), he decided to make them more accessible. Ahmed III thereby transformed the legal status of selected books into a permanent *waqf* for the palace school and aghas. Some of these books had been brought out a year earlier, in 1718, from a basement of the Inner Treasury (*bodrum ḥazīnesi*) by three palace officers: the Swordbearer and the chiefs of the Privy Chamber and Inner Treasury. These items were handed over to the Privy Chamber's keeper of books for the renewal of their bindings.⁸⁵

Thereafter, an endowment of 4,000 additional Inner Treasury books was bequeathed by Mahmud I (r. 1730–54) to the public library he established next to the Hagia Sophia mosque in 1740 (the Ayasofya collection, which was later moved to the Süleymaniye Library). In 1742 Mahmud I endowed a set of palace books to the second public library he had built at Mehmed II's mosque complex (the Fatih collection, which would also be transferred to the Süleymaniye Library), and he established yet another library at the Galata Palace in 1753. Thereafter, further volumes were endowed to the Revan and Baghdad kiosks at the Topkapı Palace, which constituted dependencies of the Privy Chamber complex, while a library built for the Corps of Gardeners in the palace's outer garden by Mustafa III in 1767 received more than 5,000 manuscripts.⁸⁶ Even then,

numerous precious books remained in the Inner Treasury, as revealed by their current call numbers in the Topkapı library, which start with the letter H, denoting Hazine (Treasury).

The transfer of books from the imperial palace collection to *waqf* libraries had a precedent in the Mamluk context, where private libraries contributed to the formation of those in endowed religious institutions. Hence, the freezing of private collections into *waqf* libraries depleted the holdings of the Mamluk palace library and those of the elites.⁸⁷ A systematic comparison of the booklist of MS Török F. 59 and existing manuscripts stamped with Bayezid II's seal could help, in the long run, to reconstruct the contents and early history of the Inner Treasury library as a collection. The *waqf* seals of later sultans and notes by subsequent owners, borrowers, and librarians promise to provide additional clues regarding the afterlives of manuscripts listed in 'Atufi's inventory and their dispersal to other collections in and beyond modern Turkey.⁸⁸ Future codicological research on the materiality, marginalia, glosses, and colophons of these books will shed light on their production, circulation, and reception, as well as Ottoman readership, librarianship, and collecting practices.⁸⁹ The inventory also carries the potential to make wider contributions to the history of manuscripts, arts of the book, libraries, cataloguing, and collecting in general.

PART II: THE PALACE LIBRARY INVENTORY

The Classification of Knowledge and Categorization of Books

That some book titles on the opening pages of extant manuscripts are believed to have been written in Bayezid II's own hand points to his personal involvement in the cataloguing project of the palace library that he delegated to his librarian. In one such manuscript the title written in a single line above the opening page, which is stamped with Bayezid's almond-shaped seal at the lower left corner, has been authenticated by a diagonal note: "This is the noble handwriting of Sultan Bayezid, one line, it is true" (*Sultān Bāyezīdūn ḥaṭṭ-i şerīfīdür, bir satır, şaḥḥ*) (fig. 11). Nine copies of that manuscript are listed in 'Atufi's inventory with exactly the same title (75 {15–19}, 76 {1–3}), making it impossible to

distinguish these volumes from one another. The title line includes the assigned name of the book and its author, followed by the science or discipline (category of knowledge) to which it belongs: *Kitābu sharḥi al-Mukhtaṣari li-ʿAḏūd al-Dīn fī uṣūli al-fiqḥi* (Book of the Abridged Commentary by Adud al-Din [al-Iji], on the Principles of Jurisprudence).⁹⁰

This is precisely the format that Bayezid II instructed his palace librarian to follow when cataloguing the imperial book collection, as indicated by the Arabic preface of the inventory, according to which 'Atufi was ordered to designate the titles and affiliated disciplines of each volume. The librarian explains that when his illustrious patron "resolved to attend to the books of the religious sciences" (*bi-ri'āyati kutubi 'ulūmi al-dīni*), he ordered this slave of his to

determine the titles of the books in his imperial treasury (*bi-ta'ayyuni asmā'i kutubi khizānatihi al-āmirati*) and to classify every book according to its particular discipline (*bi-khuṣṣiyyati fannihi*), writing [this information] on the front pages and the bindings, and [he commanded me] to write these in the [present] register in a way that corresponds to the titles and descriptions (*al-asmā'i wa-al-awṣāfi*) that are [written] on the front pages and the bindings—without altering [these] in any way [marginal note:] that is to say, any semantic way, not any literal way. For on rare occasions the text in one differs from the text in the other without changing the understood meaning. As for such differences, they concern either substitution, or addition and subtraction, or pre-position and post-position (12 {5–10}, translated in Appendix V).

This passage is somewhat ambiguous concerning 'Atufi's duties. It suggests that he had to first determine the title and discipline of a book, then to write this information on both the opening page (*al-zuhūr*) and the binding (*al-julūd*) of the book, and finally to copy the assigned identification in the inventory. However, many books must have already featured preexisting titles written by former librarians on their opening pages and/or bindings. In such cases 'Atufi would have simply checked to ascertain their correctness, revising or rewriting this information on the book's opening page and binding, thereafter recording it exactly in the inventory. Other volumes whose titles were waiting to be identified and classified would have involved greater scrutiny on his part.

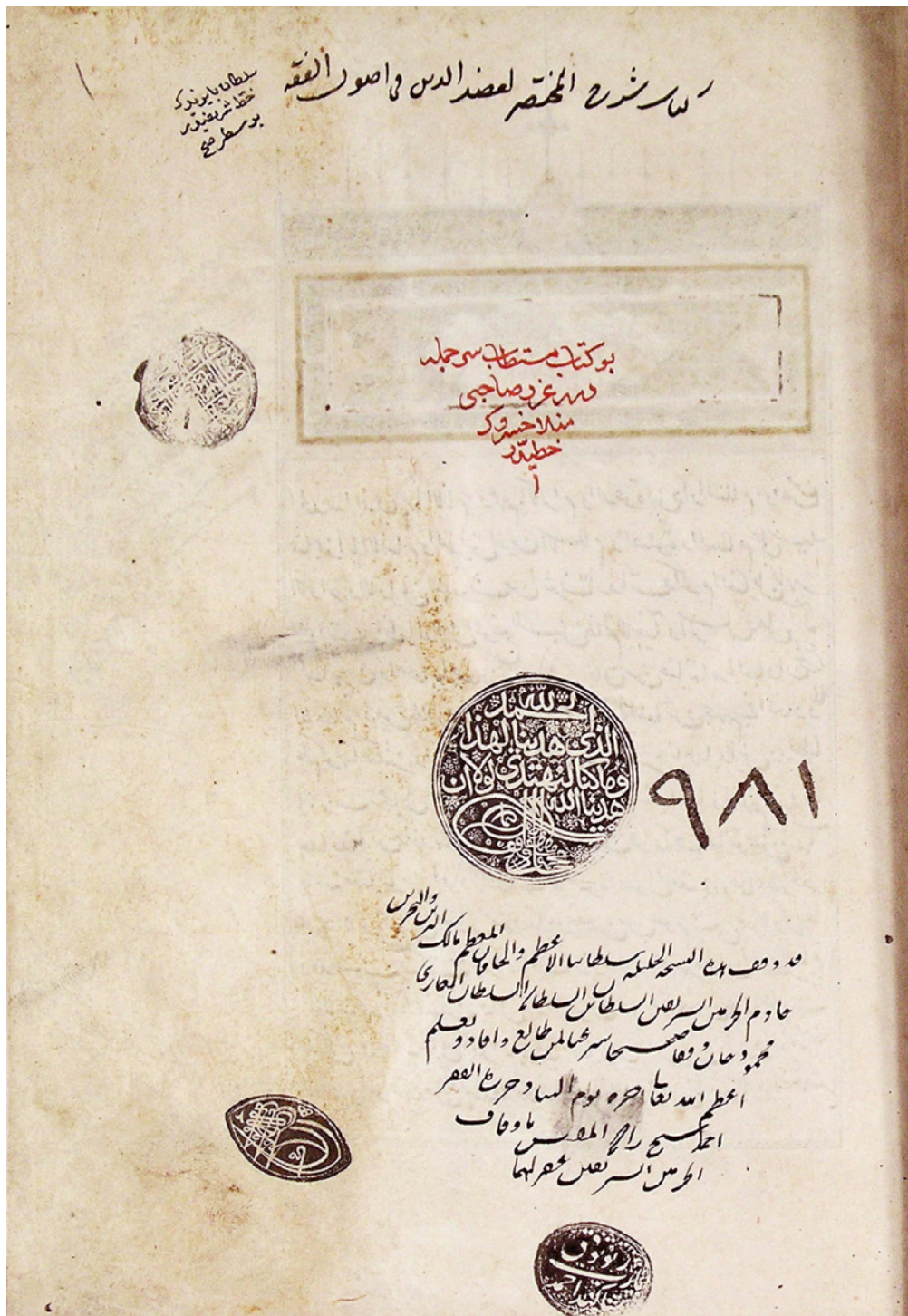


Fig. 11. Opening page of a book on the principles of jurisprudence, at the top of which the title was written by Bayezid II; the red ink inscription praises the scholar Molla Hüsrev, who transcribed the manuscript. Stamped with Bayezid II's almond-shaped seal, the small round Inner Treasury seal of Selim I, the large round *waqf* seal of Mahmud I, and the oval seal of his *waqf* inspector. Istanbul, SK, Ayasofya 981, fol. 1a. (Photo: courtesy of Zeren Tanındı)

Such a scenario appears to be confirmed by my physical examination of books stamped with Bayezid II's seal. In several volumes, older titles on the opening pages have been crossed out or left in place but modified with interlinear insertions or accompanied by titles assigned by 'Atufi, which differ in that they systematically include field classifications at the end. Occasionally the previous title inscribed above the opening page was altered by crossing out some words and adding others. Additions to the end of book titles identified the affiliated discipline of a work as being either "on" (*fī*) or "pertaining to" (*min qibali*) a specified field of knowledge (see fig. 14a below, also Appendix III: Pl. 5 [1], 10, 22 [1]). Such designations, which were assigned to each book by the librarian, were recorded above the opening page (fol. 1a) or flyleaf, and on the sticky label of the binding flap. Remarkably, the designations written on the books themselves match exactly (or nearly so) those that appear in the entries of the inventory, which were recorded subsequently.

A telling example that sheds light on the cataloguing procedure is a famous Timurid calligraphy album compiled during Shahrukh's reign (r. 1405–47) in Herat (Appendix III: 40, Pl. 17 [1]). The title written above fol. 1a, which also bears Bayezid II's seal impression, perfectly matches the corresponding entry in 'Atufi's inventory (the binding's sticky label is lost): *Safīnatun fihā khuṭūṭun nafīsatun wa-Rasā'ilu fī mujalladin a'ẓama* (A Compendium Containing Exquisite Calligraphy and Epistles within a Large Bound Volume, 257 {9}).⁹¹ A slanted note in Turkish, also attributable to 'Atufi and written along the left edge of that page, reads: "let it be recorded under divans" (*devāvīnde derc oluna*). Clearly, this note was necessitated by the complex task of assigning one specific field of knowledge to the diverse texts collected within this monumental album, which is listed in the inventory under Persian divans and versified books. The note confirms that the librarian first wrote the title on the book itself, before the same information was recorded in the relevant section of the inventory, perhaps with the help of one or more assistants.

'Atufi, or an assistant of his, wrote in each book and in the inventory itself the title given by the author, sometimes abbreviating it, or citing the popular title by which it was widely known. Not always indicating the

names of authors, the librarian also occasionally assigned generic titles to books based on their subject matter, or simply listed a keyword followed by a disciplinary affiliation. The fact that various titles are given to different copies of the same work in 'Atufi's inventory reflects the notorious flexibility of premodern titles. 'Atufi avoided systematizing headings or naming books in a more consistent manner, perhaps to accommodate preexisting labels or to distinguish different copies of the same work. The recognizable hand in *naskh* script, with some variations, that transcribed the titles and disciplines of many manuscripts stamped with Bayezid II's seal can be attributed to 'Atufi and/or his assistant(s), who copied and modified previous headings, as well as created new ones.

'Atufi's task involved a combination of procedures. Even though the affiliated disciplines of books were often missing from their previously assigned titles, the volumes must have been loosely grouped according to discipline in the library spaces and chests. After all, Mehmed II's librarian Molla Lutfi wrote a well-known treatise in Arabic on the classification of religious and linguistic sciences, titled *al-Maṭālib al-ilāhiyya fī mawḍū'āt al-'ulūm al-lughawīyya* (The Divine Questions in the Subjects of the Philological Sciences), and his teacher 'Ali Qushji reportedly composed an encyclopedia of knowledge called *Mawḍū'āt al-'ulūm* (Subjects of the Sciences) that has not yet come to light.⁹² The relevance of such encyclopedic classifications of the sciences to the cataloguing of libraries has long been recognized. It may well be that the classificatory system devised by 'Atufi was partly rooted in an earlier encyclopedic conception envisioned by Molla Lutfi and his royal patron, Mehmed II, who was the true founder of the palace library. Whether or not this was the case, it is rather improbable that 'Atufi organized *ex novo* the entire library, whose formation was a cumulative process initiated by his predecessors. Interestingly, 'Atufi's inventory lists four copies of medieval classifications of the sciences by the Sunni Ash'arite scholars Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d. 1111) and Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 1210). It has been observed that al-Razi's classification, which integrated the religious and rational sciences, was widely imitated by sixteenth-century authors in Iran.⁹³

I would argue that a similar integration characterizes 'Atufi's individualized classification of knowledge.

The entries of MS Török F. 59 exemplify the conciliation of revelation with reason in the palace library collection, which merges the religious and rational sciences. Yet in the Arabic preface quoted earlier, 'Atufi states that Bayezid II had commissioned the inventory because of his particular attention to "books in the sciences of religion" (*kutubi 'ulūmi al-dīni*, 12 {5–6}). The librarian received the order to prepare the inventory just around the time when the mosque and madrasa complex of Bayezid II in Istanbul was being built, between 906 and 911 (1501–5), perhaps with a view to determine some of the canonical books whose copies would be supplied to the single madrasa of that institution. However, the fact that many of the disciplines classified in the inventory were hardly represented in madrasa libraries reveals the incomparably broader horizons of the palace library collection.

As one would expect, this document presents an intellectual universe in which knowledge has been hierarchically organized in a descending order of authority, starting with the Qur'an and religious sciences, followed by other disciplines that add up to a total of twenty sections (*tafşil*). A comparable hierarchy of knowledge characterized fifteenth-century Renaissance Italy, where medieval theological literature dominated most library catalogues, with the Bible in the first place and humanistic works "simply added on." In response to his royal patron's special attention to the religious sciences, some of 'Atufi's inventory categories (such as philosophy and theology) and individual book entries occasionally resort to specifying their degree of adherence to the shari'a. By contrast, the unconventional Mughal emperor Akbar is said to have ordered his librarian to catalogue books in three sections, "giving the first place to books of verse, medicine, astrology, and music; the middle place to works on philosophy, religious mysticism, astronomy, and geometry; and the lowest place to commentaries, the traditions (hadith), books on theology, and on all subjects connected with the sacred law."⁹⁴

In the table of contents of 'Atufi's inventory, the listed fields of knowledge abruptly begin with jurisprudence because pages corresponding to the section headings of the first six categories of knowledge have

been lost. Since these headings are repeated verbatim later on, at the beginning of each of the twenty disciplinary subdivisions, I have reconstructed the missing six "sections" (*tafşil*) between pages 1 and 2 as follows:

- [1] *Tafşilu al-maṣāḥifi al-'azīzati* (The Holy Qur'an, pages 12–17)
- [2] *Tafşilu kutubi al-tafāsiri wa-kutubi 'ilmi al-qirā'ati* (Qur'anic exegesis and the science of recitation, pages 18–28)
- [3] *Tafşilu kutubi al-aḥādīthi wa-kutubi asmā'i al-rijāli wa-ansābihim wa-kutubi manāqibi aṣḥābi al-ḥadīthi wa-kutubi shamā'ili al-nabī-ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sal-lama-* (Traditions, reporters of traditions and their genealogies, lives of companions who reported traditions, and the Prophet's character, pages 30–42)
- [4] *Tafşilu kutubi al-ad'iyyati wa-kutubi khawāṣṣi al-Qur'āni wa-kutubi 'ilmi al-wafqi* (Books of prayers, properties of the Qur'an, and the science of magic squares, pages 45–55)
- [5] *Tafşilu kutubi 'ilmi uṣūli al-dīni*, ay, *'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Science of the principles of religion, or the science of philosophical theology, pages 56–68)
- [6] *Tafşilu kutubi uṣūli al-fiqhi* (Principles of jurisprudence, pages 73–80)

The extant pages of the table of contents (pages 2–5) list the following sections:

- [Page 2]
- [7] *Tafşilu kutubi al-fiqhi wa-kutubi manāqibi al-a'immati* (Jurisprudence and lives of the imams, pages 83–101)
- [8] *Tafşilu kutubi al-taṣawwufi wa-kutubi al-naṣā'ihi wa-al-mawā'izi wa-kutubi manāqibi al-maṣāyikhi wa-al-awliyā'i -quddisa sirruhum- wa-kutubi 'ilmi al-akhlāqi* (Sufism, exhortations and admonitions, lives of the shaykhs and saints, and the science of ethics, pages 105–51)
- [9] *Tafşilu al-kutub al-ṭibbiyyati* [*wa-mā yata'allaqu bi-al-ṭibbi bi-jihatin min al-jihāti ka-kutubi al-sumūmi wa-kutubi al-falāḥati*] (Medicine, and what is related to medicine with respect to toxicology and agriculture, pages 151–72)
- [10] *Tafşilu kutubi al-siyari wa-al-tawārikhi wa-kutubi ādābi al-ḥarbi wa-kutubi umūri al-riyāsati wa-al-saltānati wa-al-siyāsati wa-kutubi al-furūsiyyati wa-al-bayṭarati, ya'nī farasnāmah* [*ay bayṭarnāmah*] *wa-kutubi 'ajā'ibi al-makhlūqāti wa-kutubi ṣuwari al-aqālīmi* (Biography and history, etiquette of war, matters of rulership and sultanate and politics, horsemanship, veterinary practice; namely, books of the horse [or falconry],

books of the veterinarian, houndsmanship, wonders of creation, and figures of the climes, pages 175–203)

[Page 3]

[11] *Taḡṣīlu al-dawāwīni al-‘arabiyyati wa-al-kutubi al-manẓūmati bi-al-‘arabiyyati wa-kutubi al-khuṭabi wa-al-kutubi al-musajja‘ati wa-al-kutubi al-amthāli wa-kutubi al-tarassuli wa-al-inshā‘i wa-al-siyāqati wa-al-arqāmi wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi wa-‘ilmi al-qawāfi wa-al-shi‘ri wa-al-mu‘ammā* (Arabic divans, versified books in Arabic, [followed by Arabic, Persian, Turkish] orations, rhymed prose, proverbs, official documents, prose composition, secretarial accounting, ciphers, the science of prosody, the science of rhyme, poetry, and literary puzzles, pages 203–28)

[12] *Taḡṣīlu al-dawāwīni al-fārisiyyati wa-al-kutubi al-manẓūmati bi-al-fārisiyyati* (Persian divans and versified books in Persian, pages 230–59)

[13] *Taḡṣīlu al-dawāwīni al-turkiyyati wa-al-mughūliyyati wa-al-kutubi al-manẓūmati bi-al-turkiyyati wa-al-mughūliyyati* (Turkish and Turkic [“Mongolian,” mostly Chaghatay] divans, and versified books in Turkish and Turkic, pages 261–67)

[14] *Taḡṣīlu kutubi ‘ilmi al-ma‘ānī* (Science of rhetoric, pages 268–77)

[15] *Taḡṣīlu kutubi ‘ilmi al-ṣarfi wa-al-naḥwi* (Science of morphology and syntax, pages 280–92)

[16] *Taḡṣīlu kutubi al-lughati al-‘arabiyyati wa-al-fārisiyyati wa-ghayrihimā* (Lexicons in Arabic, Persian, and other languages, pages 293–300)

[Page 4]

[17] *Taḡṣīlu kutubi ‘ilmi al-ta‘bīri wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-firāsati wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-kīmīyā‘i wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-aḥjāri wa-kutubi al-ramli wa-kutubi al-fāli wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-nayrinjāti wa-kutubi al-ṭilsimāti wa-kutubi al-simiyā‘i wa-kutubi al-‘azā‘imi wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-jafri wa-kutubi al-ṣinā‘āti al-‘ajibati wa-kutubi al-ḥiyali wa-kutubi al-siḥri* (Science of dream interpretation, science of physiognomy, science of alchemy, science of stones, geomancy, omens, science of *nayranjāt* [magical tricks], talismans, *simiyā‘* [letter magic], the adjuration of spirits, the science of *jafri* [letter divination], wondrous mechanical arts/automata, engineering feats, and sorcery, pages 302–11)

[18] *Taḡṣīlu kutubi ‘ilmi al-nujūmi wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-hay‘ati wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-handasati wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-mūsīqī wa-kutubi al-lahwi ka-al-shaṭranji* (Science of stars, the science of configurations [theoretical astronomy], the science of arithmetic, the science of geometry, the science of music, and entertainments like chess, pages 313–37)

[19] *Taḡṣīlu kutubi al-ḥikmati al-islāmiyyati [wa-hiya allatī tabḥathu fihā ‘alā qānūni al-shar‘i al-sharīfī al-nabawī] wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-jadali wa-kutubi al-manṭiqi wa-kutubi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyati* (Islamic philosophy [in which investigated subjects are in conformity with rules of the Prophetic law], the science of dialectic, logic, and “philosophical” philosophy, pages 339–63)

[Page 5]

[20] *Taḡṣīlu al-kutubi al-mutarjamati min al-Tawriyati [Taw-rātī] wa-al-Zabūri wa-al-İnjīli* (Translations of the Torah, Psalms, and the Bible, pages 364–65)

The boundaries between these twenty sections of the inventory are somewhat blurred by the librarian’s listing of different manuscript copies of the same book under more than one discipline to which they could simultaneously belong. As is explained in ‘Atufi’s Turkish preface discussed below, by doing so he kept in mind the fields from which readers might request the books in question. This flexibility need not be construed as confusion and uncertainty on his part, then, but rather as a reflection of his familiarity with the fluid readership practices of scholarly and court circles of his time. Hence, the classification system of the palace library inventory was colored by the learned librarian’s choices and inferences about the expectations of readers.

Rules of the Inventory and Book Repositories

The prefatory section of ‘Atufi’s inventory in Ottoman Turkish is unique in its explication of the rules he devised in cataloguing the imperial book collection, in accordance with his patron’s specific instructions discussed above. Those instructions were summarized in the brief Arabic preface that follows the much longer one in Turkish. Titled “The Rule of the Register and Its Exceptions” (*Qānūnu al-daftari wa-shawādhduhu*, 5–9), the Turkish preface outlines principles the librarian adopted in the naming, classification, and inventorization process, along with compromises necessitated by exceptions to those rules (see my translation in Appendix IV at the end of this volume). One can only imagine the complications he faced in the intellectual organization and physical maintenance of the treasury spaces where the books were kept. ‘Atufi was confronted with challenges ranging from identification and field classification to the spatial organization of books, which entailed different yet integrated strategies. The rules

established in the Turkish preface seem to have addressed not only his royal patron, who ordered him to prepare the inventory, but also future librarians and possibly potential readers.

The first rule established by 'Atufi is that each volume, whether it pertains to one or more disciplines (*fenn*), should be placed in a single repository or book treasury (*maḥzen*, lit. magazine) and listed only once, under a single corresponding discipline in the inventory (5 {13–19}, 6 {1–4}). An exception to this rule is books with a single title that may be relevant to two disciplines. Such books were listed under separate disciplines in the inventory only if several manuscript copies existed, because of the probability that they may be requested (*istenmek ihtimālî eclinden*) from each of those two disciplines, presumably by the sultan or other readers.

The second rule is that volumes containing several book titles (i.e., multiple-text compendiums) are classified under the discipline corresponding to whichever title is more esteemed (*mu'teber*) and thus more likely to be requested, or alternatively on the basis of rarity (*ḳalîl el-vüçûd*) (6 {5–18}). An exception to this rule is multiple-text volumes containing several equally esteemed and rare works, in which case a subjective classificatory choice would be made by the librarian. However, if a second copy of a volume containing the very same set of texts was available, it was listed under a different discipline corresponding to another esteemed book title that might be requested. This special treatment of compendiums indicates 'Atufi's acute awareness of the problems posed by the multiplicity of works bound within single volumes. The inventory, whose sections on specific disciplines generally begin with more popular or rare books, therefore has fascinating implications for reading practices and the relative esteem of certain titles over others.

The third rule is that the title of each book (*ism-i kitâb*), which is recorded in the inventory according to a particular manner (*bir üslûb-i ḥâşş*), must be the same as (*bi-'aynihi*) the way it appears on the binding flap (*maḳleb*) and on the opening page (*zahr*). This rule was systematically applied, with the exception of a few rare cases and inadvertent mistakes (6 {18–19}, 7 {1–19}, 8 {1–7}). The rule clearly responds to the explicit instruc-

tions given by Bayezid II, who ordered 'Atufi not to alter the titles written on the books and their bindings in any way when recording them in the inventory, as is explained in the Arabic preface quoted above. A necessary exception to this rule concerns lengthy books extending over several volumes that have been recorded under one entry in the inventory, in which case the corresponding number of volumes is indicated next to that single title. Such an entry varies in form, but not content, from the individual titles written in each of the volumes, which are accompanied by their own specific volume number. In incomplete sets, only the number of the existing volumes has been written in the inventory next to the title.

The fourth rule is that books in verse, whatever their subject matter, have been separated as a group from books in prose, which are grouped according to discipline (generally, prose entries indicate the language of the work only when it is not Arabic, the default language). Instead, the volumes in verse are catalogued together under the category of divans and versified books, in accordance with their language, namely, Arabic, Persian, or Turkish/Turkic (8 {7–19}, 9 {1–5}). An exception to this rule is versified works that are highly acclaimed (*ḡāyet mu'teber*) and considered fundamental to a particular discipline (*rükn-i fenn*). These works have been listed together with prose books in their corresponding discipline. If a versified book exists in several copies, most of these are listed under works in verse, with only a few copies incorporated under the associated discipline from which they might perchance be requested.

The linguistic classification of versified books by 'Atufi hints that they were regarded primarily as literary pieces. The large number of panegyric, *Shāhnāmah*-style versified histories in the inventory glorifying the exploits of Bayezid II, Mehmed II, and their ancestors demonstrates the cultural prestige of such works, which blur the boundaries between literature and history. The languages of these works testify to the trilingualism of the Ottoman court, which would diminish with the increasing Turkification of book culture from the late sixteenth century onward.⁹⁵ The literary genre of versified histories also began to be overshadowed around that time by histories written in flamboyant

Ottoman Turkish prose interpolated with Turkish, Arabic, and Persian quotations in verse.

The fifth rule established by 'Atufi is that each heading written on the opening page and binding flap of a book is to be recorded in the inventory by placing a linear mark (*butta*, a line drawn to distinguish separate names in a catalogue) in red ink above its beginning, and a red triple zero (*üç şifir*) at its end. An exception to this rule is double- or multi-volume works, which are cited in the inventory only once, under a single heading marked by these signs (9 {5–12}). The purpose of this convention is to visually distinguish individual items in the inventory, whether single- or multi-volume, so as to make them rapidly identifiable. Thus, the inventory facilitates searching by means of visual aids, which also include section headings for each of the twenty disciplines that are calligraphically differentiated by bolded majuscule letters in red ink. Furthermore, the separation of these sections and their subsections has been indicated with blank spaces.

These five “Rules of the Register” (*el-ḳavānīn el-defterīyye*) are followed by a brief section on “The Rule of the Book Repository” (*ḳanūn-i mahzen-i kütüb*) (9 {13–19}). Here, 'Atufi explains that the disciplines of separate sections (*tefāşil*, namely, the twenty subject categories I reconstructed above), which are enumerated in the inventory's table of contents (*fihrist*), must be written the same way (*bi-'aynihi*) on labels affixed to the top of the corresponding book repositories. Moreover, deluxe manuscripts (*nefāyis*) in each discipline are to be assigned a place (*mekān*) different from that of ordinary books (*gayr-i nefāyis*). Above these distinct spaces should be written “deluxe repository” (*nefāyis mahzeni*) or “non-deluxe” repository (*gayr-i nefāyis*). The stated purpose of this rule is to avoid mixing volumes belonging to these separate repositories when they are periodically taken out of the treasury and placed under sunlight to prevent mildew. Another striking rule is that, on those occasions, “Islamic books must be treated in accordance with religious decorum” (*kütüb-i İslāmiyye-nüñ ri'āyeti dīn ri'āyetine rāci'dür*).

Taking a step back, it is worth speculating about the intended purpose of the book inventory in light of the rules outlined by 'Atufi. His royal patron's insistence on writing book titles and their corresponding disciplines

in exactly the same way on the opening pages of books, on their binding flaps, and in the inventory is remarkable. Besides its epistemological concern with systematic classification according to fields of knowledge, this requirement reveals that the inventory was not only intended to catalogue the library holdings. It was also meant to facilitate locating specific works upon request, while at the same time contributing to efficiency and speediness in inspecting books during inventory checks. However, the absence of a total count of volumes in MS Török F. 59 suggests that periodic inventory counting was less of a concern than finding books upon demand.⁹⁶

Erünsal has pointed out that, by contrast, the catalogues of Ottoman public libraries describe the physical appearance of books in as much detail as possible, so as to “ensure that valuable copies were not replaced by inferior copies” by those who borrowed them. The prime concern in MS Török F. 59 is to emphasize “the finding of information as quickly as possible, and for this reason classification became important.”⁹⁷ I would like to add that the palace library was used not only by the sultan, his intimate entourage, and residents of the inner palace, but it also seems to have provided limited access to privileged courtiers and scholars. 'Atufi specifically mentions in his Turkish preface that he classified book headings with a view to the disciplines from which they were more likely to be requested (*istenmek ihtimālî eclinden / maṭlûb olunmasına ihtimāl / istene diyi ihtimāl*). Indeed, some interlinear and marginal emendations in the inventory are accompanied by annotations listing books that had been “demanded” (*maṭlab*), meaning that they had been checked out by the sultan or possibly other readers. Since these books include several technical medical treatises and lexicons, it seems likely that at least some of them were loaned to the chief court physician or other physicians.⁹⁸ Several books that were permanently given away as gifts by the sultan are indicated in the inventory with the Turkish expression “has been donated” (*'aṭā' olundu*).⁹⁹

That nonresident members of the court were permitted restricted access to the royal library's books is revealed by two late sixteenth-century Inner Treasury records, which list a fixed set of more than sixty-five medical books given to successive court physicians on

long-term loan.¹⁰⁰ While these books could have been used outside the palace, I find it more likely that they were stored at the Chief Physician's Tower (Hekimbaşı Kulesi), near the Privy Chamber where this officer presided over meals served to the sultans. This tower pavilion of the walled-in private garden extending in front of the third courtyard functioned as a royal pharmacy and office that was frequented by court physicians. Late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century archival records list books from the Inner Treasury that were donated as gifts and loaned out to residents of the inner palace, including aghas, court astrologers (*müneccim*), the sultan, and royal women.¹⁰¹

The main purpose for the compilation of 'Atufi's inventory, then, was to facilitate locating requested books and to make the library more accessible by means of its subject catalogue, whose twenty disciplinary categories exactly matched those written on the labels of corresponding book repositories. Probably because generic titles and multi-text compendiums rendered alphabetization impractical, the individual books within the inventory's separate sections were not organized alphabetically. Moreover, the number of books was expected to fluctuate due to the deaccessioning of works as gifts and new acquisitions, for which blank spaces were left at the end of each section and subsection. Rather than following an alphabetical order, books grouped according to fields of knowledge were ordered with an eye to popularity and rarity. Those in greater demand were placed at the beginning of the inventory sections, which further aided the search for requested books and their proper storage after being returned.¹⁰²

This brings to mind an endowment deed dated 966 (1559) concerning the public library of one Bedreddin Mahmud in Kayseri, which has been summarized by Erünsal. The deed stipulates annual inventory checks in the month of Ramadan, the dusting of all books at that time, and their replacement in the book repository (*maḥzen*) according to the order indicated in the book catalogue (*fihrist*).¹⁰³ The Topkapı Palace library, too, had a topographical dimension with a direct correspondence between the sections of disciplines listed in its inventory and the labels placed on its book repositories. So did some of its medieval Islamic royal counterparts, whose holdings were more numerous. For instance,

the gigantic Fatimid palatine book treasury (*khizānat al-kutub*) in Cairo, which stored works in all domains of knowledge known at that time, had forty storage sections or *khizānas* (*khazā'in*, sing. *khizāna*), rooms or walk-in closets with built-in shelves, or cupboards recessed in walls. Each of these had locked doors from which was hung a list of contents identifying subject matter. The books were grouped in two sections, an outer and a less accessible inner one, with a reading bench reserved for the Fatimid caliph, who also borrowed books. The palace library of the Buyid ruler 'Adud al-Dawla (d. 983) in Shiraz was a hall with book repositories on both sides, each having a catalogue and shelves labeled according to subject matter, whereas books in the tenth-century Samanid royal library in Bukhara were stored in coffers.¹⁰⁴

Physical evidence for the book repositories and their attached labels at the Inner Treasury of the Topkapı Palace has entirely disappeared. The repositories were probably cupboards subdivided by shelves, and built-in wall niches or alcoves, accompanied by chests. I have confirmed that on the few remnants of tiny paper labels pasted on the bindings of books (along the outer face of the fore-edge section of their flaps) titles were written horizontally, to be legible when the volumes were stacked on top of one another in various repositories. These sticky labels lack call numbers, just as the inventory does not provide the total number of books. Many books in 'Atufi's inventory are listed in multiple copies, suggesting that they were not intended only for use by the sultans but also by denizens of the palace. The collecting of several copies of a single title also indicates attention to specific criteria of merit for particular volumes: degree of esteem among readers, rarity, variant text editions including autographs and those with unique marginal glosses or commentaries, translated versions, chains of ownership pedigree, materiality, calligraphic and aesthetic quality.

The curricular focus of the "palace school" for pages residing in the third courtyard of the Topkapı was on religious indoctrination, ethics, politics, literary skills, and some crafts (music, archery, hunting, sports such as wrestling, or other dignified activities depending on talent). The curriculum is described by Giovan Antonio Menavino, a twelve-year-old Genoese slave who

was presented to Bayezid II by the famous corsair and Ottoman navy admiral Kemal Reis. Menavino was educated for five years in the imperial palace, where he remained between 1504 and 1514. His description shows that palace tutors instructed the pages so that they would become loyal Muslims and learned warrior-statesmen, also possessing such virtues as erudition, polished speech, excellent gentlemanly manners, and honest morals. The youngest novices initially learned to speak, read, and (to a lesser degree) write Turkish, followed by reading the Qur'an along with books in Arabic and Persian under the guidance of teachers. Promoted to upper-grade dormitories, where they began to perform specific services for the sultan, older pages read more advanced books for pleasure. Those selected to reside as chamberlains in Bayezid II's Privy Chamber were required to be well-read (*ben literati*). Menavino specifies that among these pages were the sultan's three favorites, who had to be "handsome, graceful, good warriors, well-read, well-bred, and optimal speakers." The scholar-diplomat Guillaume Postel, who accompanied a French embassy in 1536–37, reports that Sultan Süleyman frequently visited the place in his palace where the royal pages studied (*du costé ou ils estudiant*).¹⁰⁵ He adds that Süleyman, who read interpretations of the religious law but more often works by Aristotle or Averroes (Ibn Rushd, d. 1198) in Arabic, occasionally inquired about the opinions of elderly palace tutors (*vieux Hogealar ou docteurs*) who were employed to instruct the pages in Islamic law.

It can therefore be surmised that the library books were partly intended for the education of pages, princes, chancery trainees, and polyglot scribes. The latter had traditionally conducted diplomatic correspondence in Greek, Latin, Serbian, Arabic, Persian, Uyghur, and Ottoman Turkish, but by the mid-1520s Sultan Süleyman instituted a monolingual practice that restricted the language of official documents produced in the central chancellery to Ottoman Turkish (except for Arabic and Persian in some cases).¹⁰⁶ The educational aims of the "palace school" within the residential third courtyard of the Topkapı Palace must have contributed to the encyclopedic scope of the royal library, given the close connection between the position of the librarian and the two tutors of pages in Bayezid II's undated wage register,

cited earlier in relation to the career of 'Atufi, who left the palace service in 1504. According to Menavino (1504–14), the "palace school" (*schola del Serraglio*) had four tutors (no longer two), who taught 80 to 100 newly arrived youngsters in "the dormitory called New Chamber" (*casa chiamata Lengioda*). Bayezid II is known to have increased the number of palace tutors and books, founding this new dormitory in the third courtyard of the Topkapı Palace, called Yeni Oda (New Chamber) or Küçük Oda (Small Chamber), as a preparatory school for higher-grade dormitories. The sultan also established another preparatory school for the youngest pages at the Galata Palace.¹⁰⁷ The dormitories of pages at the Topkapı featured some endowed book collections of their own, which are presently catalogued in the palace library under the denomination "Koğuşlar" (Dormitories).¹⁰⁸

Rare manuscripts belonging to the Inner Treasury collection were likely permitted to be copied for the public libraries of madrasas and the private libraries of prominent scholars or statesmen upon request. It has been proposed, for example, that the aforesaid scholar-statesman Mü'eyyedzade, who was Bayezid II's former boon companion as a prince, may have been allowed access to the palace library.¹⁰⁹ Likewise, the undated petition of an anonymous royal astronomer-astrologer to access some items in Bayezid II's treasury (*khizāna*) has been cited as evidence for the possibility of special consultations of its contents: in this case, an astrolabe and two astronomical books, along with the horoscopes of the sultan and his two sons, Princes Ahmed and Korkud. Intending to use these items in his own calculations, the petitioner apparently had insider information about the contents of the Inner Treasury, which included not only the specific books he requested, but also astrolabes. In fact, an astrolabe dated 1505–6 and signed by an astronomer called "al-Ahmar al-Nujumi al-Rumi" has an inscription that echoes the dedications of manuscripts produced by order of Bayezid II's treasury. It reads: *li-rasm khizānati al-sultān al-a'zam al-sultān ibn al-sultān sultān Bāyezīd ibn Meḥemmed Khān -khal-lada mulkahu* (By order of the treasury of the Greatest Sultan, the Sultan Son of the Sultan, Sultan Bayezid son of Mehmed Khan—may his sovereignty be everlasting).¹¹⁰

Like court physicians, then, royal astronomer-astrologers who were privy to Bayezid II's secrets as confidants appear to have been among the privileged users of the imperial library. The implication is that deluxe manuscripts may also have been accessible to the staff of the court scriptorium (*naḳḳāṣḥāne*) and to royal book scribes (*kātibān-i kütüb*) on occasion. Indeed, Bayezid II is rumored to have had calligraphy specimens of the celebrated Yaqut al-Musta'simi (d. 1298) taken out from the palace library so that his favorite court scribe and calligraphy tutor, Shaykh Hamdullah (d. 1520), could study them closely in order to improve upon these admired models. After a period of spiritual seclusion, Hamdullah miraculously accomplished the challenging feat and codified the Ottoman versions of the six canonical scripts. Loose-leaf representational images and calligraphic scrolls are listed in the Inner Treasury registers discussed earlier. A few entries in 'Atufi's inventory also refer to bound albums. One example is the aforementioned Timurid calligraphy album produced in Herat during Shahrukh's reign, whose dated specimens span the years 1267 to 1434 (Appendix III: 40, Pl. 17 [1–2]). Since it includes a substantial series of works by Yaqut and his students, this splendid album was almost certainly among the Inner Treasury items Bayezid II loaned to Shaykh Hamdullah for study purposes.¹¹¹ A comparable competitive streak in Bayezid's artistic patronage can be detected in the report that he ordered the Ottoman statesman-poet Veliyüddinzade Ahmed Pasha to compose poetic replies (*naẓīres*) to each of the ghazals the Timurid statesman-poet Mir 'Ali-Shir Nava'i (d. 1501) had sent as gifts to the sultan from Herat.¹¹²

As a calligrapher tutored by the Amasya-born Shaykh Hamdullah, who belonged to the Khalwati Sufi order, Bayezid II was sensitively attuned to the aesthetic properties of calligraphy. Therefore, despite its parsimonious entries, MS Török F. 59 identifies several Qur'ans, prayer books, and divans as having been written in the hand of Yaqut (12 {13}, 15 {16}, 17 {18}, 46 {8}, 204 {13–14}, 207 {2–3}, 213 {7–8}, 286 {13}) and Shakyh Hamdullah (known as Ibn al-Shaykh; 12 {15–16}). Some prayer books and volumes or sections of the Qur'an are specified as having "exquisite writing" (*bi-khaṭṭin nafisin*) (14 {8–9}, 15 {6, 10, 12, 13}, 47 {8, 12}), one of these being a Qur'an

"transcribed to be recited by the Sultan [Bayezid II] (*ḳutiba li-tilāwati al-Sultān*) (15 {10}).¹¹³

The special status accorded to deluxe manuscripts penned by celebrated calligraphers shows that aesthetic concerns were important, even though they are overshadowed by subject matter in the classification system of the library inventory. Books commissioned by Mehmed II and Bayezid II from the court scriptorium differ visually from non-Ottoman manuscripts. The latter were unified with Ottoman court productions to some degree by the addition of new bindings, illuminated frontispieces, and headings. Variations in the aesthetic qualities of manuscripts, their paper type, relative size, and bindings provided visual clues about the stratified ranking of books, with luxury volumes (*nefāyis*) stored in separate repositories standing out from the rest.

With their lavish bindings, the illuminated and illustrated manuscripts of the palace library attest to the value attached to aesthetic quality in the production of new deluxe manuscripts and the refurbishment of old ones. However, the only manuscripts described in some detail by 'Atufi are the Qur'ans, which occupy a place of honor at the very beginning of his inventory. Unlike other manuscripts, they are listed with reference to paper type, paper size, and calligrapher. One of these is even identified as a gift from the ruler of Egypt (15 {19}); this may have been the exquisitely illuminated, undated Qur'an dedicated to Sultan Qa'itbay (Qaytbay, r. 1468–96) that once belonged to the Topkapı Palace collection.¹¹⁴ If so, it might have been sent with a gift-bearing embassy of Qa'itbay that was received in 1485 by Bayezid II in Edirne, a mission that did not succeed in preventing the protracted Ottoman-Mamluk war that broke out soon thereafter (1485–91).¹¹⁵ Alternatively, it is possible that the Qur'an arrived with one of several later Mamluk embassies received between 1490 and the completion of the library inventory.¹¹⁶

Dating the Inventory and Codicological Examination of Manuscripts

My aim in this section is to contextualize the inventory and to establish a repeatable methodology for codicologically identifying extant manuscripts that belonged to the palace library at the time 'Atufi catalogued its holdings. Examining volumes stamped with Bayezid II's

seal in conjunction with corresponding entries in the inventory provides tantalizing clues to manuscript connoisseurs with a taste for detective work. Apart from its addictive potential, such a codicological exercise can yield unexpected revelations about the expansive vistas and striking exclusions of the palace library collection, which was dominated by post-Mongol manuscripts from the eastern Islamic lands.

The brief Arabic preface of MS Török F. 59 corroborates Bayezid II's agency in shaping the conceptual framework of the palace library inventory. This document bears witness to a systematic reorganization and itemized classification of books in the Inner Treasury, whose collection of objects had been recatalogued a year earlier, in 907 (1502). Shortly thereafter, the sultan commissioned two multivolume dynastic histories, culminating in his own reign, from the scholars İdris Bidlisi and Kemalpaşazade (Ibn Kemal), which were written in Persian and Ottoman Turkish, respectively. The former work was completed in 911 (1506), and the latter in 916 (1510); therefore, they are missing from MS Török F. 59.¹¹⁷ These histories celebrated the consolidation of Bayezid II's imperial rule after the elimination of the rival contender to the throne, Prince Cem (d. 1495), and the victorious conclusion of an Ottoman-Venetian naval war (1499–1503). It was in the same context of confidence that Bayezid commissioned the library inventory.

The multilingual Bidlisi, who had formerly served as secretary (*munshī*) to the last Aqqoyunlu Turkmen rulers, wrote mostly in Persian but also in Arabic and Turkish. He joined Bayezid's court shortly after the Aqqoyunlu capital Tabriz fell in 1501 to the Safavid ruler Shah Isma'īl I (r. 1501–24). Leaving Tabriz around 1502, he dedicated three early works to Bayezid II just before MS Török F. 59 was completed. The palace library inventory lists only these three books, which Bidlisi presented to the sultan in 1503, prior to being commissioned to write his multivolume Ottoman dynastic history around 1504 (22 {12–13}, 144 {4–5}, 194 {13–14}). Like Mü'eyyeddade, the aforementioned scholar-statesman of Bayezid II's court, Bidlisi had studied in Shiraz with Dawani. Two of the latter's works in Persian are featured in the palace library inventory: six copies of Dawani's world-famous manual on ethics (114 {2–7}) dedicated to the Aqqoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan (r. 1453–78), and a

work of advice (146 {18–19}) specifically made for Bayezid II's "imperial book treasury" (*khizāna-yi 'āmira-yi kutub-i sulṭānī*). It is known that Dawani dedicated works to this sultan, who in turn offered him gifts and corresponded with him via letters, some of which have survived. Several students of Dawani were invited by Mü'eyyeddade to Istanbul, where they benefited from this influential statesman's patronage.¹¹⁸

The cultural horizons of the Ottoman palace library expanded with the migration of books, scholars, poets, painters, calligraphers, and binders from the Timurid, Turkmen, Mamluk, and other courts throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth century. For instance, Mehmed II's 1473 victory over the Aqqoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan resulted in an inflow of scholars, artisans, and probably manuscripts from the latter's seized "armory, treasury, and other belongings" (*cebeḥānesi ve ḥazīnesi ve bākī esbābı*), along with his secretary (*munshī*), Sayyid Muhammad of Shiraz.¹¹⁹ Shortly thereafter, in 1475, the Aqqoyunlu prince Ughurlu Muhammad Mirza (d. 1477), to whom Mehmed II gave his daughter in marriage, most likely brought personal treasures and books with him when he sought political asylum at the Ottoman court. Ughurlu Muhammad Mirza's son born from that marriage, Göde (Short) Ahmed Beg, married a daughter of Bayezid II and occupied the Aqqoyunlu throne in Tabriz during his brief reign in 1497. İdris Bidlisi had served as secretary (*munshī*) to this son-in-law and nephew of Bayezid II in Tabriz before joining the court of the Ottoman sultan.

I find it significant that 'Atufi's book inventory was prepared prior to the further expansion of the Ottoman palace library collection under Selim I, whose victories in Safavid Iran (1514) and Mamluk Syria-Egypt (1516–17) triggered an additional influx of books.¹²⁰ These new books were complemented by rare volumes acquired from Ottoman private libraries belonging to deceased scholars (such as Mü'eyyeddade), as well as Selim I's executed brothers, Princes Korkud and Ahmed. Like his predecessors, Selim I was an ardent bibliophile. According to one of his intimates, this sultan's gaze was rarely separated from books, as he harbored an interest neither in women nor in sleep. After his accession to the throne in 1512, he surveyed "all the exquisite books kept in the Imperial Treasury (*ḥizāne-i 'āmire*), casting a

quick glance on each, one by one, from beginning to end.”¹²¹

The book inventory commissioned by Bayezid II demonstrates that, long before Selim I's conquests, a considerable collection of Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish, and Turkic (mostly Chaghatay, with some Qipchaq and Tatar) manuscripts had already been assembled at the Inner Treasury. These works were acquired through diverse channels, ranging from inheritance, gifts, and commissions to purchase and booty. Some of them were likely brought by rulers, princes, nobles, scholars, calligraphers, and artists who had immigrated to the Ottoman lands. ‘Atufi’s inventory reveals that in addition to their patronage of manuscripts produced in their own court scriptorium, the Ottoman sultans were prodigious book collectors. This predilection, which was also shared by the ruling elites, eventually turned Istanbul into the foremost international market for books in the Middle East. Books plundered during periods of upheaval in Iran and Central Asia often flowed to the Ottoman capital, where they would be clandestinely sold. A telling episode shows how a rare manuscript that had been brought to Istanbul and purchased for Mehmed II’s imperial treasury (*hāzīne-i ‘āmiri*) was eventually returned to ‘Ali-Shir Nava’i in Herat in 1485, when it was revealed in the Bursa shari‘a court to have been stolen from the endowed manuscripts of the Timurid ruler Shahrukh Mirza.¹²²

As noted earlier, the date ‘Atufi provides in his Arabic preface, 908 (1502–3), differs from that of the two Arabic chronograms on the first page of the inventory, which give the completion date as 909 (1503–4). This time lag is consistent with the explicit reference on that page to the inventory’s transcription from a rough draft into a clean copy (1 {8–9}), after which time supplementary annotations and corrections appear to have been added. A note written in two lines of smaller *naskh* script in the same hand, inserted by ‘Atufi at the lower right corner of this first page, reads: “It [presumably the double chronogram] was composed and written by the lowly author of this honorable register” (*‘ansha’ahū wa-ḥarrarahū al-ḥaqīru mu‘allifu hādihā al-daftari al-khaṭīri*, 1 {19–20}). However, the inventory itself was apparently transcribed in a different hand than that of its author, ‘Atufi, as is implied by an interlinear note added to the Arabic

preface in smaller *naskh* script (12 {10}). It specifies that “this lowly slave [and he is the author of this register, not its transcriber]” (*al-‘abdu al-ḥaqīru [wa-huwa mu‘allifu al-daftari lā kātibuhu]*), obeyed the sultan’s command and finished the inventory in 908 (1502–3). The note also confirms that ‘Atufi worked with one or more assistants who were scribes (*kātib*). Indeed, two scribes were assigned to İdris Bidlisi for transcribing clean copies of his drafts between 1504 and 1506, when he was writing his multivolume Ottoman dynastic history in Persian commissioned by Bayezid II.¹²³

Another revealing entry I noticed in the inventory indicates that Bayezid II’s famous chancellor Tacizade Ca’fer Çelebi had passed away, by the addition of the pious phrase “may God’s mercy be upon him” next to his name. This is perplexing because Tacizade was executed by Selim I in 1515, long after ‘Atufi had compiled the book inventory. The entry refers to Tacizade as the deceased translator of a history book on the kings of ancient Persia: *Tarjamatu Kitābi al-mu‘jami bi-al-turkiyyati li-Tāj-zādah -raḥimahu Allāhu ta‘ālā fi al-tawārikhi* (Translation of *Kitāb al-Mu‘jam* into Turkish by the late Tacizade—May God Bless His Soul—on History, 185 {5}). The full title and author of this work are not specified, but Fehmi Karatay’s catalogue of Turkish manuscripts kept at the Topkapı Palace Museum library identifies the extant volume as an abridged translation of Sharaf al-Din Fadl Allah al-Qazwini’s (d. 1329) *Kitāb al-mu‘jam fi āthār mulūk al-‘ajam* (Book of the Alphabetically Arranged Deeds by the [Ancient] Kings of Persia), which had been translated by order of Bayezid II, as indicated in the manuscript’s dedication medallion (fol. 1a). Since Qazwini’s history in Persian was translated into Turkish by Sarıca Kemal (d. after 1489), the inventory’s entry may have misidentified the translator, unless Tacizade had retranslated it.¹²⁴

The title listed in ‘Atufi’s inventory is repeated verbatim, including the pious phrase at the end, above the manuscript’s opening page (fol. 1a) and on the authentic rectangular paper label pasted on the flap of its binding (Appendix III: 44, Pl. 21 [1–4]). This suggests that the volume must have been catalogued after Tacizade’s death in 1515. The entry nevertheless concerns a book dedicated to Bayezid II that is stamped at the beginning and end (fols. 1a, 132a) with his seal, which could not

have been used after the sultan's death in 1512. It can be hypothesized, then, that the volume had been stamped with Bayezid's seal during his reign, but it was not included in 'Atufi's inventory for some reason. Curiously, the volume's flyleaf has a shorter title written above it, without the name of Tacizade or the pious phrase showing that he had died (Appendix III: 44, Pl. 21 [2]): *Tarjumah-i Tārīkh-i mu'jam bi-al-turkiyya* (Translation of *Tārīkh-i mu'jam* into Turkish). A variant title written under this flyleaf title in an elegant monumental cursive script mentions Tacizade, but it does not refer to his death: *Mukhtaṣar-i Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf-i Turkī, tarjuma-i Tāj-zāda* (Abridgement of Wassaf's History in Turkish, translated by Tacizade). However, as noted above, Karatay identifies the author of the Persian text as Qazwini, rather than Wassaf.

Closer scrutiny of the two-line title on fol. 1a referring to Tacizade's death indicates that an earlier title under it was carefully erased. At the end of the first line, the barely legible last word of the erased former title reads *Waṣṣāf*, an error that was corrected and replaced with the new title that also appears in the inventory. Hence, the two variant titles on the flyleaf were in all likelihood written earlier than the one on fol. 1a and on the sticky label of the binding. This last version, matching verbatim the entry in the inventory, omits the author's name and identifies the translator as Tacizade (though whether or not this was a misidentification requires further research).

While the puzzling entry appears to be indistinguishable from the rest of the inventory, it may well have been added to the clean copy of 'Atufi's inventory (completed in 1503–4) by a scribe in a similar *naskh* script after Tacizade's death in 1515, when the previously overlooked volume was perhaps catalogued. Indeed, this entry comes at the very end of a subsection of the inventory followed by blank lines, where it was probably inserted because the book had been translated for Bayezid II, dedicated to him, and stamped twice with his seal. Such empty spaces in the inventory not only divide the subject groupings of the book collection into subsections, but also anticipate the library's future growth. These spaces indicate that the inventory's contents were intended to be updated by adding new items, but only

a few add-ons in a different *ta'liq* hand are identifiable at the end of several subsections.¹²⁵

Other perplexing entries that may be spotted by researchers in the future will require a more detailed examination of 'Atufi's inventory and the corresponding extant manuscripts.¹²⁶ Although the Tacizade entry raises the possibility that another clean copy of the inventory could have been made during Selim I's sultanate, perhaps due to wear and tear of the original over the course of about a decade, this seems quite unlikely. The contents of 'Atufi's inventory do not appear to have been changed significantly, except for minor updates and emendations. Such an inference is supported by the fact that none of the Ottoman dynastic chronicles written after the inventory's preparation, including those by Kemalpaşazade and İdris Bidlisi mentioned earlier, are listed in MS Török F. 59. Nor do we find any reference whatsoever to the names of later sultans who succeeded Bayezid II. The Inner Treasury's book collection no doubt continued to grow during the last decade of Bayezid's reign, after the completion of the library inventory. Some of the new acquisitions were presented to the sultan as gifts, in return for which he bestowed awards that are recorded in the aforesaid *În'âmât Defteri* (Register of Rewards) covering the period between 909 (1503–4) and 917 (1512), starting with the year 'Atufi finished the clean copy of the library inventory.¹²⁷ However, the sample of books I examined at the Topkapı library reveals that works written after 1503–4, which are included in Zeynep Atbaş's list of extant volumes stamped with Bayezid II's seal (Appendix I), are consistently missing from 'Atufi's inventory (see my Appendix III).

Various annotations added to the only surviving clean copy of MS Török F. 59 attest to the practical aspect of this somewhat fluid document, which was meant to serve successive librarians as a functional tool for recording newly acquired, given away, and checked out volumes of the royal library. Nevertheless, the extant copy of 'Atufi's inventory does not appear to have been used extensively, judging by its nearly pristine condition. This suggests that separate documents were subsequently deployed to record the lending and gifting of the royal library's holdings after 'Atufi left his post as librarian in 1504. Additional acquisitions were probably

recorded in specific registers of sub-collections annexed to the original core collection catalogued by 'Atufi. That these sub-collections were likely kept in their own individual cupboards is implied by a register at the palace archives, which records some books that had been checked out from the Inner Treasury by Murad III. Volumes handed over to him in 1588–89 via one of the Privy Chamber dwarfs included “an anthology from the cupboard of books that came with the felicitous sultan,” that is, from the provincial capital Manisa where Murad III had resided as a prince. A second anthology he requested at that time was “from the cupboard of books that came with the late Sultan Selim [II] from the princely province [i.e., Manisa].” This register shows that some special new collections were kept intact in designated cupboards. The same register lists a Qur'an given by a different dwarf “to be read by the junior lady” (*küçük hānum*) in Ramadan 1589.¹²⁸

That women of the imperial harem had access to Inner Treasury books is also confirmed by an earlier register dated 1557–58, which refers to a copy of the *'Antar-nāma* (The Romance of 'Antar) in three volumes loaned to the “senior lady” (*büyük hānum*).¹²⁹ Six multivolume Arabic and Turkish copies of this chivalric romance by 'Antar ibn Shaddad, the heroic pre-Islamic Arab warrior-poet and adamant lover of 'Abla, are listed in the palace library inventory (188 {3–7}). Of these, only one comprises a set of three deluxe volumes in Turkish, which must be the copy borrowed by that senior lady: *Kitābun fākhīrun fī Qışsati 'Antar bi-al-turkiyyati fī thālātha mujalladātin* (A Luxurious Book on the Story of 'Antar in Turkish in three volumes, 188 {6–7}).

It is rather disappointing for the art historian that 'Atufi's inventory only identifies ten books as illustrated (*muṣawwar*). These are a compendium of hadith on the Prophet's Ascension (*Mi'rājnāmah*), a Book of Solomon (*Sulāymānnāmah*), two copies of Ibn al-Muqaffa's (d. 756?) mirror for princes called *Kalīla wa Dimna*, an unnamed history in Persian, a book pertaining to rulership, a treatise in Persian on Falconry (*Bāznāmah*), a Persian Book of Kings (*Shāhnāmah*), a Persian mathnawī by 'Assar Tabrizi (d. ca. 1390) titled *Mihr u Mushtarī* (Sun and Jupiter), and an *Automata* of Badi' al-Zaman Abu al-'Izz Isma'il b. al-Razzaz al-Jazari (fl. twelfth century). Through codicological examination I have only been

able to identify one of these volumes with certainty and can suggest possible candidates for some of the others:

1) *Kitābu aḥādītha fī al-mi'rāji muṣawwarun*, 39 {15}, listed among books on hadith: Possibly a Chaghatay Turkic *Mi'rājnāma* in Uyghur script produced in Timurid Herat in 1436–37, which features paintings identified by marginal annotations in Ottoman Turkish and Arabic, although it is not stamped with Bayezid II's seal. It lacks its opening page with assigned title, as well as the sticky label of its binding (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Supplément Turc 190).¹³⁰

2) *Sulāymānnāmah al-muṣawwaru fī al-tawārīkhi*, 178 {5}, listed among books on history: Perhaps Uzun Firdevsi's incomplete Turkish *Süleymānnāme*, dated 1490 and dedicated to Bayezid II, though not stamped with his seal. The pages with seal impressions may have been removed when the manuscript received its new binding, at which time all pages were cropped to fit the binding (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, T. 406).¹³¹

3) *Kitābu Kalīla wa-Dimna al-muṣawwaru fī al-tawārīkhi*, 189 {10}, listed among books on history, presumably in Arabic.

4) *Kitābu Kalīla wa-Dimna al-muṣawwaru bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-tawārīkhi*, 189 {11–12}, listed among books on history: Probably not the Persian copy made in Timurid Herat and dedicated to Prince Baysunghur in 1429 (TSMK, R. 1022). Stamped with Bayezid II's seal (on fols. 1a and 146b), it lacks a sticky label on its binding, and the abbreviated title above its opening page comes close to, but does not exactly match, the entry in 'Atufi's inventory. This Timurid manuscript's variant title *Kitābu Kalīla wa-Dimna fī al-tawārīkhi* omits the phrase *al-muṣawwaru bi-al-fārisiyyati*. Therefore, this is more likely one of the five other manuscripts listed in the inventory, which lack references to illustrations and have exactly the same title (189 {7–8, 11}).¹³²

5) *Kitābu tawārīkha muṣawwarun bi-al-fārisiyyati*, 191 {5}, listed among books on history.

6) *Kitābu farā'idī al-sulūki al-muṣawwaru fī umūri al-salṭanatī*, 197 {4}, listed among books on rulership.¹³³

7) *Kitābu bāznāmah muṣawwarun bi-al-fārisiyyati, min qibali umūri al-riyāsati*, 199 {18}, listed among books pertaining to rulership.

8) *Kitāb-i shāhnāmah-i muṣawwar*, 240 {9}, listed among Persian divans and versified books: Probably not the *Shāhnāmah* of Firdawsi, dated 895 (1490) and made in Aqqo-yunlu Shiraz, which is stamped with Bayezid II's seal on

fols. 1a and 584a (Istanbul University Library, F. 1407). The title on its opening page, *Kitāb shāhnāmāh*, differs from the one assigned by ‘Atufi, which ends with the word *muṣawwar*. Besides, it lacks a sticky label on its original leather binding embossed with a longer title identifying the author.¹³⁴

9) *Kitāb-i Mīhr u Mushtarī muṣawwarun*, 251 {17}, listed among Persian divans and versified books: Probably not the copy of this work by ‘Assar Tabrizi made in Aqqoyunlu Shiraz in 1482, which is dedicated to Bayezid II and stamped with his seal on fols. 1a and 191b. It lacks a title assigned by ‘Atufi on its opening page and has no sticky label on its binding (TSMK, A. 3563). Perhaps the manuscript listed in the inventory is the illustrated copy at the Süleymaniye Library (Fatih 4130), dated Dhu’l Hijja 894 (November–October 1489), which lacks its opening pages that would have been inscribed by ‘Atufi, but it is stamped with Bayezid II’s seal at the end (fol. 221a).¹³⁵

10) *Kitābun muṣawwarun li-l-Ra’īs al-Jazarī fī al-sanā’i’i al-‘ajībatī wa-al-ḥiyālī*, 310 {11–12}, listed among books on wondrous mechanical arts/automata and engineering feats: Confidently identifiable as TSMK, H. 414, whose slightly cropped title above fol. 1a exactly matches the entry in the inventory. Under the cropped title is written a variant title with the same words in a different order: *Kitābun li-l-Ra’īs al-Jazarī al-muṣawwarun fī al-sanā’i’i al-‘ajībatī wa-al-ḥiyālī*. This volume is stamped with Bayezid II’s seal on fols. 1a and 174a, but it no longer preserves a sticky label on its binding. Another illustrated copy of al-Jazarī’s work (TSMK, A. 3472) produced at Diyarbakır in 602 (1205–6) is also stamped with Bayezid II’s seal (fols. 1a, 179a), but its title lists the author’s name differently without mentioning illustrations: *Kitābu Abī al-‘Izz al-Jazarī fī al-umūri al-‘ajībatī wa-al-ḥiyālī* (fol. 1a). This variant title corresponds verbatim to that of another volume listed in ‘Atufi’s inventory (201 {16}), whose abbreviated title on the renewed sticky label of its binding is *Kitābu al-ḥiyālī li-Abī al-‘Izz*.¹³⁶

To these ten manuscripts specified as “illustrated” in the inventory, one can add a few other entries alluding to anthologies with painted images that have yet to be identified. One of these is an oversize album referred to as *Kitābun kabīrun fī awwalihi qaṣā’idu wa-fīhi taṣāwīru kathīratun ‘ajībatun* (A Large Book with Qasidas in the Beginning and Containing Many Wondrous Figural Representations, 257 {5–6}). Another anthology is described as *Kitābun fīhi da‘awātun wa-ash‘ārun wa-Qaṣīdatu Burda wa-Rasā’ilu wa-taṣāwīru gharībatun bi-al-tadhhībī* (A Book with Prayers, Poems, a Qasida Burda, Epistles, and Curious Figural Representations

with Illuminations, 255 {19}, 256 {1}). In a few instances drawings are mentioned within the title, as in *Kitābun fī nuqūshi al-ahjāri wa-manāfi’ihā* (A Book with Drawings of Stones and Their Benefits), 201 {13–14}; *Ṣuwaru ālāti al-ḥarbi* (Figures of War Machines, 196 {6}); and in geography books illustrated with maps (*ṣuwar*, *taṣwīr*, *ashkāl*) such as those of al-Istakhri (d. 957) and Ptolemy, 202 {10–14}, 203 {4–9}.

There is generally a perfect or near-perfect match between titles in ‘Atufi’s inventory and those written on the opening pages and binding flaps of extant manuscripts. Therefore, the librarian’s omission of systematic references to illustrations in book titles may have been partly conditioned by his practical concern for abbreviation. This omission also hints at the secondary status of illustrations with respect to subject matter, which constituted the main focus of ‘Atufi’s classificatory system. Physical examination of manuscripts reveals that many more illustrated books were included in the inventory—particularly in the sciences, literature, and history—that have not been identified as such in ‘Atufi’s entries.¹³⁷

Extant illustrated books stamped with Bayezid II’s seal that are listed in the inventory without reference to their illustrations include Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah al-Hamadhani’s (d. 1318) *Tansūkhnāmāh-i İlkhān* (Treasure Book of the Ilkhan), an Ilkhanid treatise on Chinese medicine copied in 1313;¹³⁸ the early thirteenth-century manuscript of Ayyuqi’s romance of *Warqa wa-Gulshāh*;¹³⁹ the Arabic translation of Dioscorides’s *De Materia Medica* (On Medical Materials) dated 1228;¹⁴⁰ and the late thirteenth-century Pierpont Morgan library copy of Ibn Bakhtishu’s “Book of Benefits of Animals” in Persian.¹⁴¹ Another renowned illustrated manuscript stamped with Bayezid II’s seal is the Freer Gallery copy of the divan of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir (d. 1410), who had sought refuge from Timur’s siege of Baghdad at the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I’s (d. 1403) court. Its lavishly illuminated second version is at the Turkish and Islamic Art Museum in Istanbul. Both manuscripts were probably among the three copies with identical titles, listed as *Dīwān-i Sulṭān Aḥmad* in the library inventory.¹⁴² Whether we can presume that the acquisition of these volumes and others could go back that far is an open question.

Besides such celebrated manuscripts, the inventory lists a surgical atlas in Turkish without mention of its illustrations: a copy of the *Cerrāhiyye-i Hāniyye* (The Ilkhanid Surgery Book) dedicated to Mehmed II in 870 (1465–66). Its author, Şerefeddin Sabuncuoğlu (d. after 1468), was a physician-surgeon practicing at the Amasya hospital built in 1308 during the Ilkhanid period.¹⁴³ Another volume whose illustrations are not cited by ‘Atufi is an anonymous Arabic treatise on hydraulic automata (pneumatics), attributed to the Banu Musa brothers of ninth-century Baghdad, titled *Kitābun fi al-ḥiyali wa-al-umūri al-‘ajibati fi ‘amali ālāti al-mā’i* (A Book on Mechanics and Wondrous Matters in the Practice of Hydraulic Machines). Illustrated with some figural images whose faces have been deliberately effaced, this manuscript copy, probably from the fourteenth century, bears seal impressions of Bayezid II (Appendix III: 35, Pl. 14 [1–2]).¹⁴⁴

An additional illustrated manuscript to which Bayezid II’s librarian assigned a title with no mention of its paintings is a versified history in Persian, covering the early years of this sultan’s reign from 1481 up to 1485 (figs. 12a–f). In the manuscript’s illuminated heading on fol. 2b the work is identified by its author, whose pen name was formerly thought to be *Ummī*, as *Shāhnāmāh az guftār-i Malik-i Āhī* (A *Shāhnāmāh* Recounted by Malik Ahi, figs. 12b, 12c). Stamped with Bayezid II’s seal on its first and last pages (figs. 12a, 12d), the manuscript preserves the original rectangular sticky label pasted along the fore-edge of the flap of its binding that reads, *Naẓmu Qiṣṣah-i Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān -khalāda Allāhu ta‘ālā khilāfatahu* (Versified Story of Sultan Bayezid Khan, May God Make His Caliphate Everlasting, figs. 12e, 12f). The same title appears in ‘Atufi’s inventory under the section on Persian divans and versified books (249 {19}, Appendix III: 48). Differing from the title specified by the author Ahi, the one given by ‘Atufi is repeated above the manuscript’s opening page (fol. 1a) except for the pious phrase at the end, which is omitted: *Naẓmu Qiṣṣah-i Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān* (fig. 12a). The *Shāhnāmāh* of Ahi dedicated to Bayezid II (on fols. 13b and 97a–98b) must therefore have entered the imperial library collection before or around the time ‘Atufi prepared the inventory. Hence, one can discount a later date for this

manuscript’s production in favor of the years between ca. 1486 and 1503–4.¹⁴⁵

Sara Nur Yıldız has identified another version of this *Shāhnāmāh* (Cambridge University Library, Or. 196, fols. 2a–105b), which is the same work except that its introduction is slightly different, and its colophon provides the completion date of 891 (1486), which is missing from the undated Topkapı version. The author of the Cambridge manuscript, which lacks seal impressions of Bayezid II and an authentic sticky label on its binding, identifies himself as *Āhī* (fol. 3a, line 1) and calls his work a *Shāhnāmāh* in the colophon (fol. 104b). While its calligraphy and binding seem original, the spaces that are reserved in it for illustrations were apparently filled later with paintings in a Qajar-like style. Interestingly, an incomplete draft of the same work with deleted lines, interpolations, and spaces reserved in it for illustrations marked as *maḥall-i taṣvīr*, has been identified by Zeren Tanındı in the Süleymaniye Library (Fatih 4092, fols. 53b–140a). Tanındı points out that the author, named Malik-zadah Mahmud, was an émigré from Herat who first joined Prince Bayezid’s court in Amasya and then moved with him to Istanbul.¹⁴⁶ This undated early draft, once again referring to the author’s pen name as *Āhī* (fol. 54b), is a close variant that deserves to be studied in relation to the two later versions of the same work.¹⁴⁷ Darwish Mahmud bin ‘Abdullah Naqqash, who signed the colophon of the somewhat humble Topkapı manuscript, has convincingly been identified as both its scribe and painter (fol. 98b, fig. 12d). He had formerly worked at the court scriptorium of the Aqqoyunlu ruler Ya‘qub Beg (r. 1478–90) in Tabriz, due to which his Persianate painting style differs from the Europeanizing manner of his Ottoman colleagues.

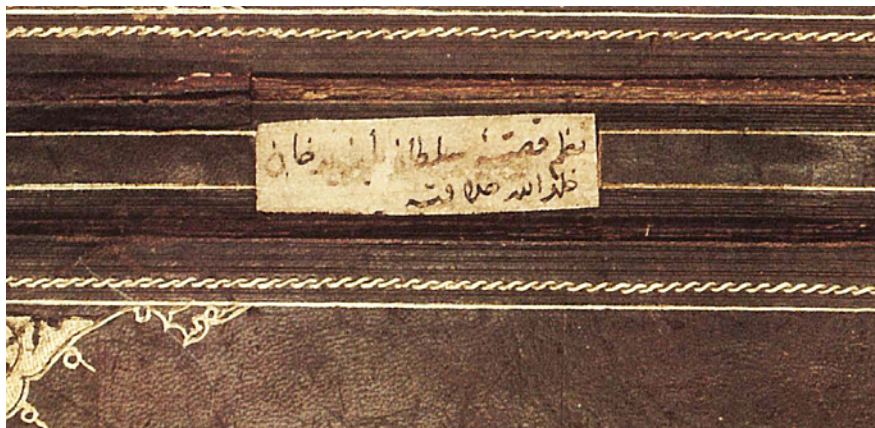
The rectangular sticky label on the binding of the Topkapı *Shāhnāmāh* is authentic, judging by its old paper and miniscule *naskh* script (figs. 12e, 12f). Several other manuscripts with titles matching those of ‘Atufi’s inventory feature similar original rectangular labels on their binding flaps, written in tiny script (Appendix III: Pl. 1 [3], 2 [2], 6 [2], 9 [3], 18 [3], 20 [3], 21 [4], 22 [3], 23 [3]). Unfortunately, some volumes cited in the inventory no longer preserve their opening and last pages with seals, or their original bindings. Moreover, not all of the somewhat crude sticky labels of cut paper on ex-



Figs. 12a–f. Istanbul TSMK, H. 1123, Persian *Shāhnāmah* of Bayezid II by Malik-i Ahi. [12a] Opening page (fol. 1a) with the title assigned by 'Atufi and Bayezid II's almond-shaped seal. [12b] Illuminated headpiece with the author's original title (fol. 2b). [12c] Page with the author's pen name *Āhī* spelled in the first line, and Ahmed III's almond-shaped seal (fol. 3a). [12d] Final page (fol. 98b) with Bayezid II's seal and colophon signed by the painter-calligrapher.



e



f

Figs. 12e, 12f. Leather binding with authentic rectangular sticky label on its flap. Istanbul TSMK, H. 1123. (Photos: Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

tant bindings have survived. Nor do the remaining labels have the same type of paper, shape, and handwriting. Unlike the authentic, small rectangular labels with tiny script, larger labels with cartouche-shaped, rounded, or triangular endpoints were added by subsequent librarians to replace damaged binding labels (Appendix III: Pl. 4 [3], 5 [2], 8 [3], 9 [2], 12 [4], 13 [3], 14 [2], 15 [2]). The latter generally have variant titles written in monumental *naskh* or *nasta'liq* script on relatively new paper. These titles often list the number of lines per page and rarely mention affiliated disciplines, unlike the original rectangular sticky labels attributable to 'Atufi or his assistants.

This means that reconstructing with certainty the holdings of the palace library in the year 1502–3 (allowing for minor revisions and additions to the inventory in and around 1503–4) requires not only identifying Bayezid II's seal impressions on extant manuscripts, but also establishing that the titles written on their opening pages and binding flaps correspond exactly or very closely to the entries in 'Atufi's inventory. Verifying a perfect or nearly perfect fit through codicological examination opens the way to answering other kinds of questions regarding the biographies of manuscripts catalogued in MS Török F. 59, including their date, provenance, patronage, and circulation, which may provide important insights to historians of art and intellectual culture.

PART III: THE PALACE LIBRARY COLLECTION

Cultural Pluralism: Remarkable Manuscripts Associated with Mehmed II and Bayezid II

In this concluding part focusing on highlights from the palace library collection, I assess some telling traces left in the inventory's pages that bear witness to the court cultures and personal proclivities of the library's two successive founders, Mehmed II and Bayezid II. The imperial cosmopolitanism of the inventory stands in contrast to the relative "parochialism" of the few surviving medieval Islamic library catalogues and book lists, which are dominated by the works of local scholars. With its dialectic between transregional and indigenous perspectives, the manuscript collection catalogued in

MS Török F. 59 attests to the universalistic ambitions behind the Ottoman palace library, which contains manuscripts classified under all fields of knowledge as the embodiment of an encyclopedic ideal. This document unsettles the long-held assumption that interest in such a wide range of humanistic subjects had vanished in the "post-classical" Islamic world (after ca. 1200), a conclusion largely informed by the relative narrowness of madrasa curricula. The inventory confirms that books excluded from the curriculum of religious institutions nevertheless circulated in private and commercial realms. In addition to its astonishing diversity, the Ottoman palace library collection stands out for the sheer quantity and quality of its holdings, as well as for its inventory in Arabic, which remained the universal language of Islam and cosmopolitan scholarship, despite the rising status of vernacular languages in the early modern era. In contemporary Europe, too, Latin was still the standard in significant private libraries, with vernacular languages amounting to "no more than a tenth to a third" of their collections in the late fifteenth century.¹⁴⁸

Straddling the late medieval and early modern ages, the reigns of Mehmed II and Bayezid II marked a time when Ottoman cultures of knowledge dynamically absorbed currents not only from the Latin West, but especially from the Mamluk, Turkmen, and Timurid realms through both émigré and local Rumi scholars who had studied abroad in those regions. Although relatively few intellectual interactions with the Islamic West have been documented, the exodus of Muslim and Jewish scholars from al-Andalus further expanded the cultural horizons of the Ottoman palace library from 1492 onward, as signaled above by the presence of a Maghribi keeper of books in Bayezid II's service in 1505–6.¹⁴⁹

The library inventory also testifies to a previously underestimated connectivity with the Indian Ocean world, particularly the Deccan. It is noteworthy to find among its entries two works in Persian on literary prose by Khwaja Mahmud Gawan Gilani, an Iranian merchant who immigrated to India in 1453, the year Mehmed II captured Constantinople, and died in the same year as the Ottoman sultan, in 1481. This author became the chief court merchant (*malik al-tujār*, Prince of Merchants) of the Deccani Bahmanid Sultanate and was eventually

promoted to the position of prime minister with the honorific title “Khawāja-i Jahān” in the court of Muhammad Shah III (r. 1463–82).

Mostly importing horses in return for Indian textiles, the erudite statesman-merchant Mahmud Gawan engaged in trade with the Ottoman territories (*diyār-i Rūm*) during Mehmed II's reign, as recorded in the Bursa registers. For instance, in 1479 his three agents arrived in Bursa via Arabia with consignments of “diverse textiles and goods” (*envāʿ-i aḳmīše ve emtiʿa*). One of the agents died there, at the caravansaray of Mahmud Gawan's namesake, the learned Ottoman grand vizier Mahmud Pasha (d. 1474), where those commodities were being traded. Just before Mahmud Gawan's execution in 1481, six of his agents came to Bursa, where one of them fell ill in the same caravansaray; from there, some of the agents moved on to the Balkans to market their fabrics. The palace library inventory lists Mahmud Gawan's theoretical treatise on literary prose and secretarial arts as *Kitābu manāẓiri al-inshāʿi li-Khwājah-i Jahān* (Book of Vistas of Prose Composition by Khwaja Jahan, 220 {17}), along with the collection of his epistolary correspondence, *Kitābu riyāḍi al-inshāʿi fārisi li-Mahmūd al-Gilānī* (Book of Gardens of Prose Composition in Persian by Mahmud of Gilan, 220 {14}). The latter includes letters to Mehmed II, and another one addressed to his grand vizier Mahmud Pasha in which the author praises his own literary talents and eloquence. After Mahmud Gawan's demise, Bayezid II received a Bahmanid ambassador at Edirne in 1485, along with others sent by rulers of the Mamluk Sultanate (accompanied by the Deccani envoy), the Crimean Khanate, Hungary, Poland, and Puglia (in southern Italy) in order to congratulate the sultan's recent victories. Yet the two manuscripts of Mahmud Gawan's works probably entered the Ottoman palace library under Mehmed II, given that the author's agents regularly visited *diyār-i Rūm* during the reign of this sultan, who was known for his enthusiastic patronage of foreigners, particularly scholars and men of Persian letters. In fact, Mehmed II's preference for foreign talent was jokingly lamented in a Turkish poem presented to him by Çatladı Kasım, quoted later by the poet Lami'i (d. 1531): “If you wish to stand in high honor on the sultan's threshold / You must be a Jew or a Persian or a *Fireng* (European)!¹⁵⁰

The fluidity of transregional cultural interchanges between the Ottoman domains and the eastern Islamic lands would gradually diminish after the establishment of the Shi'i Safavid state in Iran (1501), which intensified the process of Sunnization between the reigns of Bayezid II, Selim I, and Süleyman I. This development was accompanied by the absorption of the Mamluk Sultanate into the Ottoman empire (1516–17), the Portuguese domination of the Indian Ocean, and the progressively eroding cultural memory of the prestigious Timurid tradition following the demise of Sultan Husayn Bayqara (d. 1506) in Herat. The foundation of a record number of madrasas in Istanbul and in other major cities of the empire starting with the reign of Mehmed II contributed to the synthesis of transregional intellectual traditions with local Rumi ones, giving rise to growing Ottomanization during the Süleymanic age and beyond. The late sixteenth-century linguistic Turkification of Ottoman intellectual culture, in turn, coincided with the emergence of a new chapter of enhanced connectivity among the increasingly Persophone courts of the Safavids, Mughals, and Deccani Sultanates. The pluralism of the book collection catalogued by 'Atufi therefore brings into clearer focus the potentialities of a path not followed by later Ottoman sultans, whose court cultures drifted away from multilingualism and initiated the codification of less flexible, domesticated knowledge systems.

'Atufi's deviations from former Islamic classifications of the sciences were in part conditioned by the specific contents of the palace library, whose collection responded to the intellectual orientations of Mehmed II, Bayezid II, and their courts. In other words, the collection and its collectors were inseparable. Hence, 'Atufi's classificatory system was not an entirely abstract theoretical construct, as in the case of encyclopedic enumerations of the sciences. Books collected and commissioned by both sultans ranged from standard works with a curricular dimension to rare titles that often reflected their own personal interests. Given that this was the collection of an imperial palace library, it is only natural that it comprised a large percentage of books on rulership, politics, advice, ethics, religion, jurisprudence, philology, epistolography, recordkeeping, literature, poetry, history, and some courtly pastimes

(hunting, falconry, horsemanship, archery, music, and chess).

Among the scientific manuscripts at the Topkapı library prepared during Mehmed II's reign, which Zeynep Atbaş has examined in her essay in this volume, the largest number of works were on Arabic and Persian philology (27 manuscripts, 10 of which were commissioned by the sultan), including lexicons, books of grammar, prosody, and rhetoric. The second largest group was on wisdom and philosophy (19 manuscripts, 12 of which were dedicated to Mehmed II), followed by the third major group on medical texts (16 copied for him). According to well-known Venetian reports soon after the fall of Constantinople, Mehmed II was tutored daily by an Arabic-speaking philosopher, and two Italian physicians trained in Greek and Latin respectively read to him ancient and contemporary works on history. MS Török F. 59 captures Mehmed II's penchant for philosophical and theological debates, as well as his attraction to Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi's (d. 1191) illuminationist (*ishrāqī*) Neoplatonic mystical philosophy fused with philosophical theology. This controversial Sufi philosopher-shaykh had been executed in Aleppo for his "heretical" works, which cited those of Hermes Trismegistus, Pythagoras, Plato, and Plotinus. Many copies of his treatises and their commentaries are included in 'Atufi's inventory, several of which were commissioned by Mehmed II or produced during his reign (Appendix III: 26 [1–5], Pl. 8 [1–3]). While the inventory's entries on philosophy are numerically dominated by Avicenna's works and their commentaries, the second largest group consists of Suhrawardi's treatises with accompanying commentaries.¹⁵¹

Mehmed II was unsuccessful in his attempt to recruit the Naqshbandi Sufi litterateur and scholar 'Abd al-Rahman Jami, who was on his way back from the hajj to the Timurid capital Herat, to the Ottoman court in 1474. But later, the sultan sent a gift-bearing embassy to Herat, requesting that Jami write a work assessing the respective positions of philosophers, theologians, and Sufis on a specific list of metaphysical questions that had been debated for centuries. In response to this request, Jami wrote *The Precious Pearl*, which only reached Istanbul shortly after the sultan's death in 1481. The work commissioned by Mehmed II is missing from the library

inventory drawn up under Bayezid II, either because the latter sultan was less concerned with the burning philosophical-theological questions that deeply preoccupied his father, or because the manuscript was never presented to him. Nonetheless, Bayezid too sent gifts to Jami and in return received *qasidas* dedicated to him.¹⁵²

As is well known, Mehmed II also asked two scholars affiliated with the Ottoman court to evaluate the Ash'ari theologian al-Ghazali's (d. 1111) criticism of philosophers in *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (The Incoherence of the Philosophers). In this competition, Hocazade Muslihuddin Mustafa b. Yusuf (d. 1488) prevailed with a slight margin over 'Ala' al-Din al-Tusi (d. 1482), who showed greater lenience toward philosophers. It is thought provoking that the palace library inventory lacks an entry on the Andalusian philosopher Ibn Rushd's (Averroes) defense of Aristotelian philosophy, titled *Tahāfut al-tahāfut* (The Incoherence of Incoherence), against al-Ghazali's polemical work. Several copies of the latter are included in the inventory, however, along with the responses to this work written for Mehmed II (62 {11–17}, 63 {6–9}, 74 {10}, 348 {18–19}). 'Atufi even approvingly designates one of the copies of Ghazali's *Tahāfut* as a work "on the annulment of philosophical philosophy" (*fī ibtālī al-hikmatī al-falsafīyyati*). This copy was bound together in a single volume with the philosophical treatises of Avicenna and Suhrawardi, along with a work on Sufism by Ibn al-'Arabi's (d. 1240) student Sadr al-Din al-Qunawi (d. 1274), who settled in Konya (348 {17–19}, 349 {1–2}). While Averroes's *Tahāfut* may have been available outside the imperial palace, neither Hocazade nor 'Ala' al-Din al-Tusi referred to it in their responses to Ghazali's *Tahāfut* commissioned by Mehmed II. This has given rise to a disagreement in scholarship as to whether or not Averroes's *Tahāfut* was known to the Ottomans at that time. Based on 'Atufi's inventory, it can be surmised that a manuscript of Averroes's work did not exist at the palace library of Mehmed II, unless his successor disapprovingly gave it away. While Bayezid II's librarian maintained a critical distance to books on "philosophical philosophy," the culture of debate promoted by Mehmed II nonetheless contributed to the accommodation of works with divergent viewpoints in the palace library, which do not appear to have been systematically censored or purged thereafter.¹⁵³

Mehmed II composed Turkish poems collected, perhaps posthumously, in a *divan* that is conspicuously missing from the palace library inventory. Among unidentified literary works associated with Mehmed II, 'Atufi cites a compendium in the sultan's own handwriting under books on rhetoric, titled *Majmū'atun fī al-nawādiri wa-al-fawā'id bi-khaṭṭi al-Sultān al-maghfūri al-marhūmi Meḥammed Khān -ṭāba tharāhu-* (A Compendium of Witticisms and Wise Sayings in the Handwriting of the Late Sultan Mehmed Khan, May His Grave Be Pleasant, 218 {7–8}). Another intriguing unknown work is an epistle in Turkish verse that combines an encomium of Mehmed II with a eulogy of his new mosque in Istanbul (*Risālatun fī madḥi Meḥammed Khān -ṭāba tharāhu- wa-madḥu al-jāmi'i al-jadīdi bi-al-turkiyyati al-manzūmati*, 266 {15–16}).

Also boasting a *divan* of his own, which is not listed in the inventory unlike that of his rival Prince Cem (244 {19}), Bayezid II appears to have had somewhat narrower interests compared to those of his father. Yet his intellectual curiosity was broader than commonly imagined, judging from two well-informed ambassadorial reports written at the same time that 'Atufi prepared the library inventory. The 1503 *Relazione* of the Venetian ambassador Andrea Gritti, who had lived for many years in the Ottoman capital as a prominent merchant-diplomat, explains that the “pious” (*religioso*) and “melancholic” (*melanconica*) Bayezid, who excelled in horseback hunting, “professes to have some knowledge of philosophy (*filosofia*), but above all devotes attention to cosmography (*cosmografia*), in which they say he is extremely well-educated (*istruittissimo*).” According to another report by Gritti's secretary from the same year, in which Bayezid II is judged as less “cruel and terrifying” (*crudo et teribele*) than his father, this 63-year-old sultan received the Venetian ambassador wearing a dark green camlet caftan over a likewise dark-colored robe and a small turban, “all signs of being devoted to religion” (*tutti segni esser dedito a la religione*). The secretary notes that, though Bayezid had given up wine long ago, he was unable to abstain from excessive sexual intercourse. He adds that the sultan was said to be an expert in archery, which he practiced constantly, and pursued as a hobby the “mechanical arts” (*le arte mecanice*), including carving in carnelian and silver, as well as “alchemy”

(*alchimia*). Bayezid was also held to be “exceptionally well-read in his [religious] law (*doctissimo ne la sua leze*), astrology (*astrologia*), and theology (*theologia*), and continually studied (*studia continuamente*)” works by Arab, Persian, and other Muslim authors.¹⁵⁴

Interestingly, the library inventory cites a book on holy warfare authored with literary skill by the sultan himself, *Risālatu Sultān al-Salāṭin Sultān Bāyezīd Khān -zīdat sa'ādathu fī al-dārayni- muṣanna'atan fī al-jihādi* (Treatise of the Sultan of Sultans, Sultan Bayezid Khan—May His Bliss Be Increased in Both Worlds—Artistically Fashioned on Jihad, 214 {15–17}). While this work has not yet come to light, an Arabic commentary on hadith concerning belief and jihad that the preacher 'Atufi dedicated to Bayezid II in 1511 still exists in the Topkapı library, hinting at the sultan's abiding interest in this subject. It has been observed that Sinan Pasha, the tutor-cum-vizier of Mehmed II, mostly wrote Arabic treatises on the mathematical sciences, jurisprudence, and theology during his pupil's reign, whereas under Bayezid II's rule he authored Turkish works on the lives of saints, religion, and Sufism. This change in orientation may have been a response to the differing priorities of intellectual culture during each sultan's reign, in conjunction with shifting factional rivalries and political circumstances. The relative fall from favor of “philosophers” (*mütefelsefin*), who had previously overshadowed legal scholars, and the concomitant rise of studies on Islamic “jurisprudence” (*fikh*) under Bayezid II is alluded to in a Turkish letter by Ghulam Sinan (d. 1506). The disgruntled author of that undated letter, written (ca. 1495–96) shortly after the execution of the supposedly heretical former palace librarian Molla Lutfi, had been a student of the mathematician-astronomer 'Ali Qushji (d. 1474) in Istanbul. In 1485 he dedicated to Bayezid II a commentary on the astronomy treatise his teacher 'Ali Qushji had presented to Mehmed II more than a decade before, in 1473 (Appendix III: 27).¹⁵⁵

Dominated by religious sciences and Sufism, books in the palace library that were written for Bayezid II also encompassed astronomy-astrology, mechanics, medicine, literature, and history. According to the essay by Zeynep Atbaş in this volume, among extant scientific works produced for and dedicated to Bayezid II, those on astrology-astronomy constituted the largest group

(24 manuscripts). Books on history also occupy a prominent place in MS Török F. 59, which is not surprising given that this sultan's reign marked a turning point in the development of a dynastic tradition of Ottoman historiography in Turkish and Persian. Likewise, 'Atufi's inventory demonstrates the emergence of a nascent tradition of Turkish divans in the Ottoman court. Nevertheless, the 7-page list of Turkish poetry is overshadowed by 27 pages on Persian poetry. The 27-page-long section on Arabic poetry, on the other hand, contains a polyglot subcategory on Arabic, Persian, and Turkish/Turkic works on literary prose composition (*inshā'*) and manuals on secretarial skills.¹⁵⁶

It has been noted that under Bayezid II's patronage, there was a substantial increase in the number of illuminated Qur'ans and copies of the sixth sura (*al-An'ām*), with relatively fewer luxury manuscripts commissioned on other subjects in comparison to the deluxe volumes created for his father's treasury in diverse disciplines. Qur'ans copied for Bayezid II by Shaykh Hamdullah eclipsed other manuscript types in the luxury of their bindings, illuminations, and calligraphy. The somewhat humble appearance of the other manuscripts dedicated to this sultan speaks to their predominantly functional and educational role. Most of them seem to have been presented to him as gifts, rather than commissioned by order of the royal treasury. Compared to the many classics by well-established medieval Islamic authors produced for his father's library, the gifts received by Bayezid were often works by relatively unknown contemporary and local authors. This is in keeping with his policy of rewarding indigenous and, to a much lesser degree, imported talent with donations to promote cultural production within the Ottoman domains. By contrast, contemporary sources stress Mehmed II's persistent patronage of foreign artists, poets, and scholars: wherever in the world he heard of a man of "outstanding talent," the sultan tried to attract him to his capital with generous gifts. According to İdris Bidlisi, the aforesaid Göde Ahmed Beg (grandson of Uzun Hasan and Mehmed II, and son-in-law of Bayezid II, who briefly possessed the Aqqoyunlu throne in 1497) used to praise Mehmed II in court gatherings at Tabriz, applauding his policies, justice, wisdom, and generous patronage of émigré scholars and artists from lands of

the "Arabs and Iranians." Bidlisi contrasted Mehmed II's personal attention to the needs of these intellectuals and their direct access to the sultan's presence with Bayezid II's impersonal and relatively meager patronage of foreigners in favor of Rumis (Ottomans) and converted slave servants (*kul*).¹⁵⁷

The numerous Qur'ans listed in 'Atufi's inventory include exquisite copies penned by internationally renowned calligraphers and those attached to Bayezid II's court. The list also features multiple copies of the sura *al-An'ām* (17 {16–19}, 48 {11–12}). We learn from Bayezid II's abovementioned Genoese page, Menavino, that forty readers of that sura (called *enamcılar*) frequented the sultan's residence every morning. Each held a book while reading the *al-An'ām* aloud for about an hour, as they sat on their knees in a circle formation at the palace mosque: it was believed that all wishes of Bayezid II would be fulfilled by having that sura recited forty times daily. Some Qur'an manuscripts are specified in 'Atufi's inventory as including sections on Qur'anic divination (*fāl al-Qur'ān*). The presence of works on the science of magic squares (*'ilm al-wafq*) and amulets (*al-ḥamā'il*) in the inventory's fourth section (*tafşil*) is noteworthy, especially since these were not always codices.¹⁵⁸ The inclusion of multimedia objects inscribed with talismanic texts in this section seems to have been conditioned by the very nature of those esoteric sciences, which were not confined to books. Although 'Atufi generally excludes from the library inventory any items not bound as volumes, here he lists many amulets folded in various shapes (circular, triangular, square); others written on paper or silk; talismanic shirts and a felt cap (45 {7–9}); as well as inscribed tablets of silver, copper, and wood (45 {18–19}, 46 {1–2, 7–8}).

The inclusion of talismans among books on religious sciences is congruent with the prominence of works on occult and esoteric knowledge in the seventeenth section of the library inventory, subjects of interest to both Mehmed II and Bayezid II. That section contains dynastic horoscopes as well as apocalyptic prophecies. An anonymously listed example of the latter, datable to Mehmed's reign, is titled *Kitābu ṣayḥati al-būmi fī ḥawādithi al-rūmi min qibali 'ilmi al-jafri wa-al-wafqi* (The Owl's Cry on the Events of Rome, Pertaining to the Sciences of Letter Divination and Magic Squares,

309 {17}). It has been suggested that this work, generally attributed to Ibn al-ʿArabi, may have been authored by ʿAbd al-Rahman b. Muhammad al-Bistami (d. 1454). It alludes to eschatological traditions, such as “The Hour will not arise before Great Constantinople and its cities have been conquered.” Its likely author, al-Bistami, who passed away in Ottoman Bursa a year after the capture of Byzantine Constantinople by Mehmed II, was a Hanafi scholar and Sufi, born in Mamluk Antioch. Influenced by Ibn al-ʿArabi, he studied in Mamluk Syria and Egypt before joining the court of Mehmed’s father, Murad II, to whom he dedicated several works, and trained influential early Ottoman scholars such as Mehmed Şah el-Fenari (d. 1436). Ibn al-ʿArabi’s writings are also well represented in the palace library inventory, as are occult texts by his contemporary, the Ifriqian Sufi Ahmad al-Buni (d. 1225 or 1232–33), along with the tenth-century *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity* (*Ikhwan al-Safaʿ*) that inspired them both. The Greek holdings of Mehmed II’s library likewise contained works on prophecy, apocalypticism, and the occult, responding to millenarian expectations aroused by his conquest of Constantinople.¹⁵⁹

ʿAtufi’s inventory abounds in treatises on astrology-astronomy and cosmography-geography, again fields of interest to both Mehmed II and his successor. Entries on the mathematical science of astronomy highlight the continuous lineage of this subject from the courts of the Mongol Ilkhanids and Timurids to that of the Ottomans. The genealogy goes back to the Ottoman-born astronomer-mathematician Qadizade al-Rumi (d. after 1440)—the tutor of Ulugh Beg who became one of the directors of the ruler’s observatory in Samarqand—and to his colleague ʿAli Qushji (d. 1474), both of whose works are listed by ʿAtufi. The combined legacy of these two Timurid scholars was personified in Mirim Çelebi (d. 1525), their great-grandson. This Ottoman astronomer-mathematician furthered the tradition of the “Samarqand School” in the lands of Rum. His father, born from the marriage of Qadizade al-Rumi’s son to a daughter of ʿAli Qushji’s in Samarqand, came with ʿAli Qushji to Istanbul and married the daughter of the Ottoman scholar Hoca-zade Muslihuddin Mustafa (winner of the abovementioned competition set up by Mehmed II). The offspring of that marriage, Mirim Çelebi, was educated by influ-

ential Ottoman scholars. In keeping with its date of compilation, the library inventory lists only two early works by Mirim Çelebi, who was a contemporary of ʿAtufi’s and was appointed Bayezid II’s tutor in the mathematical sciences around the mid-1490s (98 {14–15}, 315 {17–18}). Commissioned by this sultan, Mirim Çelebi’s second work is a Persian commentary on the Timurid ruler Ulugh Beg’s catalogue of stars. It is recorded in the inventory as *Sharḥu Zīj-i Ulugh Beg li-Mawlānā Mīrim Çelebi -sallamahu Allāhu taʿālā- fī al-nujūmi* (Commentary on the *Zīj* of Ulugh Beg by Mawlana Mirim Çelebi—God Almighty Grant Him Salvation—on Astrology, 315 {17–18}). Exactly the same title is written in the opening page of an autograph manuscript dated 1499 and stamped with Bayezid II’s seal. Given that the multilingual scientist-scholar Mirim Çelebi would subsequently engage with Ibn al-Haytham’s (d. ca. 1040) and Kamal al-Din al-Farisi’s (d. ca. 1318) Arabic treatises on optics, he most likely consulted the palace library copies of these works listed in ʿAtufi’s inventory (359 {7–10}).¹⁶⁰

Interestingly, both manuscript copies of al-Farisi’s Arabic book on optics, which revised that of Ibn al-Haytham, are marked in the inventory’s margin as having been “checked out,” which demonstrates that they were being consulted by an unidentified reader: *Tanqīḥu al-manāẓiri* [*maṭlab*] (Revision of the Optics, 359 {8–9}), *Kitābu tanqīḥi al-manāẓiri min qibali al-ḥikmati* [*maṭlab*] (Book of the Revision of the Optics, Pertaining to Philosophy, 359 {9–10}). Instead of classifying this work and Ibn al-Haytham’s work on optics (a discipline combining physics, metaphysics, and mathematics) under the mathematical sciences, ʿAtufi lists them in the inventory’s section on philosophy, as books “pertaining to philosophy.” One of the two copies of al-Farisi’s manuscripts is still kept at the Topkapı library and bears the seal impressions of Bayezid II in its first and last pages.¹⁶¹

Remarkably, all surviving manuscripts of the celebrated Arabic treatise on optics by the mathematician-astronomer, physician, and philosopher Ibn al-Haytham are known to have been preserved in Istanbul libraries.¹⁶² What has not been noticed previously, however, is that nearly each of these rare manuscripts bears seal impressions of Bayezid II. They were transferred from the Topkapı Palace, where only some copies remain, to

royal public libraries in the eighteenth century (Ayasofya and Fatih collections, now at the Süleymaniye Library). The title above the flyleaf of one of these manuscripts is identical to an entry in 'Atufi's inventory: *Kitābu bin al-Haytham fī al-manāẓiri min qibali al-ḥikmati* (Book of Ibn al-Haytham on Optics, Pertaining to Philosophy, 359 {7}) (fig. 13a). I was surprised to discover that this manuscript has a previously overlooked dedication in its opening page (fol. 1a), stamped with Bayezid II's seal, which states that it was produced to be read by Mehmed II (*bi-rasm muṭāla'a*) (fig. 13b). The monumental manuscript is the only known premodern copy that contains the full text of Ibn al-Haytham's *Kitāb al-Manāẓir* (Book of Optics), consisting of seven books or volumes (*jild*) (fig. 13c). In keeping with the dedication to Mehmed II, the completion date given in its colophon is 869 (1464–65) (fig. 13d).¹⁶³

Besides this large-format single-volume manuscript, another entry in 'Atufi's inventory refers to a medieval six-volume set in smaller format: *Kitābu bin al-Haytham fī al-manāẓiri min qibali al-ḥikmati fī sittī mujalladātīn* (Book of Ibn al-Haytham on Optics, Pertaining to Philosophy, in Six Volumes, 359 {7–8}). Once belonging to the Inner Treasury collection, these volumes with varying dates (476/1083 and 636/1239) are now kept at the Topkapı and Süleymaniye libraries. Each of the six volumes is stamped with Bayezid II's seal and repeats verbatim the title assigned by 'Atufi, with the exception of specifying its particular volume number. Classified as pertaining to philosophy, they contain all seven books of the *Optics*.¹⁶⁴ It has been shown that the monumental single-volume manuscript mentioned above was copied from these six volumes, however, without scrutinizing the Ottoman context in which this skillfully curated scholarly edition was reconstituted from a disparate medieval set.¹⁶⁵ Another large-format manuscript of Ibn al-Haytham's *Optics* at the Topkapı library, containing only the first three books, was copied in 915 (1509) from the same medieval set according to a librarian's note on fol. 1a. This manuscript testifies to a continuing interest in optics during Bayezid II's reign, perhaps in the circle of Mirim Çelebi, but it lacks the sultan's seal impressions and is excluded from 'Atufi's inventory that was compiled earlier.¹⁶⁶

Medical treatises recorded in the inventory are especially plentiful. Yet those written for Bayezid II by 'Atufi himself emphasize prophetic and preventive medicine, unlike their scientific counterparts commissioned by Mehmed II. Works on medicine dedicated to Bayezid II were often written by contemporaneous physicians (Appendix III: 17, 19–21). Interestingly, the royal library inventory cites an extant Persian medical treatise on the treatment of joint pains, dedicated to Mehmed II who is known to have suffered from gout. (According to Gritti's *Relazione* mentioned above, Bayezid II also had gout problems that impeded his horsemanship exercises.) Written by the physician Mas'ud b. Hakim al-Din al-Tabib al-Hasani, this manuscript's illuminated frontispiece roundel states that it was made "by order of the sultan's treasury" (*bi-rasm khizānati al-sultān*). Subsequently stamped with Bayezid II's seal, the colophon of the manuscript produced for Mehmed II gives the date June 8, 1476 (Appendix III: 18, Pl. 5 [1–2]). Several extant copies of Avicenna's *Qānūn fī al-ṭibb* were also created for Mehmed II, who requested two Latin books on this treatise from the vassal Rectors of Ragusa in 1466 and 1477. These were a commentary by Taddeus Florentinus and Gentilis Fulginas, and the first book of Marsilius de Sancta Sophia's edition of Avicenna's *Canone*, accompanied by three other unnamed medical books in Latin. The books were intended for the sultan's Italo-Jewish physician and confidante Jacopo da Gaeta (from Gaeta near Naples), who eventually converted to Islam as Yakub Pasha.¹⁶⁷

Books collected and commissioned by Mehmed II include Arabic translations of Greek, Latin, and Syriac texts. One of these is a book of prognostication on eschatological mysteries, which predicts that the final Fourth Monarchy will be under the "ruler of Constantinople" (*malik al-Rūm*). This manuscript was translated from Syriac into Arabic, and its dedication reveals that it was made by order of Mehmed II's treasury (*bi-rasm khizāna*). I have established that its title on fol. 1a, *Kitābu Dāniyāl al-nabī -'alayhi al-salāmu-* (Book of the Prophet Daniel, Peace Be Upon Him), corresponds exactly to an entry in 'Atufi's inventory (308 {8}). Once belonging to the Inner Treasury collection, the manuscript bears seal impressions of Bayezid II on its first and last pages. An early sixteenth-century Hebrew chronicle of



Figs. 13a–d. Ibn al-Haytham's *Book of Optics* copied in 869 (1464–65) for Sultan Mehmed II. [13a] Flyleaf with title assigned by 'Atufi. [13b] Opening page (fol. 1a) with dedication to Mehmed II in gold stating the manuscript was produced to be read by him; stamped with Bayezid II's almond-shaped seal, the round *waqf* seal of Mahmud I, and the oval seal of his *waqf* inspector. [13c] Heading with introduction to volume I (fol. 1b). [13d] Final page (fol. 677b) with dated colophon and Bayezid II's seal. Istanbul, SK, Ayasofya 2448. (Photos: Süleymaniye Library)

the Ottoman empire reports that Mehmed II frequently had the Book of Daniel read out to him by Rabbi Isaiah Meseni. The chronicle even claims that the sultan undertook the study of Hebrew to be able to read the Book of Daniel, since he had learned about its supposed reference to the messianic king of Constantinople (i.e., Mehmed himself). This otherwise dubious account throws light on the context in which this translation was commissioned by Mehmed II.¹⁶⁸ A Greek manuscript on divination and magic at the Topkapı library, the *Testament of Solomon* (G.İ. 17), is believed to have “been designed as one of a pair” with *Kitābu Dāniyāl*, based on their close codicological correspondence and identical bindings covered with crimson velvet (a unique feature characterizing some books owned by Mehmed II that have patterned velvet covers, usually red and green).¹⁶⁹

Another book translation attributed to Mehmed II, now lost, is the Florentine humanist scholar Leonardo Bruni Aretino’s 1422 commentary on the first volume of Polybius’s *Punic Wars*. This book in Latin, which the sultan ordered to be translated, had been presented to Mehmed II as a gift prior to 1463 by Niccolò Ardingelli, a prominent textile merchant of the Florentine community in Istanbul. Two translations cited in the cosmography-geography section of ‘Atufi’s inventory were probably made for Mehmed II as well: *Risālatun fī bayāni madīnati Fulūrindīn* (Treatise on the City of Florence, 201 {5–6}), and *Kitābun fī madīnati al-Banāṭīqa wariyāsatiḥā min qibali al-tawārīkhi* (Book on the City of the Venetians and Its Government, Pertaining to History (201 {8–9})).¹⁷⁰ These unknown manuscripts are classified by Bayezid II’s librarian together with works on wonders (*‘ajā’ib*) and marvels/curiosities (*gharā’ib*) that encompass other geographies, such as India, China, and Constantinople.

Mehmed II’s attentiveness to the ancient history of his new capital is exemplified by Greek and Latin texts on the antiquities of Constantinople that were copied and translated during his reign. Although not dedicated to him, a *Diēgēsis peri tēs Hagia Sophias* (Narrative concerning Hagia Sophia) manuscript in Greek, transcribed by Michael Aichmalotes in 1474, still exists at the palace library (G.İ. 6). It could have been consulted for the adaptive translations of the *Diēgēsis* into Persian and Turkish in the Ottoman court toward the end of Meh-

med II’s reign, with revised versions produced under Bayezid II. Examples listed in the inventory include *Tarjumatu Kitābi Qusṭantīniyya wa-Ayāṣūfiyya, bi-al-turkiyyati fī al-tawārīkhi* (Translation of the Book on Constantinople and Hagia Sophia into Turkish, on History, 200 {16–17}) and *Kitābu dhikri qal’ati Qusṭantīniyya wa-binā’i Ayāṣūfiyya fī al-tawārīkhi* (Book on the Castle of Constantinople and the Construction of Hagia Sophia, on History, 201 {1–2}). In the seventh volume of his Persian history of the Ottoman dynasty covering the reign of Mehmed II, İdris Bidlisi mentions that he consulted some Byzantine chronicles in writing that volume. It has been suggested that he likely made use of a Greek source translated into Persian by order of Mehmed II on the foundation myths of Constantinople and the construction of Hagia Sophia, which was probably accessible to Bidlisi at the palace library of his patron Bayezid II.¹⁷¹

Titles classified by ‘Atufi in the cosmography-geography section of the inventory blur the historical and legendary boundaries of these disciplines, thereby facilitating the assimilation of translated non-Islamic works that are relegated to the realm of mythology. Likewise, pre-Ottoman translations of works by Greek philosophers and scientists have been seamlessly absorbed into other sections of the inventory that correspond to such diverse fields as Sufism, philosophy, ethics, politics, medicine, and the mathematical sciences. These translations are accompanied by manuscripts of the Alexander Romance classified under Persian and Turkish literature, as well as Arabic and Persian copies of Aristotle’s book of advice to Alexander, listed under advice literature and politics.¹⁷²

Mehmed II’s well-known interest in Greek histories of the Macedonian empire-builder did not exclude their Islamic versions, which also enjoyed popularity in fifteenth-century Timurid and Turkmen courts. Three entries on Alexander the Great are grouped together in ‘Atufi’s inventory in such a way that they form a separate subsection within the history section, preceded and followed by blank spaces (182 {11–14}). The first entry, *Tarjumah-i Iskandarnamah min al-Rūmī ilā al-Turkī fī al-tawārīkhi* (Translation of the Book of Alexander from Greek into Turkish, on History), may have been a translation made for Mehmed II, given that Alexander

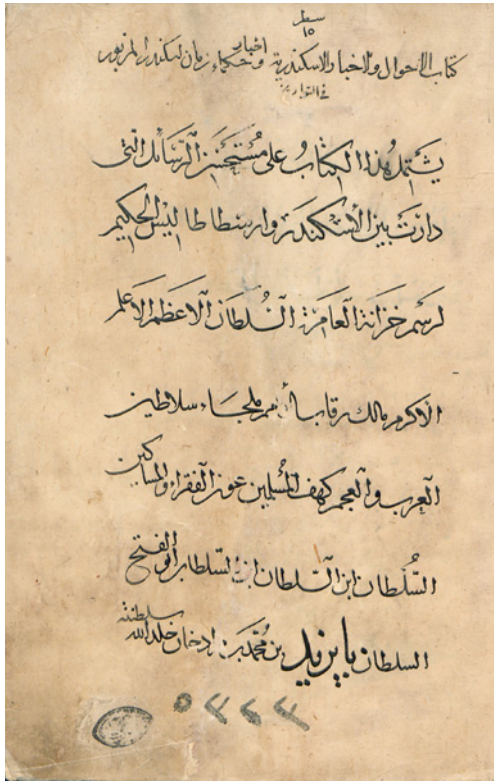
the Great was his role model.¹⁷³ The second entry is an unspecified *Kitābu Iskandarnāmah fī tis'ī mujalladātin fī al-tawārikhi* (Book of Alexander in Nine Volumes, on History), two volumes of which I have located at the Topkapı library. This Turkish work can be attributed to Taceddin Ahmedī's (d. 1413) brother Hamzavi: both volumes feature Bayezid II's seal impressions, their titles match the inventory entry, and they were copied during Mehmed II's reign (the last, ninth volume is dated 1470). This semi-mythical literary work must have been listed under the inventory's history section because it is largely written in prose and incorporates a historical section on the Ottoman dynasty. The third item in the Alexander group is a translation from Greek into Arabic, although not specified as such: *Kitābu al-aḥwālī wa-al-akhbārī al-iskandariyyati wa-akhbārī ḥukamā'i zamāni Iskandār al-mazbūrī fī al-tawārikhi* (Book on the State of Affairs and Traditions of Alexander and Traditions of Sages in the Age of the Aforementioned Alexander, on History). This entry can be confidently identified with a volume of epistles exchanged between Alexander and Aristotle that once belonged to the palace library. Dated 716 (1316), it bears the same title and the seal impressions of Bayezid II on its first and last pages (figs. 14a–b). The long title is repeated verbatim on the partly damaged authentic rectangular paper label pasted on the flap of the binding (fig. 14c). The previously unnoted dedication under the title on fol. 1a explains that it was made by order of the imperial treasury (*li-rasm khizānati al-āmirati*) of Sultan Bayezid II.¹⁷⁴ This new evidence revealed by my codicological examination of the volume signals an ongoing interest in Alexander the Great at the court of Bayezid II. After all, İdris Bidlisi's dynastic history refers to this sultan as the "Alexander" of the age and the "Ceasar of Rum," titles also used by Mehmed II. Scholars have identified the compendium of epistles, compiled from Hellenistic sources in the Umayyad period, as a Graeco-Arabic epistolary "novel." Yet 'Atufi classifies it under the section on history, thus endowing it with greater factual authority.¹⁷⁵

Other translated works cited in the inventory include the rendition of Ptolemy's *Geographia* from Greek into Arabic, commissioned in 1465 by Mehmed II from the previously mentioned Byzantine scholar George Amiroutzes and his Arabic-speaking son Basileios, who con-

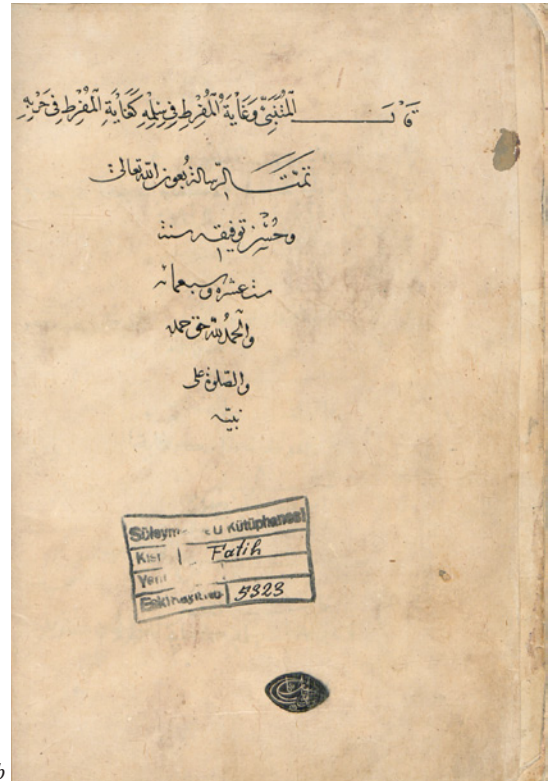
verted to Islam as Mehmed Beg. The Arabic annotations of the accompanying large-scale world map were written by this son, who translated several Greek texts into Arabic for the sultan, including the Greek Orthodox Creed composed upon the sultan's request by Maximos III (the patriarch of Istanbul between 1476 and 1482) and the Bible. Amiroutzes's younger son, Alexandros, later İskender Beg, was nicknamed the "Philosopher's Son" (Filozofoğlu) and held the position of chief treasurer (*ḥazīnedārbaşı*) or minister of finance. Three manuscripts of the Arabic translation of Ptolemy's *Geographia* are listed by 'Atufi (203 {5–9}). Two manuscript copies of this work that originated in the palace library have come to light, both of which are dedicated to Mehmed II and bear Bayezid II's seal impressions, with a partially preserved version that may well be the third copy mentioned in the inventory.¹⁷⁶

These entries on three translated Ptolemy volumes are preceded in the inventory by a fourth anonymous book on the science of astronomical geography, probably also prepared for Mehmed II: *Kitābu [‘ilmi ṣaḥḥ] hay’ati ashkālī al-arḍi fī al-ṭūli wa-al-‘arḍi al-ma’rūfi bi-jughrāfiyyā*. All four titles, which are in keeping with reports about this sultan's abiding interest in the mathematical sciences of geography and cartography, are grouped together as a subsection, separated by empty spaces from their Islamic versions, which are classified under "Books on Wonders of Creation." Among manuscripts stamped with Bayezid II's seal are some medieval Islamic works on geography illustrated with diagrammatic maps, which are classified in 'Atufi's inventory under history or pertaining to history. These include a copy made for Mehmed II, revealing the diversity of his interests in cartography, which encompassed both Islamic and translated Greek classics. The palace library also has two thirteenth- to fifteenth-century Greek versions of Ptolemy's *Geographia* (TSMK, Seragliensis 27, 57) and one in Latin dated ca. 1450 (TSMK, Seragliensis latinus 44). These manuscripts could have been consulted for Mehmed II's translation project, but we do not know when they were acquired.¹⁷⁷

Since the arts of war were a consuming passion and skill of Mehmed II, it is believed that he acquired Latin and Italian illustrated treatises on military engineering and tactics. The palace library inventory



a



b



c

Figs. 14a–c. Correspondence between Aristotle and Alexander the Great. [14a] Opening page (fol. 1a) with title assigned by 'Atufi at the top, a description of contents and dedication to Bayezid II stating the manuscript was made by order of his treasury, stamped with his seal. [14b] Final page (fol. 127b) with dated colophon and Bayezid II's seal. [14c] Authentic rectangular sticky label on the binding flap. Istanbul, SK, Fatih 5323. (Photos: Süleymaniye Library)

contains more than a few titles in this field, such as a work called *Şuwaru al-ālāti al-ḥarbi* (Figures of War Machines, 196 {6}). Some of the listed treatises on military strategy were translated from Greek, but their present whereabouts, dates, and places of translation have yet to be determined: these include two copies of a work titled *Risālatun fī ādābi al-ḥurūbi mutarjamatun ‘an al-yūnāniyyati bi-al-‘arabiyyati* (A Treatise on the Etiquette of War Translated from the Greek into Arabic, 196 {8–9, 12–13}); and a volume combining an Arabic and a Persian translation from Greek belonging to the same genre (*Risālatun fī ādābi al-ḥurūbi mutarjamatun ‘an al-yūnāniyyati bi-al-‘arabiyyati wa-Risālatun mutarjamatun bi-al-fārisiyyati ‘an al-yūnāniyyati fī ādābi al-ḥarbi* (A Treatise on the Etiquette of War Translated from the Greek into Arabic, and A Treatise Translated from the Greek into Persian on the Etiquette of War, 196 {9–11}).

It is unclear whether these translated treatises were produced in an Ottoman context or elsewhere, making it difficult to associate them with Mehmed II or Bayezid II. According to Gritti’s 1503 *Relazione* cited above, the latter sultan reformed the Ottoman army by regulating its discipline, improving the quality of armaments, and not sparing any expense on portable artillery or men knowledgeable in using such weapons. Gritti also praised Bayezid’s reorganization of the cavalry soldiers and naval forces that resulted in “marvelous” (*meravigliose*) victories. İdris Bidlisi’s dynastic history presented to Bayezid II in 1506 similarly claims that none of the former Ottoman sultans possessed such an esteemed and well-equipped navy as he did.¹⁷⁸ These accounts suggest that treatises on military sciences would have been prized not only by Mehmed II but also by his successor.

A translation project from Greek into Arabic that has been attributed to Mehmed II, who was known for his interest in Suhrawardi, resulted in an anthology redolent with Sufi illuminationist concepts. This anthology combines the undestroyed fragments of the late-Byzantine Neoplatonist philosopher George Gemistos Plethon’s (d. 1452) controversial neo-pagan work, the *Nomoi* (Book of Laws), with the same author’s *Compendium Zoroastreorum et Platonicorum dogmatum* (Summary of the Zoroastrian and Platonic Doctrines) and his edition of the *Chaldaean Oracles*, which he attributed to

the disciples of Zoroaster who influenced Plato. The *Nomoi* was accused of espousing paganism and was consigned to fire (in 1454, 1460, or 1462) by George Gennadios Scholarios, the Aristotelian Greek-Orthodox patriarch of Ottoman Constantinople. Its remaining fragments in Arabic, which had apparently been translated from the latest Greek autograph version by Plethon, exist in the only known copy of this anthology at the palace library. I was able to confirm that the volume bears an impression of Bayezid II’s seal and its title corresponds exactly to the following entry in ‘Atufi’s inventory: *Tarjumatu al-baqiyyati min Kitābi Yamīṣūs al-wathanī fī madhāhibi al-awwalīna min ‘abadati al-aṣnāmi* (Translation of the Remains of the Book of Gemistos the Pagan on the Doctrines of the Ancients on the Worship of Idols, 311 {13}; see Appendix III: 13, Pl. 4 [1–3]). This title, which was inscribed by Bayezid’s librarian, has been misattributed to a modern conservator of manuscripts at the Topkapı Museum.¹⁷⁹

The Arabic manuscript, in which the author is disparaged as a pagan (*al-wathanī*) and Sabeian (*al-ṣābī*), comprises rites of idol worship, theurgic prayers to Zeus and the gods, illuminationist cosmological concepts, divination, and magic. According to its preface, the work was burnt for fear of the possibility that it might lead astray the vulgar commoners (*al-‘awāmm*), implying that the palace elites were above such temptation. Interestingly, this work has been classified in the inventory’s section on occult sciences as a book “on wondrous affairs” (marginal annotation: *fī al-umūri al-‘ajībati*), indicating that it came to be regarded as a “curiosity,” whatever the original intention may have been for its translation. ‘Atufi also lists a formerly unknown second copy of the same work that seems to be lost: *Tarjumatu Kitābi Yamīṣūs al-wathanī tarjamatun thāniyatan fī madhāhibi ‘abadati al-aṣnāmi* (Translation of the Book of Gemistos the Pagan, Second Translation on the Doctrine of the Worship of Idols, 311 {14}).

Entries on translated works imply that the unusually rich collection of lexicons and grammars catalogued in ‘Atufi’s inventory (pages 293–300) may have been partially related to translation projects undertaken by Mehmed II, and to a lesser extent by his successor as well. The inventory lists bilingual lexicons (Arabic-Persian, Persian-Arabic, Turkish-Persian, Turkish-Arabic,

Greek-Arabic, Greek-Persian, Greek-Turkish), trilingual Arabic-Persian-Turkish lexicons, and even quadrilingual lexicons with interlinear translations. Examples of the latter include two copies of a lexicon with interlinear translations that once belonged to the palace library and are now kept at the Süleymaniye Library. Each of these quadrilingual lexicons carries previously unnoted seal impressions of Bayezid II, although they may well have been associated with his father's court. One of these (SK, Ayasofya 4750) is identified by 'Atufi as *Risālatu kalimātin 'arabiyyatin mutarjamatin bi-al-fārisiyyati wa-al-rūmiyyati [ay al-yūnāniyyati] wa-al-sarfiyyati* (A Treatise of Arabic Words Translated into Persian and Greek [or Ancient Greek] and Serbian, 296 {2}). The other copy (SK, Ayasofya 4749) is bound together with several lexicons and grammar textbooks written in the same hand within a compendium, whose contents are described by 'Atufi as: *Risālatu kalimātin 'arabiyyatin mutarjamatin bi-al-fārisiyyati wa-al-rūmiyyati wa-al-sarfiyyati; wa-Kitābu Īsāghūji 'alā al-lughati al-'arabiyyati mutarjamun bi-al-yūnāniyyati fī al-manṭiqi; wa-Risālatu al-amthilati al-muṭṭaridati al-mutarjamati bi-lughatin 'arabiyyatin fī mujalladin wāḥidin* (A Treatise of Arabic Words Translated into Persian, Greek, and Serbian; and the *Book of Isagoge* [Porphyry's "Introduction" to Aristotle's "Categories"] in Arabic Translated into Greek, on Logic; and a Treatise on Regular Examples of Conjugation Translated [from Greek] into Arabic, in a Single Volume, 296 {10–13}).¹⁸⁰

Another compendium of multilingual lexicons and grammar manuals described in an entry by 'Atufi exists in the Topkapı library (296 {3–8}; see Appendix III: 25). It begins with a Persian-Turkish lexicon written by Muhammad b. Hajji İlyas (d. before 1460) titled *Kitābu Tuḥfati al-hādiyyati* (Gift of the Rod), with interlinear translations in Greek, Latin (Frankish: *al-afranjiyyati*), and "other languages." This piece is followed by the abovementioned book on logic, Porphyry's *Isagoge* in Arabic with interlinear Greek translations. Then come treatises on regular examples of conjugation translated into Persian and other languages; on philosophical sciences; on the correction of the names of Greek philosophers; and on the Greek terminology used by astronomy scholars.¹⁸¹ An additional quadrilingual lexicon is defined in the inventory as comprising the alphabeti-

cally arranged Arabic-Persian-Turkish-Greek names of medicines (299 {5–7}). Another multilingual example is al-Zamakhshari's (d. 1144) *Kitābu muqaddimati al-adabi fī al-lughati* (Book of Introduction to Literature, on Language), an Arabic lexicon listed in the inventory with one volume comprising interlinear translations into Persian and Turkish, and another volume having translations into Persian and Latin (Frankish: *al-afranjiyyati*, 294 {11–13}). One additional lexicographic treatise mentioned in the inventory, *Risālatu tarjamati al-'ibriyyati bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-lughati* (Treatise on the Translation of Hebrew into Persian, on Language, 299 {19}–300 {1}), hints at a concern for translating Hebrew texts, possibly in the Ottoman court where Jewish scholars thrived.

Besides testifying to a culture of translation, the many lexicons and grammars catalogued by 'Atufi reflect the context of multilingualism prevailing at the Ottoman palace with its contingent of converts, wherever or whenever these handbooks were prepared. They appear to have been aids for linguistic training and for reading works in diverse languages. These handbooks would have been essential reference tools for scholars and students alike. Though relatively few, the translated classics that are seamlessly integrated into the Islamic corpus in 'Atufi's inventory are far from negligible. These include translations of works by Hermes Trismegistus, Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Euclid, Hippocrates, Dioscorides, Galen, Philo of Byzantium, Apollonius of Perga, Hero of Alexandria, Apollonius of Tyana, Andromachus, Polemon of Laodicea, Ptolemy, Porphyry, Zosimos of Panopolis, Pappus of Alexandria, Cassianus Bassus Scholasticus, and Muristus.

The Inner Treasury also housed classics in Greek and Latin (besides books in Hebrew, Armenian, Syriac, Serbian, Italian, and French), alongside their translations made in various times and places. For instance, one of the surviving Greek manuscripts that once belonged to the palace library is Homer's *Iliad*, copied (ca. 1463) for Mehmed II, who developed an interest in the legends of Troy, western Anatolia, and Greece while he was based in Manisa (Magnesia) as a prince (1446–51). 'Atufi's inventory curiously cites an anonymous translation titled *Hikāyat-i Īdhīpūs min al-tawārīkhi* (The Story of Oedipus, on History, 194 {4}), which is probably the legend of the mythical Greek king of Thebes related by Homer

and post-Homeric traditions. Another intriguing entry among the lexicons section reads, *Kitābu mulḥaqāt-i Dānistan min al-lughati al-rūmiyyati wa-al-sarfiyyati* [*wa-Risālatu ḥikāyati Qirīsūs bi-khaṭṭin ‘arabiyyin wa-ghayrihi wa-awraqin fiḥā khuṭūṭun mukhtalifātun fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] (Book of Appendices of the *Dānistan* on the Language of Greek and Serbian [and Treatise of the Story of Croesus in the Arabic Script and Other Scripts, and Folios with Various Scripts, in a Single Volume], 297 {1}). The “Story of Croesus” in this compendium may have been an interlinear translation in Arabic script of a Byzantine Greek text on legends concerning this ancient king of Lydia, who reigned in western Anatolia (ca. 560–46 BCE). Croesus was mentioned by Herodotus and used by Byzantine rhetoricians as an exemplum for his legendary wealth and fall from power upon losing divine favor.¹⁸²

Some Ottoman-period volumes at the Topkapı library that are stamped with Bayezid II’s seal consist of translations from Persian into Arabic that were made for his father. Among them are two manuscripts on logic, a subject on which several works were dedicated to Mehmed II (Appendix III: 32–33). Cited in ‘Atufi’s inventory, one of these two manuscripts has a fascinating dedication explaining that Mehmed II commissioned the translation of this book on logic because he considered the Persian language better suited to poetry than to the specialized terminology used by scholars in the sciences (*al-‘ulūm wa-al-ma‘ārif*), unlike Arabic with its greater clarity and strength of expression. The author praises the sultan’s appreciation of books and philosophy, thanks to which he raised the lighthouse of “the ancient sciences” (*al-‘ulūm al-awā’il*, fols. 2a–2b, see Appendix III: 33).

A manuscript concerning astronomy, on the other hand, was translated for Bayezid II from Hebrew into Arabic by its Jewish author, Iliya (Ilyas b. Ibrahim al-Yahudi, d. after 1512). Called ‘Abd al-Salam al-Muhtadi upon his conversion to Islam, the author is believed to have written that treatise in Hebrew before immigrating from al-Andalus to Istanbul. He translated the treatise, which explicates an astronomical instrument invented by him and called *al-Dābid*, into Arabic in 1502 upon Bayezid II’s request (Appendix III: 38). This treatise is

omitted from ‘Atufi’s inventory, which was compiled just around that time. Instead, the inventory cites an earlier polemical work on theology by the same author that aims to refute the proofs of the Jews against Islam. The earliest extant copy of the latter in the Topkapı library was dedicated to Bayezid II in 1497 and is stamped with his seal.¹⁸³

Another Jewish astronomer-cum-physician affiliated with Bayezid’s court, Moses Galeano (Moses ben Judah Galeano), wrote in Arabic under the name Musa Jalinus (Moses Galen). He is believed to have been a “potential transmitter of scientific information between the Ottoman empire and the Veneto, primarily between 1497 and 1502,” when he visited Venice and Padua. One of his teachers was Elijah Mizrahi (d. 1526), the Chief Rabbi of Istanbul and a scholar of mathematics and astronomy. A short Arabic treatise on astronomy written by Musa Jalinus, “the physician” (*al-ṭabīb*), has recently been identified in a compendium at the Topkapı library. It is titled “An Account of Some of the Impossibilities Necessitated by the Hypothesis of the Proposal of the Orb of the Epicycle and the Eccentric and the Demonstration of the Necessity of the Motions of the Heavens and All Its Parts in One Direction).”¹⁸⁴ A noteworthy reference by Musa Jalinus to the seating order at Bayezid II’s court, which resembled the position of the heavenly bodies, indicates that he participated in such courtly assemblies: “Thus the divine decree is that the most ready to receive perfection is placed higher and the more distant from receiving perfection lower, as is the case in the ordering of how we sit before the Sultan.”¹⁸⁵

My codicological examination of the compendium, in which Musa Jalinus’s piece is preceded by an important work by the Andalusian scholar al-Bitruji (d. ca. 1204), has revealed that the title written above the opening page (fol. 1a) stamped with Bayezid II’s seal perfectly matches the titles of two identical works listed in ‘Atufi’s inventory: *Kitābun ‘ajībun fī al-hay’ati wa-Risālatun ukhrā fī mujalladin wāḥidin* (A Wondrous Book on Theoretical Astronomy and Another Treatise, in a Single Volume, 332 {14–16}). The inventory thus provides previously unknown evidence that this extraordinary compendium not only belonged to Bayezid II’s palace library, but that it once existed in two manuscript copies

like many others. ‘Atufi’s two identical entries on this anonymous compendium judge the first work (by al-Bitruji) as a “wondrous book,” while the second item bound together with it is listed as “another treatise” (that of Musa Jalinus).¹⁸⁶

Musa Jalinus also produced some Hebrew translations of Arabic treatises describing astronomical instruments. This special interest of his was shared by Bayezid II, to whom various astronomers dedicated treatises on the same subject. Two planispheric astrolabes constructed for this sultan have come to light, and a third spherical astrolabe has hypothetically been attributed to Musa Jalinus. His works furthermore bear witness to the fascination with alchemy and wondrous mechanical devices at Bayezid II’s court, as noted in the 1503 report by Gritti’s secretary cited above. Musa Jalinus even constructed a wheeled moving humanoid automaton in wood with a long gown, which he operated in Istanbul at the assembly of an unnamed military judge (*kazasker*). It is tempting to speculate that the *kazasker* Musa Jalinus tried to amaze with this robot might have been the powerful scholar-statesman, bibliophile, and patron of intellectuals and poets, Mü’eyyetzade, who served as the military judge of Anatolia in 1501–5 and of Rumelia in 1505–11. Mü’eyyetzade did commission Musa Jalinus to translate a Latin text into Arabic, which was completed in 1506–7: the introduction to the tables of Abraham Zacuto of Salamanca (originally in Hebrew).¹⁸⁷

Bayezid II’s personal attention to mechanics and engineering is exemplified by his bridge project across the Golden Horn and “other works” for which Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo were unsuccessfully invited to Istanbul (ca. 1502–3 and 1506, respectively). The inventory’s books on mechanics and engineering may have been partly related to this sultan’s building projects, not only the unrealized bridge but also his mosque complex in Istanbul that was under construction during the same years, between 1501 and 1505.¹⁸⁸

The undated copy of a translated treatise on mechanics (bound together with a medical text in a single volume later in the eighteenth century) could have been commissioned by Bayezid II, if not his father. Stamped with Bayezid’s seals on its first and last pages, this is an Arabic rendering of Pappus of Alexandria’s Greek treatise on mechanics, which the author defines as both a

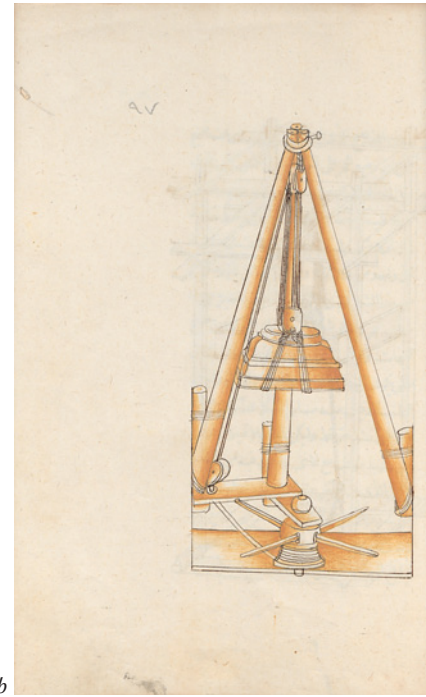
science and an art/craft. The compendium is identified on fol. 1a as *Risālatun ṭibbi bi-al-turkī ma’a Madkhalu Babūs fī al-ḥiyālī ka-jarri al-athqālī* (A Treatise in Turkish on Medicine, and Introduction of Pappus, on Mechanical Devices for Lifting Weights, fig. 15a). This compendium is not listed in ‘Atufi’s inventory precisely because its contents, combining medicine and mechanics, were bound together in a single volume subsequently, as revealed by its binding from the late Ottoman period. In fact, in this compendium, only Pappus’s treatise is stamped with Bayezid II’s seal at its beginning and end. Therefore, one of the three individual copies of Pappus’s treatise listed in the palace library inventory with the same title must surely have been this one: *Madkhalu Babūs fī al-ḥiyālī ka-jarri al-athqālī*, 310 {5–6}, 335 {4–5}.¹⁸⁹

Surprisingly, the geometrical diagrams in this particular copy are accompanied by drawings in a European pictorial idiom, which reveals a familiarity with contemporary Western treatises featuring scientific illustrations. An emphasis on architectural construction is apparent in the depiction of mechanical devices for lifting weights, such as a block of stone, a classical column base, and an obelisk. Indeed, the description of contents on the opening page of this treatise specifically refers to “the constructions of geometry needed by carpenters (or masons)” (*al-a’mālī al-handasiyya allatī yuḥtāju ilayhā al-najjārūn*) (figs. 15b–d).

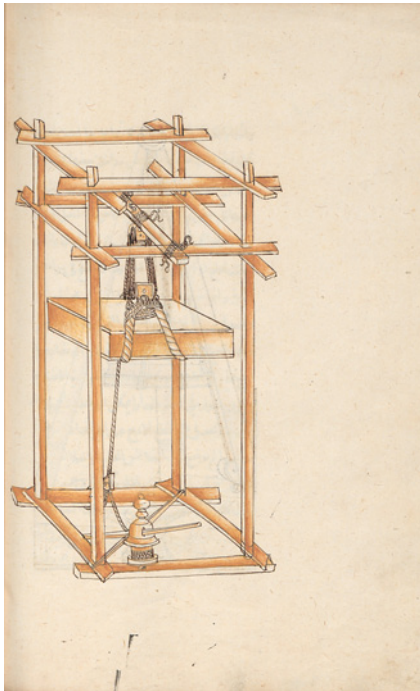
The applied sciences represented in many other entries of ‘Atufi’s inventory, including al-Jazari’s illustrated *Automata* discussed earlier, demonstrate a practice-oriented facet of the palace library collection. One such example is a copy of Abu al-Wafa’ al-Buzjani’s (d. ca. 997–98) celebrated treatise on applied geometry, titled *Kitābu fīmā yaḥtāju ilayhi al-ṣānī’ min a’mālī al-handasati* (Book on What Is Needed by the Craftsman/Artisan from Geometrical Constructions). This deluxe Arabic manuscript, copied ca. 1447–49 by order of the treasury of the Timurid Ulugh Beg (d. 1449), had entered the Ottoman palace library from which it migrated to the Ayasofya collection at the Süleymaniye Library. Bearing seal impressions of Bayezid II at its beginning and end, it is listed in ‘Atufi’s inventory with a similar but slightly modified title incorporating the author’s name and omitting the word *al-ṣānī’*: *Kitābu Abī al-Wafā’ fīmā*



a



b

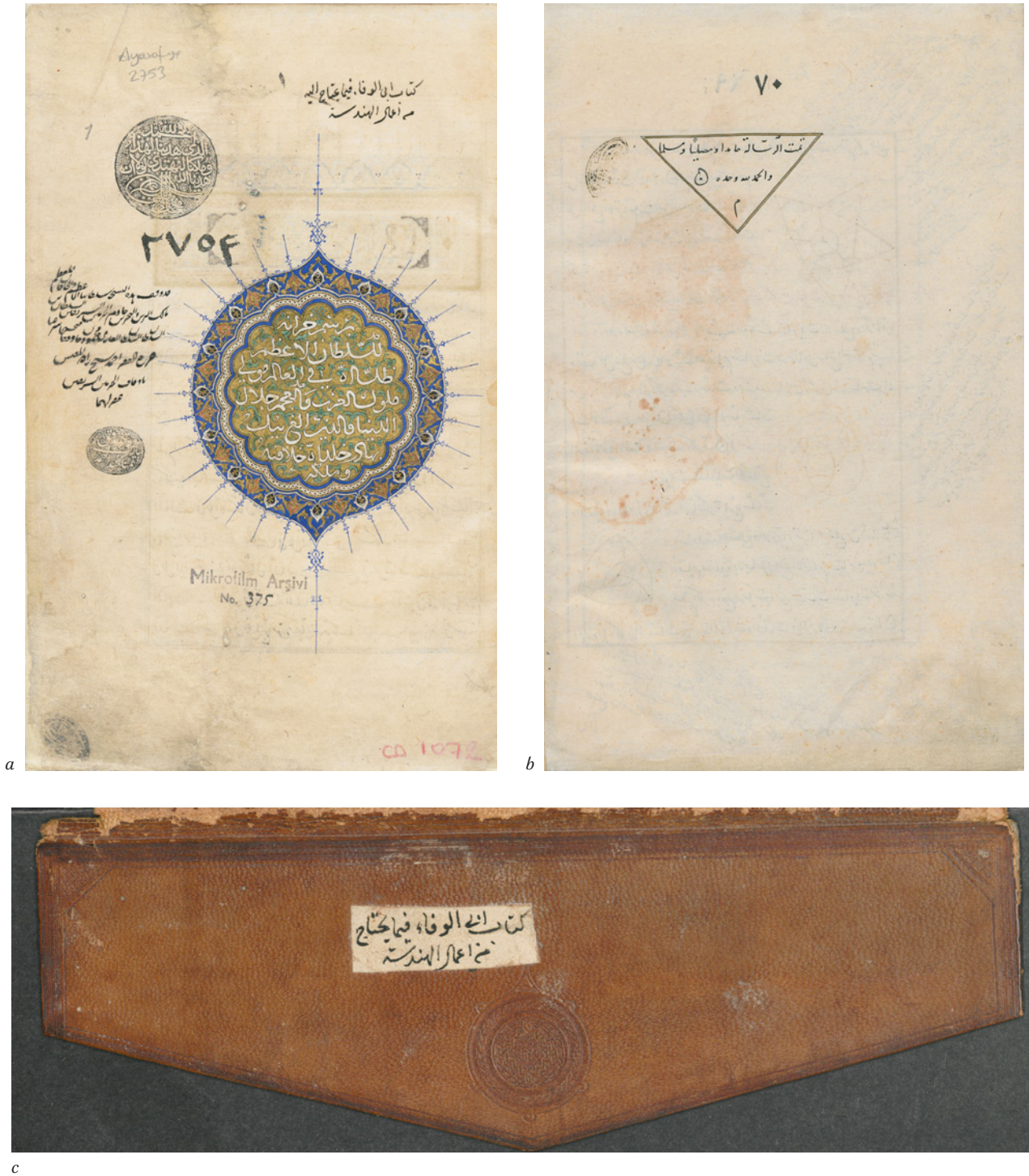


c



d

Fig. 15a. Opening page (fol. 52a) with title assigned by 'Atufi at the top and a description of contents, stamped with Bayezid II's almond-shaped seal and the oval seal of Mahmud I's *waqf* inspector. [15b] Mechanical device for lifting a column base (fol. 97a). [15c] Mechanical device for lifting a block of stone. [15d] Mechanical device for lifting an obelisk (fol. 101a). Istanbul, SK, Ayasofya 3624. (Photos: Süleymaniye Library)



Figs. 16a–c: Abu al-Wafa' al-Buzjani's book on practical geometry. [16a] Opening page (fol. 1a) with title assigned by 'Atufi at the top, illuminated dedication medallion stating the manuscript was produced by order of Ulugh Beg's treasury, stamped with the seals of Bayezid II, Mahmud I, and the inspector of Mahmud I's *waqf*. [16b] Final page with Bayezid II's seal. [16c] Authentic rectangular sticky label on the binding flap. Istanbul, SK, Ayasofya 2753. (Photos: Süleymaniye Library)

yaḥtāju ilayhi min a'māli al-handasati, 326 {5}. Exactly the same variant title appears both above the manuscript's opening page (fol. 1) and in the authentic rectangular sticky label of its binding flap (figs. 16a–c).¹⁹⁰

MS Török F. 59 ends with a section on Arabic and Persian translations of the Old and New Testaments, which are indirectly alluded to in the Byzantine scholar Amiroutzes's "Dialogue on the Faith of Christ Held with the Sultan of the Turks" (364 {9–19}, 365 {1}). During this private inter-confessional dialogue mediated by an interpreter, Mehmed II had cautioned the Greek Orthodox Amiroutzes not to distort the ancient Hebrew Scriptures because the "formerly Jewish" Italian physician Jacopo da Gaeta (Yakub Pasha) was attending the discussion, and because Arabic translations of all pre-Islamic holy books were available in the royal palace.¹⁹¹ This brings us full circle to the sultan's library at the Treasury-Bath complex of the Topkapı Palace, where this religious dialogue might have taken place.

While it is possible to link some titles in the book inventory to the idiosyncratic personal interests of Mehmed II and Bayezid II, the majority of manuscripts fulfilled the requirements of an up-to-date encyclopedic library collection mirroring interconnected regional and transregional courtly-scholarly networks. As the memory of both sultans faded over time, it was these general works that left a lasting imprint on Ottoman manuscript culture by laying the groundwork of a core collection and canonical teaching curriculum.¹⁹² Not all books were meant to be read, strictly speaking, since many of them had been collected for their prestigious pedigree and artistic value. The palace library was therefore a dynastic patrimonial *lieu de memoire* that played a mediating role between the past, present, and future.

In conclusion, MS Török F. 59 is an astounding archive that opens a window to the expansive vistas and epistemological frameworks of Ottoman court culture between the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Reflecting a persistent passion for collecting and commissioning manuscripts, it maps out a cultural and intellectual landscape that was still expanding. If the library had been merely a depot, its contents would have hardly required classification according to twenty broadly defined fields of knowledge by means of a comprehensive cataloguing project. This was surely a culture in

which books were actively collected, copied, and consulted, rather than locked up and forgotten. The fact that many of us still read and consult these books is a testimony to their continuing agency.

NOTES

Author's note: Photographs of folios and bindings from some Topkapı Palace library manuscripts discussed in this essay are reproduced in my Appendix III at the end of this volume, to which I provide cross-references here. I am grateful to Zeynep Atbaş and Zeren Tanındı, whom I consulted on many questions throughout the preparation of this essay. I have indicated Arabic case endings (*ʿrābs*) in transliterating book titles cited from the palace library inventory, rather than following the standard convention according to which they are omitted. My decision to match the transliteration system adopted by Bayezid II's librarian in MS Török F. 59 was informed by a concern to demonstrate how closely the titles 'Atufi assigned to books correspond to the titles written on the first pages and bindings of extant manuscripts catalogued by him.

1. Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára Keleti Gyűjtemény, MS Török F. 59. A microfilm of the manuscript was obtained for the Harvard University library upon my request in 2004, thanks to the assistance of András Riedlmayer, and with the help of the Keeper of the Oriental Collection at that time, Dr. Kinga Dévényi. My preliminary observations on this primary source, prepared in 2005 for the proceedings of the *Bellini and the East* exhibition conferences in Boston and London, were published with a long delay, as the joint proceedings did not materialize: Gülru Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople" *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 1–81.
2. I would like to thank Dr. Nándor Erik Kovács of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, for sending the measurements of MS Török F. 59. I am also grateful to Zeren Tanındı for dating the binding and attributing it to a European binder based on its gilded designs. The table of contents and Ottoman Turkish preface were introduced to scholarship by İsmail E. Erünsal in several early articles, where he misinterpreted as 959 (1552) the two chronograms that in fact provide the date 909 (1503–4). I repeated his erroneous dating at first in Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism." The correct date is revealed by adding up the *abjad* letters, which yield 909 and are written under two ambiguous numerical dates on page 1. Cemal Kafadar has demonstrated in his essay in the present volume that the ambiguity of numbers can be explained by the fact that "0" closely resembles "5" in the Persian notation system for numbers. In the revised edition of his pioneering

- monograph on Ottoman libraries, Erünsal emended his previous misdating (i.e., 952 corrected to 909): see his *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri* (Ankara, 2008), esp. 94, 117, 128, 460–65, 650–58. The revisions in his book followed a study on MS Török F. 59, which curiously does not cite Erünsal's important publications and only focuses on history books and related subjects: Miklós Maróth, "The Library of Sultan Bayazıt II," in *Irano-Turkic Cultural Contacts in the 11th–17th Centuries*, ed. Éva M. Jeremiás. Acta et Studia, 1 (Piliscsaba, Hungary, 2003), 111–32. Early articles by İsmail E. Erünsal include: "959/1552 Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb," *Erdem* 4, no. 10 (1988): 181–93; "The Catalogue of Bayezid II's Palace Library," *İstanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi Kütüphanecilik Dergisi* 3 (1992): 5–66; "A Brief Survey of the Development of Turkish Library Catalogues," in *M. Uğur Derman Festschrift*, ed. İrvin Cemil Schick (Istanbul, 2000), 271–83. See also the expanded version of an article dated 2008, recently reprinted among Erünsal's collected essays: "909/1503 Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi," in *Edebiyat Tarihi Yazıları: Arşiv Kayıtları, Yazma Eserler, ve Kayıp Metinler* (Istanbul, 2016), 257–83.
3. On these two late thirteenth-century catalogues, see Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus: Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library: The Ashrafiya Library Catalogue* (Edinburgh, 2016), 3–6, 60–64. Hirschler observes that "one of the most fascinating early Ottoman catalogues is the palace library inventory of 1502/3, which is the subject of a forthcoming publication edited by Gülrü Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar and Cornell H. Fleischer," 7.
 4. For this building, known as Fatih Köşkü (i.e., Mehmed the Conqueror's Pavilion), and early registers of the Inner Treasury (Enderun Hazinesi, İç Hazine), see Gülrü Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, MA; London, 1991), 124–41; my "Visual Cosmopolitanism," 15, 26–30, 36, 48; and "'Virtual Archaeology' in Light of a New Document on the Topkapı Palace's Waterworks and Earliest Buildings, ca. 1509," *Muqarnas* 30 (2013): 315–50, esp. 317, 326–27, 329–33.
 5. Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi (hereafter TSMA) D. 4855, dated Zilkade 971 (1564), fols. 3b–4a; discussed in Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 137, 139.
 6. The authenticity of the matching Italianate colonnades is accepted by Ayverdi, who restored the building in the early 1940s: Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'marisinde Fâtih Devri 855-886 (1451-1481)*, vol. 4 (Istanbul, 1974); and Sedat Hakkı Eldem and Feridun Akozan, *Topkapı Sarayı: Bir Mimari Araştırma* (Istanbul, 1982). I disagree with the view that these were added in an otherwise unrecorded eighteenth-century renovation during the "Ottoman Baroque" period. On this untenable view, see Uğur Tanyeli, "Topkapı Sarayı Üçüncü Avlusu'ndaki Fatih Köşkü (Hazine) ve Tarihsel Evrimi Üzerine Gözlemler," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık* 4 (1990): 157–88, at 163. The Italianate Renaissance-style capitals have no parallel whatsoever in "Ottoman Baroque" examples; moreover, there was no incentive or even possibility to add lavish colonnades in the eighteenth century when the fountained belvedere and part of the courtyard arcade remained completely walled-in as storage spaces: see Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism," 26, 68n17 and note 12 below.
 7. Jean-Claude Flachet, *Observations sur le commerce et sur les arts d'une partie de l'Europe, de l'Asie, de l'Afrique, et même des Indes Orientales / par Jean-Claude Flachet* (Lyon, 1766), 181.
 8. The wooden galleries are mentioned in Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'marisinde Fâtih Devri*, 715–27, esp. 723, and in Eldem and Akozan, *Topkapı Sarayı*, 75–77, Pls. 73–76, at 76. For pre-restoration photographs, see Tahsin Öz, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Onarımları," *Güzel Sanatlar* 6 (1949): 6–74, esp. 54–62.
 9. The previously whitewashed halls of the Treasury-cum-Bathhouse have recently been stripped of their plaster coating during an ongoing restoration project that has revealed their brick and stone masonry, along with modern interventions using concrete. Some of the basement windows were originally narrower and enlarged at an unknown date (oral communication with Dr. Nilay Özlü, a former member of the restoration team).
 10. On the name "Fatih Köşkü," see note 4 above. In the early 1940s the two wooden domes covering the third and fourth halls were replaced with the present concrete domes, and the originally much higher hipped roof was substituted by the current lower version: see Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'marisinde Fâtih Devri*, 721. The ca. 1509–11 elevation drawing is published and discussed in Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 128–29, fig. 74; and my "Virtual Archaeology," 320–21, 330.
 11. Cited in Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 134: TSMA, D. 9713, dated 881 (1476). Facsimile and transcription published in Halil Sahillioğlu, "Osmanlı Para Tarihinde Dünya Para ve Maden Hareketlerinin Yeri (1300-1750)," *Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi Gelişme Dergisi*, Special Issue, "Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Üzerine Araştırmalar" (1978): 1–38, at 29–31 (Table 1).
 12. For Selim I's will and his treasury seal, see İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, 2nd ed. (Ankara, 1984), 319–20. At an unknown date, probably after the mid-sixteenth century, the fountained belvedere and part of the courtyard arcade of the Inner Treasury were walled-in to create additional spaces for storing treasury items: see Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 128, 138–39, fig. 73. These walls were removed during renovations in the 1940s: see Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'marisinde Fâtih Devri*, 721, 726, fig. 1052; Öz, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Onarımları," 54–62.
 13. For a more detailed discussion of the Treasury-Bath complex, see Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 124–41. My book revised some observations made by the authors cited above in note 6 on this building, based on primary sources that were unavailable to them.
 14. The Law Code of Mehmed II (ca. 1477) specifies that the Privy Chamber (Has Oda) was already built by that time:

- Ahmed Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri* (Istanbul, 1990), 326 (31). For this building, see Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 141–58.
15. The Law Code of Mehmed II (ca. 1477) orders a Private Audience Hall (Arz Odası) to be built: Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, 326 (30). For this building, see Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 96–110.
 16. Muhammed İbrahim Yıldırım, trans. and ed., *İdris-i Bitlîsî Heşt Behîşt: VII. Ketîbe: Fatih Sultan Mehmed Devri 1451–1481* (Ankara, 2013), 195. Mentioned without a citation in Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, ed. William C. Hickman, trans. Ralph Manheim (Princeton, 1978), 300.
 17. Edirneli Sehî, *Heşt Bihîşt: The Tezkire: An Analysis of the First Biographical Work on Ottoman Poets with a Critical Edition Based on Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya, O. 3544 by Günay Kut / by Sehî Beg* (Cambridge, MA, 1978), 149–52.
 18. Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 136. This document was published by Franz Babinger, who underestimated Mehmed II's sincere devotion to the relics: "Sultanischer Reliquien-schacher im Frankenland," in *Spätmittelalterliche fränkische Briefschaften aus dem grossherrlichen Seraj zu Stambul* (Munich, 1963), 96–119, esp. 108–14.
 19. Kritovoulos of Imbros, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, trans. Charles T. Riggs (Princeton, NJ, 1954), viii, 3, 14, 209.
 20. Ibid., 177, 209–10.
 21. Astérios Argyriou and Georges Lagarrigue, "Georges Amir-outzès et son 'Dialogue sur la foi au Christ tenu avec le Sultan des Turcs,'" *Byzantinische Forschungen* 11 (1987): 29–221, at 65. Only the 1518 Latin translation of the *Dialogue* made in Rome survives, with its concluding pages lost. The no longer extant Greek original, retrospectively based on many such debates (*pluribus disputata*), has been hypothetically dated to ca. 1466–68 or 1470, at 50–52, 66–67. See also Jorge Ameruzes de Trebisonda: *El diálogo de la fe con el Sultán de los Turcos*, ed. Oscar de la Cruz Palma (Madrid, 2000).
 22. On the chronology of Islamic and non-Islamic books produced for Mehmed II in two periods, during the mid-1460s and the late 1470s, see Julian Raby, "Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37 (1983): 15–34, esp. 18–19, 21; "East and West in Mehmed the Conqueror's Library," *Bulletin du bibliophile* 1 (1987): 296–320; Julian Raby and Zeren Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century: The Foundation of an Ottoman Court Style*, ed. Tim Stanley (London, 1993).
 23. On Sinan Pasha's recommendation of Molla Lutfi as librarian, see Ahmed ibn Muştafa Taşköprizâde (Tâsh-kubrîzâdah), *Şekâ'îku-nu'mânîye fî 'ulemâ'-i d-Devlet-i 'Osmânîye (al-Shaqâ'iq al-nu'mânîyya fî 'ulamâ' al-dawla al-'uthmânîyya)*, ed. Ahmed Şubhî Furât (Istanbul, 1985), 174. Mehmed II's tutor Sinan Pasha was appointed vizier in 875 (1470) and then served as grand vizier for a year (ca. 1476–77); Molla Lutfi accompanied the dismissed grand vizier during his exile: See *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (hereafter TDVİA), s.v. "Sinan Paşa," by Aylin Koç. The rich library collection endowed by their spiritual master Shaykh Vefa (Muslihuddin Mustafa) combined religious and rational sciences and was dominated by books on Sufism: see TDVİA, s.v. "Muslihuddin Mustafa," by Reşat Öngören, and note 58 below. Books on prayers, poetry, and astrology authored by Shaykh Vefa (Wafa', Abu al-Wafa') are under the following entries: MS Török F. 59, 46 {13}, 47 {6}, 50 {7}, 246 {1}, 248 {1–2}, 250 {7–8}, 263 {9–11, 18}, 313 {16–17}. Some of these works are discussed in the co-authored essay of Cemal Kafadar and Ahmet Karamustafa in this volume. For a discussion of amulets and talismans in the inventory, without mention of Shaykh Vefa, see Guy Burak's essay.
 24. MS Török F. 59, 58 {5–6}, 59 {8–9}, 151 {18–19}, 315 {16–17}, 316 {1–2}. For the inventory's entries on astronomy, astrology, and the mathematical sciences, see the essays of Tunç Şen and Cornell H. Fleisher; Elahieh Kheirandish; and Jamil Ragep et al.
 25. On three extant manuscripts of 'Atufi's compendium of medical works, see Fehmi Ethem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*, 3 vols. (Istanbul, 1962–66), nos. 7373–76: A 2095, A 2107, A 2117. For 'Atufi's biography and works, see Taşköprizâde, *Şekâ'îku-nu'mânîye*, 416–17; Nev'îzâde Atâ'î, *Şakaik-i Nu'maniye ve Zeyilleri*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan, 5 vols. (Istanbul, 1989), 1:415; TDVİA, s.v. "Atûfî, Hayreddin Hızır," by İsmail L. Çakan; Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 117nn628–29, 461n2512. On 'Atufi's connection with his hometown Merzifon, see Cemal Kafadar's essay in this volume.
 26. TSMA, D. 9587, fol. 2b. My dating of this document is based on the number of tutors in the "palace school" that was raised to four by 1504; see Menavino in note 105 below.
 27. See pages 24, 40, 449, 498 (pagination in Arabic numerals) in Bayezid II's "Register of Rewards" (*in'âmât defteri*), which continues with some of Selim I's donations and those from the beginning of Sultan Süleyman's reign until 1527: Istanbul, Belediye Kütüphanesi (Atatürk Kitaplığı), Muallim Cevdet 0.71. The register is analyzed and reproduced in facsimile in Hilal Kazan, "XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı Sarayının Sanatı Himayesi" (PhD diss., Marmara Üniversitesi, 2007). I thank Zeren Tanındı for providing a copy of this dissertation. Another dissertation brought to my attention by Tülay Artan shows that 'Atufi regularly received donations as a preacher until the end of Bayezid II's reign: see İlhan Gök, "Atatürk Kitaplığı M.C. O.71 Numaralı 909-933/1503-1527 Tarihli İn'âmât Defteri (Transkripsiyon-Değerlendirme)" (PhD diss., Marmara Üniversitesi, 2014). For the two houses donated to the "preacher" (*vâ'iz*) 'Atufi from the Ayasofya endowments, see Erünsal, "908 (1502) Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu," 262n17, 263m19; and his "Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi'nin Arşiv Kaynakları I: II. Bayezid Devrine Ait Bir İn'âmât Defteri," *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 10–11 (1981): 303–42.
 28. For Mevlana Lutfi's works, see İbrahim Maraş, "Tokatlı Molla Lutfi: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Felsefesi," *Dîvân: İlmî Araştırmalar* 14 (2003): 119–36. On accusations concerning his appropriation of books from the royal library and

- other collections, and the reasons for his execution during Bayezid II's reign, see İsmail E. Erünsal, "Fâtih Devri Kütüphaneleri ve Molla Lütî Hakkında Birkaç Not," *İstanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* 33 (1982): 57–78; and İsmail E. Erünsal, "Molla Lütî: Hakkındaki İthamlar ve Şikâyet Mektupları," *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* 19 (2008): 179–96.
29. The two *waqfiyyas* referring to book keepers are cited in Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 370. The Mahgribi scholar's manuscript is at the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi (hereafter TSMK), A. 59.
 30. Zeynep Atbaş has discovered a few manuscripts at the Topkapı library featuring seals of Bayezid II that have been carefully cut out from elsewhere and pasted indistinguishably into these volumes. One such example is even more unusual in that it has three seal impressions of Bayezid II, rather than the usual two; two of these seals were cut out from elsewhere and remounted in that manuscript. Atbaş has also found a unique manuscript, which has three seal impressions of Bayezid II that were not cut out from elsewhere. See her essay in this volume.
 31. On Bayezid II's passion for books, see Zeren Tanındı, "Bayezid II's Collection of Illuminated Books," in *Kasayid-i Efsahi der medh-i Sultan Bâyezîd—Efsahi's Odes in Praise of Sultan Bayezid*, ed. Çağatay Anadol (Istanbul, 2012), 7–33. For his interest in history books, see Feridun M. Emecen, "II. Bâyezîd'in Tarih Merakı Üzerine Bir Not: Fenarîzâde Alâeddin Alî'nin Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi Derlemesi," in *Kitaplara Vakfedilen Bir Ömre Tuhfe: İsmail E. Erünsal'a Armağan*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 2014), 1:331–44.
 32. For a modern catalogue of 135 Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Armenian, Syriac, Serbian, and French manuscripts now kept at the Topkapı library, see Gustav Adolf Deissmann, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai: mit einem Verzeichnis der nichtislamischen Handschriften im Topkapu Serai zu Istanbul* (Berlin, Leipzig, 1933). Julian Raby has attributed the production of some of these manuscripts to Mehmed II's court scriptorium on the basis of watermarks, dedications, and bindings in "Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium"; see also his "East and West in Mehmed the Conqueror's Library." According to Zeynep Atbaş, the non-Islamic manuscripts and fifteenth-century European printed books preserved at the palace library lack Bayezid II's seal (oral communication). The latter include Roberto Valturio's *De Re Militari* (Verona, 1472; TSMK, H. 2699), and Francesco Berlinghieri's Italian translation of Ptolemy's *Geographia* (Florence, 1482), which was first dedicated to Mehmed II but upon his death, was rededicated to Bayezid II. Another copy of the *Geographia* has a dedication to Bayezid's brother Prince Cem. Both printed editions feature hand-colored maps with gold-leaf borders, illuminations, and dedications. See Sean Roberts, *Printing a Mediterranean World: Florence, Constantinople, and the Renaissance of Geography* (Cambridge, MA; London, 2013), esp. 5–14.
 33. TSMA, D. 4: "Defter-i mevcûdât-i hizâne-i enderûnî," 13 Sha'ban 901 (April 27, 1496), fols. 1b, 3b, 4a, 4b, 5b, 6b, 7a, 8a. I interpret the word *imrânî* as a reference to *Âl-İmrân* (Family of 'Imran), third chapter of the Qur'an on the father of Maryam (Virgin Mary). The family includes 'Imran, St. Anne, Mary, and Jesus. In a later register, cited in note 37 below, this term is substituted with *gebrî*, meaning *gavur* (non-Islamic, or infidel). Seventeenth- to nineteenth-century Ottoman inheritance registers of *dhimmis* and non-Muslims somewhat pejoratively identified foreign books as "kefere kitabı" (infidel books); see İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar* (Istanbul, 2013), 328–29.
 34. TSMA, D. 3/1 "Mevcûdât-i hizâne-i enderûnî," compiled by two finance ministers (*defterdâr*), Mevlana Alaüddin and Kasım Çelebi, in the beginning of Sha'ban 907 (February 1502), fol. 4a.
 35. For this interpretation and well-known eye witness reports on Bayezid II's aversion to figural arts and the sale of his father's European paintings, see Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism," 30, 45–48.
 36. TSMA, D. 3/1, dated beginning of Sha'ban 907 (February 1502), fols. 1b, 4a, 5b, 6b. The later register dated 10 Sha'ban 910 (January 16, 1505), TSMA, D. 10026, is reproduced in Tahsin Öz, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi Kılavuzu II* (Istanbul, 1938), document XXI, fol. 16b.
 37. TSMA, D. 3/2: "Defter-i mevcûdât-i hizâne-i enderûnî," written in Istanbul ca. 1518, fols. 1b, 9b, 12a–b.
 38. Deissmann, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai*, 3–8; Funda Berksoy, "The Cooperation of G.A. Deissmann and E.H. Eldem in the Classification of the Non-Islamic Manuscripts in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum," in *M. Uğur Derman Festschrift*, ed. İrvin Cemil Schick (Istanbul, 2000), 175–85, esp. 178–79. In 1859 the German scholar Constantin Tischendorf discovered Kritoboulos's Greek chronicle of Mehmed II's reign in a chest of manuscripts shown to him: Emil Jacobs, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Bibliothek im Serai zu Konstantinopel I* (Heidelberg, 1919), 112–13.
 39. TSMA, D. 4855, dated Zilkade 971, fols 3b–4a; discussed in Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 137, 139.
 40. Gülru Necipoğlu, "A Kanun for the State, a Canon for the Arts: The Classical Synthesis in Ottoman Art and Architecture during the Age of Süleyman," in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps, Actes du Colloque de Paris Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, 7-10 mars 1990*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris, 1992), 195–216; Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli* (Princeton, NJ, 1986).
 41. On Timurid and Turkmen libraries, see David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album, 1400-1600: From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven, CT; London, 2005), 28–29, 133–44; and the unpublished doctoral dissertation by Simon Rettig, "La production manuscrite à Chiraz sous les Aq Qoyunlu entre 1467 et 1503" (University of Aix-Marseille, 2011), introduction, esp. 13–15. In the fourteenth century, the Mongol-Ilkhanid ruler Ghazan Khan had established in his mausoleum complex in Tabriz a library (*bayt al-kutub*) and an annexed scriptorium (*bayt al-qānūn*) staffed with a scribe, a librarian, and a custodian who should repair the library

- books: see Ghiyās al-Dīn ibn Humām al-Dīn Khvānd Mīr, *Tārīkh-i ḥabīb al-siyar*, vol. 3, trans. and ed. Wheeler M. Thackston as *The Reign of the Mongol and the Turk* (Cambridge, MA, 1994), 107; Nourane Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme: Calligraphes et bibliophiles aux temps des dynasties mongoles (Les Ilkhanides et les Djalayirides, 656-814 / 1258-1411)* (Leiden and Boston, 2018).
42. The earliest reference I could find to the scriptorium is in an account book dated 1527–28 at the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (hereafter BOA), MAD 17884, fol. 61. It mentions the “repair of the workshop of painter-decorators (*karḥāne-i naḳḳāşān*) and the arch above the menagerie (*der fevk-i arslānhāne*) near the Hippodrome,” Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 48, 271n71. For the three mosaic-decorated Byzantine churches around the Hippodrome that were converted by Mehmed II into a royal menagerie for lions, an elephant house, and a powder magazine, see page 46; and Gian Maria Angiolello, *Viaggio di Negroponte*, ed. Cristina Bazzolo (Vicenza, 1982), 27–28.
 43. Necipoğlu, “Kanun for the State”; see also Hilāl Kazan, *XV. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi* (Istanbul, 2010).
 44. TSMA, D. 9587, fols. 3b, 5a. Cited in Necipoğlu, “Kanun for the State,” 204, 215n13. See also Kazan, *XV. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi*, 139, 163; Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 434.
 45. Bimal Kumar Datta, *Libraries and Librarianship of Ancient and Medieval India* (Delhi, 1970), 61–63. On the “House of Felicity,” see Gulbadan Begīm, *Humāyunnāma*, ed. and trans. Wheeler M. Thackston, *Three Memoirs of Humayun*, 2 vols. (Costa Mesa, CA, 2009), 1:23. On Humayun’s fall from the stairs of his library, see Abū’l-Faẓl ‘Allāmī, *The History of Akbar*, ed. and trans. Wheeler M. Thackston, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA; London, 2016), 498–99. For Sher Mandal, sometimes attributed to the Afghan ruler Sher Shah (1540s), but most probably built by Humayun, see Catherine B. Asher, *The New Cambridge History of India: Architecture of Mughal India*, vol. 1, part 4 (Cambridge, 1992), 33–34. For the less likely hypothesis that it may have been built later under Akbar, in the second half of the sixteenth century, see Ebba Koch, *Mughal Architecture: An Outline of Its History and Development (1526-1858)* (Munich, 1991), 38–41.
 46. On Akbar’s library, its organization, his favorite books, and his custom of having books read aloud to him, see Abū’l-Faẓl ‘Allāmī, *The Ā’in-i Akbarī*, vol. 1, trans. H. Blochmann, 3rd ed. (Calcutta, 1927), 109–13; Ellen Smart, “Akbar, Illiterate Genius,” in *Kalāndarśana: American Studies in the Art of India*, ed. Joanna Williams (New Delhi, 1981), 99–107. For the Mughal imperial library and the swelling of its holdings from 4,000 books to 24,000, see Kavita Singh, *Real Birds in Imagined Gardens: Mughal Painting between Persia and Europe* (Los Angeles, 2017), 20–21; John Seyller, “The Inspection and Valuation of Manuscripts in the Imperial Mughal Library,” *Artibus Asiae* 57, no. 3/4 (1997): 243–350. The 24,000 books of Akbar’s library are mentioned in Joannes de Laet’s *De Imperio Magno Mogolis* (1631); Joannes de Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, trans. J. S. Holyland (Bombay, 1928), 108–9. Cited in Sh. Abdul Aziz, *The Imperial Library of the Mughuls* (Delhi, 2009), 57–58; V. S. Smith, “The Treasure of Akbar,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (April, 1915): 231–43, at 243; and Datta, *Libraries and Librarianship*, 64–67.
 47. For the building in Ardebil, see Kishwar Rizvi, *The Safavid Dynastic Shrine: Architecture, Religion, and Power in Early Modern Iran* (London, 2011), 143–55.
 48. On Chardin’s and Kaempfer’s accounts, see Mariana Shreve Simpson, “The Making of Manuscripts and the Workings of the *Kitab-khana* in Safavid Iran,” in *The Artist’s Workshop*, ed. Peter M. Lukehart (Washington; Hanover, NH, 1993), 105–21, at 113–14. See *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l’Orient*, ed. L. Langlès, 10 vols. (Paris, 1811), 7:372–74; Engelbert Kaempfer, *Am Hofe des persischen Grosskönigs (1684–1685)*, ed. Walter Hinz (Tübingen, Basel, 1977), 154–56.
 49. *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk: A Manual of Safavid Administration (ca. 1137–1725), Persian Text and Facsimile (B.M. Or. 9496)*, trans. Vladimir Minorsky (Cambridge, England, 1980), 100. However, in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Uzbek Central Asia, libraries (*kitāb-khāna*) simultaneously functioned as treasuries (*khazīna al-kutub*) for the conservation of volumes and workshops for manuscript production: Maria Szuppe, “Lettrés, patrons, libraires. L’Apport des recueils biographiques sur le rôle du livre en Asie centrale aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles,” *Cahiers d’Asie centrale* 7 (1999): 99–115, esp. 103. This Timurid practice was also perpetuated in the Mughal court: Maktub Khan, the supervisor (*dārūgha*) of Jahangir’s library (*kitābkhāna*), was also in charge of the painters’ studio: *The Jahangirnama: Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India*, trans., ed., annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston (Oxford, 1999), 27, 269; cited in Abdul Aziz, *Imperial Library of the Mughuls*, 59.
 50. Thomas Dacosta Kaufmann, “From Treasury to Museum: The Collections of the Austrian Habsburgs,” in *The Cultures of Collecting*, ed. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (Cambridge, MA, 1994), 137–54, esp. 137–42. An extant palace that combines library and royal treasury is that of the Wittelsbach dynasty known as Schatzkammer der Residenz (Treasury of the Munich Residence), which goes back to the reign of Duke Albrecht V (r. 1516–75): see Dorothea Diemer et al., *Die Münchener Kunstkammer* (Munich, 2008). On the union of *Kunstkammer* and library, particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Joseph Connors and Angela Dressen, “Biblioteche: l’architettura e l’ordinamento del sapere,” *Il Rinascimento italiano e l’Europa*, vol. 6 of *Luoghi, spazi, architetture*, ed. Donatella Calabi and Elena Svaldruz (Treviso-Costabissara, 2010), 199–228, 752–55, at 224–28.
 51. Connors and Dressen, “Biblioteche,” 212; Csaba Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library, History and Stock*, trans. Imre Gombos (Budapest, 1973); Marcus Tanner, *The Raven King: Matthias Corvinus and the Fate of His Lost Library* (New Haven, CT; London, 2009), 8–10.
 52. Maróth, “Library of Sultan Bayazit II,” 112.

53. Connors and Dressen, "Biblioteche," 205–6.
54. Ibid., 209.
55. Ibid., 203–4, 213–15. For the Medici and other Renaissance libraries, see also Angela Dressen, *The Library of the Badia Fiesolana: Intellectual History and Education under the Medici (1462-1494)* (Florence, 2013); Guido Arbizzoni, Concetta Bianca, and Marcella Peruzzi, eds. *Principi e signori: Le Biblioteche nella seconda metà del Quattrocento* (Urbino, 2010).
56. On this high number, see Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 126–27, who thinks it is probably an exaggeration. Mü'eyyadzade's library collection is discussed and compared to that of Bayezid II by Judith Pfeiffer in the present volume, where she agrees with Erünsal's assessment in this regard.
57. TSMA, D. 9291/1-2: This archival document, in two parts, is analyzed in Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 126–27, and in greater detail by Judith Pfeiffer in the present volume.
58. TSMA, D. 9559, 3b–39b. The 839 books endowed by Mehmed II are grouped in the following order: Qur'anic exegesis, hadith, jurisprudence, rational theology, philosophical wisdom, Arabic books, logic, and miscellanea. The last eclectic category of only 31 volumes features books on advice literature, lives of imams, Sufism, medicine, astronomy, astrology, Euclid's *Elements*, Persian poetry, Persian works by Rumi, and, curiously, a *History of Genghis Khan*. During Mehmed II's reign, a similar classification that does not exclude the rational sciences is found in the *waqfiyyas* of the public libraries established by the grand vizier Mahmud Pasha and Shayh Vefa. The latter was the spiritual mentor of Sinan Pasha and the palace librarian Molla Lutfi; on his endowed library see note 23 above. By the end of Sultan Süleyman's (d. 1566) reign, the number of books in Mehmed II's mosque complex rose to 1,770: Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 108–10, 458, 470–75, 661–63. Erünsal discusses two extant catalogues of Mehmed II's public library; one was prepared under Bayezid II by Şah Çelebi İbnü'l Fenari around 907–18 (1501–12): BOA, D. HMH. STF. No. 21. 941/B. The other one, compiled in 968 (1560–61) by Hacı Hasanazade under Sultan Süleyman (TSMA, D. 9559), was preceded by a now lost third catalogue by Molla Arab (i.e., Hacı Mehmed), Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 128, 465–75. Hacı Hasanazade preferred to base his own catalogue on that of Molla Arab because it was organized better and it more efficiently facilitated the checking out and returning of books.
59. On books endowed by Mehmed II and Bayezid II, see Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 425. For the parallel case of endowed public libraries in the Mamluk Sultanate, see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria (1250-1517): Scribes, Libraries and Market* (London and Boston, 2019), 48–49.
60. For these exaggerated numbers, the description of libraries, and further bibliography, see Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 18–74; İsmail E. Erünsal, *Orta Çağ İslâm Dünyasında Kitap ve Kütüphâne* (Istanbul, 2018), 417–19; Youssef Eche (Yūsuf 'Ishsh), *Les bibliothèques arabes publiques et semi-publiques en Mésopotamie, en Syrie et en Égypte au Moyen Age* (Damascus, 1967); Houari Touati, *L'armoire à sagesse: Bibliothèques et collections en Islam* (Paris, 2003).
61. Hirschler, *Ashrafiya Library Catalogue*, 4, 33. Hirschler considers the more than 2,000 books listed in the catalogue of the somewhat minor Ashrafiyya library, kept in a mausoleum-cum-madrasa complex in Ayyubid Damascus, as a "remarkably large collection," 2–3. See also Behrens-Abouseif, *Book in Mamluk Egypt*, 7–8, and the section on "The Size of Libraries," 46–50, for "exaggerated, legendary numbers given for earlier periods."
62. "Dalla banda sinistra dove è servito dalli huomini vi sono doi Librarie grandi, cioè una commune dietro le stanze de' Camerieri, e Paggi, che l'hanno in custodia, & l'altra, che è secreta, più indentro, & attaccata alle stanze di esso Gran Signore, & è la più famosa: ma sempre nella sua camera, tanto da una parte, come dall'altra, sono due armarij, con porticelle di christallo dentro a'quali sono sempre doi dozzine di libri miniati, che esso usa sempre di legere: essendo detti armarij bassi: sicche standosi à sedere alla turchesca, si vede li libri, che vi sono per la trasparenza del christallo: di modo, che esso Gran Signore li può commodamente pigliare, usando spesso di legere" (Domenico Hierosolimitano, *Relatione della gran città di Costantinopoli* [London, British Library], Harley 3408, fols. 36–37, 39; translated in Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 153). See more recently *Domenico's Istanbul*, where the Italian text is translated with an introduction and commentary by Michael Austin, ed. Jeffrey Lewis (Warminster, Wiltshire, 2001), 21. The commentary by Austin is unreliable in its identification of the sites of libraries at the Topkapı Palace and their construction chronology: see 139–43.
63. Domenico specifies that the two libraries were in the courtyard of male servants, not in the female quarters of the harem (see the Italian passage quoted in note 62 above). Domenico's description is confusing because he does not describe the courtyard of male servants from the vantage point of the palace's third main gate leading into the third courtyard. Having described the adjacent harem for female residents, and looking at the sultan's quarters from the vantage point of the outer garden fronting the harem's garden façade, he correctly refers to the women's quarters abutting the royal stables as being on the right side, and the courtyard of male pages as being on the left side. Hence the two libraries were not on the left side of the male section of the third courtyard upon entering from the third gate, but rather on the left side of the harem's outer garden façade (i.e., in the male sector of the third court). Some books may indeed have been kept at the harem, but there is no information concerning the presence of a library in the women's quarters during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries or in later periods, for that matter, although there are references to books being loaned to women in the harem

from the Inner Treasury in the second half of the sixteenth century and later (cited in note 129 below).

64. “Nella Libreria, che è alli Camerieri, a Paggi, vi sono libri di tutte sorti dei linguaggi di gran bellezza tutti scritti à penna, & in particular cento venti pezzi di quelli di Costantino Magno, ciascuno lungo doi braccia, e non più di tre palmi largo, fatti di carta bergamina sottile, che par seta, dove stà scritto il Testamento vecchio, e nuovo, & altre Historie, vite dei Santi, tutti à lettere d’oro, coperti d’argento indorato, con gemme di prezzo inestimabile, i quali non si permette, che siano toccata da niuno” (Domenico Hierosolimitano, *Relatione della gran città di Costantinopoli*, 37). I have slightly modified Austin’s translation in *Domenico’s Istanbul*, 21.
65. These manuscripts were selected by the French ambassador Girardin and his two advisors from a set of about 200 Greek manuscripts said to have been removed from the palace collection by the mediation of an Italian renegade: “un renegat italien, l’homme d’esprit, qui est au service de seliktar, premier officier du sérail et favori du Grand Seigneur. Il a eu permission de visiter les livres et de les communiquer, et m’ayant fait apporter, en différents fois, tous ce qu’il y a d’auteurs grecs, qui ne consistent pas en plus de deux cents volumes.” Quoted in Jacobs, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Bibliothek im Serai zu Konstantinopel*, 121–334, at 121. The list of 16 manuscripts that arrived in Paris in 1688 is on p. 122, with their seals illustrated on p. 127.
66. On Marsili’s inventory, see Angelo Bernasconi, “Un gruppo di codici greci bolognesi proveniente della biblioteca di sultano Mustafà I,” *Scriptorium* 40 (2006): 254–68, with 8 plates. The inventory explains that the Greek manuscripts Marsili bought were extracted (*estratti*) by the Livornese renegade called “Trinch Meunet Ayà [sic Agà]” from the “Imperial Seraglio di Costantinopoli” and donated to that renegade by “Sultan 4°.” Elsewhere the renegade is named “Mustafà” by Marsili: see Chiara Fraggiana di Sarzana, “Lo *Iatosophion* della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna: Il 3632,” in *BUB: Ricerche e Cataloghi sui Fondi della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna*, ed. B. Antonino (Bologna, 2010), 9–13, at 11n4. Bernasconi, who discovered Marsili’s inventory, speculates that “Sultan 4°” was probably Murad IV (r. 1623–40). In my opinion this sultan may have been Mehmed IV (r. 1648–87), whose reign is closer to the dates when Girardin (1687) and Marsili (1692) acquired the palace manuscripts, which according to Mustafa Agha were donated to him from the palace library with the sultan’s permission. Following Jacobs (*Untersuchungen*, 121–31), Bernasconi believes that the seal stamped in most of the Paris and Bologna manuscripts could be that of Prince Mustafa (1591–1639), who briefly ruled as Sultan Mustafa I (r. 1617–18, 1622–23). Jacobs misidentified the seals stamped on the Greek manuscripts in Paris, acquired by the French ambassador Girardin, as those of “Prince Mustafa,” with only one seal of “Sultan Mustafa.” Jacobs lists and illustrates these seals (*Untersuchungen*, 122, 127), but the single sultanic seal is in fact the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II (Paris, BnF, Grec 1672, Plutarch), while the octagonal seal, which differs from those of Ottoman sultans and princes, must have been that of the Livornese Mustafa Agha. This seal of “God’s slave Mustafa,” dated 1684–85, reads *yâ kâfî al-muhimmât ‘abdahu Muṣṭafâ sene* [10]96, with *yâ ghafûr* repeated three times. Zeynep Atbaş, curator of the Topkapı library, has found no seals of sultans in current non-Islamic manuscripts under her custody.
67. For this second library, see Domenico Hierosolimitano, *Relatione della gran città di Costantinopoli*, 36–37, cited fully in note 62 above. Flach’s eighteenth-century description of the Privy Chamber complex prior to the demolition of some structures is in his *Observations sur le commerce*, 185–86, 195–96. The chronicler ‘Ata records the replacement of these structures with a new dormitory under Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839–61), who extensively renovated the third court after a fire in 1856: Aḥmed Ṭayyâr-zâde ‘Aṭâ, *Târîḫ-i ‘Aṭâ*, 5 vols. (Istanbul, 1292–93 [1875–76]), 1:30, 312–13.
68. Cited in Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 96.
69. See the Italian text quoted in note 62 above. Discussed in Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 153.
70. *Ibid.*, 153, 288n150.
71. For readers of Ottoman sultans and their custom of eating at the Privy Chamber, see *ibid.*, 153, 288n151. On books and Sultan Süleyman, see Luigi Bassano, *Costumi et i modi particolari della vita de’ turchi* (Rome, 1545), ed. Franz Babinger (Munich, 1963), fols. 20v–21r [pages 47–48]; Benedetto Ramberti, *Libri tre delle cose dei Turchi* (Venice 1539), Book III: 30b–31a. History books read aloud to Shah Jahan focused on his dynasty’s Timurid legacy and the deeds of his Mughal ancestors: Rajeev Kinra, *Writing Self, Writing Empire: Chandar Bhan Brahman and the Cultural World of the Indo-Persian State Secretary* (Oakland, CA, 2015), 121–22. A history of Shah Jahan’s ancestor Timur, the *Zafarnāma*, was read out to him at night: Inayat Khan, *The Shāh Jahān Nāma of ‘Inayat Khan: An Abridged History of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan, Compiled by His Royal Librarian*, trans. from the Persian by A. R. Fuller, ed. W. E. Begley and Z. A. Desai (New Delhi, 1990), 573.
72. The earliest reference to items loaned to the Privy Chamber that I have come across appears in an Inner Treasury inventory of Selim I (ca. 1518), TSMA, D. 3/2, fols. 14b–15b: “Contents of the Imperial Inner Treasury, kept inside the storage chests for swords near the Privy Chamber” (*Mevcûdât-i ḥizāne-i ‘āmir-i enderûnî der enderûn-i anbârḥâ-i şimşir der nezd-i oda-i ḥāşşa*). Among the contents of those chests are listed swords, daggers, and book pouches.
73. A dated example of a librarian’s note is found on fol. 1a of an album compiled during Selim I’s reign and stamped with his almond-shaped sovereignty seal (TSMK, H. 2160): “This is the book that exited the [Privy] Chamber in order to be stored, in the month of Dhū’l Hijja during the year 983 (1576)” (*Sene 983 mäh-i zîl-hiccede odadan ḥıfz olunmağa çıkan kitâbdur*). This album was thus kept at the Privy Chamber complex before being removed for storage at the Inner Treasury in 1576.

74. 'Atā, *Tārīh-i 'Atā*, 1:92, 209–10, 313; 'Abdurrahmān Şeref, "Topkapı Saray-ı Hümayūnı," *Tārīh-i 'Osmānī Encümeni Mecmu'ası* 5-12 (1326–27/1910–11), 405. The Privy Chamber Treasury is identified as the Treasury of Holy Relics (*emānāt-i mübāreke hazīnesi*) and Treasury of the Sword-bearer (*Silāhdār Ağa hazīnesi*) in two nineteenth-century ground plans. Late sixteenth-century documents refer to the "Treasury of the Privy Chamber" as "*hāne-i hāşşa hazīnesi*; oda hazīnesi, odada olan hazīne-i hāşşa": Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 133–41, 153–58.
75. Bayezid II's almond-shaped seal measures 2.2 x 1.4 cm and reads: *Bāyezīd bin Meḥammed el-muẓaffer dā'imā* (Bayezid Son of Mehmed, Always Victorious). Two previously unknown almond-shaped seals of Bayezid II were discovered by Zeynep Atbaş, who attributes them to the end of Bayezid's days as prince or to the first year of his reign. See her essay in this volume with its appendix containing examples of Bayezid II's ex libris. Garo Kürkman has identified in the Venice archives a hitherto unknown round seal of Bayezid II, stamped on an Ottoman document dated 909 (1503). This seal is the same as Selim I's round treasury seal bearing at its center the inscription *Sultān Selīm Şāh* and surrounded by the four-fold rotation of the pious phrase *Tawakkaltu 'alā Khāliqī* (I have placed my trust in the Creator). The only exception is that the center of the newly discovered seal is inscribed *Sultān Bāyezīd*. This seal will be published by Garo Kürkman in his forthcoming book, *Anatolian Seals and Engravers* (oral communication with Zeynep Atbaş).
76. While Atbaş's Appendix I lists every book with Bayezid II's seal impression that she could identify at the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Zeren Tanındı's Appendix II is only a selective sample of primarily artistic manuscripts with the same seal that were transferred from the Topkapı Palace to other libraries. The Süleymaniye Library has many more manuscripts with Bayezid II's seal.
77. On 'Abd al-Qadir al-Maraghi's manuscript dedicated to Murad II (TSMK, R. 1726, Karatay, F 279) see Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, 112–17. Another manuscript dedicated to Mehmed II on fol. 1b by the son of 'Abd al-Qadir after his father's death bears the name *'Abd al-'Azīz bin al-marḥūm al-maghfur Khwāja Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir* (TSMK, A. 3462, Karatay F 278). For 'Abd al-Qadir al-Maraghi's works on music, which survive in the Topkapı and other libraries, see Recep Uslu, *Merâğî'den Sultan II. Murad'a Müziğin Maksatları: Makāsidi'l-Elhān* (Ankara, 2015), 20–23. On his son and grandson, who were active in the Ottoman empire and dedicated works on music to later sultans, see 30–34; and *TDVİA*, s.v. "Abdülkâdir Merâğî," by Nuri Özcan. Manuscripts on music listed in 'Atufi's inventory are considered by Jamil Ragep et al. in the present volume.
78. For Bayezid II's ex libris samples, see my Appendix III: 6, 26.2, 28, 29, 31, 36, and Plates 9 [1], 10, 11 [2]; and Zeynep Atbaş's essay with an appendix, "Examples of Bayezid II's Ex Libris." For ownership notes, annotations, and the ranking system of manuscripts in the Mughal imperial library, see Seyller, "Inspection and Valuation of Manuscripts," 243–349. The quotation from the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* is in note 46 above. On ex libris examples, seal impressions, value notations, and other annotations by librarians in the Decani ruler Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II's (r. 1580–1627) surviving books from the dispersed Bijapur royal library, see Keelan Overton, "Book Culture, Royal Libraries, and Persianate Painting in Bijapur, circa 1580–1630," *Muqarnas* 33 (2016): 91–154.
79. TSMA, D. 10017, fol. 2a: Cited in Kazan, *XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi*, 124n308.
80. TSMA, D. 10017, fol. 3a: Cited in Kazan, *XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi*, 125–26. Books authored by Prince Korkud at the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (hereafter SK) are mentioned in 126n31. Zeynep Atbaş has discovered previously unknown books donated by Bayezid II to his less famous son, Prince Mehmed: see her essay in this volume.
81. For lists of books requested by Mehmed III, see TSMA, E. 861 (12). On books lost by Selim I, see Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 129–31, 129nn682–83. Erünsal cites two documents, an inventory of books kept at the citadel palace of Aleppo prepared for Selim I, and a letter concerning the search for this sultan's own lost books in 1517. The letter by the governor of Cairo, Khayr Bek, was sent to the sultan's chief treasurer, reporting that he had already dispatched one of the lost books and was sending four more by land, as they might be damaged by humidity on a ship (TSMA, E. 6196).
82. I found this reference in TSMA, D. 9499, dated 974 (1566), fol. 2a. On archival registers also being taken to military campaigns in chests, see Feridun M. Emecen, "Sefere Götürülen Defterlerin Defteri," in *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan* (İstanbul, 1991), 241–68.
83. A document dated 969 (1561) lists 122 books sent from the imperial treasury to one of the newly completed Süleymaniye madrasas: TSMA, E. 861 (1). Books removed from the imperial treasury (*hizāne-i 'āmiri*) and endowed by Selim II in 1572 to the madrasa of the Selimiye complex in Edirne are listed in his *waqfiyya* (Ankara, VGM 1395): see Müjgan Cunbur, "Kütüphane Vakfiyelerinde İlimlerin Sınıflandırılması ve Bibliyografik Künyeler," *Türk Kütüphaneciliği (Turkish Librarianship)* 19, no. 4 (1970): 309–16, at 313–14; Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 148n779, 371. Zeren Tanındı's essay and her Appendix II at the end of this volume document the transfer of Inner Treasury books from the Topkapı Palace to public royal libraries in Istanbul and elsewhere. These books are now kept in the following collections of the Süleymaniye Library: Ayasofya, Fatih, Turhan Valide, Şehzade Mehmed, Süleymaniye, and Laleli; and in Istanbul: Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul University Manuscript Library, Fatih Millet, Köprülü, and Nuruosmaniye libraries. Tanındı has also discovered manuscripts stamped with Bayezid II's seal at the Bursa Library, Manisa Library, Amasya Library, and other libraries outside Turkey.

84. I have examined a series of unpublished mid- to late-sixteenth-century archival registers that list books appropriated from deceased grandees for the Inner Treasury: TSMA, E. 861 (4–8). For specially designated spaces in the Inner Treasury containing confiscated books, see Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 195n1022.
85. Ibid., 193–99.
86. Ibid., 195n1022, 213, 417. The eighteenth-century Armenian author Ghukas Inchichean mentions two new libraries at the Topkapı Palace, that of Ahmed III inside the third courtyard and that of Mustafa III near the mosque of gardeners in the outer garden. The latter featured more than 5,000 volumes: G. Inchichean, *XVIII. Asırda İstanbul*, trans. H. D. Andreasyan (Istanbul, 1976), 31. On the emergence of purpose-built public libraries as a new building type in which works of literature, history, political advice, moral philosophy, and sometimes the sciences began to hold a more prominent place as compared to former madrasa and mosque libraries, see Yavuz Sezer, “The Architecture of Bibliophilia: Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Libraries” (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2016). Sezer notes that books endowed by Mustafa III for the corps of gardeners were transferred in 1831 to the madrasa of the Laleli Mosque built by him (107–9). Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909) selected volumes from the Inner Treasury to be rebound and transferred to the Yıldız Palace, but upon his demise these books returned to the Topkapı Palace, with some items given to the Istanbul University Manuscript Library.
87. For books supplied from the Mamluk palace at the citadel and other private collections to public religious institutions as *waqf*, see Behrens-Abouseif, *Book in Mamluk Egypt*, esp. 17–28.
88. On the migration of these books to other libraries, see notes 83–86 above.
89. One of the few studies on a late-Ottoman book collection is Berat Açı, ed., *Osmanlı Kitap Kültürü: Cârullah Efendi Kütüphanesi ve Derkenar Notları* (Ankara, 2015).
90. SK, Ayasofya 981, fol. 1a: reproduced in Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, 102, fig. 83.
91. TSMK, B. 411.
92. Molla Lutfi’s encyclopedic classification omits the rational sciences, despite his expertise in these fields: see Maraş, “Tokatlı Molla Lutfi,” 128, 134–35. For ‘Ali Qushji’s lost treatise, see *TDVİA*, s.v. “Ali Kuşçu,” by Cengiz Aydın. On an earlier Ottoman classification of 100 sciences, dated 1424, whose author explained his aim as adding 40 fields of knowledge to the 60 covered in Fakhr al-Din al-Razi’s (d. 1210) Persian encyclopedia (discussed below in note 93), see Kemal Faruk Molla, “Mehmed Şah Fenârî’nin *Enmûzecu’l-Ulûm* adlı Eserine Göre Fetih Öncesi Dönemde Osmanlılar’da İlim Anlayışı ve İlim Tasnifi,” *Dîvân İlmi Araştırmalar* 18 (2005): 245–73.
93. On the relevance of classifications of sciences to libraries, see Alain Besson, *Medieval Classification and Cataloguing: Classification Practices and Cataloguing Methods in France from the 12th to 15th Centuries* (Biggleswade, England, 1980); and Hirschler, *Ashrafiya Library Catalogue*, esp. 72–80. On Islamic classifications of knowledge and the influence of al-Razi’s version in sixteenth-century Iran, see Gerhard Endress, “The Cycle of Knowledge: Intellectual Traditions and Encyclopedias of the Rational Sciences in Arabic Islamic Hellenism,” in *Organizing Knowledge: Encyclopaedic Activities in the Pre-Eighteenth Century Islamic World*, ed. Gerhard Endress (Leiden; Boston, 2006), 103–35, esp. 128–29. The four manuscripts on encyclopedic classifications of sciences by al-Razi and al-Ghazali listed in ‘Atufi’s inventory (64 {16–19}, 65 {1}) are discussed in Abdurrahman Atçıl’s essay in this volume. I find it noteworthy that an anonymous classification of sciences in Arabic is specified in the inventory as having been “checked out” (300 {9–11}).
94. The categories of knowledge adopted by ‘Atufi are listed in MS Török F. 59, 2–5, a section that has a few missing pages. On his categorization of some books “based on the criterion of adherence to Islamic doctrine,” see Dimitri Gutas’s essay in this volume. On the primacy accorded to the Bible and theological books in Italian libraries see Dressen, *Library of the Badia Fiesolana*, 35. The unconventional classification system of books in Akbar’s library is reported by the disapproving historian ‘Abd al-Qadir Bada’uni (d. 1605) in a discussion of the court poet Fayzi’s (d. 1595) books that were passed on to the Mughal emperor upon his death: cited in Seyller, “Inspection and Valuation of Manuscripts,” 270.
95. Inheritance registers (*muhallefât*) from the seventeenth century onward are dominated by Arabic and Turkish books, with very few works in Persian according to Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar*, 326.
96. Erünsal notes in *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 464–65, that, unlike other book catalogues, ‘Atufi’s inventory gives no total count of books, revealing that its main purpose was not annual inventory counting but rather finding the books, with empty spaces left for new acquisitions.
97. Erünsal, “Brief Survey,” 275.
98. MS Török F. 59. Checked out books are cited on pages 165 {lower right margin}, 167 {upper and lower right margin}, 168 {upper left margin}, 169 {upper and lower right margin}, 171 {lower right margin}, 178 {lower left margin}, 181 {lower right margin}, 190 {mid-left margin}, 299 {mid-right margin}, 300 {mid-left margin}, 307 {right margin, between lines 4 and 5}, 357 {lower right margin}, 359 {mid-right margin}, 361 {mid-right margin}.
99. MS Török F. 59. Books donated as gifts are cited on pages 110 {18–19}, 169 {1}, 187 {between 1 and 2}, 293 {14, 18}, 294 {18}.
100. TSMA, D. 8228: Molla Kasım borrowed these books in 983 (1575–76); they were passed on to his successor İsa Çelebi in 988 (1580). Cited in Aykut Kazancıgil, “Fatih Devri İlmî Hayatı içinde Tıp Eğitimi ve Tababet,” in *İstanbul Armağanı*, ed. Mustafa Armağan, 4 vols. (1995), 1:256. Also discussed in Nühket Varlık’s essay in this volume, where

- she points out that some scholars have raised doubts about whether these two physicians were employed at the imperial palace or in a public royal hospital.
101. For the Head Physician's Tower, also called Baş Lala Kulesi, see Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 187, 292–93n7, Pl. 11 (59). Examples of such library records that I have consulted include TSMA, E. 861 (12–17), D. 6083, and D. 3261.
 102. Sometimes organized alphabetically or thematically, medieval Arabic library catalogues shared no single classification system. Some of these catalogues would likely have been familiar to 'Atufi. For an elaborate "three-tier system" of organizing books according to alphabet, theme, and size in the Ashrafiyya library, see Hirschler, *Ashrafiyya Library Catalogue*, 65–79.
 103. Ankara, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi, 582/1, on page 33, cited in Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 380–81.
 104. Touati, *L'armoire à sagesse*, 8, 71, 293–300. See also Behrens-Abouseif, *Book in Mamluk Egypt*, 7–14, 52–69, especially for extant *khizānas* in Mamluk religious complexes in Cairo. On medieval Islamic libraries and for additional bibliography, see Eche, *Les Bibliothèques Arabes*; Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 1–74; Erünsal, *Orta Çağ İslâm Dünyasında Kitap ve Kütüphâne*; and Hirschler, *Ashrafiyya Library Catalogue*, 86–95.
 105. Giovan Antonio Menavino, *I cinque libri della legge, religione, et vita de' Turchi et della corte, & d'alcune guerre del Gran Turco* (Florence, 1548), 92–97. The French scholar-diplomat Postel was sent by King Francis I to the court of Sultan Süleyman in 1536–37 as an official interpreter of the embassy of Jean de la Forêt. Postel collected oriental manuscripts for the king's royal library and traveled a second time in the Ottoman empire in 1549–50. See Guillaume Postel, *De la République des Turcs: et là où l'occasion s'offrira, des mœurs et loy de tous les Muhamédistes* (Poitiers, 1560), Part III:11.
 106. On the educational dimension of the palace library inventory, see also Tahera Qutbuddin's essay in this volume. The palace school curriculum and the education of pages are discussed in Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 111–22; where Menavino is cited at 111, 114. On books read in 1579 by treasury pages (mostly religious manuals, books on Sufism, grammar, and literature), and the seventeenth-century curriculum of the palace school, see Emine Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court* (Bloomington; Indianapolis, 2013), 25, 29–37. In "Greek Scriptorium," 26–28, Raby proposes that some of the extant Greek manuscripts at the palace library were intended for the linguistic training of Mehmed II's chancellery staff. The latest Ottoman document in Greek at the Venetian state archives is dated 1529; it is an official letter announcing a conquest (ASV, Documenti Turchi, no 250). See Maria Pia Pedani, ed., *The Series Lettere e Scritture Turchesche of the Venetian State Archives* (Leiden, 2009), xv. I thank Zahid Atçıl for this reference.
 107. Menavino, *I cinque libri*, 96. On the palace school and dormitories of pages, see Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 111–22. Bayezid II's further development of his father's palace organization, with added emphasis on the education of pages and his establishment of new preparatory schools, is mentioned in 'Aṭā, *Tārīḥ-i 'Aṭā*, 1:72, 185.
 108. Books endowed for the use of pages in the service of the Inner Treasury are listed in "check-out" registers from the mid-sixteenth century onward. In my view, these *waqf* volumes may have been kept in the pages' dormitory rather than in the Inner Treasury itself. See TSMA, E. 861 (11) dated 1008 (1599–1600), "Ḥazīne-i 'āmirede mevcūd vakıf kitāblar" (*waqf* books present in the imperial treasury), which were stored at the "*hāne-i ḥazīne*," likely the dormitory of treasury pages. For endowed books in dormitories, see also the essay of Zeynep Atbaş in this volume.
 109. Judith Pfeiffer's essay in the present volume refers to a book borrowed from the Inner Treasury by Mü'eyyездade, which bears both his borrower's mark and the impressions of Bayezid II's seal. She proposes that the sultan may have given that book to him as a present.
 110. The petition is cited in Tunç Şen and Cornell H. Fleischer's essay in this volume, where they raise the pertinent question of whether 'Atufi's inventory was accessible to other members of the palace. For astrolabes, quadrants, and astronomical instruments kept in the Inner Treasury, which are listed in the treasury inventories dated 1496 and 1505, see Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, 134–35. I have slightly modified the dedicatory inscription of Bayezid II's astrolabe cited by David A. King, who identifies its maker as "a Turk from Central Anatolia": see his "Two Astrolabes for the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II," in *Essays in Honour of Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 2006), 1:439–59, at 454–55. I prefer to interpret the designation "al-Rūmī" more broadly, as an "Ottoman" regardless of ethnicity and from a wider geography than Anatolia.
 111. On Shaykh Hamdullah's probable access to books kept at the royal library, see M. Celâl, *Şeyh Hamdullah* (Istanbul, 1948), 9; cited in Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, 98. For this calligrapher, see Muhittin Serin, *Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah* (Istanbul, 2007). The album in question (TSMK, B. 411) is dubbed "The Timurid Calligraphy Album" and is described in Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, 106–21.
 112. This report in Latifi's (d. 1582) Ottoman Turkish biographical anthology of poets is discussed in Ferenc Csirkés's article in the present volume.
 113. On Qur'ans listed in the inventory, see the essays of Zeren Tanındı and Zeynep Atbaş.
 114. This Mamluk Qur'an (T. 533) is now kept in the Turkish and Islamic Art Museum (hereafter, TİEM), in Istanbul: see Zeren Tanındı's essay in the present volume, and her chapter, "The Bindings and Illuminations of the Qur'an," in *The 1400th Anniversary of the Qur'an: Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art Qur'an Collection* (Istanbul, 2010), 90–121, at 99, cat. 62.
 115. The Venetian diplomat Giovanni Dario, who attended this reception ceremony at the Edirne Palace, describes some of the gifts presented by the Mamluk ambassador without mentioning a Qur'an: Guglielmo Berchet, *La Repubblica*

- di Venezia e la Persia* (Torino, 1865), no. 17, 150–51. Berchet misidentified that document as the report of an embassy to Iran, which is contradicted by its references to Edirne and the Ottoman grand vizier Davud Pasha (g.v. 1482–97).
116. In her essay Zeren Tanındı suggests the date 1503 for the presentation of Qa'itbay's Qur'an. For embassies exchanged with the Mamluks during Bayezid II's reign, see Cihan Yüksel Muslu, *The Ottomans and the Mamluks: Imperial Diplomacy and Warfare in the Islamic World* (London, 2014), esp. 248–74.
 117. For dates of rewards given by Bayezid II to these two authors upon the presentation of the completed drafts of their history books, see Kazan, *XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi*, 89. Bidlisi's career, his works, and the dynastic histories written by him and Kemalpaşazade are analyzed in a forthcoming book by Vural Genç, *Acem'den Rum'a Bir Bürokrat ve Tarihçi: İdris-i Bidlisi (1457-1520)*. I am grateful to the author, who generously shared with me his unpublished book manuscript.
 118. On the contents and dates of early works by Bidlisi listed in the library inventory, see Genç, *Acem'den Rum'a*, 22, 171–92, 194–96, 590. Genç observes that Bidlisi gives two different dates for his departure from Tabriz, 907 (1501–2) and 908 (1502–3), implying that he probably left Tabriz in 1502 and began to write his Ottoman dynastic history around 1504; see 14–26, 149–50, 171. At 125n415, Genç discusses Jalal al-Din Dawani's book produced for Bayezid II's library, which is cited in 'Atufi's inventory as *Sharḥu rubā'īyyāti Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-naṣā'ihī* (Commentary on Quatrains of Mawlana Jalal al-Din al-Dawani in Persian, Pertaining to Advice, 146 {18–19}). On long-distance exchanges between Dawani and Bayezid II, see 125n414. Dawani's book on ethics, *Akhlāq-i Jalālī* (Jalalian Ethics), was also known as *Lawāmi' al-ishrāq fī makārim al-akhlāq* (Lights of the Rising Sun on Ethical Virtues). The library inventory lists it anonymously with its abbreviated title, *Kitābu makārimi al-akhlāqi bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (114 {2–7}), describing it as a Persian work pertaining to Sufism. Probably because it was well known, it did not need a fuller citation. For both works of Dawani, see the essay of Hüseyin Yılmaz in the present volume. On students of Dawani who benefited from Mü'eyyadzade's patronage at the Ottoman court, see Hanna Sohrweide, "Dichter und Gelehrte aus dem Osten im osmanischen Reich (1453–1600)," *Der Islam* 46, no. 1–2 (1970): 263–302, at 280–81.
 119. Cited and discussed in Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism," 43.
 120. Erünsal mentions books transferred from the royal library in the Cairo citadel to the Inner Treasury of the Topkapı Palace by Selim I: see *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 131. He assumes that Selim I did not take books bequeathed as endowments (*waqf*) to public libraries, but only confiscated those from the private libraries of defeated rulers and governors, 437–39. However, an undated one-page list at the Topkapı Palace archives (TSMA, E. 6090) giving the number of books kept in the Mamluk sultan Qansuh al-Ghawri's (r. 1501–16) mosque in Cairo without naming their titles, which consisted of ten chests containing 469 volumes, may suggest otherwise. Its heading reads, "These are the books in Sultan Ghawri's mosque" (*Sultān Gawrī cāmi'inde olan kitāblar*). For the book treasury of Sultan al-Ghawri's funerary mosque-madrasa-*khanqah* complex, see Behrens-Abouseif, *Book in Mamluk Egypt*, 30, 32–33, 62–63, 67–68. This library consisted of two private collections, showing that it was "not easy in the late Mamluk period to supply a large number of books to fill the library of a princely religious institution" (ibid., 80–81). Likewise, endowed libraries of religious complexes often passed on to private or other libraries, despite their *waqf* stipulations (ibid., 9–10). For the argument that the Ashrafiyya library catalogue (now in the Süleymaniye Library's Fatih collection) was shipped with a substantial number of endowed manuscripts from the Ayyubid-period Ashrafiyya madrasa in Damascus to the Topkapı Palace library as booty upon Selim I's conquest of Syria in 1516, see Hirschler, *Ashrafiyya Library Catalogue*, 46–53. Hirschler proposes that many of these books were transferred from the Topkapı Palace to the Fatih and Ayasofya collections of the Süleymaniye Library by Mahmud I (r. 1730–54). He notes that books repeatedly changed legal status between endowed and private in medieval collections, thereby ensuring their survival over longer periods (ibid., 39–40).
 121. Hoca Sa'deddin, *Tāci'ü't-tevāriḥ*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1279/1863), 2:398–99.
 122. By the late sixteenth and seventeenth century, the flourishing book market in Istanbul overshadowed those in other Ottoman centers, including Bursa, Edirne, Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, Mecca, and Jerusalem according to Erünsal, *Sahafluk ve Sahaflar*, 295–96, 337–39. The book sent back to Herat via Khwaja Hafiz Yazdi is identified in a document preserved in the Bursa qadi court registers as *Tafsir-i Qādi* (dated 12 Rabi' I 890; March 29, 1485): quoted in Erünsal, *Sahafluk ve Sahaflar*, 297n35.
 123. Genç, *Acem'den Rum'a*, 385–86.
 124. TSMK, R. 1465: Fehmi Ethem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1961), 1, no. 1011, Tarih, 327–28. Karatay notes the possibility that the Tacizade attribution, added by a later hand, may instead refer to Tacizade Ca'fer Çelebi's brother Sa'di Çelebi (d. 1516–17). On the Turkish translation of Qazwini's Persian history, see *TDVİA*, s.v. "Sarica Kemal," by İsmail E. Erünsal. For the many copies of the original Persian version listed in 'Atufi's inventory, see the essay of Ferenc Csirkés in this volume.
 125. Additions of new books to the inventory's empty spaces in a different hand appear on pages 56, 83, 199, 204. Other insertions in the same (or a very similar) hand as that of the scribe/transcriber of the inventory include those on pages 1, 151, and many interlinear corrections.
 126. A different kind of discrepancy appears in a volume not listed in 'Atufi's inventory, which is discussed in the essay

- of Zeynep Atbaş (TSMK, A. 3480, Karatay A 7118). This is a commentary by Mirim Çelebi on his grandfather 'Ali Qushji's Arabic astronomy treatise dedicated to Mehmed II. It bears three seal impressions of Bayezid II (fols. 1a, 2a, 199b), but was dedicated to Selim I on fol. 3a in 925 (1519). Atbaş proposes that the volume was probably refurbished after Bayezid II's demise, as is revealed by the golden text frame that partly covers one of Bayezid's seal impressions stamped during his lifetime. Interestingly, this sultan's two other seal impressions have been cut out from elsewhere and pasted indistinguishably into this volume. For an entry with another inconsistent date in the inventory, see my Appendix III: 45. Because the corresponding volume has two seal impressions of Bayezid II and also a dedication to him, the post-Bayezid *abjad* date written hastily in its last page in a different hand must be erroneous.
127. For this register, see note 27 above. On books presented as gifts to Bayezid II, which are listed in that register, see Kazan, XV. *Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi*, 347–49.
 128. TSMA, D. 9628, fol. 4a: *Sa'adetli pādīshāh ile gelen kitāblar tolabından bir mecma' ve merhūm Sultān Selīm ile sancākdan gelen kitāblar tolabından bir mecma' Baba Cüce yedinden içeriye teslim*. The Qur'an was handed over to the junior lady on 13 Ramadan 997 (July 26, 1589) by the dwarf Haydar Cüce (fol. 4a).
 129. TSMA, D. 6083, dated 965 (1557–58), fol. 2b.
 130. Translated from Arabic into Chaghatay Turkic by Mir Haydar and calligraphed in Uyghur script by Malik Bakhshi of Herat, the volume was bought in Istanbul in 1673 by Antoine Galland. This text is followed by another one in Uyghur script, titled *Memorial of the Saints*. See Marie-Rose Séguy, *The Miraculous Journey of Mahomet: Mirāj Nāme* (New York, 1977).
 131. I am grateful to Zeynep Yürekli-Görkay, who informed me that there are no seal impressions of Bayezid II in this manuscript. For the date and description of the manuscript, see Serpil Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting* (Washington, DC, 2009), 46–47. Yoltar proposed the date ca. 1506–12, given that the author received seven donations from Bayezid II in that period: Ayşin Yoltar, "The Role of Illustrated Manuscripts in Ottoman Luxury Book Production: 1416–1520" (PhD diss., New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 2002), 425–42. I thank Yoltar for suggesting that this might indeed be the volume listed by 'Atufi, even though she had proposed a later date for the manuscript.
 132. For the manuscript, see Zeren Tanındı's article in the present volume.
 133. I thank Hüseyin Yılmaz, who suggests that this manuscript might be Ibrahim b. Ishaq Shams Sajjaji's *Farā'id al-Sulūk fi Faḍā'il al-Mulūk*, a mirror for princes like the *Kalīla wa Dimna*, written in 610 (1213): see Nasrin Askari, *The Medieval Reception of the Shāhnāma as a Mirror for Princes* (Leiden, 2016), 50–52. But he cautions that other authors have also written works on this genre. An entry in the inventory cites a different copy, defined as pertaining to Sufism: *Kitābu farā'id al-sulūki fi al-naṣā'ihī min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (114 {13}).
 134. The book's flyleaf note, *odadan çıkan fārisi*, indicates that it was transferred from the Privy Chamber to the Inner Treasury at some point.
 135. This manuscript, too, was produced in the Aqqoyunlu workshop in Shiraz.
 136. The variant title of another copy of al-Jazari's illustrated treatise, labeled on fol. 1a as *Kitāb al-Jāmi' bayn al-'amal wa-al-ḥiyyal*, does not match 'Atufi's entries (SK, Ayasofya 3606). This variant is an example of the notorious flexibility of premodern book titles. Stamped with the *waqf* seals of Mahmud I and his endowment inspector, its opening page may once have featured Bayezid II's seal on its missing lower left corner. On the upper left corner is the round Inner Treasury seal of Selim I and what appears to be his almond-shaped sovereignty seal, both of which are effaced. The illustrated Oxford manuscript of al-Jazari's *Automata* (The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Greaves 27) lacks seal impressions of Bayezid II. I thank Serpil Bağcı for checking that manuscript on my behalf.
 137. Some of the outstanding illustrated manuscripts are discussed by Zeynep Atbaş and Zeren Tanındı in this volume.
 138. Three copies with a similar title are listed in 'Atufi's inventory: MS Török F. 59, 307 {7}: *Tansūkhnāmah-i ilkhānī li-l-Naṣir al-Ṭūsī fi 'ilmi al-jawāhiri min al-aḥjāri*; 184 {3–4}: *Kitābu tansūkhnāmah-i ilkhānī fi 'ilmi al-aḥjāri*, bound together with a work on history; and 165 {7–8}: *Kitābu Atānsūkhnāmah-i Ilkhān fi al-ṭibbi*. The first two entries refer to Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's (d. 1274) treatise titled "Book on Precious Stones for the Ilkhan": see Naṣir al-Din Ṭūsī, *Tansūkhnāmah-i Ilkhānī*, ed. Muḥammad Razavī (Tehran, 1970). The third entry corresponds to the only known illustrated Persian copy of a work on Chinese medicine, which begins with a preface by the Ilkhanid vizier and polymath Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah al-Hamadani (d. 1318). On this illustrated manuscript (SK, Ayasofya 3596), dated 713 (1313), see Persis Berlekamp, "The Limits of Artistic Exchange in Fourteenth-Century Tabriz: The Paradox of Rashid al-Din's Book on Chinese Medicine, Part I," *Muqarnas* 27 (2010): 209–50. I have examined the manuscript, whose title on the flyleaf, *Kitāb tashrīḥ bi-al-fārisiyya* (Book of Anatomy in Persian), does not match 'Atufi's entry and seems to be a later librarian's addition. It is likely that the front page bearing the title assigned by 'Atufi is lost because Bayezid II's seal is stamped only at the end (fol. 262b). The partly torn opening page (fol. 1a) has the *waqf* seals of Mahmud I and his endowment administrator, but it probably also featured a now-lost seal impression of Bayezid II.
 139. Two copies are listed in MS Török F. 59, 253 {12}, *Dastān-i Warqa wa-Gulshāh*; and 254 {4}, *Naẓm-i ḥikāyati Warqa wa-Gulshāh bi-al-fārisiyyati*. The only extant copy (TSMK, H. 841, Karatay F 386) has seal impressions of Bayezid II.
 140. There are three entries on Dioscorides's work in MS Török F. 59. The first is *Kitāb al-ḥashā'ishi li-Dīsqurīdus wa-huwa khamsu maqālātīn fi al-ṭibbi* (The Book on Herbs by

- Dioscorides, and in it are five parts, on Medicine, 169 {3}). The second entry lists this work within a multi-title compendium (169 {5–7}). The third entry (169 {4–5}) matches verbatim the title of an extant manuscript (TSMK, A. 2127, Karatay: A 7191), which is stamped with Bayezid II's seal on the opening and last pages. The matching title, written on a paper label pasted on top of a previous title on the upper part of the opening page, reads *Mujalladun awwalu min Kitāb Disqūridus fī al-hashā'ishi wa-ghayrihā wa-fihī al-hashā'ishi khamṣu maqālātīn fī al-ṭibbī* (First volume of Dioscorides on Herbs et cetera, and in it are five parts, on Medicine).
141. MS Török F. 59, 169 {13–14}: *Kitābu manāfi'ī al-hayawāni bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-ṭibbī*. Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 500, featuring Bayezid II's seal on fols. 2a, 84b; several other copies with varying titles are listed by 'Atufi (169 {13–17}).
 142. MS Török F. 59, 244 {11–12}: Washington, DC, Freer Gallery of Art, 32.30–32–37, in which Bayezid II's seal is stamped only on fol. 337b, implying that the front matter is lost; and TiEM, T. 2046. On these two manuscripts, see Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, "Selections from Jalayirid Books in the Libraries of Istanbul," *Muqarnas* 28 (2011): 221–64, at 229–30.
 143. MS Török F. 59, 165 {17}: *Kitābu jarrāhiyyatin [ay, umūrin jarrāhiyyatin] khāniyyatin bi-al-turkiyyati ma'rūfīn bi-Jarrāhnāmah fī al-ṭibbī*. For three known illustrated copies of this work, see Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 25–26, 25n14; İlter Uzel, *Şerefeddin Sabuncuoğlu: Cerrāhiyyetü'l-Hāniyye*, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1992). In her essay in this volume, Nükhet Varlık has identified one of these volumes as having been stamped with Bayezid II's seal.
 144. MS Török F. 59, 310 {12–13}: TSMK, A. 3474, Karatay A 7143.
 145. The manuscript (TSMK, H. 1123, not catalogued by Karatay) was identified as the "*Shāhnāmah* of Malik-i Um̄mī" in Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, cat. 34, 190–91; Yoltar, "Role of Illustrated Manuscripts," 386–99; and Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 50–51. More recently, it has been attributed to a poet with the pen name of Ahi by Andrew C. S. Peacock: oral communication cited in Sooyong Kim's essay in this volume, where Kim mentions two copies of a divan ascribed to an *Āhī* in 'Atufi's inventory (MS Török F. 59, 246 {19}, 247 {16}). I am grateful to Sara Nur Yıldız, who explained that Peacock's new attribution is based on the fact that the Topkapı manuscript does not clearly differentiate between the spelling of "h" and "m," due to which *Ummī* and *Āhī* are both possible readings. But on fol. 3a the spelling of the author's pen name clearly has an "alif" with a "madda" over it, which justifies reading it as *Āhī* (fig. 12c). The date ca. 1485 was proposed for this manuscript in Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, 190; with the revised date of ca. 1495 suggested in Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 50–51. Yoltar assigned to it an even later date during or after 1502–3, based on Bayezid II's "Register of Rewards," which begins after that year and lists awards received by this *Shāhnāmah*'s calligrapher-cum-painter Darwish Mahmud bin 'Abdullah Naqqash in 1507–8 and 1508–9: "Role of Illustrated Manuscripts," 386–99.
 146. For the Cambridge manuscript, labeled by a modern librarian as *Bāyazīdnāmah* on the spine of its binding, see Sara Nur Yıldız, "Ottoman Historical Writing in Persian, 1400–1600," in *Persian Historiography*, ed. Charles Melville (London, 2012), 456–61, at 457. Yıldız kindly explained to me that she did not connect the Topkapı manuscript with Ahi in her article, given its common attribution to Malik-i Um̄mī. She now believes that Ahi seems to be, in fact, the correct reading rather than Um̄mī (personal communication). I would like to thank Ünver Rüstem for sending me photographs of the Cambridge manuscript, whose dated colophon gives the scribe's name as 'Abdallah al-Katib (fol. 105a). I have noticed notes added later to the flyleaf and colophon margin of this manuscript, which identify the work as *Dīvān-i Malik-zādah*. In the colophon the author refers to himself as *Malik-i Maḥmūd* (fol. 105a). This seems in keeping with the identification of the author's given name as *Malik-zādah Maḥmūd* by Mikail Bayram, who brought the draft of the same work (SK, Fatih 4092) to the attention of Zeren Tanındı: see her article, "The Illustration of the *Shahnama* and the Art of the Book in Ottoman Turkey," in *Shahnama Studies II. The Reception of Firdausi's Shahnama*, ed. Charles Melville and Gabriella van den Berg (Leiden; Boston, 2012), 141–58, at 144–45.
 147. I have confirmed that the author's name, *Malik-i Maḥmūd*, mentioned in the colophon of the Cambridge manuscript, also appears in the colophons of SK, Fatih 4092 (fol. 139b) and TSMK, H. 1123 (fol. 98a). The colophon of the Süleymaniye manuscript has two couplets crossed out by red lines, with revised couplets indicated as marginal annotations (fol. 98a). Therefore, the Cambridge manuscript, in which these crossed-out lines no longer remain and where one of the two marginal corrections is inserted as an interlinear annotation, must date after the draft version in the Süleymaniye. The Cambridge manuscript, in turn, preceded the final illustrated Topkapı version that lacks such authorial corrections. The illegible almond-shaped seal I noticed in photos of the Süleymaniye manuscript, which Zeren Tanındı graciously sent to me, measures 13 x 17 mm, a measurement that corresponds to Selim II's seal according to Zeynep Atbaş. I also spotted in this manuscript the following endowment note (fol. 53a): *Vakf-i merḥūm Çelebizāde Mevlānā Dervīş Mehmed*. This endower must be Mahmud I's grand vizier (d. 1716), whose library contained several manuscripts from the Ashrafiyya collection in Damascus that bear identical *waqf* notes. These manuscripts in the Süleymaniye Library's Fatih collection likely originated from the Topkapı Palace library, to which they had been transferred from the Ashrafiyya library: see Hirschler, *Ahrafiyya Library Catalogue*, 50–52.
 148. Dressen, *Library of the Badia Fiesolana*, 35. I have briefly discussed several books cited in the inventory that can be associated with the imperial cosmopolitanism of Mehmed II in Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism," 9–16, 23. On the

- strong “Damascene flavor” of the late thirteenth-century Ashrafiyya Library catalogue despite its “diversity and plurality,” see Hirschler, *Ahrafiyya Library Catalogue*, 35–40. Likewise, a bibliography of books written in twelfth-century Bukhara displays a regional focus: see Shahab Ahmed, “Mapping the World of a Scholar in Sixth/Twelfth Century Bukhara: Regional Tradition in Medieval Islamic Scholarship as Reflected in a Bibliography,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 120, no. 1 (2000): 24–43. For the wide variety of books on “secular” subjects once belonging to private libraries of Ayyubid and Mamluk elites that ended up in the endowed religious libraries of Syria and Egypt, and the encyclopedic outlook of Mamluks, see Behrens-Abouseif, *Book in Mamluk Egypt*, 40–42, 146–49.
149. The biographies of numerous Ottoman scholars who studied abroad, mostly in Mamluk, Timurid, and Turkmen metropolises, can be found in Taşköprizade, *Şekâ'îkunu'mânîye*.
 150. Mahmud Gawan's two works listed in the library inventory are discussed in Christopher Markiewicz's essay in this volume: see also 'Imād al-Dīn Maḥmūd Gāwān, *Manāẓir al-inshā* (Tehran, 1381/2002–3); Maḥmūd Gāwān, *Riyāz al-inshā*, ed. Chānd Ḥusayn and Ghulām Yazdānī (Hyderabad, 1948). The letter addressed to Mahmud Pasha is in *Riyāz al-inshā*, 125–29, no. 32; for a letter from Sultan Muhammad Shah Bahmani to Sultan Muhammad Shah al-Rumi (Mehmed II), see 391–93, no. 123; another letter to Mehmed II is at 393–98, no. 122. Mahmud Gawan's commercial relations with Ottoman Bursa are examined in Halil İnalcık, “Bursa I: XV. Asır Sanayi ve Ticaret Tarihine Dair Vesikalar,” *Belleten* 24 (1960): 45–102, document nos. 3, 12, and 40, at pages 69, 75–76, and 95–96; Richard M. Eaton, “Mahmud Gawan (1410–1481): Deccanis and Westerners,” in his *A Social History of the Deccan, 1300–1761: Eight Indian Lives* (Cambridge, 2005), 59–77, esp. 65, 76. For Bayezid II's reception of ambassadors in Edirne, see note 115 above and Behiştî Ahmed Çelebi, *Tārīh-i Behiştî II*, ed. Mertol Tulum (Ankara, 2016), 353–55. The verse quoted by Lami'i is cited in Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, 508.
 151. For extant books associated with Mehmed II, see the articles of Zeynep Atbaş and Zeren Tanındı in this volume; Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*. Reports by the Greco-Venetian humanist Niccolò Sagudino and Giacomo Languschi are cited in Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism,” 6–7. On deluxe manuscripts of al-Suhrawardi's works produced for Mehmed II, see Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, 151, 172. Works by Ibn Sina (Avicenna) and al-Suhrawardi cited in 'Atufi's inventory are discussed in Dimitri Gutas's essay in this volume.
 152. For an English translation of the work commissioned by Mehmed II, see 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī, *The Precious Pearl (al-Durrah al-fākhira)*, Together with His Glosses and the Commentary of 'Abd al-Ghafūr al-Lārī, trans. Nicholas Heer (Albany, NY, 1979), cited in Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism,” 44. On the likelihood that this work was not delivered to Bayezid II, see the co-authored essay by Cemal Kafadar and Ahmet Karamustafa in this volume. Bayezid II also corresponded with and sent gifts to Jami in Herat: see Ömer Okumuş, “Jāmī, Abdurrahman,” *TDVİA* 7 (1993): 94–99, at 95. On annual gifts sent by Bayezid II to other Iranian scholars including Jalal al-Din Dawani, Sayf al-Din Ahmad Taftazani, and Mir Jamal al-Din Ataullah, and the sultan's employment of İdris Bidlisi who became estranged from Ottoman court factions, see Genç, “Şah ile Sultan Arasında bir Acem Bürokrati,” 43–75, esp. 44n1.
 153. I have borrowed the term “philosophical philosophy” from the essay of Dimitri Gutas, who notes the “religious watchdog aspect” of the inventory, where Bayezid II's librarian sometimes inserts his own critical comments into book entries, particularly those on “philosophical philosophy” in the Avicennan mode. Gutas observes that philosophers from al-Andalus, including Averroes (Ibn Rushd) are “completely absent” from the palace library inventory, and that even Greek philosophers are sparsely represented. The earliest known manuscript of Averroes's *Tahāfut* was copied in Istanbul in 925 (1519) according to İhsan Fazlıoğlu, who claims that it must have been known earlier in the Ottoman context: see his “Türk Felsefe Bilim Tarihi'nin Seyir Defteri,” *Dîvân: İlmî Araştırmalar* 18 (2005): 1–57, at 41–42. However, the availability of this work to the authors of the two texts commissioned by Mehmed II is uncertain, according to M. Sait Özervarlı, “Arbitrating between al-Ghazālī and the Philosophers: The *Tahāfut* Commentaries in the Ottoman Context,” in *Islam and Rationality: The Impact of al-Ghazālī. Papers Collected on His 900th Anniversary*, ed. Georges Tamer, 2 vols. (Leiden; Boston, 2015), 1:376–97, at 388, 390.
 154. Andrea Gritti, “Relazione [1503],” in Eugenio Albèri, ed., *Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti al Senato il XVI secolo*, 15 vols., Serie 3: *Relazioni degli stati ottomani* (Florence, 1855), 3:1–44, at 20–21. The report by Gritti's secretary, I. Caroldus, from the end of September 1503 titled “Relatione fata in Pregadi per sier Andrea Gritti ritornato orator dil Signor turco,” is in Marino Sanuto, *I diarii*, ed. Federico Stefani, 58 vols. (Venice, 1879–1903), 5:449–68, at 458.
 155. On the vizier Sinan Pasha's works, see Koç, “Sinan Paşa,” 230–31. Ghulam Sinan's letter, formerly misattributed to his namesake Sinan Pasha, is published and analyzed in Şükrü Özen, “Sahn-i Semân'da bir Atışma: Gulâm (Köle) Sinan'ın Mektubu,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları - The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 38 (2011): 161–92, esp. 182–83, 189. Özen additionally identifies Ghulam Sinan's commentary on 'Alī Qushji's astronomy treatise (SK, Fatih 5396), which had also been misattributed to Sinan Pasha.
 156. Maróth, “Library of Sultan Bayazid II,” 115; see also essays concerning 'Atufi's entries on the literary arts by Ferenc Csirkés, Sooyong Kim, Christopher Marckiewicz, and Tahera Qutbuddin in this volume.
 157. On illustrated and illuminated manuscripts produced for Bayezid II, see Yoltar, *Role of Illustrated Manuscripts*, 267–68; and Zeren Tanındı's and Zeynep Atbaş's essays in this volume. Ottoman sources emphasizing Mehmed

- II's invitations to men of talent and learning are discussed in Gönül Tekin, "Fatih Devri Türk Edebiyatı," in *İstanbul Armağanı*, ed. Mustafa Armağan, 1:161–235, at 162–63. For Bidlisi's praise of Mehmed II's patronage of foreigners in contrast to Bayezid II, and Göde Ahmed's admiration for Mehmed II's policies, see Genç, *Acem'den Rum'a*, 126–27, 131, 167, 224, 260–61, 527–28.
158. Menavino, *I cinque libri*, 106–7. On Qur'ans and manuscripts of sura *al-An'am*, see Zeren Tanındı's and Zeynep Atbaş's essays in this volume. Prayer books, amulets, and talismans are discussed in Guy Burak's essay.
 159. Esoteric and occult sciences were already strongly emphasized in Mehmed Şah el-Fenari's early classification of the sciences cited in note 92 above. Works in this field listed by 'Atufi are analyzed by Noah Gardiner in the present volume; see also Cornell Fleischer's essay. No extant volume of the *Owl's Lament* with Bayezid II's seal impression has yet been located. On this work, attributable to al-Bistami, see Cornell H. Fleischer, "A Mediterranean Apocalypse: Prophecies of Empire in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 61, no. 1–2 (2018): 18–90, at 45; his "Shadows of Shadows: Prophecy in Politics in 1530s Istanbul," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 13 (2007): 51–62, esp. 55; and "Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences: Prophecies at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in *Falnama: The Book of Omens*, ed. Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı et al. (Washington, DC, 2009), 232–36. See also *TDVİA*, s.v. "Bistâmî, Abdurrahman b. Muhammed," by Mustafa Çağrıncı; İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "İlk Dönem Osmanlı İlim ve Kültür Hayatında İhvanus's-safâ ve Abdurrahmân Bistâmî," *Dîvân: İlmî Araştırmalar* 1/2 (1996): 229–40; Denis Gril, "Les traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople," *Varia Turcica* 33 (1999): 133–52. On related works translated from Greek in the palace library, see Maria Mavroudi, "Translations from Greek into Arabic at the Court of Mehmed II the Conqueror," in *The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture*, ed. Ayla Ödekan, Nevra Necipoğlu, and Engin Akyürek (Istanbul, 2016), 195–207, esp. 206–7.
 160. Mirim's autograph manuscript (SK, Ayasofya 2697) is dated 12 Rajab 904 and stamped with Bayezid II's seals on fols. 1a and 264a. His later treatise on optics dedicated to Sultan Selim I, which refers to the works of Ibn al Haytham and Kamal al-Din al-Farisi, is mentioned in Elaheh Kheirandish's essay in this volume. On Mirim's biography and works, see *TDVİA*, s.v. "Mîrim Çelebi," by İhsan Fazlıoğlu. For the "Samarqand School," see İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Osmanlı Felsefe-Biliminin Arkaplanı: Semerkand Matematik-Astronomi Okulu," *Dîvân İlmî Araştırmalar Dergisi* 14, no. 1 (2003): 1–66.
 161. On the listing of optics under the mathematical sciences in earlier classifications of the sciences by al-Razi (d. 1210) and al-Amuli (d. 1352), see Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "Powers of One: The Mathematicalization of the Occult Sciences in the High Persianate Tradition," *Intellectual History of the Islamic World* 5 (2017): 127–99, at 146 and 150. Dated 716 (1316), the extant copy of al-Farisi's treatise has Bayezid II's seal impressions on fols. 2a and 205b. A partially erased book title on fol. 2a is illegible (TSMK, A. 3340, Karatay A 7151). Another title on fol. 1a is *Kitābu Tanqīhi al-manāẓiri*. The same title is repeated on fol. 2a in a script differing from that of 'Atufi and/or his assistants.
 162. The Istanbul manuscripts are described in Abdelhamid I. Sabra, *The Optics of Ibn al-Haytham, Books I-III: On Direct Vision* (London, 1989); and briefly discussed in Gülrü Necipoğlu, "The Scrutinizing Gaze in the Aesthetics of Islamic Visual Cultures: Sight, Insight, and Desire," *Muqarnas* 32 (2015): 23–61, at 37–40. See also Elaheh Kheirandish's essay in this volume.
 163. This manuscript (SK, Ayasofya 2448) has seal impressions of Bayezid II on fols. 1a and 677b. The date in the colophon (fol. 677b; see fig. 13d) has been read as 1464–65 (869) in the Süleymaniye Library's electronic catalogue. The date was misread as 899 (1493–94) in Sabra, *Optics of Ibn al-Haytham*, 2:lxvii, where the dedication to Mehmed II (d. 1481) had been overlooked.
 164. The first pages of the six-volume set are each consecutively labeled by 'Atufi from 1 to 6 as *al-mujallad (X) min kitāb bin al-Haytham fī al-manāẓiri min qibali al-hikmati*. Because one of the volumes contains two books, the total number of volumes is six, even though they contain all seven books. Hence, some of the volume (*mujallad*) numbers in 'Atufi's inventory, which are inscribed above the opening pages of each volume, do not correspond to the book (*maqāla*) numbers of the medieval titles written on the same pages. The Süleymaniye Library has volume 1 (Fatih 3212, medieval label Book I, dated 476/1083, Bayezid II's seals on fols. 1a, 140b); volume 2 (Fatih 3213, medieval label Book II, dated 476/1083, Bayezid II's seal on fol. 1a); volume 3 (Fatih 3214, medieval label Book III, dated 476/1083, Bayezid II's seals on fols. 1a, 197b); volume 4 (Fatih 3215, medieval label Books IV and V, dated 636/1239, Bayezid II's seals on fols. 1a, 328b); and volume 6 (Fatih 3216, medieval label Book VII, dated 476/1083, Bayezid II's seals on fols. 1a, 138b). The Topkapı library has only volume 5 (TSMK, A. 3339, Karatay A 7149, medieval label Book VI, dated 476/1083, stamped with Bayezid II's seal on fols. 1a, 133b).
 165. Sabra described the single-volume manuscript (SK, Ayasofya 2448) as "the only copy that has the whole text of I.H.'s work," comprising 677 folios. He noted that this complete copy was transcribed from what he calls the "Askari Set," which he named after the copyist Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ja'far al-Askari, who was the son-in-law of Ibn al-Haytham (i.e., SK, Fatih 3212, 3213, 3214, 3216; and TSMK, A. 3339) complemented by Fatih 3215: Sabra, *Optics of Ibn al-Haytham*, 2:lxvii. See note 164 above for these six volumes. Sabra does not mention another large-format undated Ottoman copy in the palace library of Ibn al-Haytham's *Optics*, which bears no seal impression of any sultan and perhaps dates from the eighteenth century (TSMK, H. 2007, Karatay A 7150: misidentified as E.H. 2007 by Karatay).

166. This volume (TSMK, A. 1899; Karatay A 7148) only has Ahmed III's seal impression on fol. 1a. I am grateful to Elaheh Kheirandish, who brought to my attention the important observation in Sabra, *Optics of Ibn al-Haytham*, 2:lxviii–lxxxiii, that this volume was transcribed in 915 (1509) from a copy completed in 476 (1083) “as stated on the first page” (namely, SK, Fatih 3212, 3213, and 3214 in the “Askari Set”). Sabra noted that, in A. 1899, the date written at the end of Book I is Sunday, 2 Safar 915 (May 22, 1509) and the date at the end of Book II is Wednesday, 30 Rabi' I, 915 (July, 18, 1509). Another manuscript copy (Köprülü 952) is described in Sabra, *Optics of Ibn al-Haytham*, 2:lxviii: written in Maghribi script, it contains fragmentary sections of books and seems to have been copied in the fourteenth century; but unlike other extant copies, it features the geometrical diagrams of Books IV and V. (These diagrams are missing from SK, Fatih 3215 and Ayasofya 2448, where their places are left blank.)
167. The medical books in Latin are listed in Raby, “East and West in Mehmed the Conqueror's Library,” 303. On further bibliographical references to Jacopo da Gaeta, the Jewish physician who initially attended Murad II and subsequently became the physician to his son, Mehmed II, thereafter rising to the posts of finance minister and vizier after converting to Islam, see Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism,” 7, 12.
168. Charles Berlin, “A Sixteenth-Century Hebrew Chronicle of the Ottoman Empire: The *Seder Eliyahu Zuta* of Elijah Capsali and Its Message,” in *Studies in Jewish Bibliography, History and Literature in Honor of I. Edward Kiev*, ed. Charles Berlin (New York, 1971), 21–44, at 27. For an inter-confessional debate between Mehmed II and George Amiroutzes on the prophecy of the Prophet Daniel concerning the four kingdoms, see Argyriou and Lagarrigue, “Georges Amiroutzès et son ‘Dialogue sur la foi au Christ tenu avec le Sultan des Turcs,’” 161–68. The translated Book of Daniel manuscript (SK, Ayasofya 3367) is cited in Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism,” 12. Besides the seal impressions of Bayezid II on fols. 1a and at the end, it has the *waqf* seal of Mahmud I and of his endowment inspector on fol. 1a. Hence, the manuscript must have been transferred from the Inner Treasury to the Ayasofya collection of Mahmud I. On this manuscript, see also Raby, “Greek Scriptorium,” 19; Fleischer, “Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences,” 232; and Fleischer, “A Mediterranean Apocalypse,” 49.
169. Raby, “Greek Scriptorium,” 19.
170. On Ardinghelli's gift, see Emil Jacobs, “Büchergeschenke für Sultan Mehmed II,” in *Festschrift für Georg Leyh* (Leipzig, 1937), 20–26, at 25–26. Ardinghelli was one of Mehmed II's four Florentine advisors against Venice, who were well respected among the Florentine colony of the Pera district in Istanbul: Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, 255. The two entries in the palace library inventory are discussed in Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism,” 16.
171. The inventory's list of books on Hagia Sophia and Constantinople are cited in Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism,” 23, 60n58, 70n24. I have not examined extant copies to determine whether they are stamped with Bayezid II's seal or not. For the Greek manuscript of the *Diēgēsis*, see Deissman, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai*, 45–46, no. 6; and Raby, “Greek Scriptorium,” 17. The palace library also has an unillustrated Greek translation of Cristoforo Buondelmonti's Latin text, *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, featuring an Ottoman-style binding; see Deissmann, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai*, 67, no. 24; Raby, “Greek Scriptorium,” 23, 29. On the Persian translation of a Byzantine chronicle used as a primary source by Bidlisi in his coverage of Mehmed II's reign, see Yıldırım, ed. and trans., *İdris-i Bitlîsî Hest Behîşt VII. Ketîbe*, LXXXIV–LXXXV, CVIII, 57, 61–62; Genç, *Acem'den Rum'a*, 466. Genç makes a plausible argument that Bidlisi must have also gained access to history books on Islamic dynasties, Ottoman chronicles, and other texts that were kept at Bayezid II's palace library (*Acem'den Rum'a*, 219–20, 466–68).
172. In the inventory, versions of the Alexander Romance that appear under Persian literature are: 231 {8}, 231 {8}, 234 {12}, 251 {13}. A Turkish version is: 264 {4–5}. Arabic and Persian versions of Aristotle's book of advice to Alexander are: 145 {11–13}, 197 {17–19}, 198 {6, 11–13}.
173. The lives of Alexander and Caesar translated into Turkish for Mehmed II are mentioned in Agostino Pertusi, ed., *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, 2 vols. (Verona, 1976), 2:132–33. An extant Greek copy of Arrian's *Anabasis*, the classical life of Alexander the Great, at the palace library has been dated to the 1460s and attributed to Mehmed II's court scriptorium in Raby, “Greek Scriptorium,” 18. A now-lost copy of Quintus Curtius Rufus's *Life of Alexander* in the Topkapı library was seen by A. Mordtmann, “Verzeichnis der Handschriften in der Bibliothek Sr. Maj. des Sultans,” *Philologus* 9 (1854): 582–83. On the comparison of Mehmed II to Alexander, his Aqqoyunlu rival Uzun Hasan, and further literature, see Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism,” 6–9. For the comparison of Timur to Alexander in Timurid texts that glorify his spiritual and political authority, see İlker Evrim Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran: Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī and the Islamic Republic of Letters* (New York, 2016), esp. 153, 254–57, 285.
174. The three Alexander entries are discussed in Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism,” 6–9, where I wrongly suggested that the nine-volume set may have been a translation from Greek and misjudged the third title as a work probably associated with Mehmed II. The nine-volume set is identified by Cornell H. Fleischer and Kaya Şahin as possibly Taceddin Ahmedi's *İskendernâme* in Turkish verse in this volume. ‘Atufi generally (though not always) mentions languages other than Arabic in his entries, but he does not do so in this case. After checking extant manuscript copies of the *İskendernâme* at the Topkapı library, I concluded that the nine-volume manuscript listed by ‘Atufi is more likely the one in Turkish by Ahmedi's brother Hamzavi, which combines prose with some verse. Its two surviving volumes at the Topkapı library are: H. 1554, identified on fol. 1a as *al-jild*

- al-sādis min kitāb Iskandarnāma fī al-tawārikh* (The Sixth Volume of the Book *Iskandarnāma*, on History); and H. 1555, copied in the beginning of Shaʿban 874/1470, which is identified on fol. 1a as *al-mujallad al-tāsiʿ wa-huwa al-akhir min kitāb Iskandarnāma fī al-tawārikh* (The Ninth Volume and It Is the Last Volume of the Book of *Iskandarnāma*, on History). This last title confirms that the work belongs to the nine-volume set listed by ʿAtufi. On Hamzavi's prose *İskendernāme*, see İsmail Avcı, "Türk Edebiyatında İskendernāmeler ve Ahmed-i Rıdvân'ın İskendernāmesi" (PhD diss., Balıkesir University, 2013), 47–52.
175. On titles used by Bidlisi for Bayezid II, see Genç, *Acem'den Rum'a: İdris-i Bidlisi*, 458, 530. The compendium with Bayezid II's seal (SK, Fatih 5323) was transferred from the Topkapı library to the Fatih collection, now in the Süleymaniye Library. A second copy of the same compendium (SK, Ayasofya 4260, dated 714/1315) no longer preserves seal impressions of Bayezid II (the lower parts of fols. 1a–2a are torn, and the last page is missing). This manuscript also originated in the palace library; it is stamped with Mahmud I's *waqf* seal (fol. 1a) and that of his *waqf* administrator on fol. 2a. The title on the flyleaf is *Kitāb al-muhāwara bayn al-Iskandar wa-Aristatālis*. On the contents of both volumes, see Mario Grignaschi's articles: "Le roman épistolaire classique conservé dans la version arabe de Salīm Abū-l-'Alā," *Le Muséon* 80 (1967): 211–64; "Les Rasâ'il 'Aristatālisa ilā-l-Iskandar de Salīm Abū-l-'Alā' et l'activité culturelle à l'époque omayyade," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 19 (1965–66): 7–83; and "Un roman épistolaire gréco-arabe: la correspondance entre Aristote et Alexandre," in *The Problematics of Power: Eastern and Western Representations of Alexander the Great*, ed. M. Bridges and J. Ch. Bürgel (Bern, 1996), 109–23. More recently: Miklós Maróth, *Correspondence between Aristotle and Alexander the Great: An Anonymous Greek Novel in Letters in Arabic Translation*, Documenta et Monographiae V (Piliscsaba, 2006). For a review comparing Maróth's publication with those of Grignaschi, see Dimitri Gutas, "On Graeco-Arabic Epistolary 'Novels,'" *Middle Eastern Literatures* 12, no. 1 (2009): 59–70.
176. On Amiroutzes, his sons, and texts translated from Greek to Arabic for the sultan by Mehmed Beg, see Vladimir Mirmiroğlu, *Fatih Sultan Mehmet Han Hazretlerinin Devrine ait Tarihi Vesikalar* (Istanbul, 1945), 94–102, at 98; Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, 247. The two manuscript copies (SK, Ayasofya 2610 and 2596) have been identified in Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism," 11. One of these is listed by ʿAtufi as *Tarjumatu Kitābi Baṭlamyūs bi-al-'arabiyyati fī tafṣili al-aqālīmi al-ma'rūfi bi-'ilmi al-jughrāfiyyā* (203 {6–7}). The same title is repeated verbatim above fol. 1a of Ayasofya 2596, which bears the seals of Bayezid II on fols. 1a, 75a, and has a dedication to Mehmed II on fol. 1a. The *waqf* seals of Mahmud I and of his endowment inspector are also stamped on fol. 1a. Another entry in the inventory, *Tarjumatu Kitābi Baṭlamyūs bi-al-'arabiyyati fī tafṣili al-aqālīmi ma'a ṣuwarihā al-ma'rūfi bi-jughrāfiyyā* (203 {7–9}), corresponds exactly to the title of Ayasofya 2610 (on fol. 23a), which is stamped with Bayezid II's seal only on fol. 23a because its last page is missing. That treatise is preceded by another one with many maps, bound together in the same volume whose first pages are lost; it therefore lacks a title, and Bayezid II's seal is only stamped at its end (fol. 21b). Perhaps referring to this partially preserved illustrated treatise or to another lost manuscript, ʿAtufi's third entry reads, *Tarjumatu Kitābi Baṭlamyūs fī 'ilmi al-jughrāfiyyā bi-al-'arabiyyati fī ṣuwari al-aqālīmi* (203 {5–6}).
177. The inventory lists illustrated copies of al-Istakhri's *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-Mamālik* (also called *Ṣuwar al-aqālīm*), among which TSMK, A. 2830 bears a dedication to Mehmed II but is not stamped with Bayezid II's seal. Impressions of Bayezid II's seal appear on the opening and closing pages of two other copies of al-Istakhri's work. One of them is titled *Kitābu aqālīmi al-arḍi 'alā al-mamāliki al-islāmiyyati fī al-tawārikh* (SK, Ayasofya 2971, fol. 1a), while the other is identified as *Kitābu aqālīmi al-arḍi 'alā al-mamāliki al-islāmiyyati min qibali al-tawārikh* (TSMK, A. 3349, fol. 1a, 79b). Both titles come very close to two entries in ʿAtufi's inventory: *Kitābu aqālīmi al-arḍi 'alā al-mamāliki al-islāmiyyati* (202 {15–16}). Illustrated Arabic treatises in the geography section of the inventory are assigned generic titles (202 {10–16}); therefore, identifying extant volumes and their seals will require future codicological research. Greek and Latin manuscripts of Ptolemy's geography at the Topkapı Palace library are listed in Deissman, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai*, 68–69, no. 27; 80–82, no. 44; 89–93, no. 57. Mavroudi speculates ("Translations from Greek into Arabic at the Court of Mehmed II the Conqueror," 196–97) that another Greek version in Cardinal Bessarion's collection, now in Venice (Marc. gr. Z.516=[904]), "can be tentatively associated with the library of Mehmed the Conqueror."
178. Gritti, "Relazione [1503]," 20–21; Genç, *Acem'den Rum'a*, 458n1379. An illustrated military treatise in Latin, once kept at the Topkapı Palace book treasury, probably belonged to Mehmed II. This treatise by Mariano Taccola (d. ca. 1453–58) was written in 1449 and copied by Paolo Santini de Duccio, likely in Venice around the third quarter of the fifteenth century. Titled *De re militari et machinis bellicis*, it was acquired in 1687 by the French ambassador Pierre de Girardin through an Italian renegade, who removed it from the Topkapı Palace collection (BnF, Lat. 7239): see Bibliothèque nationale de France: <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr>, Archives et manuscrits, Latin 7239. An illustrated treatise surviving at the Topkapı library is Roberto Valturio's *De re militari* printed at Verona in 1472 (TSMK, H. 2699), whose manuscript version was sent to Mehmed II in 1461 by the ruler of Rimini, Sigismondo Malatesta, but was confiscated by the suspicious Venetians. On this and other European books presented as gifts to Mehmed II, see Jacobs, "Büchergeschenke für Sultan Mehmed II," 20–26; Jacobs, "Mehmed II der Eroberer, seine Beziehungen zur Renaissance und seine büchersammlung," 6–29;

- and Raby, "East and West in Mehmed the Conqueror's Library," 300–301.
179. Discussed in Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism," 11–12. For the extant Arabic manuscript and the misattribution of 'Atufi's title to a modern hand, see J. Nicolet and M. Tardieu, "Pletho Arabicus: Identification et contenu du manuscrit arabe d'Istanbul, Topkapı Serai, Ahmet III 1896," *Journal Asiatique* 268, no. 1-2 (1980): 35–57, at 38–39. On this Arabic translation, see also Mavroudi, "Translations from Greek into Arabic at the Court of Mehmed II the Conqueror," 203–7; and her "Pletho as Subversive and His Reception in the Islamic World," in *Power and Subversion in Byzantium*, ed. Dimitri Angelov and Michael Saxby (Farnham, England, 2013), 177–203.
 180. The two quadrilingual lexicons are mentioned in Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism," 11. The abbreviated title on fol. 1a of Ayasofya 4750 reads: *Lughati 'arabī wa-lughati fārisī wa-lughati rūmī wa-lughati sarfī*. Bayezid II's seal is stamped on fols. 1a and 63b. The second copy bound in a compendium (Ayasofya 4749) has Bayezid's seal on fol. 1a and the abbreviated title *Lughati fārisī, 'arabī, wa-rūmī wa-sarfī*. Both manuscripts were summarized, with no mention of Bayezid II's seals, in A. Caferoğlu, "Note sur un manuscrit en langue serbe de la bibliothèque d'Ayasofya," *Revue internationale des études balkaniques* 1, no. 3 (1936): 185–90; and Speros Vryonis, Jr., "Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman Istanbul: Evolution in a Millennial Iconography," in *The Ottoman City and Its Parts*, ed. Irene A. Bierman et al. (New Rochelle, NY, 1991), 13–52, at 39–40. See also Werner Lehfeldt, *Ein arabisch-persisch-griechisch-serbokroatisches Sprachlehrbuch in arabischer Schrift aus dem 15./16. Jahrhundert* (Bochum, 1970); and his edited book, *Eine Sprachlehre von der Hohen Pforte – Ein arabisch-persisch-griechisch-serbisches Gesprächslehrbuch vom Hofe des Sultans aus dem 15. Jahrhundert als Quelle für die Geschichte der serbischen Sprache* (Cologne, 1989). Multilingual lexicons in the palace library inventory are discussed in the essays by Ferenc Csirkés and Tahera Qutbuddin.
 181. TSMK, A. 2698 (Karatay: A 8732).
 182. For a catalogue of surviving manuscripts and printed books in non-Islamic languages at the palace library, see note 32 above. On the *Iliad* manuscript made for Mehmed II, his days as a crown prince, and his fascination with the legend of Troy, see Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism," 6–7, 9–10. This *Iliad* manuscript in the BnF in Paris, which the French ambassador Pierre de Girardin acquired via intermediaries from the Topkapı library in 1687, is dated to around 1463 in Raby, "Greek Scriptorium," 20–21. The provenance of two other *Iliad* manuscripts in Greek, from the thirteenth and fifteenth century, that survive in the Topkapı Palace library is unknown: see Deissmann, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai*, 42–43, no. 2; 96, no. 65. I would like to thank Dimitri Gutas, who pointed out that he has never come across any reference to "a story of Qirisus" in the Graeco-Arabica corpus, and has suggested that if the legend in Herodotus was available in a Byzantine Greek story, the manuscript in the library inventory "may well be a transcription, in Arabic characters, of the Greek story, in a manuscript which would appear to have contained other stories in various alphabets" (email correspondence). This section of the inventory does indeed include some lexicons and works in Greek. I am grateful to Dimitri Angelov, who confirmed that Croesus was a known figure in Byzantium; according to the electronic database of Byzantine Greek texts, Croesus was used "as an exemplum by rhetoricians for a wealthy king who loses divine favor and falls from power" (email correspondence).
 183. On Ilyas ibn Ibrahim al-Yahudi, who wrote the Hebrew treatise on astronomy in al-Andalus before moving to Istanbul, see Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu et al., eds., *Osmanlı Tabii ve Tatbiki Bilimler Literatürü Tarihi*, vol. 1 (Istanbul, 2006), 20, no. 18; and Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu et al., eds., *Osmanlı Astronomi Literatürü Tarihi*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1997), 1:71–73. The polemical theology treatise is listed in 'Atufi's inventory as *al-Risālatu al-hādīyatu fī ibtālī hujaji al-yahūdī 'alā al-islāmī min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmī* (63 [14–15]). The earliest known extant copy (TSMK, A. 1735, Karatay A 4945) is identified on fol. 1a with a slightly different abbreviated title, which omits the affiliated discipline: *al-Risālatu al-hādīyatu fī ibtālī adillati al-yahūdī 'alā al-islāmī*. Dated 19 Jumada II 902 (February 22, 1497) and written by 'Abd al-Salam al-Muhammadi, it has Bayezid II's seal on fol. 38a. On an edition of the polemical treatise that does not use the earliest manuscript at the Topkapı, see Sabine Schmidtke, "The Rightly-Guiding Epistle (*al-Risāla al-Hādīya*) by 'Abd al-Salām al-Muhtadī al-Muḥammadi: A Critical Edition," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 36 (2009): 439–70.
 184. The treatise (TSMK, A. 3302, fols. 102b–109a) is titled *Dhikr ba'd al-maḥallāt* [i.e., *al-muḥallāt*] *al-lāzima li-aṣl waq' falak al-tadwīr wa-khārīj al-markaz wa-bayān luzūm kaww ḥarakāt al-samā' wa-jamī 'ajzā'ihā ilā nāḥiya wāḥida*, according to Robert Morrison, "A Scholarly Intermediary between the Ottoman Empire and Europe," *Isis: A Journal of the History of Science Society* 105, no. 1 (March 2014): 32–57, at 35–36. See also his "An Astronomical Treatise by Mūsā Jālīnūs alias Moses Galeano," *Aleph* 11, no. 2 (2011): 385–413. Unaware of Bayezid II's seal in that volume, Morrison speculated that it was "perhaps" written in the sixteenth century.
 185. See Morrison's transcription and English translation of the Arabic text: "An Astronomical Treatise by Mūsā Jālīnūs alias Moses Galeano," 385–413; the quote is at 400–401.
 186. Karatay's catalogue mentions only the first item in this compilation (TSMK, A. 3302, Karatay: A 7055), comprising two treatises. This first work on theoretical astronomy is by the Andalusian scholar Nur al-Dīn Abu Ishaq al-Bitrujī (d. 1185), titled *Kitāb al-Murta'ish fī al-hay'a* (Book of Trembling on Theoretical Astronomy). The compendium has no sticky label on the flap of its original binding. Nor is there a seal impression of Bayezid II at the end of the volume; only one seal remains on fol. 1a. The final pages of the volume seem to be missing and Musa Jalinus's treatise ends

- abruptly on fol. 109a. The second manuscript copy listed by 'Atufi has not yet come to light. The Arabic treatise by Musa Jalinus and his other works are listed in İhsanoğlu et al., eds., *Osmanlı Astronomi Literatürü Tarihi*, 1:224–25; and Morrison, "Scholarly Intermediary." See also the essay by Jamil Ragep et al. in this volume on al-Bitruji's groundbreaking work, which posited a "homocentric modeling as an alternative to Ptolemy's *Almagest*" (the first item in the Topkapı manuscript, whose second item is not discussed in their essay).
187. For Musa Jalinus's expertise in mechanical devices, his acquaintance with Bayezid II's court, his intellectual-professional networks in Istanbul, and his works, see Y. Tzvi Langermann, "Medicine, Mechanics, and Magic from Moses ben Judah Galeano's *Ta'ulumot hoḳmah*," *Aleph* 9 (2009): 353–77; Y. Tzvi Langermann, "A Compendium of Renaissance Science: *Ta'ulumot hoḳmah* by Moses Galeano," *Aleph* 7 (2007): 285–318, esp. 287–88. David A. King has hypothetically attributed a spherical astrolabe signed as "the work of Musa, in the year 885/1480–81" to Musa Jalinus in Istanbul; if his attribution is correct, this scientist was already active around the time of Mehmed II's death (d. 1481) and Bayezid II's accession: see *Spherical Astrolabes in Circulation: From Baghdad to Toledo and to Tunis and Istanbul*, <http://www.davidaking.academia.edu/version> 24 September 2018, pages 50–119. On the translation of Zacuto's *Almanacum perpetuum*, see *ibid.*, 109. For the two other astrolabes with dedicatory inscriptions to Bayezid II, dated 910 (1504–5) and 911 (1505–6), see David A. King, "Two Astrolabes for the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II," 1:439–59; and David A. King, *In Synchrony with the Heavens: Studies in Astronomical Timekeeping and Instrumentation in Medieval Islamic Civilization, Volume Two: Instruments of Mass Calculation* (Leiden; Boston, 2005), Part XIV: 775–96. Alchemical works in 'Atufi's inventory are analyzed by Noah Gardiner in this volume.
 188. On the bridge project and Bayezid II's mosque complex in Istanbul, with its possible connections to Pope Julius II's New Saint Peter's in Rome, initiated ca. 1506, see Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London, 2011), 88–92; and my "Architectural Dialogues across the Eastern Mediterranean: Monumental Domed Sanctuaries in the Ottoman Empire and Renaissance Italy," in *The Companions to the History of Architecture, Volume I: Renaissance and Baroque Architecture*, ed. Alina Payne (Hoboken, NJ, 2017), 594–623, at 600–604.
 189. European illustrated treatises on military engineering associated with Mehmed II are cited in note 178 above. Pappus discusses mechanics in Book VIII of his *Mathematical Collection*. I am indebted to Elaheh Kheirandish for bringing this undated illustrated Arabic translation (SK, Ayasofya 3624) to my attention; it is cited in her essay in the present volume. In the compendium, which I examined, only the treatise by Pappus (fols. 52a–103b) is stamped with Bayezid II's seals (fols. 52a and 103b). The seal of Mahmud I's *waqf* inspector is on fols. 1a and 52a, with Mahmud I's *waqf* seal on fol. 1b.
 190. SK, Ayasofya 2753, seal impressions of Bayezid II, Mahmud I, and Mahmud I's *waqf* inspector are on fol. 1a, with another seal of Bayezid II on fol. 70b. On the practical geometry treatise of Buzjani, see my essay and that of Elaheh Kheirandish in Gülru Necipoğlu, ed., *The Arts of Ornamental Geometry: A Persian Compendium on Similar and Complementary Interlocking Figures*, Supplements to Muqarnas 13 (Leiden; Boston, 2017), 11–78, 79–144.
 191. On translated pre-Islamic holy books listed in 'Atufi's inventory, see Cemal Kafadar's essay in this volume; and Argyriou and Lagarrigue, "Georges Amiroutzès et son 'Dialogue sur la foi au Christ tenu avec le Sultan des Turcs'," 157, 159. On a Bible translated from Greek to Arabic for Mehmed II by one of Amiroutzes's two sons, called Mehmed Beg, see Mirmiroğlu, *Fatih Sultan Mehmet*, 98.
 192. Many titles of the scholarly-bureaucratic madrasa curriculum established by Sultan Süleyman about half a century later match those in 'Atufi's inventory, an observation that merits further examination. However, this curriculum is entirely confined to the Islamic religious sciences, unlike the wide-ranging disciplines encompassed in the palace library inventory. See the book list of the curriculum analyzed in Shahab Ahmed and Nenad Filipović, "The Sultan's Syllabus: A Curriculum for the Ottoman Imperial *medreses* Prescribed in a *fermān* of Qānūnī I Süleymān, Dated 973 (1565)," *Studia Islamica* 98/99 (2004): 183–218.

BETWEEN AMASYA AND ISTANBUL: BAYEZID II, HIS LIBRARIAN, AND THE TEXTUAL TURN OF THE LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

To Filiz Çağman,
scholar-librarian par excellence,
who taught me that a custodian
of books can be a treasure herself

Unlike his father and his son, Sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) was more interested in peaceful and orderly administration than in conquest. He thus worked harder on manufacturing consent than on wielding coercion. Not to be confused with a flat-out refusal to use military force, this is more a matter of a different balance in policies. Bayezid certainly did not refrain from conquest or coercion, or from policies that struck many of his subjects as oppressive, even cruel. Yet many of his contemporaries described him as unwarlike and moderate.

The Crimean khan, for instance, an Ottoman vassal since 1475, asked the sultan in a surprisingly forward letter if the “duty of jihad” was no longer in force, now that the Ottoman army had remained inactive for some time. Bayezid replied gently but firmly that he, too, was mindful of the duty of jihad, which would bring one blessings in both worlds, but reminded the khan that sultans had the unique responsibility before God to maintain order in the realm so that their subjects could flourish, and that such order is vulnerable to disruption by the ill-willed when the sultan and the army are on the move. With all this in mind, Bayezid wrote, he devoted his time, day and night, to investigating and managing the affairs of the people.¹ Later historians did not diverge much from this assessment. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856), the Habsburg Orientalist and historian of the Ottoman empire, wrote that Bayezid “did not engage in war unless he had to.”² The difference in temperament between Bayezid and his father also struck contemporaries who had known them both. Tursun Beg, historian and scribe of the late fifteenth century

(d. 1496), wrote critically that the wrath of Mehmed II trumped his moderation, implying the reverse for his son Bayezid. Even if this was simply a way of flattering the young sultan, the choice of characteristics is telling.³

That reputation seems to have rendered Bayezid II a figure of lesser significance and accomplishment in the eyes of posterity, particularly in modern historiography, which tends to either ignore him or, more often, present him in a defensive posture.⁴ Yet the more historians repeat that Bayezid is underrated, and then rehearse an argument to counter that reputation in his defense, the more entrenched the image of a weak link in an otherwise robust narrative of vigorous conquest and expansion, by one descendant of Osman after another, seems to become. The meek counterarguments are often whit-tled down into qualifications, even mere excuses: Bayezid may have been less active on the military front, but that is only because his brother’s captivity in Europe until 1495 meant that he had to remain cautious. Bayezid’s reign was not without its successful campaigns, after all, such as the conquest of Kilia and Akkirman on the Black Sea (1484), as well as Lepanto and Mothoni on the Mediterranean (1499–1500) and Durrës (Durazzo) on the Adriatic (1501). Bayezid was personally there in the field for much of it. He may have missed “the grand 1492” of Christopher Columbus, but he made the best of that fateful year by allowing his realm to become a refuge for the Jews and Muslims expelled from Iberia after the fall of Granada. Moreover, improving the naval capabilities of the Ottoman state was only one of several important steps Bayezid took toward developing institutions and infrastructure. None of this is as glamor-

ous as conquering Constantinople or Egypt, but his admirers could still take solace in the fact that “saintly” was his sobriquet. Within such a framework, for instance, a modern historian characterizes Bayezid’s reign as “a period of transition from the old heroic age of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to the new age of grandeur ... a period of consolidation before conquests were resumed.”⁵ But would any ruler desire to be considered “transitional”?

In terms of his record as a patron of the arts and culture, too, Bayezid’s legacy remains captive to two dominant narratives. On the one hand, his reign falls between the fabled patronage of his father, and the felicitous partnership of his grandson (and two more generations of sultans) with the great architect Sinan (d. 1588). On the other hand, at least since the late nineteenth century, when intellectuals around the world started to ask why their country was not (like) Europe and adopted defensive positions vis-à-vis “European civilization,” Bayezid’s victory over his brother Cem to consolidate control of the Ottoman sultanate has come to represent a path not taken, the ultimate “what if” of Ottoman history. In this counterfactual account, Mehmed knew what the Renaissance was all about and Cem would have continued in that path to lead his empire toward modernity. What-if easily turns into a wishful if-only.

There are accompanying narratives regarding Bayezid II that compound the image of a reactionary sultan following a progressive one. A curious tale, for instance, attributes to him a firman and a fetva, allegedly issued in 1483, imposing a ban on printing in the Arabic script. Although this tale is based on the shakiest of grounds, it has become a common refrain in Orientalist scholarship.⁶ Could a firman, or even repeated firmans, if there ever were any, have been sufficient to prevent the importation of a technology and its social uses for two and a half centuries, considering that the alleged ban is offered as an explanation for the belatedness of Arabic-script printing in the Ottoman empire, which did not begin until 1728? How, then, did coffee and coffeehouses manage to defy numerous bans from the sixteenth century onwards? The point is raised here not to discuss the history of printing, obviously, but to underline the fact that Mehmed or Bayezid or any other sultan functioned within a complex social order influenced by dynamic institutional and irregular factors that shaped the authority of the state and the will of the sultan, as powerful

as these may have been. Discussing the policies and temperaments of sultans is only meaningful when we bear this in mind.

The specific political alignments of the second half of the fifteenth century and their articulations in the cultural realm ultimately need to be considered against the background of the deep-reaching transformations in the social order that were taking root in the Ottomanizing geography of the lands of Rum at the time. Large groups of people were undergoing various forms and degrees of social transition within different micro-ecologies of that geography, from nomadism to peasanthood, for instance. Encounters, both destructive and synergistic, between different modes of animal breeding and plant cultivation, continuing since the eleventh century when Turkish migrations and invasions started, were culminating in a new agro-pastoral landscape, which the Ottoman state would bring under its control by the early sixteenth century. Rising numbers of Islamic endowments were creating new social and institutional environments for important aspects of public life, such as education and religion. A corollary of this development was the growth of the cadres of ‘ulema, namely Muslim scholars and jurists. Religious conversion (to Islam) and linguistic *métissage* (mostly favoring Turkish) continued apace. Sufism was advancing with a new orientation toward a more strictly path- or (Sufi) order-minded organization in its activities and relations with devotees. Confessional concerns were becoming more important for the state and orthodoxy-minded scholarly cadres, while ecumenicism, ambiguity, and metadoxy continued to prevail among some influential circles as well as large segments of society. Frontier warriors and former “nobilities” were losing their autonomy and being transformed into appointees in an increasingly well-oiled administrative apparatus with its complex calculus of rotating positions, promotions, and dismissals. This was accelerated by the larger “constitutional” reform initiated and legislated by Mehmed II, whereby the role of the sultan and of the dynastic state was radically redesigned in terms of its hierarchical relationship with a nascent bureaucracy, the ‘ulema and the military-administrative “servants of the Porte,” the latter staffed increasingly by the *devshirme*. Changing patterns of landholding paved the way for the commercialization of agriculture around cities, and migration to cities.⁷ A sultan could only harness and control so much of these

and similar interrelated, at times conflicting, dynamics. He also needed to work with a team of *grandees* and elites who had their own opinions and interests, even if he had directly appointed some of them.

To return to Bayezid II, since my intention here is to shed light on certain aspects of the imperial book collection and its inventory—which was compiled between 1502–4 at Bayezid's initiative by Hayrüddin Hızır 'Atufi (d. 1541), tutor and librarian at the court—some comments on the broader context of that project are in order. The reason Bayezid reversed some of his father's policies was not simply a matter of temperament. Rather, the sultan, and presumably some leading members of his administration, evidently thought that part of Mehmed II's program was unsustainable. While certain deeds of clemency inaugurating the rule of a sultan might be regarded as mere gestures, Bayezid's decision to reverse his father's policy of confiscations was far more than that. Tursun Beg, who served as treasurer under both sultans, speaks of twenty thousand villages whose status as endowments was annulled under Mehmed so that they could be subsumed into the Imperial Treasury and assigned as revenue to fief-holders.⁸ Bayezid returned this huge aggregation of villages to their former status and to those who benefited from their revenue, mostly Sufi communities. This reversal was consistent with many of Bayezid's earlier and later actions, which prioritized consent. Already as a prince based in Amasya (between 1454–81), for instance, he had raised objections to his father's fiscalist measures and defended the townspeople of his princely residence from various exactions.⁹

By the end of his reign, Mehmed II had created large numbers of resentful subjects due to various policies, which were considered harsh and tyrannical. Even his larger project of turning Istanbul into the shining imperial capital of a highly centralized bureaucratic state had its critics among some vocal segments of the population.¹⁰ Bayezid cannot have been the only one who was aware of the currency of popular strands of historical narratives—oral cycles, some of which were finding their way into texts written in a rather simple everyday Turkish—since the beginning of the fifteenth century. At least some of that material, either discreetly or explicitly and even loudly, gave vent to a critical sensibility vis-à-vis Ottoman centralization, while also compiling tales of the deeds of the House of Osman in a celebratory

fashion. Some of that critique was embedded in the vitae of other heroes of an epic past, dervishes or warriors, whose stories intersected with those of the Ottomans. Mahmud Pasha (d. 1474), who acquired a reputation as a saintly figure after having served as Mehmed II's grand vizier but ultimately being executed by order of the sultan, had commissioned a history of Umur Bey of the House of Aydın (d. 1348), whose principality was one of the thorniest rivals of the Ottomans for some time.¹¹ It took a certain Ebu'l-hayr-i Rumi seven years, between 1473 and 1480, to comply with the orders of Prince Cem to travel and gather tales told about Sarı Saltuk, a popular legendary dervish of the thirteenth century; this monumental collection of lore included a critique of the preference of Istanbul over Edirne as the capital city.¹² After his first successful military campaign in 1484, however, Bayezid was in an even more comfortable position to encourage the emergence into public view of such narratives of the deeds of his own forefathers, critical or not. Some of these narratives had already been written down, but texts began to appear in quick succession and undergo redactions within the next decade or two. The textualization of historical lore surrounding the House of Osman culminated in the emergence of the first major corpus of Ottoman history writing, which constitutes the most important body of information (and misinformation) about early Ottoman history to this day. Independent of its historiographic function, however, the blossoming of this corpus between 1484 and the turn of the sixteenth century should also be recognized as one of the most consequential events in the history of vernacularization and textualization, at least in the lands of Rum. The emerging corpus represented a systematic engagement with oral traditions, as well as some sparse earlier written materials based on those traditions, followed by editions in written form. Here we have the first substantive textual layer of public debate in Ottoman cultural life, enabled by Bayezid's encouraging attitude toward those critical but pro-Ottoman voices, mostly among the dervish milieu.

This body of chronicles, some anonymous, which consisted of different "editions" of popular accounts concerning the "Deeds of the House of Osman," was only part of an avalanche of efforts toward textualizing the oral narratives and traditions of Turkish speakers in the fifteenth century. The famous cycle of warrior epics—

Baṭṭāl-nāme, *Dānişmend-nāme*, *Şaltuḡ-nāme*—recounting tales of Arab and Turkish ghazis, and their convert comrades, conquering the lands of Rum in the name of Islam, found their way into canonical texts during this same century. The rich oral traditions of the Oghuz, as embodied in epic narrative cycles or edifying and entertaining common discursive genres like proverbs, were also collected and edited (see below for further discussion of Oghuz lore). Dervish lore received editorial treatment in Turkish texts in the same era, following Persian, Arabic, Syriac, Armenian, and Greek models to be sure, but in modes and idioms recognizable to their prime audiences among Turkish speakers.

Bayezid's patronage of certain dervish communities, his close links with Khalveti shaykhs, and his eventual reputation as a saintly ruler also invite a consideration of his piety. Modern historians have sometimes tended to treat the piety of a ruler as a sign of an inward-looking parochialism, all the more so perhaps with Muslim rulers. To give an example from Indian history, the differences between the emperors Akbar (r. 1556–1605) and Aurangzeb (r. 1658–1707) are certainly significant, but they have also lent themselves to a comforting binary of the modern/secular/universalist versus the medieval/religious/parochial as the main explanatory dynamic of centuries in the history of the subcontinent, which continues to carry a heavy political load even today. In the Mughal realm, there is another parallel to the case of Bayezid and Cem in a battle for the throne, where the prince who lost, Dara Shikoh (d. 1658), represents the major what-if, as well as the if-only.

Rather typical of that binary is to lionize the “scientific” attitude of rulers of the former type and to be somewhat dismissive toward the latter in terms of their attitude to learning and the sciences. The only study dedicated to the libraries of successive sultans, for instance, a truly path-breaking work published in 1948 and not followed since in terms of its diachronic comparative approach, asserts that Bayezid II was interested in collecting books but not necessarily in reading them.¹³ Until recently, histories of Islamic and Ottoman science, too, tended to see a large gap between Mehmed II and the westernizing nineteenth century.¹⁴ While it may be useful to investigate the differences between Mehmed II and Bayezid II on these matters, their continuities are

far more obvious in terms of the palace library collection. As for Bayezid's own relationship to books, it is worth citing Alvise Gritti, one of the Venetian elite closely connected to Istanbul and quite well informed about Ottoman affairs, who described Bayezid in 1503 as someone who “continuously studies theology and astral sciences and is highly educated in cosmography.”¹⁵ Among the books identified as having once belonged to his collection, several have notes mentioning Bayezid's perusal (*muṭālaʿa*) of their contents, and the compiler of one hadith collection in particular evidently followed his suggestion for alphabetic ordering (*ʿalā tartībī al-ḥurūfī li-Sultān al-Salāṭīn Sultān Bāyezīd Khān*) (“according to the order of letters, for Sultan Bayezid”).¹⁶

The political and ideological views of a ruler, or anyone for that matter, cannot be merely a function of his or her position on some imagined scale of piety. Not only does piety itself consist of a complex set of attitudes, but there also are many other cultural concerns and orientations that influence it and work in tandem or in conflict with it. Lettrism was clearly one of the most important of these intellectual movements at the time, and it has lately received overdue attention, which has profoundly reshaped our understanding of Ottoman cultural and intellectual life in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁷ As for Sufism, its changing face throughout the Islamic world in the late medieval era culminated in its institutionalization within far more strictly organized dervish orders with their own well-connected translocal networks. In that regard, for instance, the nature and consequences of Bayezid's sympathy for the Khalvetiyye since his youthful days in Amasya need to be further explored.

Oghuzism, too, was a vibrant trend among some segments of Ottoman society and neighboring Turkish communities in the fifteenth century. It related to a spirited engagement with the political and cultural traditions of Oghuz Turks, one of the two large language communities among the Turkish-speakers of Inner Asia and related to each other, in their genealogical legends, through descent from Oghuz Khan, a legendary figure associated with an ur-monotheism and the idea of world-conquest. The Oghuz constituted the overwhelming majority of the Turkish tribes who Islamized and moved to western Asia from the eleventh century,

forming the dynastic and military elites of new states, like the Seljuks and the Ottomans who adopted various other political traditions from various other elites and social groups they coopted on their way to imperial power in the Middle East and beyond. An early version of Oghuzism, partly consisting of rediscoveries of “forgotten traditions,” is discernible in some key texts composed during the reign of Murad II (r. 1421–44; 1446–51), viz., *Bahjat al-tawārikh* by Şükrullah of Amasya and *Ta’rîḥ-i Âl-i Selçuk*, in which lore about Oghuz Khan is embedded, by Yazıcızade ‘Ali of Gelibolu (fl. first half of the fifteenth century).¹⁸ A complex set of ideas and attitudes negotiating weighty matters concerning the role of Turkmen communities and their traditions in the emerging Ottoman dispensation, Oghuzism deserves a separate study as a largely unrecognized phenomenon that was eventually subsumed under confessional and other anxieties of the sixteenth century.

Bayezid was attentive to Oghuzism, as was his brother. Strikingly, Cem (b. 1459–60) had a son named Oghuz (b. 1474–75?), but one should not overlook the fact that Bayezid already had a son named Korkut (b. 1469–70 in Amasya) as well as a daughter named İlaldı, names that are clearly meant as avatars of the good old days of the Oghuz.¹⁹ Could the tales of Dede Korkut, perhaps the most popular secular epic cycle of Turkish-speaking communities from the lands of Rum to Khorasan, have been written down in the cultural orbit of Amasya? Probably not, since recent linguistic analysis has tended to locate the textualization of the versions as we have them, surprisingly, in Rumelia; but the more important fact is that it happened in the fifteenth century, and that the writing displays an attitude of respect for both the Akkoyunlu and the Ottomans, who were neighbors and rivals in eastern and east-central Asia Minor. The only recognizable geographic references in these tales refer to areas just to the east and northeast of Amasya; one can well imagine that the tales, as told, would have engaged receptive audiences in that region.²⁰

Yet another point of focus for Oghuzism was Turkish proverbs, collections of which were titled *Oghuznâme*. One can hardly exaggerate the significance attached by these texts, and presumably by their audiences, to the collective wisdom embodied in Oghuz lore. The introduction to a collection of proverbs, compiled in

885/1481–82, boldly asserts: “Proverbs [literally, ‘the words of ancestors,’ in Turkish] are not in the Qur’an but go alongside it.” Another version of the same collection, with ninety-four additional proverbs, also presents its material emphatically but in a manner less likely to raise eyebrows among the ‘ulema: “Those we call ancestors are not [merely?] the elderly of Turks and Turcomans but prophets and saints, nothing else. They took their words from [Qur’anic] verses and hadith.”²¹ Yazıcızade’s “History of the Seljuks,” mentioned above, speaks more directly to the need for these written collections of Oghuz traditions, reminding the Ottomans that this was their background, their blessed origin which made their success possible, but it had been neglected and was in danger of being forgotten altogether. One of the copies of Yazıcızade’s magnum opus was, not so incidentally, bound together with an independent but kindred short text of two-and-a-half pages, explicitly related to the narrative cycle of the tales of Dede Korkut, with opening lines of laudations for the Oghuz and offering some choice proverbs as well.²²

This period represents the final glow of Oghuz cultural traditions before they were overtaken by an emerging Ottoman synthesis, which incorporated some of their features and marginalized others. It was this momentous change in the cultural lives of Turkish-speaking Muslims in the lands of Rum, especially those of Oghuz-Turkmen background and the Rumi populations who “became Turks” within their orbit, that served as the impetus for the “folkloric” collections of the fifteenth century. Pertev Naili Boratav (1907–98), the brilliant folklorist-historian who personally lived through a similar transformative moment in the history of the Turkish language and literature in the twentieth century, captures the essence of the *Oghuznâme* with characteristic brilliance. He has demonstrated that before they were texts, “in the good old days of the Oghuz,” to use the very language of these collections, proverbs were not verbally dropped in one-off utterances but rather were performed. That was their vital role in narratives or inaugurations such as opening recitations to initiate wrestling competitions, much like ritual acclamations and castigations (*alkış* and *kargış*). Toward the end of the fifteenth century, proverbs were losing their vital

presence as structural elements in epic narrative performances and instead were being turned into wise sayings for the purpose of moral edification.²³ The epic tales themselves were receiving their canonical form in writing. Textualization was still a form of engagement with Oghuzism, even a defense of it at some level, but came at the expense of anchoring the tradition in new terrain where the written word would have hierarchical claims over the spoken. In other words, the authors or editors of the proverb collections or the epic tales of Turkic-Islamic-Hellenic heroes of olden days, including the corpus of late-fifteenth-century chronicles compiling tales of the early Ottomans, were folklorists themselves. Like all ethnographer-folklorists, they were not just collecting but were also serving as witnesses to and instruments of a transformation in the cultural world around them.

Of texts that testify to the widespread cultural trend that can be identified as Oghuzism, there are not many examples in the palace library of 1502–3, when the inventory was prepared; even some of the books that owed their existence to Bayezid's initiative, if not patronage, were missing. There were good reasons for compiling oral traditions and rendering them into writing, but many of those initiatives and energies took shape outside the palace. Bayezid went a certain distance toward tapping into these initiatives, much farther than his father had, but he proceeded selectively, without engaging the tradition head on. Although the Oghuz materials available in the palace library would increase a bit after Bayezid, their Oghuzism catered to nostalgia and curiosity rather than representing a critical negotiation by the court with the trajectory of the Ottoman polity vis-à-vis its Turkmen subjects, as in the fifteenth century. The most important, though not necessarily direct, contribution of the Turkish and Turkmen-led courtly societies of the fifteenth century to the textualization of oral epic narratives and related genres must be located in their overall valorization of the written word and their efforts to create hospitable environments for bookish and literary pursuits, including libraries. The textual turn was not an orchestrated event, nor was its main focus on the Turkish language as such, though it may have been the main beneficiary in the long run.

Whether as authors, editors, ethnographers, or translators, some textualizers were at least aware that theirs was a task of not only rendering *into* Turkish but also rendering *unto* Turkish, namely making sure that Turkish would be given its due as a language, that it would be recognized as a vehicle capable of carrying profound meaning in various registers, from the very basic to the more sophisticated. Hence the hypersensitivity of writers concerning their choice of subject, register, depth of discussion, or prose versus verse. The author of one medical work penned in 1460 writes in the introduction that he “put this book together in Turkish” because “what is said in this land is said in Turkish” and he wished to follow the principle that “one ought to address a people in their own language.” This much could be considered a primer for the use of vernacular, but the author also finds it necessary to explain his choice of prose through a striking analysis of the use of poetry in terms of its linguistic and psychological implications: “I did not care for poetry, verse, or rhyme, for the reason that this is a book of instruction. Poetry makes one cheerful (expansive?), and happiness cannot be without pride and heedlessness, moreover grudge can intervene; the requirements of poetry also invite difficult words, meaning remains distant.”²⁴

To bring the matter closer to Bayezid II, Sinan Pasha (d. 1486), who was hugely admired by the sultan, underlines another aspect of writing in Turkish, namely the heterogeneity of audiences when writing in the vernacular, a matter of particular concern for him. Dervishes need to mind the exoteric sharia, he writes in his translation of Farid al-Din ‘Attar’s (d. 1221) *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā*, a work well represented in the palace library in its original Persian (see Appendix, no. 1, and Plate 1), but many do not understand what that is and consider too many things to be contrary to it. In his translation, however, Sinan Pasha did not deem it appropriate to expound on this topic since he expected the book to be read by common people (because it is in Turkish) who would not have the sophistication to understand the subtleties of the matter and would therefore be misled to error (*dalālet*).²⁵ The totality of Sinan Pasha’s impressive and influential output in Turkish, three books altogether, is from his remaining few years during the reign of Bayezid who, immediately after his accession,

reinstated the famous and famously unfortunate scholar—demoted, briefly imprisoned and, after protests by the ‘ulema, exiled by Mehmed II—in his former rank as vizier and appointed him to a top-level professorship in Edirne. The young sultan’s decision to honor the oppressed intellectual was celebrated by the queen mother Gülbahar Hatun in a letter to her son, Bayezid, where she writes: “You have given a vizier-ship to the son of Hızır Beg, it was about time. We have love for those who have love for thee.” Just a couple of years earlier, Gülbahar herself had gotten on the wrong side of Mehmed II who sent an order to Amasya in 1479 to question her claim to some villages as her property and to re-allocate them as fief assignments.²⁶

The case of Sinan Pasha also helps to illustrate the rise of families of scholars with roots in the lands of Rum among Turkish-speaking communities in the fifteenth century. While emigration to the Ottoman realm continued thanks to the opportunities created by the expansion and successful institutionalization of the new dynastic state, certain Rumi families, too, boasted members of scholarly reputation and even intergenerational continuity in that regard. The title *çelebi*, used for scions of elite families—dynastic, Sufi, or scholarly—started to gain in frequency. There was also some competition and rivalry between these two types of recruits into the ranks of Ottoman intellectual, artistic, courtly, and scholarly elites. An anecdote involving Hızır Beg (d. 1459), Sinan Pasha’s father, himself the son of a scholar, relates that his reputation reached the capital city of Edirne even from his middle-Anatolian town of Sivrihisar. When the famous scholars of the center were unable to respond properly to questions raised in a debate by visiting scholars from the Arab world, Hızır Beg was invited for the second round, where he proved that a provincial scholar of Rum, whose outlook at first triggered some slighting laughter, could out-debate all those sophisticates with his learning and eloquence.²⁷ Apocryphal though the tale may be, it captures the sense of combativeness among the uppity Rumis. Resentful of a dismissive attitude toward “the locals,” these Rumis joked bitterly that to be recognized in the court of Mehmed II, one had to be either a Jew, or a Persian, or a “Frank,” displaying the manner of a Zorzi (Giorgio, in Venetian). The ruse of a certain Le’ali, a poet origi-

nally from Tokat but pretending to be from Iran, was exposed only after he managed for years to receive favors as ‘Acem (Persian); there was even a word coined specifically for the type that Le’ali represented, namely *müte’accim*, a pseudo-Persian.²⁸

Whatever the validity of this stereotype, celebrity scholars and poets were also emerging from among the Anatolians and Rumelians, for whom Turkish was the unifying linguistic medium and a treasure to be cultivated for new uses. Inter marriages among these families must have intensified the sense of belonging to a kind of scholarly gentry. Hızır Beg’s wife, and Sinan’s mother, for instance, was the daughter of Hızır’s renowned teacher, Molla Yegan (d. ca. 1461), from a Turkmen tribe. Gülbahar Hatun (d. 1492) likely knew her; our investigations of Ottoman scholarly life would benefit immensely from a closer look into marriage patterns and networks that include women, not to mention women’s roles in education and transmission of learning.

Sinan Pasha was only one of several intellectuals who had been demoted, ill treated, or forced into exile or withdrawal by Mehmed II. Another important turn of events under Bayezid that had profound consequences for Ottoman cultural life was the reinstatement of these intellectuals, often to positions of security and productivity. The fate of Molla Lutfi of Tokat (d. 1495) reminds us, however, that reinstatement was not always secure, even under Bayezid and despite being productive. After having served Mehmed II as palace librarian and being dismissed, this brilliant student of Sinan Pasha’s was given a professorship at a top madrasa by Bayezid upon his accession. Molla Lutfi was also invited to the court for the many open debates held by the new sultan, just like his father, on scientific and philosophical questions in front of an audience. At least two of Molla Lutfi’s books were produced as an outcome of those intensely competitive debates at the court, but he seems to have been unable to control his biting humor and impatience for dogmatism despite several warnings. Considered an incorrigible gadfly by his colleagues, Molla Lutfi is said to have been protected by Bayezid a number of times against charges of heresy, but ultimately the sultan yielded and agreed to a trial by a jury of scholars. The former librarian was sentenced to execution as a heretic, with only a single abstention from Efdalzade

Hamidüddin Efendi, one of 'Atufi's teachers.²⁹ None of Molla Lutfi's works appears in the inventory.

AMASYA

The city of Amasya had been the princely residence of Bayezid II for twenty-seven years. Much like Bayezid himself, the significance of the city in Ottoman history has not been properly recognized due to what it was not. Namely, it was not a capital city, it never became an overture to Istanbul like Bursa or Edirne, nor was it a place that could be treated as a stage to the ultimate telos of Ottoman history.

Amasya, was, however, much more than just one princely city among others. Three of the four rulers of the fifteenth century came of age and cut their teeth in politics there. Both winners of the two bitterly fought internecine wars of that century, namely Mehmed I and Bayezid II, were Amasyan, for all practical purposes, and their bases of support and networks in the region mattered for their victory as well as for their reign thereafter.³⁰ The city would also be at the crux of the next big struggle among brothers, the sons of Bayezid II, which was lost by the prince of Amasya in 1511–13. This period can be considered the second interregnum, nearly a century after the first one (between 1402–13), and the city would never regain its earlier prominence thereafter. Still, Amasya was quite relevant during the fourth set of wars among princes, namely yet another make-or-break moment in the long and conflict-ridden Ottoman project to build an empire in the lands of Rum and beyond. Vanquished, Prince Bayezid (d. 1562), son of Süleyman, and the last one to hold an appanage in Amasya, would seek refuge in Safavid Iran in 1559, where he would eventually be executed after an agreement between the sultan and the shah—somewhat like the fate of his great-uncle Prince Cem, who died, possibly poisoned, while in the custody of the pope in Italy.³¹ (The palace library would eventually include at least some of the books of the two deceased princes.)

In short, Amasya was arguably at the center of more than a century and half of Ottoman political history. During the lifetime of Bayezid and 'Atufi, the city's aura and formative impact transcended that of the surrounding region. On the northern corridor of the Silk Road in

Anatolia, the vibrant trade route between Bursa and Tabriz, Amasya constituted the most important gateway between the lands of Rum and Iran at the time.³²

As the leading urban center of the easternmost region held continuously and securely by the Ottomans for more than a century—namely until after the battle of Çaldıran (1514), when the Ottoman realm expanded eastward—Amasya was a veritable hub of commercial, cultural, and Sufi networks with extensive transregional connections. Until 1514, Amasya was also the administrative center of a region with several well-connected towns (including Merzifon and Tokat), fertile agrarian lands, as well as nomadic and semi-nomadic communities.³³ There was a remarkable continuity in the political roles played by notable families—some of them evidently with deep roots in the ancient régime of the Seljuk and the Mongol eras—and in their relatively stable coalition with the House of Osman after 1398. The proximity between the patricians and the princes certainly contributed to the stability of that coalition. They must have been the main beneficiaries of Bayezid's defiance of his father, for instance, when Mehmed II wanted to impose the aforementioned extraordinary levy on the city and the prince defended his compatriots against the exaction. Some of these families were undoubtedly linked, by descent or social network, to sizeable Turkmen communities with their transhumant pastoralism and Oghuz traditions.³⁴ They were also linked to, or even led in some instances, the emerging Sufi circles of the city, with endowed institutions and transregional networks. The social, cultural, material, and military resources amassed by this intricate articulation of elites rendered Amasya a site of considerable political capital for princes, who could also insert their own men into this landscape through land grants and fiefs. In fact, before he became known for piety, Bayezid had amassed a reputation as a young man who indulged in the pleasures of wine and opium in the merry company of Amasyan socialites and literary elites.

Not surprisingly, the city and the region were receiving migrants, while it also sent some of its brightest to cities further west in the Ottoman realm, especially after the accession of Bayezid II, as the case of 'Atufi exemplifies. Second to none in the lands of Rum as a thriving center of cultural life, Amasya boasted some of the most accomplished poets, Sufis, scholars, artists,

and physicians in its heyday. Mihri Hatun of Amasya (d. 1514?) is one of the very few women to have received a regular place and a fine critical reception in the nearly all-male universe of the biographical dictionaries of Ottoman poets. From a notable family with deep roots in the city, Mihri knew well the artistic and political elites, including Prince Bayezid, to whom she would eventually send a handsome (autograph?) copy of her *divan* in the emerging high register of Ottoman Turkish (see Appendix, no. 114). One of her male friends (and object of amorous attention, allegedly) from the literary circles in Amasya was Bayezid's close companion Mü'eyyetzade 'Abdurrahman Efendi (d. 1516), whose reputation as a bibliophile and book collector would surpass even his highly respectable standing among the Ottoman 'ulema, as discussed in the essay by Judith Pfeiffer in this volume. As for the Amasyan calligrapher Şeyh Hamdullah (d. 1520), who was also one of Prince Bayezid's tutors, he has been recognized since the sixteenth century as the founder of one of the canonical styles of Ottoman calligraphy; some of his works are listed in the palace library inventory. Among famous Amasyans of the fifteenth century, also with fingerprints in 'Atufi's inventory, should be mentioned the surgeon-physician Sabuncuoğlu Şerefeddin (d. after 1468), who wrote a pioneering technical treatise in Turkish on the practice of surgery. All four of these stellar representatives of Amasya's glory at the time could claim descent from families of some recognition in the region; as we will see, 'Atufi, too, had some claims about the renown of his family in the nearby town of Merzifon.³⁵

Another famous physician of Amasya in the fifteenth century is hardly known in Ottoman studies, a field in which an integrated treatment of the overlapping lives of different religious, ethnic, and linguistic communities is still an elusive goal. In his own time, however, Amirdovlat Amasiatsi enjoyed the kind of reputation that would secure him employment in the palace of Mehmed II. The pharmacopeia that he composed in his native Armenian, *Useless for Ignorants*, is an astonishing achievement, not only because of its learning and encyclopedic range of knowledge but also for its lexicon of names of plants and substances in Arabic, Armenian, Greek, Latin, Persian, and Turkish. The palace library does not presently have any of his books but bears evidence of his continued reputation in the form of a late-

sixteenth-century Armenian manuscript on the history of medicine, which features a miniature-style portrait of Amirdovlat as its frontispiece.³⁶ While the second part of the name of this polyglot Armenian scientist resonates with patriotic pride of his hometown, the first part—a combination of two Arabic words in Perso-Turkish pronunciation—is redolent of a peculiarly Rumi integration, whereby Christian families (perhaps Armenians, in particular) readily availed themselves of the onomastic pools of their Muslim neighbors in naming their children.

Indeed, a fiscal survey from 1520 suggests that the Muslims and non-Muslims of Amasya did not care much for segregation. While only four of fifty-two neighborhoods are marked as non-Muslim, there were several mixed neighborhoods where many of the 324 dhimmi households out of a total of 1,042 were dispersed.³⁷ The overall population of the city itself is estimated to have been between eight and ten thousand in the early sixteenth century—a considerable concentration of souls, particularly if one takes into account the connectivity between the city and its hinterland, which were integrated by brisk mobility.

The administrative peripheralization of Amasya after Bayezid's reign was the result of a process initiated by his son and successor Selim I (r. 1512–20), who was born in that city (in 1470?) but seems to have resented what it stood for: the princely seat of his elder brother Ahmed, popularly viewed as their father's favorite and heir apparent. As Sultan Selim I, he redesigned the administrative hierarchies in that region by relegating Amasya to a lesser position and designating it as a sub-province to be governed from Sivas, the new center of the larger province.³⁸ The later political peripheralization of Bayezid II's princely residence can be gauged by the fact that none of the four princes sent there after him—namely Ahmed b. Bayezid II, Murad b. Ahmed b. Bayezid II, Mustafa b. Süleyman I, Bayezid b. Süleyman I—could seize the throne. Of those, Ahmed came close, but his aforementioned defeat in 1511–13 brought the Selimian dispensation to the fore. As for those who came after Ahmed, neither Mustafa nor Bayezid wanted to be in Amasya to begin with, since by then it was considered an outpost, an obstacle to a viable bid for the throne. The region's peripheralization vis-à-vis the emerging ideological and confessional orthodoxy of that

dispensation, with a Shi'i Safavid counterpart to its east, can be read in the fact that two of the later princes of Amasya, Murad (d. 1513?, grandson of Bayezid II) and Bayezid (d. 1562, son of Süleyman I), imagined that they could hark back to the ecumenical accommodationism and self-conscious confessional ambiguity of the bygone era, but both ended up in exile in Safavid Iran.³⁹

To be sure, Amasya continued to be a vibrant and significant site of urban life in later centuries, particularly in terms of its tradition of learning and scholarship, as well as its civil architecture. But the region's leading role in Ottoman political life was irreversibly altered after Çaldıran and the articulation of the new confessional dynamics.⁴⁰ After his victory in that battle, instead of returning to Istanbul, Selim stayed in Amasya in the winter of 1514–15 in order to reapportion its landholdings and endowments and thus to reassert the redistributive role of the state, punishing those who were deemed disobedient or unorthodox with confiscations in the manner of his grandfather and allocating resources according to the new dispensation. It has been claimed that 'Atufi was among the ones whose landholding was taken away, but a village that was most likely named after him is listed in a survey of the region made in 1520. Was the land first confiscated and then returned to him? It seems impossible to either verify or reject this hypothesis given our current state of knowledge.⁴¹

Notwithstanding its significance for the consolidation of an Ottoman order in the fifteenth century, the Amasya region was also a strong base for Turkmen communities that would reinvent themselves as *qizilbash* ("redheads," i.e., supporters of the Safavid shaykh/shah) at the dawn of the sixteenth century and present the biggest challenge to that order. Numerous riots and instances of unruliness in that vein had been recorded since the late fifteenth century, but full-fledged rebellions erupted only after Selim's departure from the region. The one led by Shaykh Celal in 1519 in the region of Tokat must have been in some sense paradigmatic, since thereafter the word "Celali" became the generic reference to rebels in the Anatolian countryside, particularly during the wildfire of uprisings in the late sixteenth century.⁴²

CIRCA 1501

It would be pointless to engage in a new counterfactual and ask what would have happened if Prince Ahmed had been the successor and sultan instead of Selim, but it is worth considering the perspectives of the Ottomans, and Bayezid in particular, around the turn of the century before the succession crisis erupted in full force in 1510. In hindsight, the year 1501 has come to imply to Ottoman historians, as well as to modern scholars, "the rise of the Safavid state" first and foremost, and its profound challenge to the Ottoman order. The argument made by Selim and pro-Selim historiography to legitimate the prince's defiance of his father—namely that the older sultan was unaware of the magnitude of the Safavid threat, and too soft in dealing with it—is by and large accepted in later accounts.⁴³

Surely, there were apprehensions about the growing influence and ambitions of the Safavid order among the Ottoman political elites starting in the final decades of the fifteenth century, but the matter was not as alarming at that time as it would become after a few years.⁴⁴ Two chronicles that happen to come to a halt in 1501–2, namely one by Oruç (d. after 1502) and the other by Behiştî (d. after 1512), corroborate this picture by providing a fascinating perspective on anxieties caused by the rising Safavid challenge without the sense of an inevitable military do-or-die clash as a necessary consequence.⁴⁵ It is yet another instance of the tremendous hegemonic success of Ottoman historiography after Selim that Ottoman-Safavid relations are described with Çaldıran as the inevitable consequence of irreconcilable differences that set the course of those relations from the outset. Even if this were true, it is still worth observing that the matter appeared differently to the sultan and his cabinet at the Sublime Porte during the earlier years of Shah Isma'il (r. 1501–24).⁴⁶ More importantly, different sets of policies other than the one eventually designed and implemented by Selim were still conceivable. Bayezid took some harsh measures by his own standards. If these efforts struck his son and successor, Selim the Grim, as feeble, this was perhaps because the sultan was not bellicose enough for the hawks, and he typically moderated state violence with imperial patronage. Bayezid's main

policies in this regard were the following: to prevent the flight of the population out of Ottoman Asia Minor to Iran under the threat of execution and confiscation; to transport rebellious “supporters of Ardabil” (i.e., of the Safavid order) to Morea, where he could boast of some prize conquests between 1499 and 1501; and, to extend his patronage over the Bektashi cult of dervishes.⁴⁷

With regard to the latter, we should mention Bayezid's eventual infatuation with a new region in Thrace. Amasya obviously continued to be a site of importance and affection for the sultan after his move to Istanbul, given his recruitment of talent from the city and his interest in Amasyans such as Mihri Hatun, as well as the construction of his mosque-madrasa complex there in 1481–86. For all sorts of practical reasons, however, the sultan had to stay close to the capital; so when he needed a place to pursue his pastimes, he found it in the region of Dimetoka (Didymoteicho in modern Greece, an easy route of about 250 kilometers from Istanbul), where he was born in 1448. The city at the center of that region had an excellent late medieval pedigree, with memories of prominent Byzantine and Ottoman figures who had sojourned and built monuments there; there were abundant hunting grounds in its vicinity; and Sufism had started to flourish in the surrounding countryside during the fifteenth century. The cult of Seyyid ‘Ali Sultan (also known as Kızıl Deli, the Crimson Berserk), in particular, attracted the interest of the sultan. Bayezid asked the shaykh of that Sufi community, Balm Sultan, who enjoyed a large and growing following, to move to the primary shrine complex of the Bektashi cult of dervishes in central Anatolia and to organize it, arguably so that its immense prestige among the *qizilbash*-leaning Turkmen population could be harnessed. Later tradition accepts the year 1501 as the date when Balm Sultan moved to the shrine complex of Hacı Bektash (d. 1271?) and started his institutionalization of the Bektashi order, which garnered for him a reputation as “the second founder.”⁴⁸ It must have been around the same time that Bayezid ordered the construction of a lead-covered dome over the tomb of the holy man buried there in the late thirteenth century, who has been regarded as a source of sublime spiritual power for millions of followers since then. This ultimate gesture of imperial patron-

age is recorded as such in the final chapter of the vita of Hacı BektaşVeli, which was most likely written by Firdevsi-i Rumi (d. after 1512). He penned several works for Bayezid II and appears in ‘Atufi's inventory with two volumes of his monumental *Süleymānnāme* (Book of Solomon).⁴⁹

The only illuminated page that we have today from the eighty-two volume venture of Firdevsi happens to feature two facing pages of fantastic characters, human or otherwise, organized in crowded rows under depictions of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, each seated on his and her throne, respectively.⁵⁰ The style is quite foreign to Ottoman miniature painting and to its Persian sources of inspiration, suggesting an unusual Maghribi artist in the Ottoman court. The explanation might well lie in the Ottoman reception of Jewish and Muslim émigrés from Iberia during those years. In fact, in that same fateful year of 1501, Bayezid's court received a letter from Iberia, where the Muslims of al-Andalus were under renewed pressure and asked for the assistance of the sultan.⁵¹

To view the context of Bayezid's “cultural turn” and the preparation of our inventory from another perspective, we might bear in mind that between 1499 and 1501, Bayezid had completed his first European campaign after 1484 with great success, which probably resonated all the way at the western end of the Mediterranean. This might even be considered his one and only campaign against the “Franks,” since the earlier campaign did not engage with the Catholics, the true rivals of the Ottomans in their competitive bid for “universal” rule against various powers and leagues in Catholic Europe. Bayezid's victories in the Mediterranean and the Adriatic would be sealed in 1502, by means of two treaties signed with the Venetians and the Hungarians, respectively.

Already as the diplomatic negotiations were unfolding, Bayezid could change his pace and his focus. As recounted in the anonymous “Hanivaldanus chronicle,” after the successful campaigns of 906/1500–1501, the sultan refrained from any further undertakings and remained “idle” in Istanbul. Oruç, whose annalistic chronicle breaks off in 908/1502–3, starts that year and the earlier one with Bayezid sojourning in his capital city.⁵²

Just as Bayezid had instigated the “publishing,” namely making public, of the histories of the House of Osman in 1484 after his conquests of fortresses by the Black Sea, the sultan again seems to have turned his attention to cultural patronage with greater intensity and focus. Not only was this a matter of respite from military mobilization, but also of riding high on the prestige of victory. In July 1501, construction started on the mosque-madrasa complex in Istanbul that would be named after the sultan. Within the same month, an order was sent to Manastir (Bitola in today’s North Macedonia), asking *müderres* ‘Ali Çelebi to dispatch a book of history that his father was known to have compiled, namely a “History of the House of Osman” in which “the tales of each [dynast]” had been brought together.⁵³ It does not appear to be coincidental that one of the earliest surviving registers to systematize the procedures for the “tenure-clock” of assistants in madrasas (*mülâzemet*) also starts during the same month.⁵⁴

THE LIBRARY COLLECTION AND THE LIBRARIAN

In short, the first years of the sixteenth century presented an opportune moment for Bayezid to take stock of his library as well as to consider the quality of education and learning in the palace and beyond. He must have thought, like many rulers before and after him, that bringing matters of knowledge to an orderly state was essential to the order of the realm. Thus he commissioned Hayrûddin Hızır ‘Atufi, one of those many talented Amasyans who eventually joined Bayezid’s circle after his accession, to prepare the unusual document at hand. There is still no obvious explanation for how the inventory of the palace library ended up in Budapest. Before its introduction to the scholarly community by İsmail Erünsal—the indefatigable historian of books and libraries in the Ottoman world—and the first detailed account of its contents by Miklós Maróth, a Hungarian librarian who was able to study the manuscript itself, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall may have laid eyes on it. With uncanny precision, Hammer writes that Bayezid II left a library of *seven thousand* volumes, “larger than any of the libraries of Istanbul of our times,” i.e.,

between 1827 and 1835, when Hammer’s ten-volume *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* was published in Pest, the Hungarian city that the Habsburgs had seized from the Ottomans in 1686.⁵⁵

The imperial collection obviously built upon the acquisitions of earlier sultans, but it is difficult to say much about these works without further research. Still, it is clear that the books listed in the inventory are overwhelmingly those of Mehmed II and Bayezid II.⁵⁶ If we knew more about the book trade and the book market in Istanbul at that time, as well as the gifting of books, we would be better equipped to speculate on the acquisition and dispersal of works in the imperial library. The transregional nature of the flow of information and gossip about books in that period, and to some degree also of the books themselves, should not be underestimated. This expansive literary network was not limited to rulers and courts, either. A fifteenth-century bookseller and scholar in Yemen, for instance, could be corresponding with the governor of the port of Calicut in Kerala, India, who was in search of a good dictionary.⁵⁷

As for the libraries in Istanbul, which presently contain some of the largest and most precious collections of Islamic manuscripts, one common assumption is that they have been stocked primarily by the yields of conquest, namely booty. There were indeed several instances of the seizure and transfer of the book collections of defeated rivals—the libraries of Mamluk Syria and Egypt in 1516–17 being among the most noteworthy, both quantitatively and qualitatively. At present, it is difficult to assess the scale of this form of “acquisition,” but future research on the subject is bound to prove fruitful. In any case, some of the books written or copied before 908/1502–3, which are held in the palace collection today without signs of Bayezid’s seal or titles added by ‘Atufi’s hand, must have been seized after the Ottoman conquest of Tabriz in 1514, followed by Syria and Egypt in 1516–17. There are, of course, some books whose original ownership is easily identifiable, such as those with the *ex libris* or seal of Kansuh al-Ghawri (d. 1516), the Mamluk sultan. At the same time, the palace library contains certain titles that can be identified as having entered the stacks after the completion of the inventory but during Bayezid’s reign. The library continued to

actively acquire books through purchase, in other words, as well as accepting gifts and commissioning copies; the blank spaces left by 'Atufi in his *Defter-i Kü-tüb* (Register of Books) seems to be reserved for those.

The dispersal of a library was not necessarily the direct consequence of conquest. In his pioneering study of the catalogue of the Ashrafiya Library of Damascus, which was prepared circa 1270, Konrad Hirschler has meticulously investigated the listed items against manuscripts that are presently available in the Süleymaniye Library, including the thirteenth-century miscellany which includes the Damascene catalogue itself. His tripartite categorization of the volumes as being either almost certain, highly likely, or likely to have arrived in Istanbul from Damascus is based on sound criteria and systematic inspection.⁵⁸ Having examined each of those volumes, I have found that none identified by Hirschler as almost certain or highly likely to have once been on the shelves of the Ashrafiyya carries the seal of Bayezid or shows the hand of 'Atufi. This strongly suggests their arrival in the Ottoman capital after the conquest of Syria in 1516. Yet very few of these manuscripts are in the collections of the Süleymaniye Library that contain books endowed by sultans that had been transferred from the palace treasury, where booty would have been stored. The overwhelming majority of the Ashrafiyya books are in the collections of grandees and scholars who probably purchased them after the dispersal of the library. This may have been due to instability caused by conquest, or loss of endowment funds, but these works do not appear to have been brought in as booty, unlike the books of the Mamluk sultan in Cairo.

In any case, the Török manuscript represents an earlier stage in the creation of the Ottoman imperial library. Dedications and gifts abounded, but there were also numerous purchases made in a book market of which we know very little.⁵⁹ The labor of copyists, professional or not, must also be better understood in terms of their network of patrons and clients, as well as their wages and incentives. The materials of book production, paper and ink to start with, likewise need to be explored in terms of their historicity. A scholar and palace librarian like 'Atufi must have been steeped in this kind of knowledge, even though we do not know much about his early life.

'ATUFI

In the colophon to the autograph copy of his *Anzāru sharḥi al-Mashāriq ma'a khātimati fī 'ilmi al-daqa'iqi wa-huwa 'ilmu al-ta'bīri al-badanī* (Insights: Commentary on al-Mashāriq, with a concluding Chapter on the Science of the Intricacies, that is, the Science of the Veridical Bodily Dream-Vision), 'Atufi writes of himself and his lineage as follows:

Khīẓr al-ḥaḳīr al-shahīr bi'l-'Atūfī al-faḳīr wa-huwa ibn Maḥmūd ibn al-'ālim al-'āmil al-wāri' al-kāmil imām al-mashāyikh al-'izām wa-humām al-amājīd al-kirām [erased word here] *al-'Arabgīrī mawlidān wa-al-Marzifōnī maḥtidān 'Omar al-Hāj Naṣr al-dīn al-Marzifōnī*. [marginal note: *al-ḥāc ṣaḥḥa*]⁶⁰

Hızır, the wretched, known as 'Atufi. He is the son of Mahmud son of 'Ömer el-Hac Nasreddin of Merzifon, the learned, the pious ... imam of the great shaykhs, of Arapgir by birth and of Merzifon by descent.

Cryptic as it is, this rare autobiographical morsel allows us a glimpse into Hayrüddin Hızır 'Atufi's family background. He is obviously proud of his grandfather and of being able to claim Merzifon (46 km from Amasya today and part of the Amasya province then and now) as his hometown. He also finds it worth recording that his learned ancestor was born in Arapgir (463 km to the southeast of Amasya on today's roads), without giving any further explanation. Perhaps 'Atufi wanted to emphasize that his family was indeed from Merzifon even if Elhac 'Ömer happened to be born in Arapgir, while also recognizing the town of Arapgir as part of the family's heritage. He felt obliged to verify his grandfather's successful undertaking of the pilgrimage to Mecca since there were many who used "Elhac" as a title. Even more significant is the fact that 'Atufi introduces his grandfather as a leader among shaykhs, which possibly implies that he was a Sufi of some renown. This could also explain the mention in a 1520 cadastral survey of a "zawīya," or dervish lodge in Amasya, which enjoyed as its endowment half of the share of a village named Hayrüddin, which local tradition associates with Hayrüddin Hızır 'Atufi.⁶¹

Long before that date, 'Atufi moved to Istanbul where he would start a career, which included his work as

court librarian among other positions. We do not know 'Atufi's age at the time he arrived in Istanbul, but he was probably around twenty, or even younger, since he continued to take lessons with top scholars after he moved west, judging by the biographies of his teachers.⁶² All but one of these teachers spent their careers in the western parts of the empire. Moreover, the famous Hocazade (d. 1488) was in Iznik and Bursa during his last several years, before and after Bayezid's accession. In other words, 'Atufi may have spent some time in the Bursa-Iznik area between his youth in Amasya and his career in Istanbul; this could also explain his distinct reverence for Kutbüddinzade of Iznik (d. 1480), the scholar and Sufi of the Akbarian tradition.⁶³

'Atufi's first patron in Istanbul seems to have been Çandarlı İbrahim Pasha (d. 1499), since he dedicated some of his early books to the pasha, known for his learning and valuable book collection.⁶⁴ Two manuscripts in TSMK, likely to be in 'Atufi's own hand, start with dedications and eulogies to İbrahim Pasha and refer to service in the latter's treasury/library (*li-khidmati khizānati İbrāhīm Paşa*).⁶⁵ By then, Hayrüddin Hızır was known as al-'Atufi, the Compassionate, or simply as 'Atufi, as his penname appears in his own works in verse.

'Atufi's appointment by the sultan to the tutorship of palace servants may have occurred after the demise of İbrahim Pasha in 1499. In any case, the young Hızır, or at least his family, was probably known to Bayezid during the latter's princely residence in Amasya. Serving as tutor in Bayezid's court would certainly lead to an acquaintance with the library there and must have paved the way for 'Atufi's work on the inventory, which started in 1502. Sometime after the completion of that task, he pursued his career outside the palace, serving as preacher (*vā'iz*) in mosques and offering lessons in Qur'anic exegesis. Sixteenth-century biographies of Ottoman scholars also refer to 'Atufi's expertise in the rhetorical sciences of *ma'ānī* and *bayān*.⁶⁶ Whether he coveted them or not, 'Atufi was quite unlike his flamboyant predecessor, Mehmed II's librarian Molla Lutfi. He did not join the cutthroat fray for positions in madrasas, which would have certainly given him a much more detailed treatment in the biographical dictionaries, but rather he led a quiet life and concerned himself with writing until his demise in 1541. He was buried in Eyüp, where he had also had his worldly residence. 'Atufi must have indeed

felt at home in Eyüp, where he made a modest endowment, which was still overseen by his (female) descendants in the early nineteenth century, as mentioned in an archival document.⁶⁷

As for his books, it should be said at the outset that none of them acquired a great reputation or enjoyed wide circulation by being copied in significant numbers. Still, 'Atufi's oeuvre offers us a profile of sincere scholarly engagement with multiple disciplines, of quiet dedication to a life of books and ideas, and of consistency and constancy. Not surprisingly, all these qualities also characterize his *Defter-i Kütüb*, which he probably completed at some point in his thirties.

In the inventory, 'Atufi lists four of his own works, one of them, *Ḥifẓu al-abdāni* (Preservation of Bodies), in two copies:

151 {13–17}

≈ Kitābu rawḍi al-insāni fi al-ṭibbi al-nabawī wa-
~ Risālatu [bi-al-turkiyyati al-manẓūmati] dhukhri al-
'aṭshāni fi al-ṭibbi al-nabawī wa-
~ Risālatu [bi-al-'arabiyyati al-manẓūmati] ḥifẓi al-
abdāni fi al-ṭibbi

~ kulluhā min ta'lifāti aḍ'afi al-'ibādi al-'Aṭūfi al-khādimi
li-kutubi al-khizānati al-'āmirati al-Sulṭān Bāyezīd
Khāniyyati fi mujalladin wāḥidin

(Garden of Man, on prophetic medicine; and, Treasury for the Desirous, on prophetic medicine, in Turkish; and, Preservation of Bodies, in Arabic, in verse; all of them works by the weakest of slaves [of God], 'Atufi, librarian of the royal treasury of Sultan Bayezid Khan, in one volume. [See list by Nükhet Varlık])

166 {10}

≈ Ḥifẓu al-abdāni li-aḍ'afi 'ibādi Allāhi al-'Aṭūfi [bi-al-'arabiyyati al-manẓūmati] fi al-ṭibbi

303 {17–18}

≈ Risālatu ramzi al-daḡā'iḡi fi 'ilmi al-daḡā'iḡi wa-huwa
al-'ilmu bi-al-ru'yā al-ṣādiqati al-badaniyyati li-aḍ'afi al-
'ibādi al-'Aṭūfi [-'ufiyya 'anhu-]

(Treatise on the Symbol of the Intricacies regarding the Science of the Intricacies, that is, the Science of the Veridical Bodily Dream-Vision, by the weakest of slaves, may he be pardoned. [See list by Noah Gardiner])

The three-work volume listed at the top of the section on medicine, a rare case of self-flattery in 'Atufi's oeuvre, seems to correspond to TSMK, A. 2107, where he writes (on 206b) that the copy was completed in 904/1498–99. The palace library presently has an additional copy of the first text, *Kitābu rawḍi al-insāni*, and the second text, *Risālatu dhukhri al-atshāni* (in Turkish verse), both of them with dedications to İbrahim Pasha. Those copies, with no date or seal of Bayezid II, possibly contain some of the earliest compositions of 'Atufi. They are dedicated to practical medical advice, and are based on the deeds and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad. The treatise in Turkish verse, 115 couplets on the benefits and manners of drinking water, is the second part (49a–59b) of a two-work compendium, which opens with a book on the beneficial qualities of sneezing (*Kitāb al-uṭās*, Book of Sneezing), inspired by the renowned *Ḳānūn fī al-ṭibb* (Canon of Medicine) of Ibn Sina.

Of these early literary experiments, 'Atufi seems to have been more certain of his treatise on dreams, *Risālatu ramzi al-daḡā'iqi fī 'ilmi al-daḡā'iqi*. He turned it into the concluding chapter of his next work, a commentary on some hadiths in the famous collection of al-Saghani, *Mashāriq al-anwār al-nabawiyya* (The Rise of Prophetic Lights), a work with which 'Atufi had started to engage in his earlier *Rawḍ al-insān*. Of his erstwhile foray into the science of hadith, namely his commentary on *Mashāriq*, the two copies in the palace library, A. 443 and A. 444, are clearly two redactions of the same work, carefully produced with the same page design, format, and binding by the same hand, that of 'Atufi. Only one of them, A. 443, has the seal of Bayezid II (twice, on 1a and 99a), is dated (to 911/1505–6), gives the name of the sultan in gilded letters (on 4a), and offers the autobiographical information cited above. The one without these features, A. 444, was clearly the earlier working redaction, which 'Atufi raised to another level for the presentation copy. The full title on the later redaction, also cited at the beginning of this section above, is followed by *muswadda Ḥizir al-'Atūfi -'uḡfiya 'anhu-* (drafted by Hızır 'Atufi, may he be forgiven). Neither of these two manuscripts appears in the inventory, since they were composed just one or two years after its completion.

Following this work on hadith, 'Atufi turned to kalam and composed a gloss to explicate al-Jurjani's commentary on *al-Mawāqif* (Stations) of al-Ījī (d. 1355).

Titled *Hāshiyat al-'Atūfi 'alā sharḥ al-Sayyid al-Sharīf 'alā Muqaddimat al-Mawāqif* ('Atufi's Gloss on Sayyid al-Sharīf's Commentary on the Introduction to *al-Mawāqif*), this work was completed in 913/1507–8 and dedicated to Bayezid II.⁶⁸ Perhaps 'Atufi had studied that specific commentary with Hocazade, who passed away while working on a gloss on the same text that had been requested by the sultan. Hadith seems to have been one of 'Atufi's favorite disciplines, as he returned to it with a compilation and commentary on hadith concerning faith, *al-Jawharat al-jināniyya fī masā'il al-īmāniyya* (Gem of Paradise in Matters of Faith), dedicated to Bayezid II.⁶⁹ Of an exegetical exercise by 'Atufi, again dedicated to the same sultan, there is one copy in the Süleymaniye Library, *Ḥisn al-āyāt al-iḡām fī tafsīr awā'il sūrat al-an'ām* (The Bastion of Mighty Signs in the Exegesis of the Beginning of the Verse of *An'ām*), which consists of a commentary on the first three verses of the chapter *An'ām* of the Qur'an.⁷⁰

Thereafter, 'Atufi continued to write books on the mainstream sciences taught in madrasas, primarily hadith and tafsir, without becoming a professional member of the madrasa circles himself. He wrote mostly in Arabic and in Turkish, but he also knew Persian well enough to experiment with some verse in it. After İbrahim Pasha and Bayezid II, his main patron was Süleyman I, to whom 'Atufi dedicated several books.

A selective look at some of 'Atufi's works after the reign of Bayezid II might help us trace his intellectual trajectory beyond the framework of our study.⁷¹ Some of his literary output was obviously intended for instruction. In 1521, 'Atufi completed an exegetical study on shorter verses recited commonly during prayer, *Kitāb al-hāl fī mā 'āzala min mazāliq al-maḡāl* (Book of the [Spiritual] State Which Removes from Perilous Ground), written for ordinary believers who needed explication. In the same field of exegesis, and in response to questions asked by his students, 'Atufi wrote a brief gloss on al-Baydawi's (d. 1286) commentary on one verse in sura *Mulk* (67/11) and a longer one on the same author's *Anwār al-tanzīl*.

A late work of 'Atufi's, titled *İbret-nāme* (Book of Lessons) and so far unknown in the scholarly literature, has recently come to our attention thanks to its being posted online. This seems to be an autograph copy, and was written during the reign of Süleyman I; it is now housed in the Uppsala University Library.

While the book is in Turkish and was written decades after the completion of the inventory, 'Atufi still wears his cataloguer's hat and gives the title in Arabic: *Kitāb 'Ībrat-nāma fī hikāya Īskandar bi al-tafsīr al-turkī alladhī allafahu Ḥiḍir bin Maḥmūd bin 'Umar al-'Atūfī* (Book of Lessons in the Story of Alexander in Turkish Exegesis, Which Is Composed by Hızır bin Mahmud bin 'Umar al-'Atufi). Evidently written in an era alive to anticipations and concerns regarding world conquest, the text interprets passages about *Dhū al-qarnayn* (Alexander "of two horns") in the Qur'an, often citing al-Zamakhshari's *Kashshāf*, and 'Umar al-Nasafi, in an attempt to draw out lessons for contemporary rulers and armies.⁷²

During the same era, he wrote an Arabic commentary on the *Qaṣīdat al-Burda*, which he proudly announces as the first commentary written in the lands of Rum on this ode to the prophet, written by al-Busiri (d. 1296?), many copies of and commentaries on which 'Atufi handled while preparing the inventory. Even when he wrote in Arabic, 'Atufi was keen to underscore his place as one of the scholars of the lands of Rum, whose arrival as a self-conscious and proud community of learning and letters started to manifest itself at the time of his work in Bayezid's library.⁷³

The most recognized scholarly accomplishment of 'Atufi for his contemporaries, and perhaps in his own reckoning as well, may well be his *Kashf al-Mashāriq* (Unveiling the *Mashāriq*), which is an expanded version of his earlier study on the hadith in al-Saghani's *Mashāriq al-anwār* (well represented in the inventory; see essay and list by Recep Göktaş). No matter what the circumstances in the Hayrūddin village back in Merzifon were, 'Atufi appears in this book, as well as in his other studies, as a bona fide Ottoman loyalist with a strong preference for Hanafi-Maturidi positions and an aversion to interpretations with a flavor of Mu'tazilism, even in the works of Ibn Melek (d. 1399), an early Rumi scholar whom he admired a good deal. A copy of this mature work, likely written in 1539–40, would eventually be gifted by Süleyman I to the library of the Süleymaniye madrasa and is mentioned in the endowment deed as one of the books that could be used for instruction there.⁷⁴

In hindsight, however, 'Atufi's *Defter-i Kütüb* could arguably be considered the crowning achievement of an otherwise unstoried life. Just as in our own day, the labor

of a librarian seems to have received less than its due. He is remembered in all biographical accounts for his "substantive" works, which were—unfortunately for him—considered respectable, perhaps, but not much more than that. Yet a close reading of the unique book inventory 'Atufi prepared presents us with a remarkable and, so far at least, unparalleled intellectual endeavor. It could be seen as an early instance of the same early modern context, with its qualitative and quantitative leap toward an archival order around rigorously structured practical documents that surveyed and counted and listed things and people on paper, in tandem with a growing place for texts in the public sphere beyond that of holy texts.

'ATUFI'S ORGANIZATIONAL PRACTICES

By the fifteenth century, certain rules and expectations regarding the shelving and organization of book collections were well established for educated bibliophiles in Muslim societies. 'Atufi must have read the same kind of literature that his older compatriot, 'Ali bin Hüseyin el-Amasi (d. 1470?), summarized in a pedagogical manual in 1453:

one should not place a pence, or an apple or pear or [a loaf of] bread on top of [a copy of] the Qur'an; nor should one place other books on top of it. If one were to wish to store books in some place, books of jurisprudence should be on top of the other sciences, books of hadith over those, books of exegesis over those, and the Word of God over those. In that order.⁷⁵

In a work compiled in Damascus in 1526 for students and faculty of higher education, more detailed instructions on the same topic were offered by an Arab scholar of the next generation, who was clearly steeped in the same tradition. In a chapter that deals with "the appropriate ways of treating books," al-Ghazzi includes a section on "the methods of shelving (*waḍ'*) and transmitting (*ḥaml*) books accurately":

When one stacks books next to each other, they should be placed upon a stand, wooden seat, shelf, or upon other [elevated] places. It is preferable to leave some space between books and the ground, and not to place them directly on it, lest they suffer damage from dampness or decay. If the books are placed upon wood or some similar material their

leather bindings should be protected by some means from above and below. Similarly, something should be inserted between the books [to keep them from direct contact] with the wall or whatever they lean against or lie upon. One should observe [certain] moral guidelines in the placement of books according to their rank (*sharaf*) and the notability of their authors. Thus the most esteemed book should be placed in the topmost position. The others should be arranged beneath it, according to their value. If there is a copy of the Qur'ān, it should be placed on top of all the other books. It is preferable to keep it in a cloth sack with a short rope attached, so that it may be hung from a peg on a ritually clean wall in the center of a sitting room (*majlis*). [Next, below the Qur'ān,] the exclusive collections of traditions, such as those of al-Bukhārī and Muslim [should be placed]; then commentaries on the Qur'ān; then commentaries on the collections of traditions; then works on theology; then works on the principles of jurisprudence; then works on syntax and morphology; then collections of poetry; and finally, works on prosody and similar subjects. If there are two books on the same subject, the one which contains more quotations from the Qur'ān or traditions should be placed on top. If the two books are equal [in this respect], or if it is not known which contains more, then the merit of the author should be considered. If the authors are equal in importance, then the book which is older in composition or in transcription, or the one which is used more frequently by scholars and pious persons should be placed on top. If the books are also equal in these respects, then the more correct one should be placed on top. In order to prevent books from falling often large books should not be placed on top of smaller ones. In order to prevent the flap of the book cover from tearing quickly, one should not place the flap inside the book too frequently. One should write the title of the book upon the bottom edges of the leaves, with the tops of the letters in the title in the direction of the beginning, that is, the side of the basmalah of the work. This citation of the title is of value in that it aids in identifying a book and facilitates pulling it out from among other books. If a book is placed upon a stand or upon a wooden bench, for instance, the cover which is on the side of the basmalah should be on top. One should not use the book as a depository for quires and similar things, nor should one use it as a pillow, a fan, a press, a prop to lean or rest upon, or an insect swatter. ... one should not fold over the margin or corner of a leaf [in a book] as ignorant people often do...⁷⁶

The latter words of caution may have been particularly relevant for the users of the library at the court, with hundreds of denizens as likely borrowers or readers.

As objects, books acquire part of their power from their mobility, which facilitates their use in all kinds of environments, as well as their circulation and relocation, but also puts them and their collectors in jeopardy because of their vulnerability to damage and loss. The mobility of books was precisely the problem for early Muslim jurists, who refused to legitimate the endowment of books, since one could only endow immobile property in a strict understanding of the holy law. However, by the ninth century, a new generation of jurists was able to legitimize the dedication of copies of the Qur'ān, and eventually other books as well, for public use "in eternity."⁷⁷

Within the palace, the circulation and relocation of books was common, even if the precise nature of these operations is not quite clear to us. Several manuscripts include notes concerning their transfer from the Privy Chamber to the Inner Treasury, often using the language of the work indicated: e.g., *odadan çıkan fārisī* ("Persian book, transferred from the [Privy] Chamber"; see instances in Appendix). Several others have notes indicating their arrival in the Topkapı Palace from princely residences, such as *sancağdan gelen* ("arrived from the princely residence"), presumably when the new sultan brought over his collection or when the library of a deceased prince was transferred. Likewise, it is possible that princes, or members of their entourage, could ask to take books with them en route to their appanage. Compared to other sites outside Istanbul, this might explain the relatively large number of books with Bayezid II's seal in the manuscript library of Manisa, the primary princely residence after Amasya.⁷⁸

In a vital sense, the imperial library was the private collection of a family, even if it had a semi-public character for the inhabitants and servants of the palace. Hence, its books could be gifted or endowed by members of the dynastic family, and thus alienated from the collection. The overwhelming majority of the books inventoried by 'Atufi but not currently found in the palace library (TSMK) are those thousands of volumes that were endowed by later sultans, and sultanas, to the public libraries they built and stocked. The pioneer of this "public turn" was perhaps Hatice Turhan Sultan (d. 1683), the mother of Mehmed IV (r. 1648–87) and a major public figure in her own right. Her endowed

library collection, as well as the Ayasofya and the Fatih libraries endowed by Mahmud I (r. 1730–54)—all of which have now been consolidated into the giant centralized collection at the Süleymaniye Library (SK)—are prime examples of this development.⁷⁹

Besides such legitimate acts of relocation, books were also subject to theft and repossession or, to give the matter a less sinister spin, forgetfulness. We know exactly how certain volumes were lost from the palace library. Sultans and princes often took books with them during their travels, even on military campaigns. Selim I, for instance, traveled with a chest full of manuscripts during his campaign to Syria and Egypt. The chest was part of a load that was left behind during a rushed advance, and the whole lot was snatched by the Bedouins. Having thus lost a precious copy of the *History of Vassaf* that Selim “had a fondness for and was entertained by,” he commissioned a new copy to be made by a certain copyist known for his swiftness.⁸⁰ Was the copy in Selim’s chest the one mentioned in ‘Atufi’s inventory (184 {17})? Could it have ended up in a dignified auction in Europe in modern times?

Whatever their path, some of them gifts, others being purchases of volumes abducted from the seraglio, several manuscripts from the palace library found their way into European libraries and collections. So far, the only book from Bayezid’s library found to the east of the former Ottoman empire is in Herat. This codex, which originated in the library of Shahrukh (r. 1405–47), may have been sent as a gift to Istanbul; perhaps it made its way back there again as a gift or returned if it was discovered that it was stolen, but not before receiving the seal of Bayezid II (Appendix no. 1, Plate 1).⁸¹

Also outside Istanbul, but not that far, is the fabulous and fabulously important copy of the divan of Prince Cem in the İnebey Library of Bursa, where the unfortunate prince lies buried. The title is written exactly as it appears in MS Török F. 59, 244 {19}: *Dīwānu al-marḥūmi Jam [Cem] bin Sultān Meḥammed Khān-ṭayyaba Allāhu ta‘ālā tharāhumā* (Divan of the late [dearly departed?] Cem, son of Sultan Mehmed Khan—may God Almighty purify their tombs) (Appendix no. 2, Plate 2). Even though the manuscript was handled by our librarian, it does not have a seal imprint. The seal may have been effaced, given the visible disrepair of the page, or per-

haps Bayezid did not think it would be decorous to add his name to the poetry collection of his brother, of whose passing he was not innocent.

The reverse—namely having Bayezid’s seal but no entry in the inventory—is the case for a manuscript that contains the poetry of a distinguished contemporary of ‘Atufi’s, and a fellow Amasyan. Mihri Hatun (d. after 1512) is recognized on the title page, by a different hand, as the daughter of Mevlana Belai. The absence of this work from the inventory suggests that it arrived in the palace library after 1504. Of the several grants Mihri received between 1503 and 1512, as recorded in the register of imperial donations to poets and artists, the one dated to August 1508 is specifically stated to be in recognition of her divan, which may well be the copy that is now housed in SK, Ayasofya 3974 (Appendix, no. 114).⁸²

One of ‘Atufi’s favorite authors was undoubtedly Kutbüddinzade (d. 1480), who is amply represented in the inventory probably because the sultan cared for him as well.⁸³ This Sufi scholar from Iznik is listed with eight distinct works in four different fields (*ad‘iya*, *fiqh*, *taṣawwuf*, *ta‘bīr*), two of them with two copies. ‘Atufi notes specifically that two of the works, one on jurisprudence and the other “pertaining to Sufism,” are in Turkish, which also makes Kutbüddinzade a major representative of the vernacular in the inventory, where Turkish texts do not have much of a presence otherwise. Our librarian’s particular reverence and affection for the deceased author are expressed through formulaic expressions of good wishes for his afterlife, *quddisa sirruhu* and *ṭāba tharāhu*, which occur two times each in the inventory.

‘Atufi’s personal touch is most obvious when he places certain authors in the “dearly departed” category. More specifically, he refers to only eight authors as *marḥūm*, asking for God’s mercy upon the deceased.⁸⁴ These are all contemporaries or near-contemporaries of our librarian, and he may well have known some of them personally. Otherwise, he uses a rich repertoire of prayer formulae for deceased scholars and sultans.

Not exactly terms of endearment, certain of ‘Atufi’s usages still manage to invoke a sense of cultural proximity between the librarian and some of the hundreds of authors whose names and books constitute the inventory. The word *Mawlānā* (“our lord”), for instance, which

is applied to scholars of a certain standing and dignity in Ottoman discourse, appears 119 times, and is used for scholars of the Ottoman world in all but a few instances. In those exceptional cases, the word is attached to scholars for whom Ottoman literati had a special fondness and considered as part of their own cultural universe, such as Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 1273; he also appears as *Mawlānā Khudāwandigār* once), Jami (d. 1492), and Taftazani (d. 1390).

Çelebi is, of course, another designation specific to the Ottoman world; it is used in the inventory to refer to four scions of notable families. The term *Rūmī*, as usual, presents a curious case as both a de-ethnicizing epithet for the Muslim intellectuals of the lands of Rum and the name of the Greek language of those lands. The word is thus used on dozens of occasions, without a hint of confusion or tension, which would be hard to imagine in the age of nationalism. The fact that Şeyh Bedreddin (d. 1420?), son of the qadi of Simavna, does not receive such eulogies or familiarizing terms in any of his seven mentions—in six of which he is referred to as *Ibn Simāwunā*—might be interpreted as a consequence of his controversial legacy. But the same holds true for Davud-i Kayseri (d. 1350); perhaps the references to Simavna and Kayseri were sufficient to “place” them in a familiar geography.

Some cultural specificity could also be indicated by references to the language in which a book was written. It was not necessary to designate Arabic, since this could be considered the default category in a library where the overwhelming majority of books were in that language. Persian is mentioned regularly with regard to works written in that language but not always; in some cases, mention of Persian was probably omitted because it was obvious, as in the case of works by Jalal al-Din Rumi. But other times the language designation seems to have been omitted due to neglect, perhaps because work on the inventory needed to proceed in a hurry. Of approximately seven thousand titles, nearly 450 are listed explicitly as being in Persian.

Of tongues more specific to the lands of Rum, Greek appears six times as *Rūmī*, while the word *Yūnānī* is attached to 19 texts, but always in the sense of belonging to “Ionian,” or Hellenic Greek culture. Four texts are mentioned as being in *Suryānī*, namely Syriac language

or script, and three as *Afranji* (=Latin?). Old Church Slavonic, designated “Serbian” here, appears three times as one of the languages in some multilingual dictionaries.

Turkish was important enough to deserve a section of its own for the divans and versified books in that language, but the section stands out as one of the shorter ones. The relative dearth of works in Turkish clearly extended beyond the palace library, since the proportion of Turkish books in the other grand book collection of the time, namely that of Mü’eyyездade, Bayezid’s companion from his youthful days in Amasya, was not higher.⁸⁵ Whatever their overall quantity, however, the relevant texts in both collections were mostly of recent vintage and stood witness to the fact that the Turkish vernacular was on the verge of coming into its own as a literary language and would grow by leaps and bounds within the next century.

The palace library collection also features many examples of a lively conversation between western and eastern Turkish at the time. The admiration of Ottoman intellectuals for the star literati of Herat was not limited to Jami, who wrote in Persian, but included ‘Ali Shir Nawa’i (Neva’i) and others who wrote in what is now known as Chaghatai Turkish as well as Persian. For ‘Atufi, who lived long before the age of comparative linguistics and Turcology, these were texts written in other dialects and sometimes even other scripts from the eastern world of Turkish-speakers, including the Qipchak Turkish of the Mamluks, which he often preferred to designate as *Mughūlī* (21 occurrences; see, for instance, SK, Ayasofya 4757, Appendix, no. 124, Plate 27 [1–2]) but placed within the same section as divans and verse “in Turkish.” The semantic range of the word *Mughūl* was obviously much more capacious than our modern *Mongol*. A copy of Yazıcızade’s *Tārīḫ-i Āl-i Selçuḫ* from the library of Prince Bayezid b. Süleyman, dated 951/1544–45, is assigned the title *Mughūlnāme* on its flyleaf, presumably because it starts with an account of Oghuz Khan and the genealogies of different tribes of Turks and Mongols in Inner Asia (TSMK, R. 1391, Plate 13 [1–2]). For ‘Atufi and the Ottoman literati of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Turkī/Mughūlī distinction functioned somewhat like the modern Turkish/Turkic. It was a distinction worth making, while at the same time recognizing the kinship between these two categories

and the mutual intelligibility of their literatures. A proper perusal of Neva'i was considered so important for Ottoman readers that a dictionary was eventually put together (by 1534 at the latest) with rare lexical items and Chaghatai vocabulary foreign to Ottoman Turkish that appear in the poetry of Neva'i and others from the East who were in vogue in the lands of Rum.⁸⁶ Once, with respect to the script of a book written in Uyghur (SK, Ayasofya 4012, Appendix, no. 115, Plate 25 [1–2]), 'Atufi uses the word *gharīb*, with its connotations of unusual and rare, or strange—in reference to dictionaries of rare words, and manuscripts with rare illustrations. And once, in describing a translation of the *Qaṣīdat al-Burda*, he refers to the “Tatar” language.

Small scribal touches like these endow the inventory with a certain Ottoman, and even personal, flavor worth underlining. But the register as a whole is characterized by the systematic and fastidious work of a librarian (and probably a few assistants), executing a huge and sometimes tedious task according to certain pre determined principles and sultanic instructions.⁸⁷ The two most important principles concerned the titling and classification of volumes. That is, there should be concordance between the title assigned to a volume on the title page and its entry in the inventory, as well as on the sticky label of the binding (most of the latter are not extant). Further, each volume, and ideally each text within a compendium, should be categorized according to the classificatory scheme outlined at the beginning of the register.⁸⁸

There are indeed very few volumes and titles that lack an indication of the discipline of learning to which they belonged. To facilitate some ambiguation, since not all books could be neatly classified, 'Atufi relied on the phrase *min qibali* (“pertaining to”), which he tried not to use indiscriminately or sloppily. One text might clearly belong in the discipline of “history,” but another might better be identified as “pertaining to history.” 'Atufi also recognized many instances when a book might belong to more than one category, such as a work “on Sufism and advice” or a truly puzzling one “pertaining to kalam and jurisprudence and Sufism” (121 {17–18}).

Titling and identifying authors may well have been the hardest part of 'Atufi's task.⁸⁹ He did not always feel obliged to indicate the author even when that informa-

tion was available, as in the case of the commentary on *Gulshan-i Rāz* (Rose Garden of Secrets) by Ahmed-i Ilahi (d. after 1481), one of his contemporaries (TSMK, R. 474, Appendix, no. 37, Plate 11 [1–3]), so long as the work was properly categorized and titled. Another contemporary, who was well known in the palace, was Tursun Beg, whose chronicle is listed in the inventory without the author's name but with a title honoring 'Atufi's patron: “Story of the Accession of Bayezid Khan, Sultan of Sultans.” Yet the author himself gives a different title within the body of the text, calling his work “The History of Mehmed the Conqueror.”⁹⁰ Sometimes our librarian chose to be exceedingly practical; on the exquisite opening page of Me'ali's history, with illuminated roundels, he wrote the title as *Naẓm-i tawārīkh-i Sulṭān Mehmed Khān b. Murād Khān wa-ghayruhu bi-al-fārisiyyati*, referring to other sultans simply “and the rest” (TSMK, H. 1417, Appendix, no. 36, Plate 10 [1–2]). There are numerous signs indicating that 'Atufi sweated over such issues and labored to find solutions for them (see, for instance, SK, Ayasofya 1898, Appendix, no. 73, Plate 18). There are also many instances, however, when he seems to have thrown his hands in the air and decided that he would simply assign to certain works the most generic of designations, like “treatise on Sufism.”

Manuscript libraries are replete with multi-work volumes and miscellanies, some containing dozens of items, which present compounded challenges to a librarian tasked with identifying, titling, and classifying such “one-volume libraries.” While Franz Rosenthal uses this term in his study of a manuscript consisting of 23 items with 410 folios, a much larger compendium of more than two hundred items has been dubbed “the Tabriz treasury” by the team of scholars who studied it.⁹¹ The Ottoman imperial collection likewise contains some veritable one-volume libraries, or treasuries, which posed thorny inventorying problems for 'Atufi and led him to take shortcuts.

One of the heftier volumes he handled, for instance, is 752 folios long; it is listed with forty-two separate entries in the current catalogue of the Süleymaniye Library (Ayasofya 3857, Appendix, no. 112). 'Atufi's solution for this volume was to highlight the first item therein, the famous *Quintet* of Nizami (d. 1214?), and describe the rest as containing “treatises of the virtuous in the mid-

dle, and the lyrics of the greats and their quatrains at the end." He must have assumed that this volume would be requested for Nizami, and the rest would constitute a pleasant bonus for the reader. Notwithstanding the "treatises in the middle," then, it was conveniently classified under Persian poetry. Even easier to classify were the voluminous but more homogenous "collected works" of Jami.

Trouble arose when seemingly disparate texts were bound together. There is the curious case of a "Vita of Shaykh Safi al-Din," likely that of the founder of the Safavid order (d. 1334), for instance, bound in a compendium after two Arabic treatises, one on prosody and the other pertaining to the science of poetry, and before "other treatises, all in one volume" (227 {15–17}). Did 'Atufi list this volume in the section on Arabic literature without any hesitation? He must have considered listing it among books on Sufism and the biographies of shaykhs. In any case, if this vita is a copy of *Ṣafvat al-Ṣafā* (the Quintessence of Purity), the most important hagiography of the eponym of the Safavids, it may be the codex that is now a single-text volume, catalogued as SK, Ayasofya 3099, which has signs of being rebound on its own, possibly after separation from some preceding folios (Plate 24 [1–2]). With 896/1490–91 as its date of completion, indicated in the colophon, the arrival of the volume in the palace before the compilation of the inventory is not impossible. Given his temperament and attitude, Bayezid's eagerness to read about the lineage and legacy of Safi al-Din is true to form, as demonstrated by the presence of another copy of the same hagiography, with the seal of the sultan, that postdates the inventory.⁹²

Some books found a place on the shelves and in the inventory soon after their completion, but some missed it by a narrow margin. Ibrahim b. Shaykh al-Islam Sharaf al-Din Musa al-Halabi's (fl. late 15th/early 16th century) *Tuḥfatu al-asāṭini li-'ayni al-salātini* (Gift of Pillars in the Rite of Sultans), for instance, an Arabic work on Sufism, was in fact written by order of the Treasury and dedicated to the sultan in June 1501, but must have arrived a bit too late to be listed, even though it did eventually receive the seal of Bayezid II (Appendix, no. 15).⁹³ Only a few months before that, in September 1500, a certain Hisari completed his *Tuḥfat al-mu'min* (Gift to the Be-

liever), a didactic *mathnawī* in Turkish, which is both listed and sealed (Appendix, no. 68). Not only of recent vintage, but also very much wrapped in its own moment, this book dealt with "current events" to some extent, particularly with the rising influence of the shaykhs and Sufis of Ardabil, and the spread of illicit practices such as drinking alcoholic beverages, and growing long and "proud" moustaches.

A book written in 909/1503–4, on the other hand, seems to have missed being included in the inventory by a narrow margin. This commentary on Ibn al-Farid's (d. 1235) *Qaṣīda-yi khamriyya* (Wine Poem) by Idris Bidlisi concludes with a colophon that presents precious information on the emigration of this famous intellectual from Iran to the Ottoman empire. Idris's commentary is bound in a two-work volume, the second part of which had already been listed by 'Atufi and sealed with the sultan's imprint, evidently before Idris's text arrived and was deemed fit to be bound together with it (SK, Ayasofya 4092, Appendix, no. 117, Plate 26 [1–2]). The colophon also enables us to instantiate a peculiar numbering practice that has confused modern scholars with respect to the date of not only this manuscript but also of MS Török F. 59, namely our inventory, at the time of its first discovery.⁹⁴

UNIVERSALIST AMBITIONS

Some of the medieval chronicles and geographies available at the Topkapı Palace Library would seem to suggest that this library, or any contemporaneous one for that matter, paled in comparison to certain forerunners in the Islamic world of the tenth to eleventh centuries, which allegedly had collections in the hundreds of thousands, with dozens of volumes of inventories.⁹⁵ Even if, like many modern researchers, the Ottoman readers of these medieval accounts were skeptical of the numbers given, they may have still been impressed by the conceivability of such vast libraries. In any case, they do not seem to have buckled under the oppressive weight of past magnificence. Theirs was a new age with a very different kind of universalism, building on a glorious medieval heritage and fabulous new opportunities.

A brief look at the final section of the inventory might help to round out and conclude our discussion of the universalist and cosmopolitan ambitions of the sultans as collectors. The medieval Islamic and, to a lesser degree, Byzantine lore that the Ottomans had collected, adopted, and elaborated on had already incorporated parts of the legacy of pre-Islamic universalisms of the eastern Mediterranean and Mesopotamia, such as, for instance, narrative cycles concerning iconic figures like Solomon and Alexander, or collections of fables like the *Panchatantra*. The Ottomans also inherited a large part of the vast body of medieval Islamic learning, with its translations of and conversations with non-Islamic philosophical and scientific works, such as texts by (or attributed to) Aristotle, Euclid, Galen, Ptolemy, and others, as illustrated and discussed in various essays in this volume. The often-neglected universalist aspirations of the steppe, now fused with Perso-Islamic elements, continued to inform the Ottomans through not only the Oghuz traditions but also their competitive and constructive engagement with other polities of steppe background, like the Timurids.

Although they may have been more rare, there are also direct encounters with non-Islamic lore and learning reflected in our inventory, namely encounters not mediated by earlier translations or adaptations. The translation of the work of Georgios Gemisthos Plethon (d. 1454?), the late Byzantine philosopher whose thought was considered heretical by the Greek Orthodox Church, is probably the best-known example. This rendering from Greek into Arabic was only one of Mehmed II's commissions reflecting his interest in the cultural universe of his Greek subjects, and it was accompanied by a translation of Ptolemy's *Geography*, as well as an original work composed by the patriarch Gennadios (d. ca. 1473) on the "confession of faith" according to the doctrine of the Church.⁹⁶ Impressive as these initiatives are in their own right, they certainly do not compare to the translation movement of the ninth and tenth centuries in the Abbasid world, which had a far more comprehensive radar for a far more pristine beginning.

The final section of the inventory offers a glimpse into yet another dimension of the intellectual ambition that shaped the collection, namely an engagement with texts that move beyond the Islamic corpus, in a strict sense,

even if they are part of the Islamic tradition in another. In this rather short list of eleven items (see List of Entries below), 'Atufi enumerates the collection of holy texts within the Abrahamic tradition, texts that Muslims consider to be based on divine revelation and yet corrupted in their available forms, since their integrity could not be safeguarded as with the Qur'an. Such texts were still considered worthy of reading, both for the divine truth they contained, if only partially, and also for polemical reasons. In addition to this list, the Torah and the Gospels are mentioned in other sections of the inventory within titles of books that represent selections from (and/or commentaries on?) these texts, such as "A Syriac Treatise from the Torah Translated into Arabic," listed in the section on Sufism as "pertaining to advice" (146 {6}). Another treatise in Syriac is described as being "in a special calligraphic hand of theirs, which is what they write the Gospels in" (138 {18–19}).

Finally, the inventory also reflects another level of the engagement with the Old and the New Testament in the form of refutations of those texts from the point of view of different Muslim scholars, such as a volume that includes both al-Ghazali's (d. 1111) influential "Exquisite Refutation of the Outward Meaning of the Gospels" and al-Juwayni's (d. 1085) "Cure for the Ailment, on What Occurs in the Torah and the Gospels" (145 {17} and {17–18}).

As for the list itself, it includes four Arabic versions of the Psalms of David, which is mentioned in the Qur'an as one of the four revealed books, named in the inventory as alternatively *Zabur* or *Mazāmīr* (*Mizmor*) (364 {12, 12–13, 13–14} and 365 {1}). The Torah (*Tawra*) is represented with one Arabic and one Persian translation (both of them on 364 {11}). The New Testament, or *Injīl* (Evangelium), appears in five volumes, two of them in Arabic (364 {14–15} and {19}), two others in Persian (364 {15–16} and {16–18}), and one that includes a versified translation in Arabic and another in Persian (364 {19}–365 {1}). On four of those occasions, the *Injīl* is said to consist of four books, and twice the Gospels are named after each of the four evangelists.

In short, this grandiose collection of books, one of the largest in its time, was growing and was intended to grow even larger. While it presented many challenges to the librarians who toiled not only on the inventory but

also on acquisitions, circulation, and maintenance of the precious volumes, the labor was painstaking perhaps, but it was clearly also a labor of love. It was surely a matter of pride and prestige as well.

NOTES

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1. Selahattin Tansel, *Sultan II. Bâyezid'in Siyasî Hayatı* (Istanbul, 1966) 5–6. Tansel provides facsimiles of the relevant folios (65–66) from his source, Ridvan Paşa Tarihi (*Tārīḥ-i Mişr*, Beyazıt Devlet Library, MS 4971). Note also the facsimile Tansel provides of an anonymous letter from the Topkapı Palace Archives (E. 10818; undated but from Bayezid II's reign), the author of which narrates a dream of his with Seyyid Gazi, the legendary hero of the earliest Islamic conquests in the lands of Rum and a source of inspiration for later gazis, spurring the sultan to go on a westerly campaign.
2. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* (henceforth *GOR*), 10 vols. (Pest, 1827–35), 2:317.
3. Tursun Bey, *Tarih-i Ebû'l-Feth*, ed. Mertol Tulum (Istanbul, 1977), 25–26.
4. The attitude of neglect is pervasive in political discourse and public life in Turkey, where the names of Fatih Sultan Mehmed (Mehmed II, r. 1444–46; 1451–81) and Yavuz Sultan Selim (Selim I, r. 1512–20) are commonly given to monumental construction projects and sites. A similar attitude is also common in Ottoman studies in terms of the coverage of Bayezid II's reign in survey books, for instance; for a blatant example, see the title of Yaşar Yücel and Ali Sevim's work, *Osmanlı Klasik Döneminin Üç Hükümdarı: Fatih-Yavuz-Kanuni* (Ankara, 1991). In many other survey books, Bayezid II's rule is often treated as an overture to that of his son and to the "inevitable" Ottoman-Safavid wars, imposing an anachronistic approach to the turn of the century when our object of investigation in this volume, the palace library inventory, came into being. For a bold and compelling attempt at reinterpreting the role of Bayezid in Ottoman history, from a different but equally important perspective, see Nenad Filipović, "Draç'ın Fethi (1501), Oruç Bin-i Âdil Vakayinâmesi ve İsbey-oğlu Mehmet Çelebi," *Prilozi za Orijentalni Filologiju* (Sarajevo) 61 (2011):369–418.
5. Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. 1, *Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280–1808* (Cambridge, 1976), 70. For a detailed treatment and balanced assessment, see Feridun Emecen, *Osmanlı Sultanları I: Bayezid (II) – Yavuz – Kanuni* (Istanbul, 2011).
6. The trail of these references, which culminates in a black hole, has been painstakingly traced by Kathryn Schwartz in the second chapter of her PhD thesis (Harvard University, 2015), titled "Meaningful Mediums: Manuscript and Print in 19th-Century Ottoman Cairo." For a more recent short circuit of the same charge, see the work of David A. King, *Spherical Astrolabes in Circulation: From Baghdad to Toledo and to Tunis and Istanbul*, which appears on Prof. King's academia.edu website (downloaded on April 3, 2019). King writes (on p. 84): "We shall also not discuss the Sultan's prohibition of the printing of Arabic script in 1483, whereby the Shaykh al-Islâm issued a *fatwa* stating that moveable-type printing was permissible only for non-Muslim communities, but not for Muslims of the Empire," citing Walid Ghali, "Print or Not Print: Is that Still the Question? Delay in Adopting Printing Press in the Ottoman Empire" (presentation, 38th Annual Conference of the European Association of Middle East Librarians May 30–June 1, 2016), who writes: "Printed copies of the Quran during this period met with strong opposition from Muslim legal scholars: printing anything in Arabic was prohibited in the Ottoman Empire between 1483 and 1726—initially, even on penalty of death" (6), in turn citing Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (I. B. Tauris, 2005), 134–36 and "The Encyclopaedia of Islam, s.v. 'Fascicules,' by Masrah Mawlid and Clifford Edmund Bosworth." And yet the meticulous scholar Faroqhi makes no mention of even the rumor of a formal prohibition, in 1483 or any other date, let alone a death penalty! Ghali's second reference is to an entire fascicle of an encyclopedia, in which the relevant entry on *maṭba'a* offers no evidence relevant to that sweeping assertion.
7. On this latter phenomenon, see Aleksandar Shopov, "Between the Pen and the Fields: Books on Farming, Changing Land Regimes, and Urban Agriculture in the Ottoman Eastern Mediterranean ca. 1500–1700" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2016).
8. Tursun Bey, *Tarih-i Ebû'l-Feth*, 22.
9. Feridun Emecen, *Osmanlı Sultanları I*, 20–21.
10. The word *zulm* (tyranny) is indeed used to describe some of Mehmed's decisions and actions in the anonymous chronicles. See, for instance, *Anonim Osmanlı Kroniği (1299–1512)*, ed. Necdet Öztürk (Istanbul, 2000), 112.
11. The part on the House of Aydın in Enveri's *Düstürnâme* has been edited and translated by Irène Mélikoff as *Le Destân d'Umûr Pacha (Düstürnâme-i Enverî)* (Paris, 1954). A larger portion of the text, though still not the entire work, has been published by Mükrimin Halil [Yınanç] as *Düstürnâme-i Enverî* (Istanbul, 1928).
12. Ebu'l-hayr Rumi, *Şaltuknâme*, TSMK, H. 1612. For a facsimile edition, see Gönül Alpay-Tekin et al., *The Legend of Sarı Saltuk: Collected from Oral Tradition by Ebû'l-Ḥayr Rûmî*, 7 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 1974–84). For other extant copies of this text, see the introduction by Necati Demir and Dursun Erdem to their edition: *Saltuk-nâme* (Istanbul, 2013), 26.
13. Süheyl Ünver, "İkinci Selim'e kadar Osmanlı hükümdarlarının hususi kütüphaneleri hakkında," in *IV. Türk Tarih Kongresi, 1948* (Ankara, 1952), 294–312.

14. More recent work on the history of Ottoman science has already removed many of those former certainties about the absence of scientific enterprise in the early modern Ottoman world, but it has yet to make a direct impact on mainstream narratives, particularly narratives of world and European history. See, for instance, Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Bilim Mirası*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 2017); İhsan Fazlıoğlu, *Kayıp Halka: İslam-Türk Felsefe-Bilim Tarihinin Anlam Küresi* (Istanbul, 2014); and Ahmet Tunç Şen, "Astrology in the Service of the Empire: Knowledge, Prognostication, and Politics at the Ottoman Court, 1450s–1550s" (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2016).
15. Marino Sanuto, *I diarii*, 5:458. For this and other sources speaking of Bayezid's "penchant for the astral sciences," for instance, see the essay by Cornell Fleischer and Tunç Şen in this volume. Also cited in Hammer, *GOR*, 2:366 and 626. Cenabi, the sixteenth-century Ottoman historian, likewise focuses on Bayezid's engagement with books and learning in his assessment of the sultan; see Ctirad Heeren-Sarka, intro. and trans., *Sultan Bâyezid II (1481–1512) in der Chronik des Muṣṭafâ Cenâbî* (Munich, 1980), 87–88.
16. SK, Fatih 756 (Appendix, no. 46, Plate 29 [1–2]).
17. The work of Cornell Fleischer on Lettrism and related intellectual trends has been groundbreaking; see his essay in this volume and his "Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences: Prophecies at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries," in *Falnama: The Book of Omens*, ed. M. Farhad and S. Bağcı (London, 2009): 232–43, 329–30. See also Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "Early Modern Islamic Empire: New Forms of Religiopolitical Legitimacy," in *The Wiley-Blackwell History of Islam*, ed. A. Salvatore, R. Tottoli, and B. Rahimi (London, 2018): 353–75.
18. On the ideological functions of Oghuzism during the first half of the fifteenth century, with memories of the Ottoman defeat in the battle of Ankara in 1402 and the ensuing claims of Timurid suzerainty still hanging in the air, see *TDVİA*, s.v. "Murad II," by Halil İnalçık.
19. The parallel between the names of the two nephews, Korkut and Oghuz, has already been noted by Faruk Sümer, *TDVİA*, s.v. "Oğuzlar." See also Sümer's magnum opus, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler) Tarihleri, Boy Teşkilatı, Destanları* (Istanbul, 1992). Çağatay Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları* (Ankara, 1980), 28, cites a congratulatory letter written by İlalı to her brother Selim upon his accession in 1512. The name İlalı also appears earlier as one of the daughters of Mehmed I (r. 1413–21), but not after the generation of Bayezid II's children. For male and female names, also see the genealogical tables in A. D. Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty* (Oxford, 1956). It is noteworthy that such Turkish names were also adopted among the Christians in the lands of Rum. İlalı, for instance, appears as the name of a non-Muslim woman already in the Seljuk era; for this name and many other examples, see Osman Çetin, *Sicillere Göre Bursa'da İhtida Hareketleri ve Sosyal Sonuçları (1472–1909)* (Ankara, 1999), 37.
20. Semih Tezcan, *Dede Korkut Oğuznameleri Üzerine Notlar* (Istanbul, 2001) has argued for Rumelia as the site of textual rendering. The geography of these processes of textualization and vernacularization needs to be investigated in greater detail. For a rich and learned discussion of many examples and aspects of vernacularization in our inventory, with their broader implications, see the essay by Ferenc Csirkés. Also see Hüseyin Yılmaz, *Caliphate Redefined: The Mystical Turn in Ottoman Political Thought* (Princeton, 2018), the section on "the translation movement," pp. 55–64. Oscar Aguirre Mandujano's "Poetics of Empire: Literature and Political Culture at the Early Modern Ottoman Court," (PhD diss., University of Washington, 2018) is another welcome recent contribution to our understanding of the politics of language and literature in the age of Bayezid II.
21. The citation from the first collection, "Atalar sözi Kur'āna girmez, yanınca yilişür," is in red ink and vocalized on 115b in SK, Fatih 3543 (İzbudak's reference to MS 3443 must be a typographical error). The proverb collection constitutes the second part of a compendium in two parts. Since the first item in this volume, a medical work titled "Teshil-i Mevlānā Şemsüddin," gives its date of copying as 963/1557–58 (see 113b), the proverb collection must be a later copy. The proverbs start on 115a. I became aware of this manuscript through *Atalar Sözü*, ed. Velet İzbudak, with facsimile and transliteration (Istanbul, 1936), 9. A brief note on the flyleaf, "sancağdan gelen," and the seal of Süleyman I suggest that this manuscript may have been in the possession of one of his sons. The citation from the second proverb collection is on p. 229 in "Quatre-vingt quatorze proverbes turcs du XV siècle, restés inédits," ed. Pertev N. Boratav, with introduction and French translation, *Oriens* 7 (1954):223–49. A larger *Oghuznâme*, possibly copied in 1009/1601–2, now in the library of the Faculty of Oriental Studies of St. Petersburg State University, MS 121/58, is titled "Kitāb-i Oğuznâme." For this collection of 1863 proverbs, see *Oğuznâme (Emsāl-i Mehmedali): XVI.yy.da Yazılmış Türk Atasözleri Kitabı*, ed. Samed Alizade, with additional notes by Ali Haydar Bayat (Istanbul, 1992).
22. TSMK, R. 1390, 3a–4a. The MS bears the seal of Süleyman I.
23. See Boratav, "Quatre-vingt quatorze proverbes," 224–28. For social uses of proverbs in another setting, and their transformations, see Natalie Zemon Davis, "Proverbial Wisdom and Popular Errors," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (London, 1975), 227–67.
24. Eşref bin Muhammad, *Ḥazā'inü's-sa'ādāt*, ed. Bedi Şehsuvaroğlu (Ankara, 1961), pp. 1–2 of the transcription, 2a–b of the facsimile.
25. Sinan Paşa, *Tezkiretü'l-Evliya*, ed. Emine Gürsoy-Naskali (Ankara, 1987).
26. For her letter, see Çağatay Uluçay, *Haremnden Mektuplar*, 18–20. Mehmed II's firman is cited, and a facsimile provided, in *TDVİA*, s.v. "Gülbahar Hatun" by Feridun Emecen.
27. For the relevant biographies, see Taşköprülüzade, *Eş-şekā'iku'n-nu'māniyye fi 'ulemā'i'd-devleti'l-'oşmāniyye*, ed. Ahmed Subhi Furat (Istanbul, 1985), 91–94 (Hızır Beg);

- 173–77 (Sinan Pasha). For the development and recruitment of the Ottoman religio-scholarly cadres, see Abdurrahman Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge, Eng., 2017).
28. First cited from an eighteenth-century anthology in Süheyl Ünver, *Fatih Külliyesi ve Zamanı* (Istanbul, 1946), 248, the joke on Mehmed II appears in a collection of pleasant tales by Lami'i Çelebi (d. 1531), *Leṭā'ifnâme*. See the essay and note 150 by Gülru Necipoğlu. On Le'ali, see *Tezkire-i Latîfî* (Istanbul, 1896–7), 289–90.
 29. On Molla Lutfi's dismissal from the library and his trial, see Şükrü Özen, "Molla Lutfi'nin İdamına Karşı Çıkan Hamîdüddin Efendi'nin Ahkâm'uz-zındîk Risâlesi," *İslâm Araştırmaları Dergisi* 4 (2000): 7–16; Şükrü Özen, "İslâm Hukukunda Zındıklık Suçu ve Molla Lutfi'nin İdamının Fikhîliği," *İslâm Araştırmaları Dergisi* 6 (2001): 17–62; and İsmail E. Eriüsal, "XV–XVI. Asır Osmanlı Zindeka ve İlhad Tarihine Bir Katkı," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 24 (2004): 127–57. On his oeuvre in general and the books he wrote as a culmination of debates held at Bayezid's court, see the introduction by Şükran Fazlıoğlu to her edition of one of Molla Hüsrev's most important books: *Dil Bilimlerinin Sınıflandırılması = El-Metalib El-İlahiyye Fi Mevzuat El-Ulum El-Lugaviyye* (Istanbul, 2012), 52–53.
 30. It is better known that Mehmed I and Bayezid II were related to Amasya, but so was Murad II, who was born there in 1404 and held his appanage between 1415 and 1421, when he became sultan. The early reign of Murad II can be considered a sequel to the "family matters" that the House of Osman had been trying to settle after 1402, since he was dealing with the aftershocks of interregal tremors.
 31. While a certain strand of historiography tends to associate almost every prince-turned-sultan with Amasya, beginning with the learned but at times too Amasya-centric account of Hüseyin Hüsameddin [Yasar] (1869–1939), some of that information is dubious. See İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Sancağa Çıkarılan Osmanlı Şehzadeleri," *Belleten* 39 (1975): 659–96; and Petra Kappert, *Die osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Istanbul, 1976). Hüseyin Hüsameddin's work is still indispensable for those studying Amasya; on the adventures of his twelve-volume manuscript, see *TDVİA*, s.v. "Hüseyin Hüsameddin Yasar," by Turgut Akpınar. The municipality of Amasya has published the first five volumes: Abdi-zade Hüseyin Hüsameddin Efendi, *Amasya Tarihi*, 5 vols. (Amasya, 2007).
 32. The region of Amasya-Tokat is finally receiving long overdue attention with interdisciplinary methodologies. Recently finished and ongoing dissertations promise to change how we view not only the region but also the late medieval/early modern period in the lands of Rum and in Iran. The ongoing dissertation research of Polina Ivanova, with the long-term perspective of environmental history and archaeology, and that of Damla Özakay, which combines architectural and urban history, are two examples conducted at Harvard University. See also Hasan Karataş, "The City as a Historical Actor: The Urbanization and Ottomanization of the Halvetiye Sufi Order by the City of Amasya in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2011).
 33. The cadastral surveys of 1482 and 1520 are the key documents for the period under study: BOA, TD 15, and TD 387, respectively. A detailed introduction to these and other archival sources for Amasya can be found in Adnan Gürbüz, "Toprak Vakıf İlişkileri Çerçevesinde XVI. Yüzyılda Amasya Sancağı" (PhD diss., Ankara University, Institute of Social Sciences, 1993). See also Oktay Özel, *The Collapse of Rural Order in Ottoman Anatolia: Amasya 1576–1643* (Leiden; Boston, 2016); and *TDVİA*, s.v. "Amasya," by Feridun Emecen and İlhan Şahin.
 34. Undoubtedly, there were also Kurdish communities in the region, but not to the same extent as in the more southerly and easterly parts of Asia Minor. Even there, the larger political confederations were led by Turkmen dynasties in the fifteenth century, such as the Karakoyunlu and the Akkoyunlu, for whom Diyarbakir was a significant point of focus in terms of their political ambitions. There is some evidence, however, for the presence of Kurdish beys among Amasya's elites as well; see <https://pirtukweje.wordpress.com/2018/03/09/murad-ali-ciwan-amasya-bagimsiz-kuerdemirligi/>, which relies on Hüseyin Hüsameddin in this regard.
 35. The characteristic manner of referring to these families was with the suffix "zade," or its often interchangeable Turkish equivalent "oğlu" (i.e., "son or daughter of ..." or "member of the House of ... by descent"). Mihri's grandfather was a famous Sufi shaykh from the Gümüşlüzade; Abdurrahman Efendi was of the Divriklizade; Hamdullah was of the Sarıklızade, and his grandfather was a Sufi shaykh as well; Şerefeddin was the grandson of the chief physician of Prince Mehmed [I].
 36. TSMK, G.İ. 95. In the colophons of several manuscripts of his, Amasiatsi's life story can be followed. See S. A. Vardanyan, *Amirdovlat Amasiatsi: A Fifteenth-Century Armenian Natural Historian and Physician*, trans. M. Yoshpa (Delmar, NY, 1999).
 37. My estimate is slightly higher than those given on p. 52 in Gürbüz, "XVI. Yüzyılda Amasya Sancağı," and on p. 90 in Selim Özcan, "Amasya'da Sancak Beyliği Yapan Şehzadeler Döneminde Amasya Şehri," *Amasya Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 3 (2015): 69–94. In his article on Mehmed I's nickname, Paul Wittek speaks of a "rein türkisch Amasya" in contrast to a heterogenous Bursa, but this is likely an oversight, since his focus is on the predominance of Greek communities in Bursa, where Prince Mehmed Çelebi—later, Mehmed I—spent his early childhood, in order to substantiate his argument concerning the Greek origin of the nickname (*kyritzes* > *kirişçi*). See Paul Wittek, "Der 'Beiname' des osmanischen Sultans Mehmed I," in *Eretz-Israel: Archeological, Historical and Geographical Studies, L. A. Mayer Memorial Volume (1895–1959)* 7 (1964): 144–53.

38. On changes in the administrative status of Amasya, see Orhan Kılıç, "Osmanlı Dönemi İdarî Uygulamalar Bağlamında Şehzâdelerden Mutasarrıf Paşalara Amasya Sancağının Yönetimi," *I. Amasya Araştırmalar Sempozyumu (13-15 Haziran 2007)*, vol. 1 (Amasya, 2007) 41–64. Under Süleyman, Amasya was promoted again to being the center of its province but never regained its clout.
39. The former of those two princes, Murad bin Ahmed, held a post under the Safavid régime, possibly having crossed over the confessional divide as well, allegedly already while in Amasya.
40. Georges Perrot, who led a scientific expedition to Asia Minor in 1861, observed that "Amasya is the Oxford of Anatolia," on the basis of his estimate that its population of 25,000 included 2,000 students in 18 madrasas. Perrot, *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1863), 298–99.
41. In a non-academic publication, İsmail Onarlı has asserted, on the basis of archival documents he mentions without giving a citation, that Hayrüddin Hızır 'Atufi was among those whose fief grants were revoked by Selim; Onarlı's untimely demise makes it impossible to check this reference; see his *Şah İsmail* (Istanbul, 2000), 124–25. I intend to explore the implications of this possibility in terms of 'Atufi's confessional identity, in the context of the sectarian latitudinarianism of his age, in another publication since it calls for further on-site research; see below note 61. For the relevant entry in the cadastral survey of 1520, see Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, TD 387, facsimile published as 387 Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Karaman ve Rum Defteri (937/1530), vol. II (Ankara, 1997), 380.
42. There is a large body of literature on those rebellions, which has recently been replenished by the perspectives of environmental and climate history; for an insightful view based on research specifically related to Amasya, see Özel, *Collapse of Rural Order*; and Sam White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge, Eng., 2011).
43. See for example, Shaw, 1:78, where he writes of Bayezid's "failure to suppress the Safavids more decisively"; or *TDVİA*, s.v. "Bayezid II," by Şerafettin Turan: "Bayezid's peace-minded and hesitant attitude was the reason why relations with the Safavids worked to the disadvantage of the Ottomans" (translation mine).
44. As argued in Christopher Markiewicz, "The Crisis of Rule in Late Medieval Islam: A Study of Idrīs Bidlīsī (861–926/1457–1520) and Kingship at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century" (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2015). For a similarly compelling account of that context, with a focus on the perspective of the *qizilbash* communities, see Ayfer Karakaya-Stump, *The Kizilbash-Alevis in Ottoman Anatolia: Sufism, Politics and Community* (forthcoming), chapter 6.
45. Behiştî Ahmet Çelebi, *Tarih-i Behiştî: Varidat-ı Sübhani ve Fütuhât-ı Osmani* (791-907/1389-1502), vol. 2, ed. Fatma Kaytaz (Ankara, 2016).
46. For Bayezid's letters to Ismail during the first few years following 1501, advising restraint and moderation and emphasizing repeatedly that the consent of subjects is more important than military victory and coercion, see Hamidreza Mohammednejad, "Osmanlı-Safevi İlişkileri (1501–1576)" (PhD diss., Ankara University, Institute of Social Sciences, 2015).
47. Also see Gilles Veinstein, "Les premières mesures de Bâyezid II contre les Kızılbaş," in *Syncretismes et hérésies dans l'Orient seldjoukide et ottoman (XIV-XVIII siècle)*, *Actes du Colloque du Collège de France, octobre 2001* (Paris, 2005), 225–36.
48. Irene Mélikoff, "Le problème kızılbaş," *Turcica* 6 (1975): 49–67; see Ayfer Karakaya-Stump, *Kizilbash-Alevis in Ottoman Anatolia*.
49. There is no mention of this vita in the inventory, and there are no copies of it in the palace library (or anywhere) until its seventeenth-century renditions. Of the widely dispersed copies of the sprawling *Süleymännâme*, which Firdevsi had originally conceived as 366 "books" but allegedly quit after the 82nd because the sultan found it too long and tedious, I have so far been able to identify one copy with the seal of Bayezid II: TSMK, H. 1530; seal on 100a, at the end of "Book 44," but in the middle of the volume as currently bound and consisting of "Books 43–47."
50. *Süleymännâme*, vol. 1, Dublin: Chester Beatty Library, MS 406, consisting of Books 1–20. Possibly the presentation copy.
51. The Arabic original and an English translation of the letter are in James Monroe, "A Curious Morisco Appeal to the Ottoman Empire," *Al-Andalus* 31, no. 1 (1966): 281–303. For a more recent assessment, including comparisons with a version of the letter written to the Mamluks, see P. S. van Koningsveld and G. A. Wieggers, "An Appeal of the Moriscos to the Mamluk Sultan and Its Counterpart to the Ottoman Court: Textual Analysis, Context, and Wider Historical Background," *Al-Qantara* 20, no. 1 (1999): 161–89.
52. See p. 221 in Codex Hanivaldanus, translated from Latin into German and annotated by Richard Franz Kreutel, in *Der Fromme Sultan Bayezid: Die Geschichte seiner Herrschaft (1481-1512) nach den altosmanischen Chroniken des Oruç und des Anonymus Hanivaldanus*. Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber 9 (Graz; Vienna; Köln, 1978), 182–285. For a modern Turkish translation based on this German edition, see *Haniwaldanus Anonimi'ne Göre Sultan Bayezid-i Velî (1481-1512)*, trans. Necdet Öztürk (Istanbul, 1997).
53. *II. Bayezid Dönemine Ait 906/1501 Tarihli Ahkâm Defteri*, ed. Feridun Emecen and İlhan Şahin (Istanbul, 1994), 102, order no. 365.
54. Ercan Alan, "Yeni Bir Belgeye Göre XVI. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı Mülâzemet Sistemi," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, XLIX (2017): 89–124. There are just a few lines dealing with the same procedure in a register from 1485, which also suggests that such information was not registered before: Topkapı Palace Museum Archives,

- D.9555, published in Ercan Alan and Abdurrahman Atçıl, *XVI. Yüzyıl Ulema Defterleri* (Ankara, 2018); see p. 25.
55. Hammer, *GOR*, 2:393; emphasis mine. In 1873, the cities of Pest and Buda were joined to become Budapest. For the relevant publications by Erünsal and Maróth, see the introductory essay by Gülru Necipoğlu, note 2.
 56. For a pioneering survey of the early formation of the collection under different sultans, see Süheyl Ünver, "İkinci Selim'e kadar Osmanlı hükümdarlarının hususi kütüphaneleri hakkında," in *IV. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, 1948 (Ankara, 1952), 294–312. Ünver notes, for instance, that he has seen 141 manuscripts once owned and endowed by Murad II to three different libraries in Edirne, which was his capital city. For a useful survey and bibliography of studies on the history of the libraries of Istanbul, see Bilgin Aydın, "İstanbul Kütüphaneleri Tarihine Dair Araştırmalar," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 8 (2010): 333–44. A focused study of the books on Sufism in the library of Mehmed II, also making use of 'Atufi's inventory, is in Mehmet Arıkan, "Fenâdan Bekâya İp Atmak: Fâtih Sultan Mehmed'in Özel Kütüphanesindeki Tasavvuf Eserleri," *Osmanlı'da İlm-i Tasavvuf*, ed. Ercan Alkan and Osman Sâid Arı (Istanbul, 2018), 59–82. The Appendix below highlights some aspects of the continuities and discontinuities in the palace library collection, but its primary focus is on the inventory itself; further research for a more comprehensive diachronic treatment of the collection is highly desirable, with more attention paid to the yeomanly work of librarians.
 57. For an account of this interesting exchange from 1477, which was triggered by a letter from the governor's pagan overlord to Yemen, in a manuscript that eventually found its way to Istanbul, but not the palace library, see Franz Rosenthal, "A One-Volume Library of Arabic Philosophical and Scientific Texts in Istanbul," *Journal of American Oriental Studies* 75 (1955): 14–23, at p. 15. On the late medieval book trade and collections in the extensive Arab lands, with links to other parts of the world, see Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices* (Edinburgh, 2012); and Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria (1250–1517): Scribes, Libraries, and Market* (Leiden, 2019). For the Iranian and Persianate world, see Nourane Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme: Calligraphes et bibliophiles au temps des dynasties mongoles (les Ilkhanides et les Djalaïrides 656–814/1258–1411)* (Leiden, 2018).
 58. Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus: Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library: The Ashrafiya Library Catalogue* (Edinburgh, 2016).
 59. See Erünsal et al., *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık Ve Sahaflar* (Istanbul, 2013). On the question of the looting of libraries, also see İ. E. Erünsal, "Fethedilen Arap Ülkelerindeki Vakıf Kütüphaneleri Osmanlılar Tarafından Yağmalandı mı?" *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 43 (2014): 19–66.
 60. TSMK, A. 443, 100b.
 61. See note 41 above. Since the whole village is named after him, Hayrüddin is likely to have made the endowment himself (for a zāwiya in the name of his grandfather?). The cadastral survey also specifies that Hayrüddin was still in control of a quarter share of the village holding while another quarter share was in the hands of the son of a lady (Hayrüddin's sister?) named Kutlu Melek: "*Ḳarye-i Ḥayrüddin'de nuşf-ı mālīkāne vakf-ı zāviyedür der Amāsiyye ve rub'-ı mālīkāne vakf-ı evlādlık üzere Ḳutlu Melek nām hātūn taşarrufında idi ḥaliyā oğlu taşarrufında ve rub'-ı āher daḥı vakf-ı evlād der taşarruf-ı Ḥayrüddin.*" This village and two nearby villages, associated with two sons of 'Atufi in local tradition, are inhabited by Alevi communities today. It is impossible to reconstruct the trajectory of the village in the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries on the basis of this sparse evidence, even though the name of Kutlu Melek is tempting to conjecture on the influence of the cult of Hacı Bektash there. A lady with that name is one of the key characters in the vita of the holy man and in the later Bektashi tradition; see *Velāyetnāme: Hacı Bektaş Veli*, ed. Hamiye Duran (Ankara, 2007), 210–11. Note that in the village named Ya'qub, allegedly after the name of Hayrüddin Hızır's son, part of the revenue is endowed to the zāwiya of Shaykh Cu'ī [Jū'ī] (fl. first half of the fifteenth century), a Mevlevi.
 62. His biography and the names of his teachers are given by Taşköprülüzade, *Eş-şekā'iku'n-nu'māniyye*, 416–17.
 63. On Hocaşade, see *TDVİA*, s.v. "Hocaşade Muslihüddin Efendi," by Saffet Köse.
 64. Uzunçarşılı, *Çandarlı Vezir Ailesi* (Ankara, 1986); and *TDVİA*, s.v. "Çandarlı İbrahim Paşa," by Münir Aktepe.
 65. These are A. 2094 and A. 2095; the citation is on 1a of the former.
 66. Taşköprülüzade, *Eş-şekā'iku'n-nu'māniyye*, 416.
 67. BOA, Cevdet/Evkaf 33 (24 Sha'ban 1236/April 24, 1824). The lady who successfully petitioned for her case in 1824 refers to our librarian-scholar as "*ceddim merḥūm 'Atufi* (my ancestor 'Atufi, may he be pardoned)."
 68. There are two copies of 'Atufi's gloss in TSMK, A. 1798 and A. 1832, and one in SK, Ayasofya 2235. The date of completion is given on 64a of A. 1832, which also includes (on 63a/b) a letter from 'Atufi to the sultan asking for his imperial favor.
 69. TSMK, A. 607.
 70. SK, Ayasofya 399.
 71. I rely here mostly on Hızır Yağcı, *Atufi'nin Hadis Şerhçiliği* (Istanbul, 2018).
 72. *İbretnāme*, in Uppsala University Library, O St.71. See C. J. Tornberg, *Codices arabici, persici et turcici Bibliothecae Regiae Universitatis Upsaliensis* (Lund, 1849), no. 390, p. 253. A former owner of the manuscript identifies himself as "Adölf Feridrik Uştürsānbeker" (= Adolf Fredrik Sturtzenbecker, 1757–84) and gives his date of ownership as 1782 on the colophon page, which has been moved to the front of the codex, but the page number (in a European hand)

- is clearly 178. In other words, 178a is now in the position of 1a. Furthermore, some pages are missing and some seem to have been misplaced in the binding, judging by misalignments between the leads at the bottom of the recto pages and the first word of the following verso pages. The full manuscript in its current form has 108 folios and is available on <http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record%3A54361&dswid=9715> (last accessed April 12, 2019).
73. On the circulation and impact of ideas concerning world conquest and the end times in this era, throughout the Mediterranean and beyond, see the inspirational work of Cornell Fleischer, which circulated widely before its publication thanks to his generosity: "A Mediterranean Apocalypse: Prophecies of Empire in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 61 (2018):18–90.
 74. Of the extant copies, the one in Hacı Selim Ağa Library, MS 230, is said to be an autograph; see *TDVİA*, s.v. "Atufi," by İsmail L. Çakan.
 75. *Ali bin Hüseyin el-Amāsi ve Tarīku'l-Edeb'i*, ed. Mehmet Şeker (Ankara, 2002), 132–33; p. 43 of the facsimile.
 76. The relevant parts of the text from al-Ghazzi's *al-Durr al-Nadīd fī Adab al-Mufīd wa al-Mustafīd*, completed in 1526, are translated in Ahmad Hikmat Sharkas, "Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazālī (904/1499–984/1577), and His Manual on Islamic Scholarship and Education" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1976), 184ff.
 77. Houari Touati, *L'armoire à sagesse: Bibliothèques et collections en Islam* (Paris, 2003), 55–57; and Youssef Eche [=Yūsuf 'Ishsh], *Les bibliothèques arabes publiques et semi-publiques en Mésopotamie, en Syrie et en Égypte au Moyen Age* (Damascus, 1967), 70.
 78. See Zeren Tanındı's Appendix II in this volume.
 79. For identifications of books inventoried in MS Török F. 59 but now housed in these libraries endowed by members of the royal family, see the appendices in this volume, especially the appendix by Zeren Tanındı. See also Yavuz Sezer, "The Architecture of Bibliophilia: Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Libraries" (PhD diss., MIT, 2016).
 80. Hoca Sadeddin, *Tacü't-tevarih*, cited in Erünsal <https://www.academia.edu/7276501/Fatih_Sultan_Mehmed'in_Ilgi_Duydugu_Kitaplar_ve_Kütüphanesi-Tebliğ>. Also see Feridun Emecen, "Sefere Götürülen Defterlerin Defteri," in *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan* (Istanbul, 1991), 241–68.
 81. I am grateful to Simon Rettig, who kindly informed me of this book, and to Claus-Peter Haase, who generously shared the pertinent image. For the adventures of a manuscript, a copy of *Tafsīr-i Qāḍī*, which was returned to Herat after investigation by the court of Bursa in 1485, and verification of it as one of Shahrukh's endowed books, see the essay by Gülru Necipoğlu, who cites Erünsal, *Sahafılık ve Sahaflar*, 297n35.
 82. Thus surmised by Erünsal in *TDVİA*, s.v. "Mihri Hatun." See also Hakverdioğlu, *Mihri Hatun'u Anlamak: Tahlil* (Amas-
 - ya, 2016); and Didem Havlioğlu, *Mihri Hatun: Performance, Gender-Bending, and Subversion in Ottoman Intellectual History* (Syracuse, NY, 2017).
 83. For the special treatment given to this Sufi author, see the essay by Kafadar and Karamustafa in the present volume.
 84. To translate *marhūm* simply as "late, deceased, or departed," which are the standard renderings given in dictionaries, does not convey the reference to God's mercy (*rahmet*), implying "the one (whom one wishes to be) blessed with God's mercy," or perhaps simply "the forgiven."
 85. On Mü'eyyedzade's collections, see the essay by Judith Pfeiffer.
 86. *TDVİA*, s.v. "Abuşka Lugati," by Osman Fikri Sertkaya.
 87. On those instructions and principles, see the Turkish and the Arabic prefaces to the *Deft-i Kütüb*, and the discussion in the introductory essay by Gülru Necipoğlu.
 88. On the philosophical outlook that informed the epistemological underpinnings regarding the relationship among different fields of learning among Ottoman intellectuals in the fifteenth century and beyond, see the introductory essay by Cornell Fleischer.
 89. On the significance of and attitudes toward title pages in earlier Islamic book cultures, see the illuminating discussion by Touati, *L'armoire à sagesse*, 77ff.
 90. Tursun Bey, *Tarih-i Ebü'l-Feth*, 9.
 91. Rosenthal is referring to a manuscript, dated 1477–78, in the Carullah collection of the Millet Library; see his "A One-Volume Library of Arabic Philosophical and Scientific Texts in Istanbul," *Journal of American Oriental Society* 75 (1955): 14–23.
 92. Another copy of this vita was available in the palace library, now at SK, Ayasofya 2123, with the seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 619b, but that one obviously arrived after the completion of the inventory, since the copy was finished in 914/1508–9 according to the colophon on 620a. Also see Ahmet Zeki Velidi Togan, "Sur l'origine des Safavides," in *Mélanges Massignon*, vol. 3 (Damascus, 1957), 345–57. The author is known as Tawakkuli, but Togan intriguingly suggests the name might be "Tukli" (as in the name of Baba Tükles/Tükli; see *TDVİA*, s.v., "Baba Tükles," by Devin DeWeese).
 93. See Gülru Necipoğlu, Appendix III, no. 9.
 94. Bidlisī, *Sharḥ-i qaṣīda-yi khamrīya*, SK Ayasofya 4092, 82a. The manuscript was previously dated to 959/1551–52 due to confusion arising from the manner in which the number "zero" is written in the colophon, namely as a circle with a hole in its middle, which makes it look like a five; Brockelmann, for instance, designates the text as an autograph and gives the date of completion as 959 due to this "peculiar" rendering of zero. Orhan Başaran already identified the nature of the misreading in his "İdris-i Bitlisî'nin Şerh-i kasīde-i Hamriyye'si ve iki yazma nüshası," *Nüsha* 4 (2004): 9. For a full discussion of İdris's sojourn in Sofia and the two books he wrote there, see Markiewicz, "Crisis of Rule," 106ff. Confusion about the very same numbers with that spelling in MS Török F. 59, namely a misreading of 909 as 959, first

- led to misdating our inventory to the era of Süleyman I, which was later revised; see essay by Gülru Necipoğlu.
95. On the medieval libraries, see Touati, *L'armoire à sagesse*; and Eche, *Les bibliothèques arabes publiques*.
 96. On Maria Mavroudi's ongoing studies of the translations from Greek into Arabic made for Mehmed II, see, for instance, "Plethon as a Subversive and His Reception in the Islamic World" in *Power and Subversion in Byzantium*, ed. D. Angelov and M. Saxby (Ashgate Variorum, 2013), 177–204; and eadem, ""Translations From Greek into Arabic at the Court of Mehmed the Conqueror," in *The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture. Papers From The Second International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*, (Istanbul, 2013), 195–207. Mehmed's interest in Greek and Latin learning is treated extensively in the introductory essay by Gülru Necipoğlu; see also her "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople" *Muqarnas* 29 (2012):1–81. It should also be noted that the palace treasury included a number of books in European languages, but those are not listed in 'Atufi's inventory and as such are beyond the scope of our study of MS Török F. 59. For those books, which are mentioned in some archival documents but not itemized, see again the introductory essay by Necipoğlu.

LIST OF ENTRIES

SECTION ON TRANSLATED BOOKS OF THE TORAH AND THE ZABUR/PSALMS AND
THE GOSPELS*(Taḥṣīl al-kutub al-mutarjamati min al-Tawrāti wa-al-Zabūri wa-al-Injīli)*

1. “*Tarjamatu al-Tawrāti bi-al-‘arabiyyati*” (Translation of the Torah into Arabic), 364 {11}. MANUSCRIPT: A. 3524 (Karatay A 5722). Seal of Bayezid II.
2. “*Tarjamatu al-Tawrāti bi-al-fārisiyyati*” (Translation of the Torah into Persian), 364 {11}.
3. “*Tarjamatu al-ṣuwari min al-Zabūri bi-al-‘arabiyyati*” (Translation of Verses from the Zabur/Psalms into Arabic), 364 {12}.
4. “*Kitābu mazāmīri Dāwud al-nabī -‘alayhi al-salāmu- bi-al-‘arabiyyati*” (The Psalms of David the Prophet—peace be upon him—in Arabic), 364 {12–13}. MANUSCRIPT: A. 3521 (Karatay, A 5719, though he speculates it is a manuscript of the 18th century). Seal of Bayezid II.
5. Same as above, 364 {13–14}.
6. “*Tarjamatu al-Injīli bi-al-‘arabiyyati ‘alā mā katabahu arba‘atun min al-Ḥawāriyyīn*” (Translation of the Gospels into Arabic according to What Four of the Apostles Wrote), 364 {14–15}. MANUSCRIPT: A. 3519 (Karatay, A 5724, though he speculates it is a manuscript of the 18th century). See the essay by Zeynep Atbaş, below. Seal of Bayezid II.
7. “*Injilun fārisiyyun wa-huwa Injīlu Mattā wa-Marqus wa-Lūqā wa-Yuḥannā*” (The Gospels in Persian, Which Are the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John), 364 {15–16}.
8. No note of *fi mujalladin wāḥidin*, but items separated with *wa-* and are identified as being in one volume. MANUSCRIPT: R. 1927 (Karatay, F 97). Seal of Bayezid II.
- 8a. “*Tarjamatu Injīli Mattā bi-al-fārisiyyati*” (Translation of the Gospel of Matthew into Persian), 364 {16–17}.
- 8b. “*Tarjamatu Injīli Marqus bi-al-fārisiyyati*” (Translation of the Gospel of Mark into Persian), 364 {17}.
- 8c. “*Tarjamatu Injīli Lūqā bi-al-fārisiyyati*” (Translation of the Gospel of Luke into Persian), 364 {17–18}.
- 8d. “*Tarjamatu Injīli Yuḥannā bi-al-fārisiyyati*” (Translation of the Gospel of John into Persian), 364 {18}.
9. “*Tarjamatu al-Injīli bi-al-‘arabiyyati*” (Translation of the Gospels into Arabic), 364 {19}.
10. “*Arba‘u anājili bi-al-‘arabiyyati al-manẓūmati wa-bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati*” (The Four Gospels in Arabic Verse and in Persian Verse), 364 {19}–365 {1}.
11. “*Zabūrun mutarjamun bi-al-‘arabiyyati*” (The Zabur/Psalms Translated into Arabic), 365 {1}.

APPENDIX:
NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS ON SOME MANUSCRIPTS
RELEVANT FOR UNDERSTANDING THE COMPILATION OF THE INVENTORY

HERAT NATIONAL ARCHIVE

1. HNA 107: *Tadhkiratu al-awliyā'i* [could be one of several entries in MS Török F. 59]. Dated 670(?)/1272. From the library of Shakhruh in Herat. Seal of Bayezid II. (PLATE 1)

BURSA İNEBEY LIBRARY

2. Haraççı 913 [= 244 {19}]. *Dīwānu al-marḥūmi Jam [Cem] bin Sultān Meḥammed Khān -ṭayyaba Allāhu ta'ālā tharāhumā-*. Title given by 'Atufi on the first page is the same as the title in the inventory. A marginal note on the upper left, with the year of Cem's demise (900/1495), also speaks of his death by poison and mistreatment by the pope. No seal of Bayezid II, perhaps effaced, but it also looks like the lower part of the relevant page is damaged. (PLATE 2)

TOPKAPI PALACE MUSEUM LIBRARY

3. A. 23 (Karatay: F 3) [= 22 {16–17}]. The work known as *Kashf al-asrār va 'uddat al-abrār* is listed by 'Atufi consistently as: *Kitābu kashfī al-asrāri wa-'umdati al-abrāri fī al-tafsīri bi-al-fārisiyyati*. Bayezid's seal on 1a and 466b. The exegetical work of Maybudi (d. after 1126), written in 1126 as a commentary on that of al-Ansari (d. 1088). See no. 92 in list by Mohsen Goudarzi. The inventory mentions two more copies. In each case, 'Atufi mentions that it is all "in a single volume," even though no other texts are bound with it, presumably because of its huge size. There are two owner's notes on 1a, indicating stages in the manuscripts's life story before it reached the imperial collection: one by a scribe dated 823/1420–21, and the other by a preacher dated 873/1468–69.
4. A. 32 (Karatay: T 3087) [= 26 {8–9}]. On 1a, there is a title in 'Atufi's style but not in his hand: *Kitābu al-tafsīri bi-al-turkiyyati*. This MS is likely to be another, a later, copy than the one listed in the inventory: *Kitābu jawāhiri al-aṣḍāfi bi al-turkiyyati fī mujalladayni fī al-tafsīri*, an early Qur'an commentary in Anatolian Turkish, commissioned by Isfendiyar b. Bayezid (d. 1440) of the Candaroğulları. Copied by Ayas b. Muhammad in 913/1508, this MS must have arrived in the palace after the compilation of the inventory. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 331b. In the palace library there is currently one other copy of this important text; that manuscript (H. 22, Karatay: T 20) with no sign of 'Atufi's hand or seal of Bayezid II, must have entered the imperial collection much later, as it has several ownership records from the end of the seventeenth century.
5. A. 443 (Karatay: A 2899) [does not match but is related to 303 {17–18}]. 'Atufi lists one of his own works in the inventory as: *Risālatu ramzi al-daqa'iqi fī 'ilmi al-daqa'iqi wa-huwa al-'ilmu bi-al-ru'yā al-ṣādiqati al-badaniyyati li-aḍ'āfi al-'ibādi al-'Aṭūfi -'uḍfiya 'anhu*. The title given on 1a of this manuscript, *Anzāru sharḥi al-Mashāriqi ma'a khātimati fī 'ilmi al-daqa'iqi wa huwa 'ilmu al-ta'bīri al-badani muswaddati Khiḍr al-'Aṭūfi*, suggests that it may been a later redaction of the one that made it to the inventory. Karatay gives the completion date as 911/1505. Seal of Bayezid on 1a and 99a. See essay above.

6. A. 1402 (Karatay: A 5210) [= 108 {13–14} or 138 {10–11}]. ‘Atufi: *Kitābu ādābi al-dārayni min qibali al-taṣawwufi*. Title on the sticky label of the binding: *Kitābu ādābi al-dārayni bi-al-‘adli*. Of the two entries in the inventory, the one on 108 matches the title as given on 1a; the one on 138 matches the label but adds *fi al-naṣīhati*. Colophon in red ink on 401a indicates that it was copied in 815/1412–13. Illuminated roundel (1a) gives author’s name as al-Mubarak al-Badri al-Mawsili. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 401b.
7. A. 1411 (Karatay: A 8675) [= 140 {10–11}]. ‘Atufi on 3a: *Kitābu al-iṣṭilāḥāti li-l-Qāshānī fi al-taṣawwufi wa-Kitābu al-ishārāti li-Ibn Sīnā fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafyyati*. Title on the sticky label of the binding: *Kitāb al-iṣṭilāḥāt al-sūfiyya*. Two texts in one volume: 3a–107a; 109a–249a. Illuminated roundels for both texts, on 3a and 109a, respectively. 3a also has alternative (not preferred?) title, written diagonally on the lower left, possibly by the same hand: *Kitābu al-iṣṭilāḥāti li-l-Qāshānī -ṭāba tharāhu- wa-fi al-taṣawwufi wa-Kitābu al-ishārāti li-Abī Alī fi al-ḥikmati*. On 1a, there is a shorter title, by a later (?) hand: *Iṣṭilāḥāt li-l-Qashānī wa-Ishārāt li-Ibn Sīnā*, under a largely-written *taṣawwuf*. Colophon on 249a indicates that the copies were completed in 867/1462–63 for Mehmed II in Bosnia, where he was on campaign. Seal of Bayezid II on 3a and 249a. (PLATE 3)
8. A. 1417 (Karatay: A 5035) [= 145 {7}]. ‘Atufi on 1a: *Kitābu al-dharī‘ati fi makārimi al-akhlāqi fi al-naṣā’ihī*. The flyleaf has evidence of other thoughts on title and category, written diagonally, not in ‘Atufi’s hand: *Kitāb al-dharī‘a ilā makārim al-sharī‘a fi al-akhlāq ‘ilm al-taṣawwuf*, [modified with] *min qibali*. Like the one above, this manuscript bears evidence of the labor that went into the making of the inventory. Illuminated roundel identifies author as al-Raghib al-Isfahani (d. early eleventh century) and that the copy is for the perusal of Mehmed II. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 108b.
9. A. 1425 (Karatay: A 5117) [= 109 {14}]. ‘Atufi’s title on 1a, *Kitābu zubdati al-taḥqīqi fi sharḥi al-Nuṣūṣi fi al-taṣawwufi*, matches the one in the inventory. Sticky label on the binding has the same title. Commentary on Qonawī’s *Nuṣūṣ*. Author identified on 1a, not in ‘Atufi’s hand: Piri Muhammad b. Qutb al-Din ibn Hasan al-Khawa’ini al-Hanafi (d. 1460?). Colophon on 172b indicates that the copy was completed in 880/1475–76. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 172b.
10. A. 1453 (Karatay: A 5114) [= 139 {16–17}]. ‘Atufi on 2a: *Kitābu al-tadhkirati bi-umūri al-ākhirati li-l-Qurṭubī - raḥimahū Allāhu ta‘ālā - min qibali al-taṣawwufi*. Sticky label has the same title but without the prayer formula; the same work is listed in the inventory as being *min qibali al-naṣīhati*. Another title given on 1a, not in ‘Atufi’s hand, follows the one as given in the illuminated roundel on 2a: *Kitāb al-tadhkira bi-aḥwāl al-mawtā wa-umūr al-ākhirā*, with the additional note that it (this title?) was written on 4 Ramadan 902 / 6 May 1497, which suggests an earlier librarian’s hand, whose title was not preferred. Colophon on 253a indicates that the copy was completed in Ramadan 772/March–April 1371. Seal of Bayezid II on 2a and 253a.
11. A. 1465 (Karatay: F 57) [= 253 {15}]. ‘Atufi on 1a gives the same title, *Kitābu kunūzi al-ḥaqā’iqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi*, as the one in the inventory. Title given in roundel on 1a, not in ‘Atufi’s hand: *Kitāb kunūz al-ḥaqā’iqi rumūz al-daqa’iq*. Sticky label on the binding has *Kitāb kunūz al-ḥaqā’iq fārisī*, and indicates number of lines per page, as is the convention of another (later?) librarian. Bayezid’s seal on 1a and 210b. See list by Sooyong Kim.
12. A. 1473 (Karatay: F 53) [= 117 {11}]. ‘Atufi on 2a: *Kitābu ḥaqqi al-yaqīni bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi*. This matches perfectly the entry in the inventory and the sticky label on the binding. The author, identified on 2b within the text, is Mahmud al-Shabistari (d. 1317). Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 37b.

13. A. 1474 (Karatay: F 66) [= 116 {15–16}]. ‘Atufi on 1a: *al-Risālatu al-dhawqīyyatu li-Mawlānā Hūsām al-dīn -raḥimahū Allāhu ta‘ālā- fi al-taṣawwufi*. This matches perfectly the entry in the inventory as well as the sticky label on the binding. Autograph copy by Hūsamzade el-Bursevi (d. after 1488), according to colophon in red ink on 107b. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 107b. TDVIA, s.v. “Hūsamzade Mustafa Efendi,” by İlyas Çelebi, cites another autography copy in SK, Hacı Mahmud Efendi 3121.
14. A. 1490 (Karatay: F 96) [missing from the inventory]. Title on 1a: *Sharḥu al-Asmā’i al-ḥusnā al-mawsūmu bi-Mir’āti al-salāṭini bi-al-fārisiyyati*. Colophon on 116a indicates that it is an author’s copy written in 909/1503–4 in Mecca by the hand of the author, Mawlana Sufi Samarqandi *sākin fi madrasati Sulṭān al-Miṣr min aṣḥābi Shaykh ‘Alāu’d-dawla Simnānī*. This manuscript must have arrived in the palace after the inventory was compiled. Bayezid’s seal on 1a and 116a. Also see Appendix III by Gülru Necipoğlu.
15. A. 1498 (Karatay: A 5181) [missing from the inventory]. Title given in illuminated roundel on 7a: *Tuḥaf al-asāṭin li-‘ayn al-salāṭin*. Earlier pages include *taqrīzes* (expansive blurbs) and a table of contents, which are added after the completion of the work in June 1501. Arrival of MS probably late to be included in the inventory. Seal of Bayezid II on 194a. Also see Appendix III by Gülru Necipoğlu.
16. A. 1506 (Karatay: A 5090) [missing from the inventory?]. Title on 2a: *Kitābu al-fuṣūṣi li-l- Shaykh al-Imām al-‘Ālim fi al-taṣawwufi ... Muḥyi al-millati wa-al-dīni ... al-Andalusī-raḍiyya Allāhu ‘anhu*. “*Fi al-taṣawwufi*” is inserted later, suggesting an ‘Atufi-style title, but even the first half of this title has no match in the inventory. Seal of Bayezid II on 2a and 103a.
17. A. 1507 (Karatay: F 43) [= 109 {14–15}]. ‘Atufi: *Kitābu nuṣūṣi al-khuṣūṣi fi sharḥi al-Fuṣūṣi bi-al-fārisiyya fi al-taṣawwufi*. Same title written by the same hand on the sticky label of the binding. The author refers to himself as “Rukn-i Shirazi” on 529a. Karatay suggests Rukn al-Din Mas‘ud al-Shirazi al-Astarabadi (d. 1539–40), but it is Mas‘ud bin Abdullah Baydawi (d. 2nd half of the 14th century), also known as Baba Rukn al-Din, a student of ‘Abd al-Razzaq al-Qashani and Dawud al-Qaysari. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 527b.
18. A. 1551 (Karatay: A 5004) [not in the inventory]. Title given on the flyleaf, with no indication of the field, is not in ‘Atufi’s hand: *Kitāb būstān al-‘arīfīn*. Karatay gives the author as Abu al-Layth Nasr b. Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Ibrahim al-Samarqandi (d. 373/983). It was clearly acquired after the inventory was prepared, but note that another copy receives an entry in the inventory on 98 {5–6}, which ‘Atufi classifies as “pertaining to jurisprudence”: *Kitābu al-bustāni li-l-Imām Abī al-Layth min qibali al-fiqhi*. Colophon on 174b indicates that it was copied in 901/1495–96. Seal of Süleyman I on 1a.
19. A. 1572 (Karatay: A 5119) [= 110 {10–13}]. *Kitābu miṣbāḥi al-unsi fi sharḥi Miṣṭāḥi al-ghaybi fi al-taṣawwufi wa-Risālatu al-asrāri al-ilāhiyyati al-murattabati ‘alā alfi maqāmīn min maqāmāti allatī bayna al-‘abdi wa-al-rabbī fi al-taṣawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin*. The first text is a commentary on al-Qonawi’s *Miṣṭāḥ* by the famous Ottoman scholar Muhammad b. Hamza b. Muhammad al-Fanari (d. 1431). Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 344a.
20. A. 1584 (Karatay: A 8688 [not in the inventory]). A table of contents on 1a, *Fihrist mā fi hādḥā al-rasā’il* itemizes 19 pieces. A note on the same page says these treatises were “compiled in this volume by ... ibn Mu‘ayyad,” namely Mü‘eyyadzade (d. 1516), one of Bayezid’s companions from Amasya, and a distinguished jurist during his reign, in the year 919/1508–9. It starts on 1b with “*Kitāb al-mabdā’ wa al-ma‘ād*.” In the horizontal form of a *saḥīfa*, or *cönk*. There is no sign of ‘Atufi or seal of Bayezid II, in keeping with the key date concerning the dispersal of Mü‘eyyadzade’s

books, namely his death. For the adventures and contents of Mü'eyyeddade's book collection, see the essay by Judith Pfeiffer.

21. A. 1597 (Karatay: A 5168) [= 194 {14–15}]. Title given on 1a, *Kitābu naẓmi al-sulūki fī musāmarati al-mulūki fī al-tawārikhi*, could be 'Atufi, but note the unusual use of red ink, except for the first and the final word, which might be all that 'Atufi added to make the title conform to his style. The entry in the inventory adds the word *al-gharibati* after identifying it as a work of history. The flyleaf has: *Naẓm al-sulūk fī musāmarat al-mulūk fī al-tawārikh li-Aḥmad al-Ḥanaḩī*. The full name of the author is given on 1a as 'Abd al-Raḩmān b. Muḩammad b. 'Alī b. Aḩmad al-Ḥanaḩī *madhhaban al-Biṣṭāmī mashraban*. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a. For a full discussion of this unique work, see the introductory essay by Cornell Fleischer.
22. A. 1735 (Karatay: A 4945) [= 63 {14–15}]. 'Atufi on 1a: *al-Risālatu al-hādiyatū fī ibṭālī adillati ḩujajī al-yahūdī 'alā al-islāmi min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi*. Sticky label on the binding has the same, omitting the words *adillati* (crossed through on the title page) and *min qibali*. Also on 1a is another title by a different hand, *al-Risāla al-hādiya fī ibṭāl adilla al-yahūd*, indicating that it (this note?) was written (by the librarian who preceded 'Atufi?) on 19 C.II 902 / 22 February 1497 (see no. 10 above). Seal of Bayezid II on 2a and 37a. (PLATE 4)
23. A. 2535 (Karatay: A 5019) [= 250 {12–13}]. The title given by 'Atufi on 1a, *Majmū'atun ākhiruhā Gulshan-i rāz bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manzūmati*, perfectly matches the one in the inventory. While the first and longer work in this two-work volume, *Yawāqūt al-mawāqūt* by al-Tha'alibi (d. 1038), is not mentioned in either those two instances, it is included in an alternative title, also on 1a, which reads as if it, too, may have been coined by 'Atufi's team: *Kitābu al-Yawāqiti wa-kitābu Gulshan-i rāz min qibali al-taṣawwufi*, but curiously not incorporated into the final version at the expense of the earlier, and larger, part of this two-text volume, even though it did not present any problem for identification. Yet another title appears on the spine: *Majmū'atun awwaluhā Yawāqūt al-mawāqit wa ākhiruhā Gulshan-i Rāz-i Shaykh. Gulshan-i rāz* begins on 299a. Colophon on 347b indicates that the copying was completed in 878/1473–74 by the hand of *al-faqīr al-ḩaqīr Mas'ūd*. The flyleaf has "*odadan çıkan*," indicating that it was moved from the Privy Chamber to the Inner Treasury, without providing information on the language of the text as these notes often do. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 347b.
24. A. 2698 (Karatay: A 8732) [= 296 {3–8}]. Title given on 1a, not in 'Atufi's hand, is simply: *Tuḩfat al-hādiya*. Full title in the inventory, on the other hand, is detailed: *Kitābu tuḩfati al-hādiyatī al-mutarjamu bi-al-turkiyyati wa-al-rūmiyyati wa-al-afranjiyyati wa-ghayrihā fī lughati al-fursi wa-Kitābu Īsāghūjī 'alā al-lughati al-'arabiyyati al-mutarjamu bi-al-yūnāniyyati fī al-manṭiqi wa-Risālatu al-amthilati al-muṭṭari[da]ti al-mutarjamati bi-al-fārisiyyati wa-ghayrihā wa-Risālatun fī al-'ulūmi al-ḩikamiyyati wa-Risālatun fī taṣḩiḩi asāmī al-ḩukamā'i al-yūnāniyyati wa-Risālatun fī iṣṭilāḩātī 'ulamā'i al-hay'ati 'alā al-lughati al-yūnāniyyati fī mujalladin wāḩidin*. The author/editor, Muhammad bin Hajji Ilyas, is identified on 1b. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 91b. See Appendix III by Gülru Necipoğlu.
25. A. 2732 (Karatay: F 304) [= 298 {6–12}]. *Jāmi' al-lughat*, thus titled on 1a but not by 'Atufi, is a scribal handbook of lexical and grammatical items, compiled by Siraj bin Tayyib bin Ahmad, a court clerk (*nā'ib*) in Edirne in 867/1463. The sticky label largely follows the inventory where 'Atufi, perhaps because he knew the author, a fellow-Amasyan, lists the separate items by title: *Kitābu al-asmā'i 'alā tartibi al-ḩurūfi wa-Kitābu al-lughati al-fārisiyyati 'alā tartibi al-ḩurūfi wa-al-ḩarakāti wa-Kitābu al-lughati al-mutarjamu bi-al-fārisiyyati 'alā tartibi al-ḩurūfi wa-al-ḩarakāti [wa-]Risālatu al-amthilati al-taṣriḩiyyati bi-al-quyūdi al-turkiyyati wa-Risālatun fī maktūbātīn*

- sharʿiyyatin wa-Kitābu mirqāti al-adabi al-manẓūmu wa-Kitābu tuḥfati ʿAlāʾi al-manẓūmu wa-Kitābu niṣābi al-ṣibyāni al-manẓūmu wa-Kitābu naṣibi al-fityāni al-manẓūmu wa-Kitābu ʿuqūdi al-jawāhiri [al-]manẓūmu Ḥamd u thanā fi mujalladin wāhidin.* Colophons at the end of each section, e.g., on 96b, 207a–b, 238b, 263b–264a, where the author/editor/copyist identifies himself as *Sirāj b. Ṭayyib al-Ṣūnisāʾi*. The flyleaf gives the further detail that he is from the village of *Eyrek* (thus vocalized), which is in Amasya. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a. For some items, see list by Tahera Qutbuddin. (PLATE 5 [1–2])
26. A. 3000 (Karatay: A 6170) [= 184 {9} or 184 {13}]. Title given by ʿAtufi on 1a for this popular history of Mahmud of Ghazna (d. 1030) and his age by ʿUtbi (d. 1036): *Kitābu tawārikhi al-ʿUtbī*. Title on the edge [not the binding]: *Kitābu tawārikhi al-ʿUtbī*. Seal of Bayezid II on 299b.
 27. A. 3126 (Karatay: A 8739) [= 100 {5–6}]. ʿAtufi: *Kitābu sharḥi al-Farāʾidi bi-Sirāj al-Dīn fi al-fiqhi wa-Kitābu minhāji al-ʿābidīna li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī [-quddisa sirruhu- added in the inventory] fi al-taṣawwufi*. Full name of the author of the *Farāʾid*, on which al-Jurjani wrote this commentary that constitutes the first part of the two-work volume, is given on 1b as Muhammad b. Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Rashid al-Sajawandi (d. 1203). Colophons at the end of each section: on 95b, indicating that it was completed in 839/1435–36; and on 254a, indicating that it was completed in 859/1454–55. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 254b.
 28. A. 3372 (Karatay: A 6849) [= 341 {11}]. ʿAtufi on 1a: *Kitābu jāmiʿi al-daqaʾiqi fi al-manṭiqi*. Colophon on 124a indicates that it was copied by Hinduṣāh b. Sanjar in 673/1274–75 in the Nizāmiyya madrasa in Baghdad. The same page offers another title: *Kitābu jāmiʿi al-daqaʾiqi fi al-ḥaqāʾiqi* (in red ink). Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 124b. (PLATE 6 [1–2])
 29. A. 3412 (Karatay: A 6854) [not in the inventory?]. Title by ʿAtufi in the middle of a very crowded page, on 1a, *Sharḥu Maṭāliʿi al-anwāri al-musammā bi-al-Lawāmiʿi al-afkāri fi al-manṭiqi wa-al-ḥikmatī al-islāmiyyati*, does not have a precise match in the inventory, where the relevant entry reads (on 340 {4–5}): *Lawāmiʿu al-afkāri fi sharḥi Maṭāliʿi al-anwāri fi al-manṭiqi wa-al-ḥikmatī al-islāmiyyati*. Title on the sticky label of the binding: *Sharḥu gharibin li-l-Maṭāliʿ*. Title on the flyleaf: *Hādhā sharḥu gharibin li-l-Maṭāliʿ maʿa ḥikamīyya*. Colophon on 311a gives the date of completion as 693/1293–94. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 311b.
 30. A. 3421 (Karatay: A 6859) [= 340 {5–6}]. ʿAtufi's title on 1a, *Maṭāliʿu al-anwāri fi al-manṭiqi wa-al-ḥikmatī al-islāmiyyati*, is the same as the one in the inventory. Title on the sticky label of the binding: *Maṭāliʿu al-anwāri fi al-manṭiqi*. Title on the endpaper: *Maṭāliʿ al-anwār*. Colophon on 210a indicates that it was copied in 713/1313–14. Seal of Bayezid II on flyleaf and 209b. (PLATE 7)
 31. A. 3429 (Karatay: A 6851) [= 341 {1–2}]. The unusual title given by ʿAtufi on 1a, *Matnu maṭāliʿi al-anwāri fi al-manṭiqi faqat*, perfectly matches the one in the inventory. Is “*faqat*” meant to refer to the fact that this text is on its own, without a commentary, or to the category (“of logic only”) ? Title on the sticky label of the binding: *Maṭāliʿ al-anwār*. Title on the endpaper: *Maṭāliʿ*. The copy was made for the grand vizier Mahmud Pasha (d. 1474) (see note on 1a). Seal of Bayezid II on 1a. (PLATE 8)
 32. A. 3432 (Karatay: A 6891) [= 342 {18–19}]. The title given by ʿAtufi on 1a, *Kitābu al-mubīni fi sharḥi al-matīni fi al-manṭiqi*, is the same as the one in the inventory. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 263b. For this book, dedicated to Mehmed II, see essay by Khaled El-Rouayheb, list by El-Rouayheb and Didar Akbulut, and essay and Appendix III by Gülru Necipoğlu.
 33. A. 3437 (Karatay: A 6853) [340 {4–5}]. ʿAtufi on 1a gives the same title, *Lawāmiʿu al-afkāri fi sharḥi Maṭāliʿi al-anwāri fi al-manṭiqi wa-al-ḥikmatī al-islāmiyyati*, as the one in the inventory. Title on the sticky label of the binding: *Lawāmiʿ al-afkār fi sharḥ Lawāmiʿ al-nūr*. Note on the colophon

indicates that the copy of Qutb al-Din al-Razi's (d. 1365) commentary on Siraj al-Din al-Urmawi's (d. 1283) book on logic was made for the personal study of Mehmed II in 877/1472–73 by the hand of Yusuf b. Husayn al-Siwasi. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 463b. For the four interrelated items here, nos. 29–31 and no. 33, see essay by Khaled El-Rouayheb and list by El-Rouayheb and Didar Akbulut. (PLATE 9)

34. H. 270 (Karatay: F 915) [= 123 {18–19}]. The title given by 'Atufi for the two-work volume on 1a, *Kitābu jāmi-jihān-numā' fi al-taṣawwufi wa-Kitābu al-lama'āti fi al-'ishq min qibali al-taṣawwufi*, is the same as the one in the inventory. The first text ends on 16a; the colophon on 55a announces the completion of the second piece, *tammāt al-Lama'āt al-qudsiyya fi al-'ishq*, but does not give a date. Seal of Bayezid II on 55a (seal inside the text frame, almost over the text).
35. H. 1123 (Karatay: no entry) [= 249 {19}]. The title on 1a, *Kitāb-i naẓm-i kışsa-i Sulṭān Bāyezīd*, is rendered *Naẓmu Qışṣah-i Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān -khallada Allāhu ta'ālā khilāfatahu* in the inventory for this work in Persian. The same title appears on the sticky label. The inventory neither names the author, who appears on 1b as *Malik-i Āhī*, nor mentions the fact that the manuscript is illustrated. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 98b. See essays by Sooyong Kim, Gülru Necipoğlu, and Zeren Tanındı, and Appendix III by Gülru Necipoğlu.
36. H. 1417 (Karatay: F 155) [= 252 {5–6}]. The title given on 2a, *Naẓm-i tawārīkh-i Sulṭān Meḥammed Khān b. Murād Khān wa-ghayruhu bi-al-fārisiyya*, is expanded in the inventory with a prayer formula, as in the case of H.1123 above: *Naẓm-i tawārīkh-i Sulṭān Meḥammed Khān bin Murād Khān -khullidat khilāfatuhum* [sic]- *wa-ghayruhu bi-al-fārisiyyati*. The author, Mīr Sayyid 'Alī b. Muẓaffar al-Tūsī, gives his pen name, *Ma'ālī*, twice within the text, on 5b and 183b. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 183b. See Appendix I by Zeynep Atbaş and Appendix III by Gülru Necipoğlu. (PLATE 10 [1–2])
37. R. 474 (Karatay: F 52) [= 111 {8–9}]. On 1a, 'Atufi gives the same title, *Kitābu sharḥi Gulshan-i rāz al-mawsūmu bi-Shaqā'iqi al-ḥaqā'iqi bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-taṣawwufi*, as the one in the inventory as well as the one on the sticky label on the binding. On the flyleaf is a note in Persian, which explains that this work was written by Ahmed-i Ilahi as a gift for the sultan. Inside the text, the author's name appears on 5a and that of the sultan, in gilded letters, on 5b. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 180b. (PLATE 11 [1–3])
38. R. 475 (Karatay: F 65) [= 144 {12–13}]. Title by 'Atufi on 1a, *al-Risālatu al-sharīfatu bi-khaṭṭin dīwāniyyin bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-taṣawwufi*, perfectly matches the one in the inventory. Colophon on 23a mentions that the work was completed in 883/1478–79 in Īskandariyya [i.e., Shkoder where Mehmed II laid siege in that year] by the hand of Sayyidi Muhammad al-Munshi al-Sultani, a scribe in the imperial chancery. The manuscript is distinguished by its exquisite hand, which leads 'Atufi to make one of his rare observations on the script. On 1b, the basmala is illuminated in an ornate frame. Karatay considers this Muhammad to be the copyist of an "anonymous" treatise, but the scribe seems to have compiled the text himself from various works of classical Sufi authors whom he names on 2a. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 23b.
39. R. 1270 (Karatay: T 627) [not in the inventory]. *Sulṭān Bāyezīd Ḥān Ġāzī Sulṭān Cem mābeynlerinde olan vāqı'a-i 'aẓīm ve gayrīdür zikr olunur* (The big event that transpired between Sultan Bayezid and Sultan Cem, and other events, are memorialized [in this work]). On 1a, there is also the title: *Kitāb-i Vaḳ'anāme-i Sulṭān Bāyezīd Ḥān bā Sulṭān Cem*. This chronicle by Behiṣṭi covers not only the events that transpired between the two brothers, as both titles promise, but also the reign of Sultan Bayezid II until 907/1501–2. Considering that the book is written for Bayezid and ends its coverage just before 'Atufi was commissioned to do his work, one might expect that the inventory should mention a copy of it, and that the palace library would have a copy with this sultan's

seal and 'Atufi's hand. But Behiştî evidently continued to work on his chronicle until at least 1511. On 1a, this very interesting copy has a note, which says that it once belonged to Kâtib Çelebi (*merhûm Kâtib Çelebi nüshalarındandır*). On 62a and 62b, there are notes by a seventeenth-century owner, with various words spelled in the vernacular rather than "correctly," including: *receb 'ayında çarşenbe günü galebe oldu perşenbe günü ikindiyyin sulţân 'oşmân'ı boğdular cum'a günü namâzın kıldılar* (there was commotion in the month of Rajab on Wednesday, they strangled Sultan Osman in the afternoon on Thursday, they performed the ritual prayer of death on Friday), perhaps considered appropriate on the flyleaf of a book on the battles of two princes and the demise of one of them. (PLATE 12 [1–2])

40. R. 1465 (Karatay: T 1011) [= 185 {5}]. The title by 'Atufi on 1a, *Tarjamatu Kitâbi al-mu'jami fi al-tawârikhi bi-al-turkiyyati li-Tâj-zâdah (Tâcizâde) -rahîmahu Allâhu ta'âlâ- fi al-tawârikhi*, matches those in the inventory and the sticky label on the binding. The illuminated roundel on the same page indicates that the work was undertaken by order of the sultan. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 132a. See no. 44 in Appendix III by Gülru Necipoğlu.
41. R. 1563 (Karatay: A 5772) [possibly the eighth of the twelve-volume set listed on 182 {18}]. No evidence of the hand of 'Atufi or his team on the manuscript. Title assigned by a different hand, in a larger script, on 1a: *Al-mujallad al-thâmin min al-kâmil fi al-tâ'rikh li-Ibn al-Athîr*. The same title is repeated lower on the same page, with an indication of the number of lines per page. Colophon on 245a indicates that it was copied in 764/1362–63. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 245b.
42. R. 1927 (Karatay: F 97) [= 364 {16–18}]. Same title by 'Atufi on 1a and on the sticky label of the binding: *Tarjamatu Injîli Mattâ bi-al-fârisiyyati va Tarjamatu Injîli Marqus bi-al-fârisiyyati va Tarjamatu Injîli Lûqâ bi-al-fârisiyyati va Tarjamatu Injîli Yuhannâ bi-al-fârisiyyati*. Two other titles are given on 1a: *Injîl fârisî*, above the one by 'Atufi, and *Tarjamatu Injîli arba'ati bi-al-fârisî* [sic] below it, with indication of script and number of lines per page. Bayezid's seal on 1a and 93b. Colophon on 93b indicates that it was copied in 863/1458–59. (PLATE 14)

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43. Nuruosmaniye 1984 (formerly, 2398) [= 127 {9–11}]. Title on the binding: *Risâlatun sharîfatun fi tahqîqi subhânaka mâ 'arafnâka haqqa ma'rîfatika min qibali al-taşawwufi*. The inventory lists three texts, all of them by Kutbeddinzade, in one volume. A folio made up of a new and different kind of paper inserted between the binding and 1a; the original 1a, where Bayezid II's seal and 'Atufi's note would have been, is covered, but the palimpsest of the seal is visible on 1b. Seal of Bayezid II on 38a. (PLATE 32 [1–4])

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FATİH

44. Fatih 722 [not in the inventory]. *Al-Juz' al-awwal min Kitâb jâmi' al-uşûl fi al-aḥādîth al-rasûl*. There is no precise match with the inventory since this MS was endowed to the book collection of Mehmed II's mosque-madrasa complex. Colophon on 230a indicates that it was copied in 743/1342–43. Shaykh 'Ali bin Majdullah al-Bistami, known as Musannifek (d. 1470), marked the manuscript with an ownership record in 874/1469–70 in Edirne. Seal of Mehmed II on 2a and 229b. *Jâmi' al-uşûl*, by ibn al-Athîr, makes several appearances on p. 34 of the inventory. See the list by Recep Göktaş. There are at least four other copies with the seal of Bayezid II:

TSMK, A. 301 (Karatay 2833–34) [= ? 38 {8}]. Seal of Bayezid II and ‘Atufi’s title only on the first volume of this two-volume set, copied in 901/1495–96;

TSMK, A. 302 (Karatay 2835–36) [= ? 38 {8}]. Seal of Bayezid II and ‘Atufi’s hand in both volumes of this two-volume set, copied in 733/1332–33; ‘Atufi simply added “*fī al-ḥadīth*” to an existing title in both cases;

TSMK, R. 354 (Karatay 2838). Only the second volume of an abridged version of this title; title by ‘Atufi; copied in 724/1323–24;

SK, Turhan Valide 48. ‘Atufi added only “*fī al-ḥadīth*” to an existing title, *Jāmi‘ al-uṣūl tamām*, written in larger calligraphic script; copy made in 870/1465–66 for the perusal of Mehmed II; seal of Bayezid II on 1a.

45. Fatih 723 [not in the inventory]. *Al-Juz’ al-awwal min Kitāb jāmi‘ al-uṣūl fī al-aḥādīth al-rasūl* (in red ink). Endowed to the mosque-madrasa complex of Mehmed II; see above. Colophon on 355a indicates that it was copied in 750/1349–50 by Muhammad b. Husayn b. Hasan al-Farabi. Note on 1a asserts that this copy was produced by comparison with the autograph copy. Seal of Mehmed II on 2a and 354a.
46. Fatih 756 [= 41 {8–11}]. The long title on 1a, *Risālatun fī al-ḥadīthi wa-al-du‘ā’i ‘alā tartībī al-ḥurūfi li-Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān bin Meḥmed Khān -zīdat sa‘ādatuhumā fī al-dārayni-mawsūmatun bi-Kitābi ighṭināmi al-furṣati li-qirā’ati al-ḥadīthi bi-Burṣa*, matches precisely the one in the inventory. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 33a (x2). See the essay and list by Recep Göktaş for the attribution to Bayezid II. (PLATE 29 [1–2])
47. Fatih 1123 [not in the inventory]. Title on the sticky label of the binding: *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ḥadīth al-Nawawī*. An attempt at assigning a title was started on the flyleaf, but the word *kitābu* remains solitary. The process of binding may have dislocated some pages, since the numbering of folios starts again at 1 after the current 48b. The MS was part of the endowment of the mosque-madrasa complex of Mehmed II. Colophon on 73b indicates that it was written in 740/1339–40. Seal of Mehmed II on 1a and 73b.
48. Fatih 1217 [not in the inventory]. Pages seem to be missing from the front material of this second volume of *al-Nihāya* by Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1210); the text starts abruptly on 1a, without an ‘Atufi-style title. Colophon on 250b indicates that the copy, endowed to Mehmed II’s mosque-madrasa complex, was completed in 634/1236–37 by Muhammad b. Mikail b. Ahmad b. Rashid b. Husayn al-Mawsili. Seal of Mehmed II on 1a and 250a. At least two copies of this work by Ibn al-Athīr bear the seal of Bayezid II: TSMK, A.516, and SK, Süleymaniye 1025. See the list by Recep Göktaş.
49. Fatih 2552 [not in the inventory]. Title on 1a, not by ‘Atufi, has: *al-Jild al-akhīr min al-Iḥyā’*, namely the final book of al-Ghazālī’s *al-Iḥyā’*, of which there are corresponding entries in the inventory, but this MS cannot be one of those. There may have been some front material that is now missing. Copied in Konya in 853/1449 and endowed by Musannifek to the mosque-madrasa complex of Mehmed II. Almond-shaped but illegible seal on 1b and 311a, likely that of Mehmed II.
50. Fatih 2753 [not in the inventory]. Title given on 1a, not by ‘Atufi, and not in his style: *Faṣl al-khiṭāb Khwāja Aḥmad Pārsā ‘alayhim al-raḥmatu wa-al-riḍwān*. Previously owned by Musannifek (see no. 44 above), who endowed it to the mosque-madrasa complex of Mehmed II. Seal of Mehmed II on 2a and 179a.
51. Fatih 2788 [= 118 {17–18}]. The inventory lists this item, now known as *Maqālāt*, as: *Mujalladun min kālāmin fārisiyyin marqūmun bi-annah min kalimāti Mawlānā Sh[amsi] Tabrīzī fī al-taṣawwufi*. On 1a of the ms, *bi-annah* is replaced by *qila huwa*. Above this title is another one:

- qiṭ'a min kitābi Mawlānā Shaykh Tabrīzī fī al-taṣawwufi*. The volume is in two parts: 1b–47a and 48b–123b. The illuminated roundel refers to Shams as *sulṭān al-ma'shuqīn Mawlānā Sh[ams] Tabrīzī*. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 123b. (PLATE 30)
52. Fatih 2859 [not in the inventory?]. *Maqālāt-i Bahā' al-Dīn Walad bi-al-fārisiyya*. Colophon on 186b indicates that it was copied in 801/1398–99 by Muhammad b. Isa al-Hafiz al-Mawlawi al-Qunawi. Seal of Bayezid II on 2a and 187a.
53. Fatih 3418 [= 314 {8–10}]. *Kitābu al-zījī al-jāmi'i li-Kūshyār fī al-nujūmi wa-Kitābu mujmali al-uṣūli fī aḥkāmi al-nujūmi li-Kūshyār wa-Risālatu Abī Ma'shar al-Balkhī fī iḥtir[ā]qāti al-kawākibi fī mujalladin wāḥidin* (last section listed in the inventory missing in the MS). Pages missing from the beginning; no sign of 'Atufi and no seal at the front. Only one seal of Bayezid, on 227b.
54. Fatih 3856 [= 239 {7}]. The title on 1a (by 'Atufi?), *Dīwān-i Qāsim wa-Risālatun manẓūmatun*, refers to the two items that it lists in the most economic manner as in the inventory, which adds *fī mujalladin wāḥidin*. The other title, given on the flyleaf, *Dīwān-i Qāsim ma'a Risāla-i mutanawwi'a*, is more accurate since the volume contains three texts, all of them by Qasim-i Anvar. Colophon on 218b indicates that it was copied in 867/1462–63 by Hafiz 'Umar Shah al-Harawi. Bayezid II's ownership record on 1b, and his seal on 1a and 230b.
55. Fatih 4041 [possibly = 141 {6}]. Title given on 1a, where 'Atufi simply added the category "pertaining to advice," *Al-Kalimu al-rūḥāniyyati fī al-ḥikami al-yūnāniyyati min qibali al-naṣā'ihi*, is the same as the entry in the inventory, except for the categorization of the work as being *fī al-mawā'izi* (in homiletics). There is another copy of the same work in the inventory [= 144 {18}] with the title: *Kitābu al-kalimi al-rūḥāniyyati wa-al-ḥikami al-yūnāniyyati jama'ahū Abū al-Faraj fī al-naṣā'ihi*. Seal of Bayezid II on 100b; a seal on 1a, possibly of Bayezid, has been effaced. (PLATE 31)
56. Fatih 4045 [= one of two entries on 236 {18–19}]. The title given by 'Atufi on 1a, *Kitābu kullīyyāt-i Jāmī*, could refer to any one of his two entries with precisely that simple wording in the inventory. Compendium of 38 works by Jāmī. Colophon on 385a indicates that it was put together in 898/1492–93. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 741a.
57. Fatih 4062 [= 139 {9}]. The title by 'Atufi on 1a, *Risālatu al-lawā'ihi li-l-Jāmī fī al-taṣawwufi*, is the same as the one in the inventory. Colophon on 35a indicates that it was written in Sha'ban 900/April–May 1495 by Husayn al-Shirazi. Seal of Bayezid II on 35a.
58. Fatih 4130 [possibly = 251 {17}]. Pages missing from the beginning of this "illustrated and illuminated ... rare copy from the painting atelier of Shiraz during the Aqqoyunlu period" (see Appendix II by Zeren Tanındı). Identified in the catalogue of the Süleymaniye Library as *Mıhr u Mushtarī*, or *Ishq-nāma*, this manuscript could be related to any one of several entries for that title in the inventory, but only one of the entries refers to an illustrated version (*muṣawwar*). Colophon on 221a indicates that *al-kitābu al-musammā bi-muḥabbat-nāma...* was copied in Shiraz in Dhu'l-Hijja 894/October–November 1489. Only one seal of Bayezid, on 221a. Appendix I by Zeynep Atbaş mentions another illustrated copy, TSMK A. 3563, with the seal of Bayezid II, which does not seem to be the one in the inventory. Also see list by Sooyong Kim under Aṣṣār Tabrīzī and essay by Gülru Necipoğlu.
59. Fatih 4131 [= 249 {17–19}]. 'Atufi's title on 1a, *Kitābu mihri al-qulūbi li-l-Jamālī wa-Kitābu kashfi al-arwāḥi fī qışṣati Yūsuf-'alayhi al-salāmu- li-l-Jamālī*, is the same as the one in the inventory. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 273b.
60. Fatih 4203 [= 180 {17} or 181 {14}]. *Kitābu bahjati al-tawārīkhi*. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 369b. See no. 107 below (on MS Ayasofya 2990).

61. Fatih 4518 [= 190 {19}]. The title given by 'Atufi on 1a, *Kitābun musamman bi-al-Waladi al-shaḥīqī fī al-tawārīkhi*, matches the one in the inventory. The note on 1a, *odadan çıkan fārisī*, indicates that the manuscript in Persian was moved from the Privy Chamber to the Inner Treasury. Also on 1a, is the note *al-jild al-thānī min al-tawārīkh*, which was later crossed through. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 298b.

ŞEHZADE MEHMED

62. Şehzade Mehmed 8/1. This copy of 'Atufi's own work on hadith, *Anzāru sharḥi al-Mashāriqī*, is part of a compendium that bears the seal of Prince Mehmed b. Süleyman (d. 1543) on 1b, where our librarian's work starts and extends to 100a.

AYASOFYA

63. Ayasofya 446 [not in the inventory]. Neither the title on flyleaf, *Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar fī uṣūl al-ḥadīth wa-kitāb al-mukhtaṣar fī 'ilm al-ḥadīth*, nor the one on 1a, *Mukhtaṣar fī 'ilm al-ḥadīth li-l-'allāma fī 'ilm al-uṣūl wa-al-furū' wa-al-kalām wa-al-manṭiq wa-ghayrihā min al-'ulūm al-'aqliyya wa-al-naqliyya*, both of which might be considered in 'Atufi's style, matches any entry in the inventory. The closest entry is on 75 {18–19}: *Kitābu sharḥi al-Mukhtaṣari li-l-'Allāma fī uṣūli al-fiqhi*. The catalogue of SK assigns the work to Ibn al-Jazari (d. 1429) and strictly to the science of hadith. The trace of an almond-shaped seal on the flyleaf is barely visible, but it has been effaced beyond recognition.
64. Ayasofya 1654 [= 118 {14–17}]. The inventory has: *Kitābu rashḥi al-zulālī fī sharḥi al-alfāzi al-mutadāwilati bayna arbābi al-aḥwālī wa-Risālatu al-uṣṭurlābi wa-Risālatu ma'rifati kayfiyyati al-arṣādī wa-al-'amali bi-dhātī al-ḥalaqī wa-Kitābu al-iṣṭilāḥātī li-l-Qāshānī fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin*. The title given by 'Atufi on 1a almost perfectly matches the one in the inventory but omits the word *al-mutadāwila*. A shorter title above this one simply has: *Sharḥ-i Iṣṭilāḥāt-i Qāshānī*. There are two texts by al-Qashani on Sufism at either end of the two astronomical works. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 109b. (PLATE 15)
65. Ayasofya 1682 [= 114 {10–11}]. The title on 1a, *Kitābu barīdi al-sa'ādātī fī sharḥi Kalimāti al-naṣā'ihī bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi*, matches the one in the inventory for this book by Muhammad b. Ghazi al-Malati (d. first quarter of 13th c.). Seal of Bayezid II on 1a.
66. Ayasofya 1683 [= 119 {13–16}]. The title on 1a, *Kitābun fī muḥimmāti al-umūri al-dīniyyati li-l-faqīhi Abī al-Layth al-Samarqandī wa-Kitābu akhlaṣi al-khālīṣati fī al-taṣawwufi wa-Risālatu al-basmalati wa-Risālatun 'alā madhhabī aḥli al-sunnati wa-al-jāmā'ati wa-Risālatun fī al-rūḥi wa-al-naḥsi wa-ḥālī al-nā'imi min kitābi al-Shaykh al-'Allāma Abī Ishāq al-Bukhārī min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi wa-al-taṣawwufi*, matches the one in the inventory, which does not indicate that these texts are “in one volume.” Note the designation of al-Bukhari (d. 870) as “*al-'Allāma*” (most erudite); 'Atufi uses this term for only four (maybe five) scholars in the whole inventory. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a.
67. Ayasofya 1694 [= 131 {7–11}]. 'Atufi's title on the flyleaf, *Kitābu al-tajalliyāti fī al-taṣawwufi wa-Rashḥu al-zulālī fī sharḥi al-alfāzi al-mutadāwilati bayna arbābi al-aḥwālī wa-Kitābun fī aḥwālī al-ḥurūfi wa-Kitābu ma'ārījī al-albābi fī kashfi al-afrādī wa-al-aqtābi min qibali al-taṣawwufi wa-Kitābu rashfi al-ma'īni fī kashfi ma'nā al-nubuwwati wa-sharḥu Ḥukmi al-wilāyati wa-Risālatu al-lā'ihati al-'ulwiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi*, perfectly matches the entry in the inventory, which mere-

- ly adds that these pieces are all in one and the same volume, *fi mujalladin wāḥidin*. The brief title on 1a, *Tajalliyāt* (of Ibn al-ʿArabi), refers to the first text only, which ends with a colophon (dated 884) on 31b and is followed by the brief title of the second piece on 32a, *Rashḥ al-zulāl*. Colophon on 248a indicates that the copying was completed in 884/1479–80. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 248a. (PLATE 16 [1–2])
68. Ayasofya 1701 [= 263 {6}]. The title given by ʿAtufi on 1a and the one in the inventory have the same wording: *Kitābu tuḥfati al-muʾmini bi-al-turkiyyati al-manzūmati*. Colophon on 130b indicates that it was completed on 1–10 Safar 906/August 27–September 5, 1500. For more on this text by Hisari (d. after 1500), see essay above. Seal of Bayezid on 1a and 130a.
 69. Ayasofya 1747 [= 111 {2–3, 4, 5} (three copies listed)]. The title given by ʿAtufi on 1a, *Kitābu jāwidān-khirad min qibali al-taṣawwufi*, matches three separate entries in the inventory, which also lists some other copies of this work by Ibn Miskawayh with variant titles. In this manuscript, *Jāwidān-khirad* ends on 241a and is followed by a short text. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 271a.
 70. Ayasofya 1778-001 [= 112 {8–9}]. The title given by ʿAtufi on the flyleaf, *Kitābu khiwāni al-ikhwāni bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi*, is the same as the one in the inventory. A later note by a *mudarris* on the flyleaf contests that this work by “Nasir-i Khusrev-i ʿAlevi,” written to propagate the *daʿwa* of the Fatimids, is related to Sufism. Colophon on 149b indicates that it was copied in 862/1457–58. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 149a.
 71. Ayasofya 1819 [= 108 {11} or 110 {2–3} or 111 {11} or 120 {1}]. The almost generic title given by ʿAtufi on 1a, *Risālatu al-Qushayrī fi al-taṣawwufi*, has four precise counterparts in the inventory, which includes very few works from the early phase of Sufism other than this classic by al-Qushayri (d. 1072). Colophon on 221a indicates that it was copied in Rajab 856/July–August 1452. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 221b.
 72. Ayasofya 1852 [= 120 {19}–121 {1}]. Title on 1a by ʿAtufi, *Kitābu mirʾāti al-tāʾibīna fi al-taṣawwufi*, a work by ʿAlī al-Hamadānī (d. 1385), is the same as the one in the inventory. Seal of Bayezid on 1a and 75b.
 73. Ayasofya 1898 [= 119 {8–11}]. ʿAtufi’s title on 1a, *Risālatu al-muqaddimāti min awāʾili sharḥi al-Qaṣīdati al-tāʾiyyati wa-Risālatu al-muqaddimāti min awāʾili sharḥi al-Fuṣūṣi li-Dāwud al-Qayṣarī fi al-taṣawwufi*, curiously lists one piece less than the entry in the inventory, which includes after these two texts: *wa-Risālatu al-Qādī al-Sīmāwī ʿalā khilāfi al-taṣawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin*. This third text, by the controversial Ottoman Shaykh Badr al-Dīn (d. 1420?), seems to have been at some point removed from the volume, which is also missing the second seal that would have come at or near the end of the text that originally concluded the volume. In its current binding, the volume has a third text by Dawud al-Qaysari (d. 1350) (89a–110a). The title on the flyleaf, not in ʿAtufi’s hand, identifies the volume as: *Kitāb iṣṭilāḥāt al-mashāyikh maʿa rasāʾil sāʾira*. On 1a, above the title by ʿAtufi, is another one by a different hand, in much larger and gilded letters: *Hādhā muqaddimāt iṣṭilāḥāt al-mashāyikh min awāʾil sharḥ al-Qaṣīda al-tāʾiyya li-Ibn al-Fāriḍ -qaddasa Allāhu sirrahu- li-l-Shaykh al-Farghānī -raḥimahu Allāhu raḥmatan wasīʿatan*. An explanatory note is added (by ʿAtufi?) under the word al-Farghānī, identifying him as “al-Qāshānī,” and verifying this with “*wa-huwa al-ṣaḥīḥ*.” This monumental title seems to have been an earlier one, given to the first text, which was later examined and emended by ʿAtufi when working on the inventory. Colophon on 26a, at the end of the first text, indicates that it was copied in 878/1473–74. Only one seal of Bayezid, on 1a. (PLATE 18)
 74. Ayasofya A. 1935 [= 113 {3} or 122 {10–11}]. ʿAtufi’s title on 2a, *Kitābu sharḥi Manāzili al-sāʾirina fi al-taṣawwufi*, matches two entries in the inventory, which lists five copies altogether for this

work by ‘Abdullah Ansari (d. 1089). Shorter title on 1a: *Hādhā sharḥ Manāzil al-sā’irīn*. Seal of Bayezid on 2a and 222b.

75. Ayasofya 1936 [= 112 {7, 8} (two copies listed)]. The title on 2a, *Kitābu sharḥi al-Mawāqifi fī al-taṣawwufi*, originally had one or two more words after *Mawāqif*, but that bit was erased. As it is, this title matches two entries in the inventory for this text by al-Tilimsani (d. 1291). The flyleaf has: *Kitāb sharḥ Mawāqifi li-l-Tilimsānī fī al-taṣawwuf*. Colophon on 268b indicates that it was copied in 743/1342–43. Seal of Bayezid on 1a and 268b.
76. Ayasofya 1957 [= 140 {11–13}]. The title by ‘Atufi on 1a, *Kitābu al-ṭahārati li-Ibn Miskawayh fī tahdhībī al-akhlāqi wa-Risālatun li-l-Fārābī fī al-akhlāqi*, perfectly matches only one of several relevant entries in the inventory. Another title on the same page has a slightly different wording: *Kitābu al-ṭahārati fī tahdhībī al-akhlāqi li-Ibn Miskawayh wa-Risālatun fī al-akhlāqi li-l-Fārābī*. Colophon at the end of the first text on 124b indicates that it was copied in 879/1474–75; the second text starts on 125a with *Risālatu fī al-akhlāqi li-l-Shaykh al-Fārābī* and ends on 149a. Seal of Bayezid on 1a and 149b.
77. Ayasofya 1976 [= 118 {6–8}]. ‘Atufi on 1a gives the same title as in the inventory: *Kitābu faṣli al-khiṭābi fī ‘aqā’idi al-kubarā’i al-jāmi’ina bayna ‘ulūmi al-sharī’ati wa-al-ṭarīqati min qibali al-taṣawwufi*. The flyleaf has: *Kitābu faṣli al-khiṭābi fī ‘aqā’idi al-kubarā’i al-jāmi’ina fī al-taṣawwufi*. Colophon on 252b indicates that this work by Muhammad Parsa (d. 1420) was copied in 846/1442–43 by Ibrahim bin Yusuf al-Imam al-Mu’ini (?). ‘Atufi does not indicate that the work is in Persian. Seal of Bayezid on 1a and 253b. (PLATE 19)
78. Ayasofya 1977 [= 118 {8–10}]. On the flyleaf, ‘Atufi identifies the two-part compilation as *Kitābu faṣli al-khiṭābi fī ‘aqā’idi al-kubarā’i al-jāmi’ina bayna ‘ulūmi al-sharī’ati wa-al-ṭarīqati wa-al-Risālatu al-qudsiyyatu min qibali al-taṣawwufi*. The inventory has the same but adds that they are in one volume (*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*). Flyleaf-1 has only a short title for the first item, *Kitāb faṣl al-khiṭāb*, and indicates the number of lines per page. Both of these texts (the first one spanning 1b–227a; the second one, 228b–241a) are in Persian, but ‘Atufi does not indicate the language. Seal of Bayezid II on flyleaf-2a and 241b. (PLATE 20 [1–2])
79. Ayasofya 1980 [= 132 {11–16}]. The ten pieces in this multi-text volume are each identified in the inventory: *Kitābu fuṣūlin fī al-taṣawwufi wa-al-Risālatu al-qudsiyyatu fī al-taṣawwufi wa-Risālatu Mawlānā Kāshghiri fī kayfiyyati al-dhikri wa-al-tawajjuhi fī al-taṣawwufi wa-Sharḥu rubā’i al-Shaykh ‘Aṭṭār wa-Risālatun mawsūmatun bi-Mir’āti al-‘āshiqina wa-Risālatun fī faḍli al-du‘ā’i wa-Risālatun fī ‘ilmi al-khaṭṭi wa-Risālatu ta’wīli Qisṣati Yūsuf-‘alayhi al-salāmu- fī al-taṣawwufi wa-Qaṣīdatun mawsūmatun bi-Waḍā’i’i al-ashār fī ṣanā’i’i al-ash’ār wa-Qaṣīdatu al-āfāqi wa-al-anfusi fī mujalladin wāḥidin*. The short title on the flyleaf (not by ‘Atufi?), which mentions only the first text by Ebu’l-Vefa (d. 1481) without naming him, does not match any entry: *Kitābu fuṣūlin ma’a rasā’ili fī al-taṣawwufi* (A Book [Containing] Sections, with Treatises on Sufism; see list by Kafadar and Karamustafa). Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 108b.
80. Ayasofya 1982 [not in the inventory]. The title on 1a, not by ‘Atufi, *Muṭṭala’u Khuṣūṣ al-kilām fī ma’ānī Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, and the one on the flyleaf indicating the number of lines per page, *Kitāb ma’ānī Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam wa-ghayruhu* (Book on the Meanings of [Ibn al-‘Arabi’s] *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* and others?), do not match any entry in the inventory perhaps because it is a late arrival. Three colophons in this multi-text volume indicate different dates of copying: 873/1468–69 on 43a, 881/1476–77 on 53a, and 870/1465 on 134a. Seal of Bayezid II on 64a and 134b.
81. Ayasofya 2033 [= 143 {18}]. The title given by ‘Atufi on 1a, *Kitābu al-lawā’iḥi fī al-taṣawwufi*, matches only one entry in the inventory, where the words *fī mujalladin wāḥidin* are added, perhaps by mistake, because the entry lists only one work. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 50a.

82. Ayasofya 2098 [= 137 {19}–138 {2}]. The title by ‘Atufi on 1a, *Muntakhabu Jāwidān-khirad fī al-naṣā’ihī wa-Risālatu al-aḥādīthi wa-Risālatu munājāti ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi*, describes the contents with precisely the same words as in the inventory. Three works listed by ‘Atufi end on 58a; volume contains another short text, *Risāla dar Shinākhtan-i Khōd* (Treatise on Knowing Oneself) by Afdal al-Din al-Kashi (d. 1291), between 59a and 62b, which was included in the volume before it received the sultan’s seal (but after the inventory?). Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 62b.
83. Ayasofya 2112 [= 115 {2–3}]. The title on 1a, *Kitābu manhāji al-rashādi min qibali al-fiqhi wa-al-taṣawwufi*, for this work “pertaining to jurisprudence and Sufism” by Şükrullah b. Ahmed el-Amasi (d. after 1464), is the same as the one in the inventory. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 111a.
84. Ayasofya 2114 [= 112 {14} or 136 {15}]. The title on 1a by ‘Atufi, *Kitābu minhāji al-‘ābidīna li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī fī al-taṣawwufi*, matches two separate entries in the inventory. Seal of Bayezid II on 175a only.
85. Ayasofya 2115 [= 113 {14–15}]. ‘Atufi’s title on 1a, *Kitābu minhāji al-‘ābidīna li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī-ṭāba tharāhu- fī al-taṣawwufi*, matches precisely only this one among several relevant entries in the inventory. Colophon on 108b indicates that the copy was completed in 878/1473–74. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 108b.
86. Ayasofya 2116 [= 112 {13}]. The title given by ‘Atufi on 1a, *Kitābu minhāji al-‘ābidīna fī al-taṣawwufi*, is the same as the one in the inventory. Colophon on 115a indicates that it was copied in 794/1391–92. Note the three slightly different titles given to these items on nos. 84–86, and no. 88 below, which enables one to identify specific manuscripts to a large degree. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 115a.
87. Ayasofya 2117 [= 114 {7–9}]. The title given by ‘Atufi to this multi-text volume on 1a, *Kitābu mukhtaṣari Minhāji al-‘ābidīna fī al-taṣawwufi wa-Kitābu fawātiḥi al-jamālī fī ṭariqi al-taṣawwufi wa-Risālatu al-hā’imi al-khā’ifi min lawmati al-lā’imi min qibali al-taṣawwufi wa-Rasā’ilu ukhrā*, is the same as the one in the inventory, which adds that these texts are *fī mujalladin wāḥidin*. The current catalogue of SK lists five items. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 174a.
88. Ayasofya 2118 [= 144 {19}]. ‘Atufi’s title on 1a, *Minhāju al-‘ābidīna li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhū- fī al-taṣawwufi*, is the same as the one in the inventory. Seal of Bayezid II on 121b only?
89. Ayasofya 2119 [= 115 {18–19}]. The title given by ‘Atufi on 1a, *Kitābu mawāqī’i al-nujūmi li-l-Shaykh Muḥyi al-Dīn al-‘Arabī-ṭāba tharāhu- fī al-taṣawwufi*, offers a precise match with the entry in the inventory. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 169b.
90. Ayasofya 2120 [= 113 {16–17}]. The title given by ‘Atufi on the flyleaf, *Kitābu mawāqī’i al-nujūmi li-Muḥyi al-Dīn—ṭāba tharāhu—fī al-taṣawwufi*, is nearly the same as the one in the inventory, which omits the prayer formula. In the volume as presently bound, the titled and inventoried text starts as late as on 7b, and is preceded by a short piece on “*adab wa-ḥikam*” (culture and wisdom), which may have been bound in this volume after the inventory was compiled. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 188b.
91. Ayasofya 2155 [= 137 {8–9}]. *Kitābu waṣāyā Zayn al-Dīn al-Khwāfī fī al-taṣawwufi*. The title on the sticky label of the binding could have been by ‘Atufi: *Waṣiyyatu Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn al-Khwāfī fī al-taṣawwufi*. No title record by ‘Atufi in the folios, and no seal of Bayezid II.
92. Ayasofya 2285 [= 66 {13–14}]. The title given in the inventory, *Tarjamatu Rashfi al-naṣā’ihī bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa-Sharḥu Qaṣīdati burdata bi-al-fārisiyyati fī mujalladin wāḥidin*, would have been the same as the one given by ‘Atufi on the flyleaf, if the part between *sharḥu* and *fārisiyyati* were not effaced. The same page offers traces of attempts to work out the identification and titling of the volume, with notes by two different hands; right next to *Kitāb*

tarjama-i Rashf al-naṣā'ih, written in a much larger script, for instance, another hand ('Atufi?) has added: *bi-al-fārisiyyati*. Below this line, *wa-Sharḥu Qaṣīdati burdata* in large script is, again, followed by *bi-al-fārisiyyati* in a script that looks like the usual of 'Atufi. There is also an ownership record of Bayezid II on that page. Colophons at the end of each section: on 148b indicating that it was completed in 857/1453, and on 217b indicating that it was completed in 858/1454. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a.

93. Ayasofya 2398 [= 352 {10–11}]. The title given by 'Atufi on 1a, *Hāshiyatu Mawlānā-zāda 'alā al-Hidāyati fī al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyati*, is the same as the one in the inventory. There is another copy of the same work by Mawlanazada Mahmud al-Harawi (fl. 15th century) listed in the inventory [= 361 {4–5}] with a different wording and noted as having been “requested (*maṭlab*).” Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 99b.
94. Ayasofya 2427 [= 355 {8–9}]. 'Atufi's title on 5a, *Sharḥu Ḥikmatī al-ishrāqī li-l-Quṭb al-'Allāma al-Shīrāzī fī al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyati*, perfectly matches the entry in the inventory. On the back cover, the title is given by two different hands as *Kitāb sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, with an indication of number of lines per page, and *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*. The page that currently serves as the flyleaf has the seal of Bayezid II and the title *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*. Pages inserted later (?) between that one and 'Atufi's title page include two short texts, *al-Kalīmāt al-dhawqīyya li-l-Imām al-shahīd al-Suhrawardī* and *Risāla fī sharḥ al-faqr*, also by Suhrawardī, “the martyr.” Colophon on 145a indicates that the copy of Qutb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's (d. 1311, the “most erudite”) commentary on Suhrawardī's famous book was completed in 786/1384–85. Palimpsest of seal on the back page clearly visible here. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 145b. (PLATE 21 [1–2])
95. Ayasofya 2457 [= 304 {19}–305 {1}]. This multi-text volume of thirteen pieces is titled by 'Atufi on 1a with only the first two of its contents: *Majmū'atun awwaluhā Kitābu Aristātālīs fī al-firāsati wa-thānīhā Kitābu al-Imām al-Fakhr al-Rāzī -quddisa sirruhu- fī al-firāsati*; this is nearly the same as the one in the inventory, which omits the prayer formula and adds *fī mujalladin wāḥidin*. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 269b.
96. Ayasofya 2490 [= 344 {4}]. The title given by 'Atufi on 1a, *Zubdatu al-bayāni bi-al-turkiyyati fī al-mantiqī*, is the same as the one in the inventory. Dedicated to Bayezid II, who is eulogized on 2a/b and named on 2b, by Muhyiddin Mehmed Çelebi el-Ladiki (d. beg. of the 16th c.), who wrote this first book on logic in Turkish and presented this autograph copy to the sultan. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 75b.
97. Ayasofya 2582 [= 328 {8–9}]. 'Atufi's title on 1a, *Ithnāni min Sharḥi al-Tabṣīrati bi-khaṭṭi mu'allifihī Muḥammad bin Mubārak-Shāh fī al-hay'ati*, is the same as the one in the inventory, where *fī mujalladin wāḥidin* is added. A rare instance of two copies of the same work in one volume. The codex is in the form of a *safīna*, or *cönk*. The first one is an autograph by Muḥammad b. Mubarak-shah (d. after 1382); the second one is a copy made from it. Colophon on 106b gives the date of completion as 733/1332–33. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 106b.
98. Ayasofya 2671 [= 321 {3–4}]: This multi-text volume is titled by 'Atufi on 1a: *Majmū'atun min rasā'ila fī 'amali al-ṣafīḥati wa-'amali al-uṣṭurlābi wa-ghayriḥā*. This is the same as the title given in the inventory, but the one on the manuscript page has the words *min qibali* written and crossed over. Colophon on 75a gives the date of completion for that piece as 611/1214–15. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 153b.
99. Ayasofya 2672 [= 323 {7}]. The title given by 'Atufi on 1a, *Majmū'atun min rasā'ila fī aḥkāmī al-nujūmi wa-'amali al-uṣṭurlābi wa-ghayriḥi*, is a perfect match with the one in the inventory. The current catalogue of the Süleymaniye Library lists twelve items in this miscellany. Colophon on

- 36b indicates that the first text, *al-Madḥal fī ilm al-nujūm* by Kūshyār al-Jilī al-Falākī (fl. 2nd half 10th/early 11th c.), was completed in 685/1286–87, while another one on 54b indicates that the copying of the piece *Risāla fī ‘amal al-usturlāb*, by the same author, was completed in 684/1285–86. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 131b.
100. Ayasofya 2753 [= 326 {5}]. *Kitābu Abī al-Wafā’ fīmā yahtāju ilayhi min a’ māli al-handasati*. This work on geometry by Abu al-Wafa al-Buzjani (d. 998) has a faded seal of Bayezid II on p. 70 (pagination by a modern hand). See essay and list by Tunç Şen and Cornell Fleischer.
 101. Ayasofya 2818 [= 122 {15–17}]. Neither of the two titles on 1a, *Kitāb Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Miskawayh fī al-akhlāq* or *Kitāb ‘ilm al-akhlāq*, appears in the inventory, but it is worth noting that “Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Miskawayh” is ‘Atufi’s standard way of referring to the author (see three different entries on pp. 122 and 123 of MS Török F. 59). Colophon at the end of the first section on 103b indicates that it was copied in 684/1285–86. The second text is by al-Farabi. These two authors are brought together in four separate entries in the inventory with their works on ethics but only twice as a pair, namely without additional items in the same volume (for the other pairing, see no. 76 above on MS Ayasofya 1957). Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 118b.
 102. Ayasofya 2852 [not in the inventory]. This manuscript provides an example of some of the continuities with the practices of palace librarians after ‘Atufi. Title on flyleaf-2a: *Kitāb taḥrīr al-aḥkām fī al-siyāsiyya*. Title on 1a with monumental script in red ink: *Kitāb fīhi taḥrīr al-aḥkām fī al-siyāsiyya taṣnīf al-Shaykh al-Imām Abu al-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Suhrawardī al-Baghdādī – ghaffāra Allāhu lahu wa li-man qarā’ahu wa li-jamī’ al-muslimīn*. Seal of Selim I on 1a and 74b. (PLATE 22 [1–2])
 103. Ayasofya 2868 [= 140 {13–14, 14–15} (two copies listed with the same title)]. Title given by ‘Atufi on 1a, *Tarjamatū Kitābu naṣīhati al-mulūki bi-al-‘arabiyyati*, matches both of those two in the inventory. The same page has two ownership notes, one by a *khaṭīb* (preacher) and one by a mudarris in the madrasa of Sultan Orhan in Bursa. Colophon on 76b indicates that the copy of this Arabic translation of al-Ghazali’s book was completed in 766/1364–65. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 77b.
 104. Ayasofya 2907 [= 115 {12}]. Title by ‘Atufi on 1a, *Kitābu minhāji al-wuzarā’i fī al-naṣīhati min qibali al-taṣawwufi*, is the same as in the inventory. An earlier (?) title on the facing page is crossed. The author’s name, Aḥmad b. Mahmud al-Jilī (d. 1329), is mentioned on 2a. Colophon on 163a indicates that this autograph copy was completed in 729/1328–9 in Tabriz in the madrasa al-Sadr. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 163a. (PLATE 23)
 105. Ayasofya 2971 [= 202 {15} or 202 {15–16}]. ‘Atufi’s title on 1a, *Kitābu aqālīmi al-arḍi ‘alā al-mamālīki al-islāmiyyati fī al-tawārīkhi*, matches two consecutive entries in the inventory, where the discipline of the book is not indicated. Note that he categorizes this book as well as some similar ones in “history,” while they are ordinarily considered as works of geography by modern scholars and librarians. See essay and list by Pınar Emiralioglu. No colophon. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a.
 106. Ayasofya 2984 [= 251 {9–10}]. *Kitābu anīsi al-qulūbi fī qaṣaṣi al-anbiyā’i wa-ghayrihim*. For this work by Qāḍī Burhān al-Dīn Abū Naṣr ibn Maṣṣūr al-Anawī (d. 1211–12) and for this manuscript, see Cailah Jackson, “An Illuminated Manuscript of Early Fourteenth-Century Konya? Anīs al-Qulūb (MS Ayasofya 2984, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul),” *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 8 (2017): 85–122. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 428b.
 107. Ayasofya 2990 [= 180 {17} or 181 {14}]. The title on 1a, *Kitābu bahjati al-tawārīkhi*, describes the Persian chronicle of Şükrullāh bin Aḥmed (d. after 1464), of which there are four more copies in the inventory. The other entries are worded differently. Only one entry mentions the language

- of the text (180 {19}) but uses *fārisiyyun* instead of the inventory's conventional *bi-al-fārisiyyati*; in hindsight, 'Atufi seems to have realized that this could be confusing and thus added a marginal note to make sure that *fārisiyyun* (Persian) was understood to refer to the book and not to its historical content. Seal on 1a and 301b. See essay and list by Cornell Fleischer and Kaya Şahin.
108. Ayasofya 3032 [= 180 {5–6}]. *Qışsatu julūsi Sultān al-Salāṭīn Sultān Bāyezīd Khān -a'ānahu al-musta'ānu 'āla al-sarīri- bi-al-turkiyyati ma'a qışṣati abihi Sultān Meḥmed Khān -ṭāba tharāhu- bi-al-turkiyyati fi al-tawārīkhi*. This Turkish chronicle by Tursun Beg (d. after 1491) is better known as *Tārīḫ-i Ebū'l-Feth*, namely as a chronicle dedicated to the reign of Mehmed II, but 'Atufi emphasizes the fact that it includes the reign of Bayezid II. In fact, the inventory gives only the first half of the long title, without mentioning Mehmed II. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 180b. See essay above.
 109. Ayasofya 3195 [= 177 {5–6}]. The title on 1a, *Kitābu durji al-durari fi siyar Sayyid al-Bashar fi al-tawārīkhi*, is a perfect match with the entry in the inventory. Under this title is written by another hand: *mawlid-i nabi fārisī li-Sayyid Aşıl* [al-Din Abd al-Rahman al-Shirazi (d. 1478–79)]. Colophon on 454b indicates that the copy was completed in 886/1481–82. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 454b. While the inventory has only one entry for this work, there is another copy of it with the seal of Bayezid II (see below no. 113, MS Ayasofya 3895).
 110. Ayasofya 3461 [= 111 {12}]. The title on 1a, *Kitābu manāqibi al-Shaykh al-Kāzarūnī min qibali al-taşawwufi*, is the same as the one in the inventory. Colophon on 212b indicates that it was completed in 829/1425–26 in Mashhad. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 213b. This work is now identified as the vita of Ahmad al-Rifa'i (d. 1182), titled *Shifā' al-askām*. 'Atufi may have been confused by the fact that the author is a certain Ibrahim b. Muhammad b. Ibrahim al-Bakri al-Kazaruni.
 111. Ayasofya 3702 [= 169 {3}]. The title given by 'Atufi on 1a, *Kitābu al-ḥashā'ishi li-Dīsqūrīdus*, is expanded in the inventory into *Kitābu al-ḥashā'ishi li-Dīsqūrīdus wa-huwa khamsu maqālātīn fi al-ṭibbi*. It is the first of three titles listed for that book in the inventory; this one and the next contain five chapters, while the third has only four. Date given on 1a is 818/1415–16. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 186b. See essay by Gülru Necipoğlu.
 112. Ayasofya 3857 [= 234 {7–8}]. The tripartite title on 1a, *Kitābun fi awwalīhi Khamsah-i Nizāmī wa-fi awṣaṭīhi rasā'ilu al-afāḍili wa-fi ākhirīhi ghazaliyyātu al-akābiri wa-rubā'īyyātuhum*, perfectly matches the one in the inventory. The current catalogue of the Süleymaniye Library identifies 42 separate entries in this compendium of Persian poetry, compiled in a volume of 752 folios in the form of a *saḫḫina* / *cönk*. No colophon or seal at the end. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a.
 113. Ayasofya 3895. *Kitābu durji al-durari fi siyar Sayyid al-Bashar fi al-tawārīkhi*. [=177 {5–6}]. By Aşıl ad-dīn 'Abdallāh bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shirāzī. Copied in 886/1481–82. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 454b. (See no. 109 above.)
 114. Ayasofya 3974 [not in the inventory]. Title given on 1b, not 'Atufi's hand: *Dīwān-i Mihri dukhteri Mawlānā Belā'i*. Arrived in the palace later than the compilation of the inventory; see essay above. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 76b.
 115. Ayasofya 4012. Title given by 'Atufi on 1a: *Risālatu fi makārimi al-naṣā'ihi ≈ Risālatun fi faḍā'ili ba'di al-aḥwālī bi-khaṭṭin gharībīn min qibali al-taşawwufi*. Second part of the title matches the entry in MS Török F. 59, 137 {18–19}. Is the first part an earlier attempt at titling that was not preferred? Here is a rare instance of a *butta* between the two titles on the manuscript itself. In the preferred version, the letters *alif-lām-alif* were first written after the word *faḍā'il* and then crossed over. Volume in the horizontal form of a *saḫḫina*, or *cönk*, has text in Uyghur and Arabic

- scripts. Colophon on 123a indicates that the copy was completed in 848/1444–45 in Samarkand. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 122b. See the essay and list by Ferenc Csirkés.
116. Ayasofya 4015 [= 219 {12–13}]. Title by ‘Atufi on 1a for this two-work volume on official correspondence, *Kitābu Rashīd al-Dīn fī al-tarassuli wa-kitābu Abī Bakr al-Qunawī fī al-tarassuli*, is the same as the one in the inventory. A shorter title on the flyleaf names only the first text. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 107b.
117. Ayasofya 4092 [the second text = 117 {18–19}]. Of this compendium of two texts, the first one seems to have arrived in the palace after the compilation of the inventory. Title given for this first work on 1a, not ‘Atufi’s hand: *Kitāb sharḥ Qaṣīda khamriyya*. While there are several copies of this work by al-Jami in the inventory, there is no precise match with any entry. Colophon on 82a indicates that the copy was completed in 909/1503–4 in Sofia by none other than the historian and refugee from Iran, Idris b. Hüsameddin el-Bidlisi (d. 1520). The second work is titled by ‘Atufi on 84a, where a seal of Bayezid II is also extant: *Risālatu al-Shaykh al-Rūmī al-ma’rūfī bi-Aq Shams al-Dīn [Aḫṣemseddin] -ṭāba tharāhu- fī al-taṣawwufi*. The two texts were evidently bound together after 1504; they also feature different formats within the page. Who decided to bring these two texts together after one was already sealed and inventoried (and possibly bound)? Seal of Bayezid II on 84a and 147b. (PLATE 26 [1–2])
118. Ayasofya 4138 [= 220 {8}]. The title given by ‘Atufi on 1a, *‘Arā’isu al-khawāṭiri fī al-makātibi wa-al-inshā’i*, matches the one in the inventory. A longer title under it, and in red ink, identifies this work by Rashid al-Din Watwat (d. 1177) on epistolography as: *Hādḥā kitāb ‘Arā’is al-khawāṭir wa-naḡā’is al-nawādir fī al-inshā’*. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 108b.
119. Ayasofya 4210 [= 248 {5}]. Title given on 1a (by ‘Atufi?) is simply: *Kitābu Jamālī*. The manuscript contains eight texts by Jamal al-Din Muhammad al-Ardistani al-Dihlivi (d. 1474). The closest entry in the inventory is *Kitābu kullīyyāt-i Jamālī*. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 434b.
120. Ayasofya 4304 [= 141 {4}]. Title on 1a, not ‘Atufi’s hand, and in a monumental script, *Muntakhabun min Kitābi jāwidān-khirad fī al-naṣā’ihī*, perfectly matches an entry in the inventory. A style attempted in the earlier stages of the inventory’s compilation, or inherited from earlier practice, and abandoned in favor of a more practical approach? Colophon on 28a indicates that it was completed by Yusuf b. Yahya al-Mashhadi in 713/1313–14. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 28a.
121. Ayasofya 4317 [= 232 {10}]. Title on 1a, *Kitābu manṭiqi al-ṭayr li-l-‘Atṭār*, matches an entry in the inventory, but is not ‘Atufi’s hand, and indicates the script as well as the number of lines per page, as is the practice of another (later?) librarian. According to the colophon on 163b, the copy was completed in 860/1455–56 by Muhammad b. Mahmud al-Harawi. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 163b.
122. Ayasofya 4336 [= 219 {3}]. ‘Atufi on flyleaf-2a has the same title as in the inventory: *Nafā’isu al-kalāmi fī al-tarassuli*. Flyleaf-1a has the very same title, with an indication of the number of lines per page. Colophon on 126b indicates that it was completed in 871/1466–67. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 126b. For this work by Razi al-Din Ahmad ibn Mahmud Samarqandi, see list by Christopher Markiewicz.
123. Ayasofya 4749 [possibly = 296 {2} and/or {3–8}]. This multilingual compendium is described in detail in the inventory, while the manuscript has on 1a (not by ‘Atufi): *Lughat-i fārisī ‘arabī wa-rūmī wa-sarfī* and *Lughat-i alsīna-i arba’a*. ‘Atufi-style titles are given at the beginning of individual texts, but there is no precise match with the inventory. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 101b. For a full discussion, see essay and list by Ferenc Csirkés and essay by Gülru Necipoğlu.
124. Ayasofya 4757 [= 264 {18}–265 {1}]. The long title given by ‘Atufi on 1a, *Risālatun bi-al-lughati al-mughūliyyati al-manẓūmati wa-al-khaṭṭi al-mughūlī min qibali al-naṣā’ihī wa-Kitābu makhzani*

al-asrāri bi-al-lughati al-mughūliyyati wa-al-khaṭṭi al-mughūlī kullun minhumā muḥashshan bi-al-turkiyyati, matches perfectly the entry in the inventory. On the manuscript page, there is also the word *majmū'a* before the title. Colophon on 81a indicates that it was completed in 884/1479–80 by Shaykh-zāda Abd ar-Razzaq Bakhshi in Istanbul. Seal of Bayezid II on 88b. For a full discussion, see essay and list by Ferenc Csirkés. (PLATE 27 [1–2])

125. Ayasofya 4795 [= 37 {4–12}]. On 2a, 'Atufi lists the titles of this multi-text volume as: *Kitābu tarjamatu Ḥiṣnīn ḥaṣīnīn bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-ḥadīthi wa-Kitābu nathri al-la'ālī min kalāmi Ḥaḍrat 'Alī -raḍīya Allāhu 'anhu- wa-Kitābu muntakhabi Khulāṣati al-ḥaqā'iqi fī iṣtilāḥāti ahli al-ḥaqqi wa-Qaṣā'idu 'arabiyyatun wa-Risālatun fī al-rasmi al-'uthmānī fī al-muṣḥafi wa-Risālatun fī ma'rīfati Allāhi wa-ma'rīfati al-insāni li-l-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-'Arabī wa-Kitābu kanzi al-rumūzi fī al-taṣawwufi wa-Kitābu jāmi-jahān-numāy wa-Kitābu jāmasbnāma li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūṣī wa-Risālatu al-'arūḍi wa-Risālatun fī al-'arūḍi wa-Risālatu tarjamati Ṣad kalimah-i 'Alī -karrama Allāhu wajhahū- wa-Risālatu Ibn Sīnā fī aḥwālī al-qalbi wa-fī ḥādhihi al-majmū'ati rasā'ilu ghayru mā dhakarnā*, which corresponds perfectly to the one in the inventory, which adds *fī mujalladin wāḥidin*. In the current catalogue of SK, this is a compendium of fifty texts; 'Atufi names thirteen of them. Seal of Bayezid II on 3a and 482b. (PLATE 28 [1–2])
126. Ayasofya 4798 [= 136 {12–14}]. 'Atufi's title of this two-work volume on 1b, *Kitābun yaḥtawī 'alā kalāmi al-Shaykh Abī 'Abd Allāh al-Qurashī al-Hāshimī wa-Kitābu al-irshādi wa-al-taṭr[īdi] fī faḍli dhikri wa-tilāwati kitābihi al-'azīzi wa-faḍli al-awliyā'i wa-al-nāsikīna wa-al-fuqarā'i wa-al-masākīni min qibali al-taṣawwufi*, is the same as the one in the inventory, where *fī mujalladin wāḥidin* is added later above the line. Colophon on 46b indicates that at least the first text was completed in 737/1336–37; the second piece is by al-Yafī'i (d. 1367). Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 137b.
127. Ayasofya 4804 [= 120 {15–18}]. The title on 1a, *Kitābu sharḥi al-Qaṣīdati al-mīmīyyati al-fāridiyyati al-mawsūmu bi-al-Lawāmi'i fī al-taṣawwufi wa-Risālatu al-lawā'ihi fī al-taṣawwufi wa-Risālatu sharḥi al-rubā'iyāti fī al-taṣawwufi wa-Kitābu naqdi al-nuṣūṣi fī sharḥi naqshi al-fuṣūṣi fī al-taṣawwufi*, is the same as the one in the inventory, which adds *fī mujalladin wāḥidin*. The current catalogue of the Süleymaniye Library lists only three of these four items. A variant title under the one on 1a, in tiny script, has the same four items. The list on flyleaf-2a, by the same hand as the one on 1a (?), has first included and then crossed through *Risālatu al-rubā'iyāti*, which is the item missing from the codex as we have it. Another instance of decisions made during binding and rebinding. Colophon on 215a gives the date of completion as 863/1458–59. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 215a.
128. Ayasofya 4837 [= 131 {17}–132 {3}]. This multi-text volume, with pieces in both Arabic and Persian, is titled by 'Atufi on 1a: *Kitābun fī lughāti al-Qur'āni wa-Risālatu sharḥi al-asmā'i al-ḥusnā wa-Risālatu al-hā'imī li-Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā fī al-taṣawwufi wa-Kitābu kashfi al-asrāri fī al-taṣawwufi wa-Kitābu awṣāfi al-ashrāfi fī al-taṣawwufi wa-Kitābu farā'ida manthūratin min maqālāti 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib -raḍīya Allāhu 'anhu- wa-Kitābu nathri al-la'ālī min kalimāti 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib -raḍīya Allāhu 'anhu- wa-Kitābun fī al-lughati wa-risālatun fī ādābi al-khaṭṭi wa-Kitābu qānūni al-sa'ādati fī ṣinā'ati al-muḥāsabāti*. This is a perfect match with the entry in the inventory, which adds *fī mujalladin wāḥidin*. The current catalogue of the Süleymaniye Library lists six of these eight items. Three folios between the seal on the flyleaf and 'Atufi's title on 1a must have been added later during the binding, with some additional text “from the *tafsīr* of Qurtubī” and “names of the *qurrā'* [“reciters,” known for their canonical readings of the Qur'an].” Seal of Bayezid II on flyleaf-2a.

129. Ayasofya 4857 [= 324 {6–7}]. Title given by ‘Atufi on 5b, *Majmū‘atun min kutubin awwaluhā mukhtaṣaru Firdawsī al-ḥikmātī wa-Fihā Kitābu al-tabṣirātī fī al-hay‘atī wa- ~ Fihā Risālatu ‘Alī bin ‘Isā fī al-uṣṭurlābi*, with *mukhtaṣaru* added later under the line, is the same as the one in the inventory, which neglects to add on this occasion that the three texts are part of the same volume. Pages added (during the binding?) between the flyleaf and 5b, with two short texts; the current catalogue of the Süleymaniye Library lists ten texts altogether. Colophon on 75a indicates that the copy was completed in 611/1214–15. Seal of Bayezid on 5a and 306b.
130. Ayasofya 4875 [= 134 {18}–135 {5}]. For this multi-text volume in the horizontal form of a *safīna*, or *cönk*, ‘Atufi lists the items on the flyleaf as: *Kitābun min kalimāti Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī -raḍīya Allāhu ‘anhu- wa-Kitābun fī al-maḥabbatī min qibālī al-taṣawwufī wa-Risālatun fī tafṣīlī al-qaḍā‘ī wa-al-qadari wa-Kitābu ishārātī al-Qur‘ānī fī ‘ilmi al-insānī fī al-taṣawwufī wa-Kitābu natā’ijī al-adhkārī wa-Kitābu tājī al-rasā’ilī wa-Kitābu al-‘abādilatī wa-Risālatu al-ifādātī li-l-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-‘Arabī fī al-taṣawwufī wa-Kitābu ‘uqlatī al-mustawfizi li-l-Shaykh ayḍan fī al-taṣawwufī wa-Risālatu al-amrī al-muḥkamī li-l-Shaykh ayḍan fī al-taṣawwufī wa-thamānu rasā’ila*. The inventory follows the same order and wording but merely adds *fī mujalladīn wāḥidīn*. Another title begins on the page facing the long title but stops in the middle after the words *Kitābun min kalimāti Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī -raḍīya Allāhu ‘anhu- wa-Kitābun fī al-maḥabbatī min qibālī al-taṣawwufī wa-Risālatun*. The current catalogue of the Süleymaniye Library lists twenty-one items in the volume. Some pieces have colophons with the date of completion given as 754/1352–53. Seal of Bayezid II on 1a and 247b.



Plate 1. HERAT NATIONAL ARCHIVE, HNA 107: Seal of Bayezid II on Farid al-Din 'Attar's *Tadhkiratu al-awliyā'i*. (Photo: courtesy of Claus-Peter Haase)



Plate 2. BURSA İNEBEY LIBRARY, Haraççı 193: Title page of the divan of Prince Cem with title by 'Atufi but no seal. (Photo: courtesy of Zeren Tanındı)

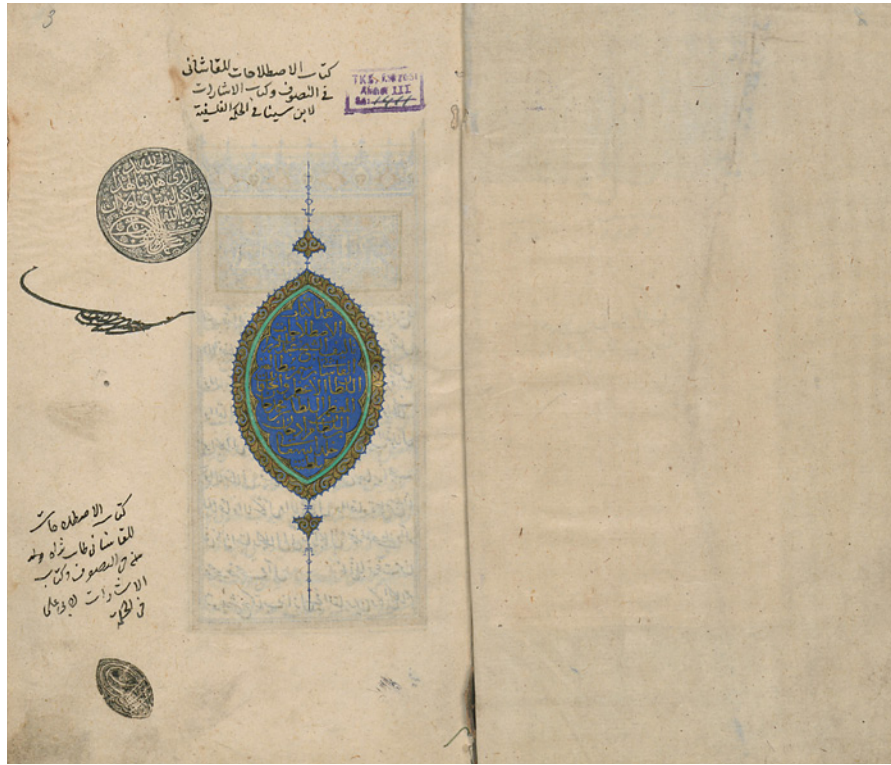


Plate 3. A. 1411: Two different attempts at a title. The diagonal one on the lower left looks like the first stab. For another example, see Appendix III by Gülru Necipoğlu. (Photo: courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Plate 4. A. 1735: Two different titles. One of them dated? (Photo: courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

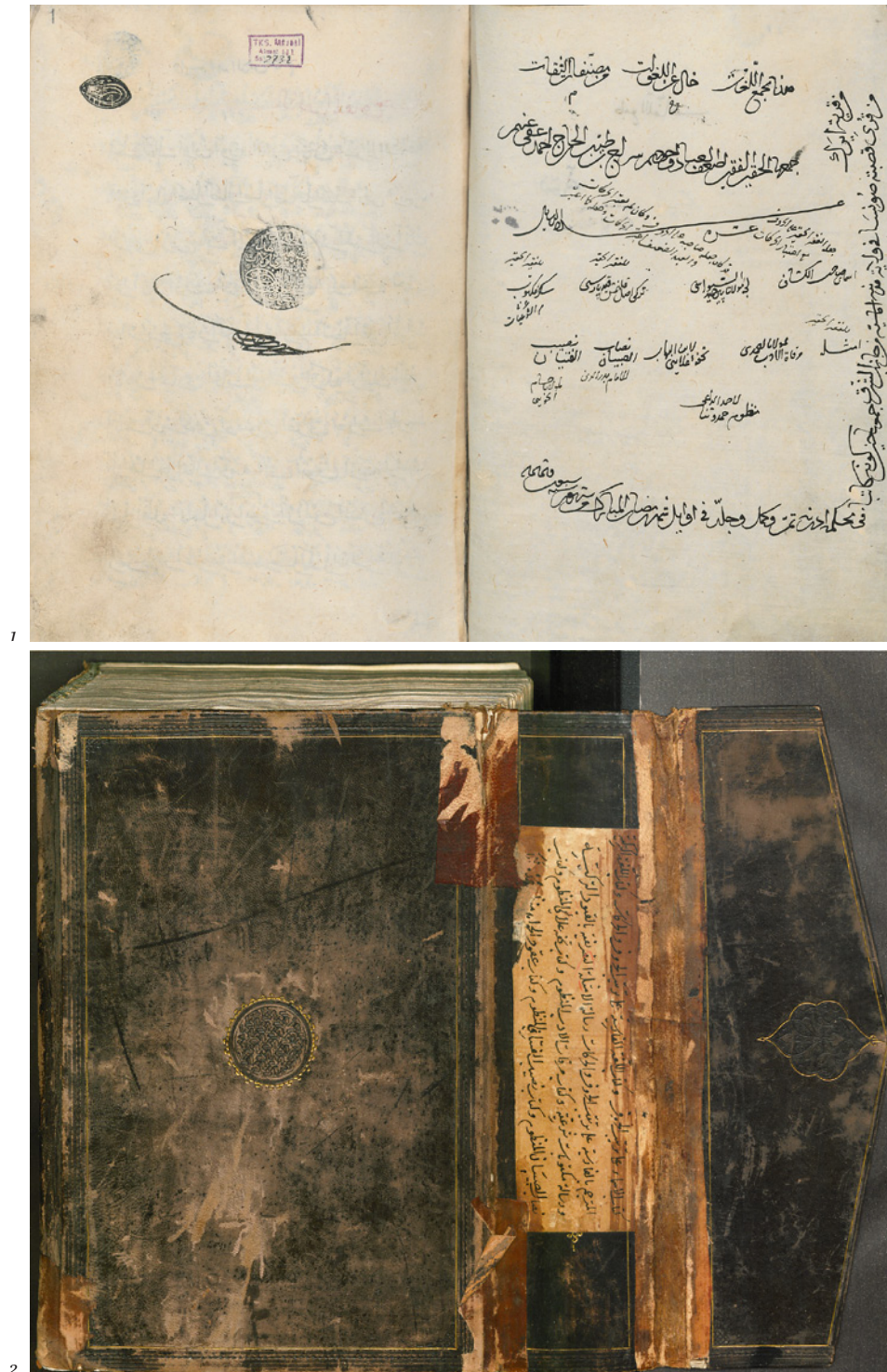


Plate 5 [1–2]. A. 2732: Full long list of the table of contents given on the sticky label of the binding, but no intervention on the opening pages, where a table of contents is provided, with less information on the various items. (Photo: courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Plate 6 [1–2]. A. 3372: Original (?) calligraphic title abbreviated by 'Atufi, who also indicated the discipline of the work. On 1a as well as the sticky label. (Photo: courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

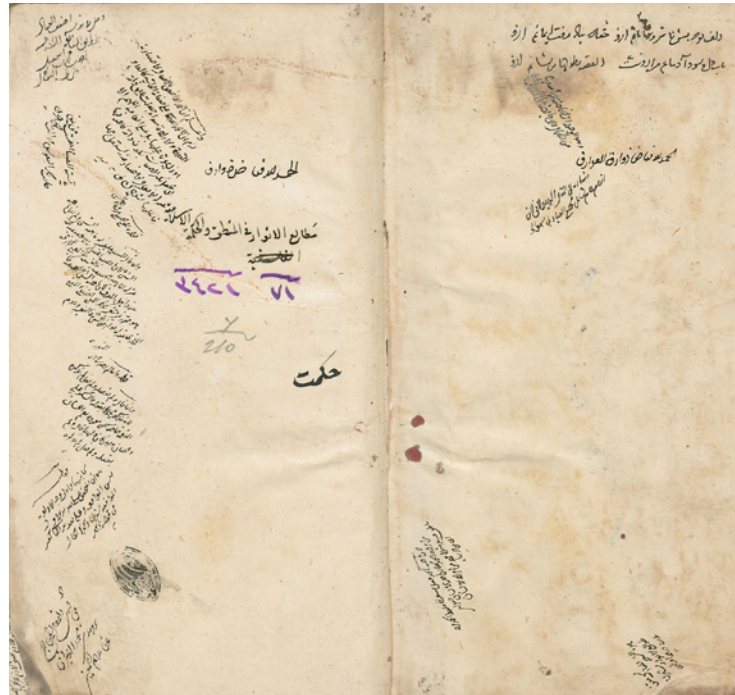


Plate 7. A. 3421: Title on 1a longer than the one on the sticky label, with *wa-al-hikmati al-islamiyyati* added for further clarification (or ambiguation) concerning the categorization of the work. (Photo: courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Plate 8. A. 3429: Unusual title by 'Atufi. (Photo: courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

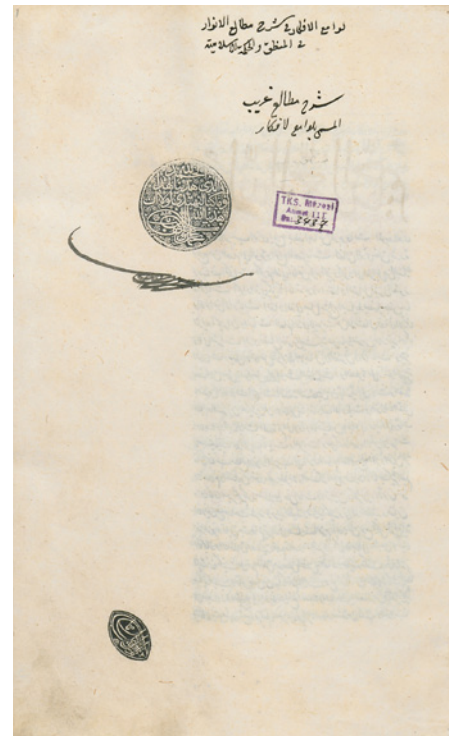


Plate 9. A. 3437: Two different attempts, by the same team if not by the same hand, at assigning a title. (Photo: courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Plate 10 [1–2]. H.1417 [001 and 002]: Seal and title on different folios; for least intervention on the two-page spread of illuminated roundels? (Photo: courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

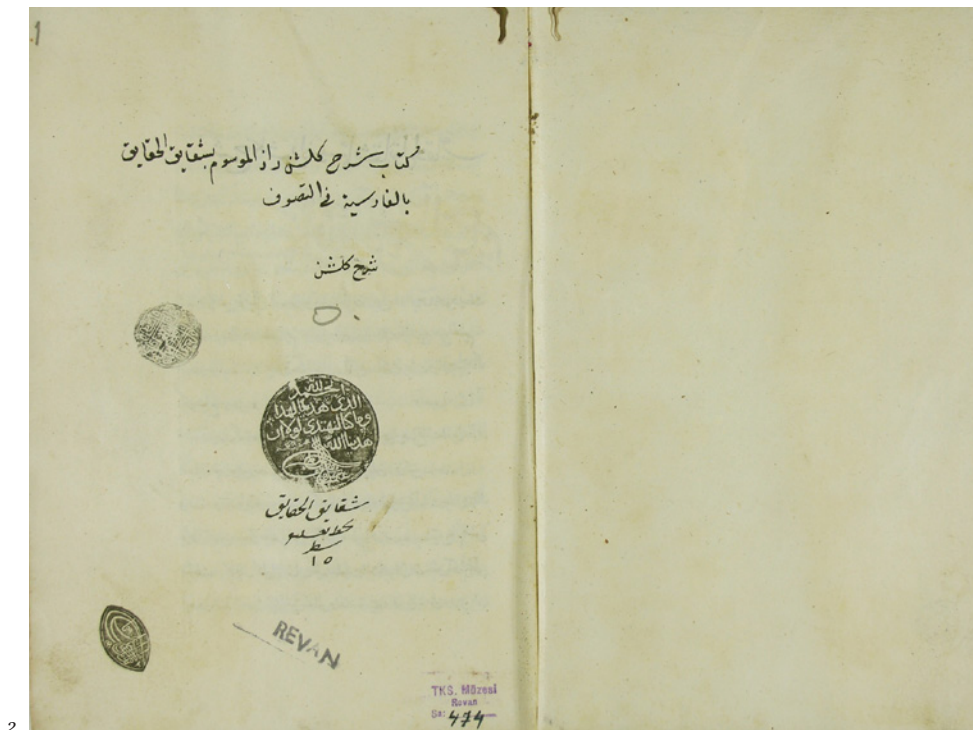
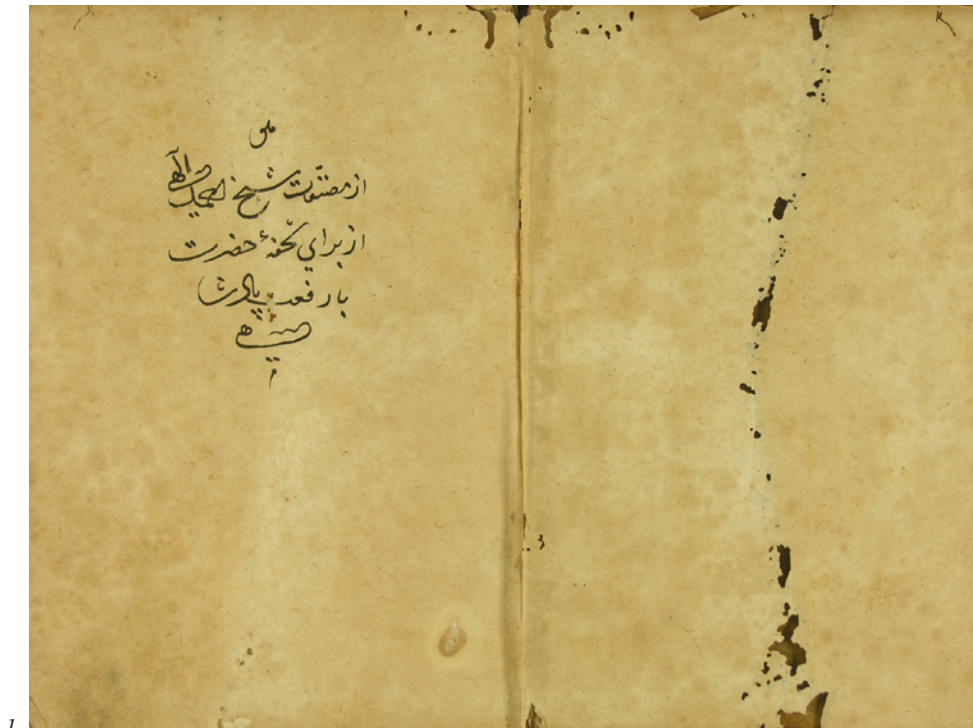
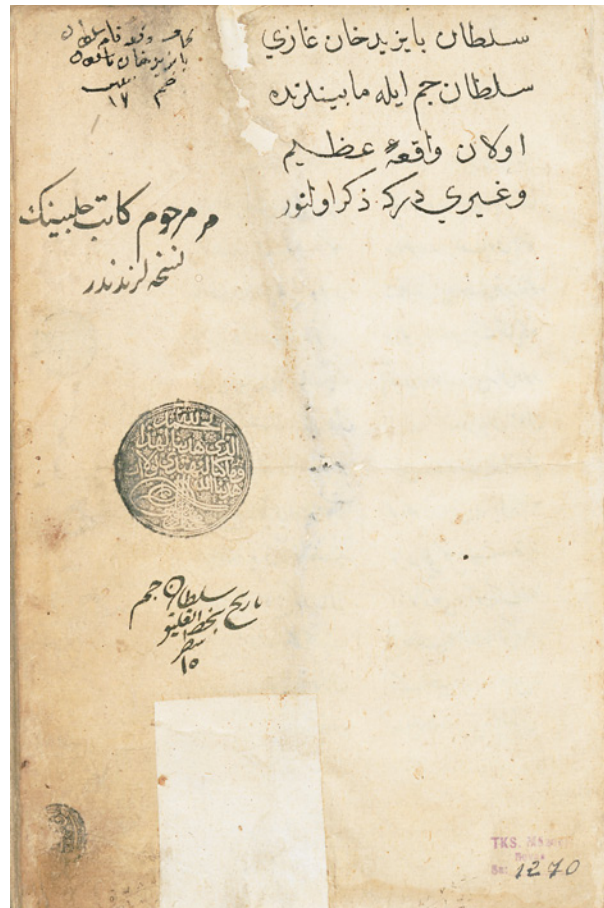


Plate 11 [1–3]. R. 474: Identified on flyleaf as presentation copy of the commentary on *Gulshan-i rāz* by Ahmed-i Ilahi, a Naqshbandi Sufi of the fifteenth century. Author's name not given in the title by 'Atufi on 1a or the sticky label. (Photo: courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Plate 11 [3]



→
Plate 12 [1-2]. R. 1270: History of Bayezid and Cem (by Behiştî); titles by different hands on the flyleaf, but not by 'Atufî. Note reference to Katip Çelebi (d. 1657) on the flyleaf, and to the events of 1622 on 62a. The last sentence of the text on 61b refers to the year 907/1501-2, but that is not a colophon. (Photo: courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

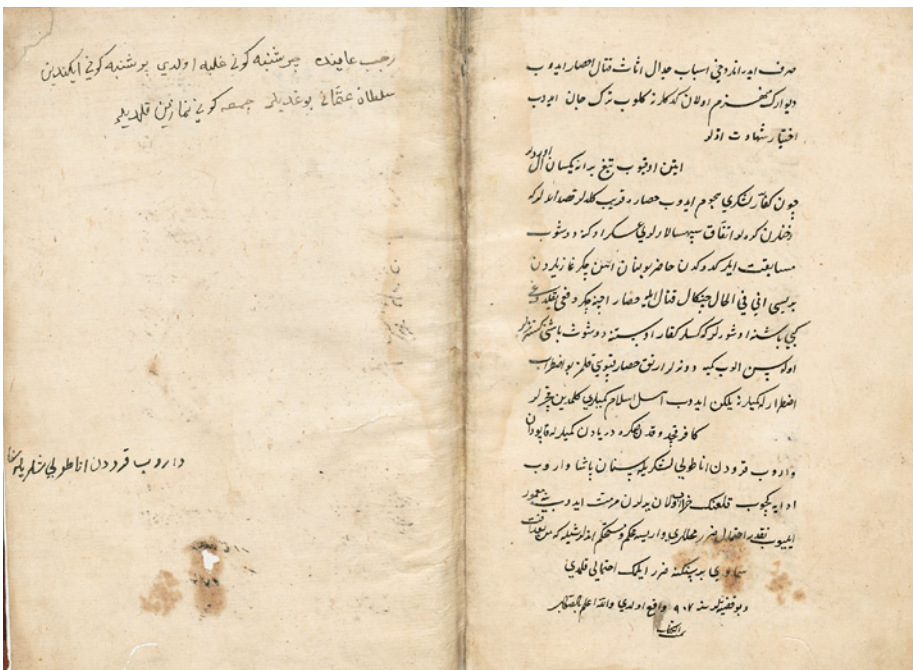


Plate 12 [2].

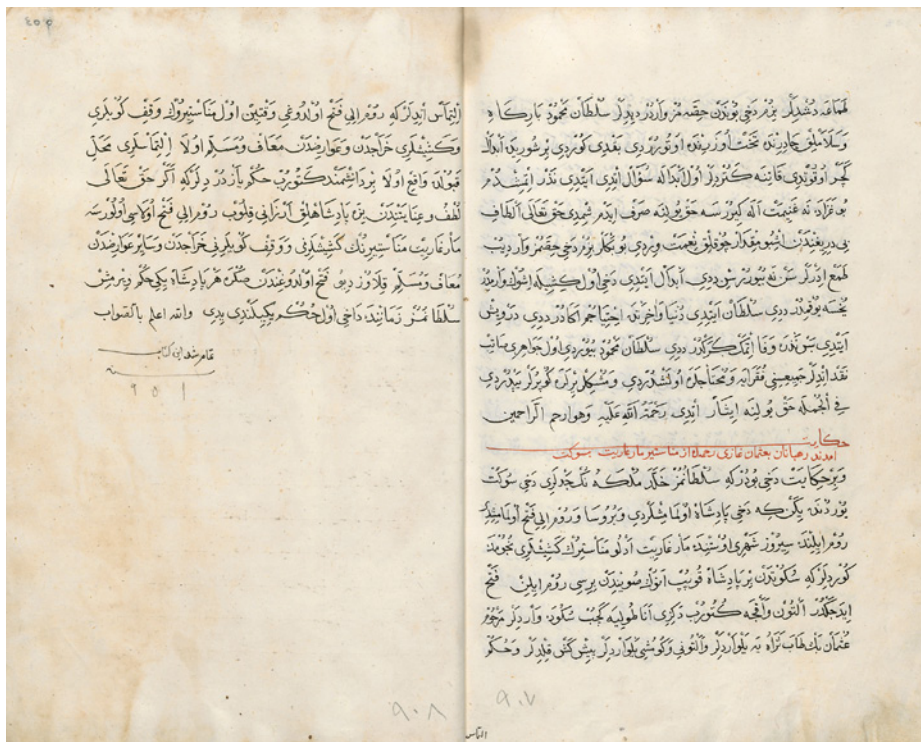
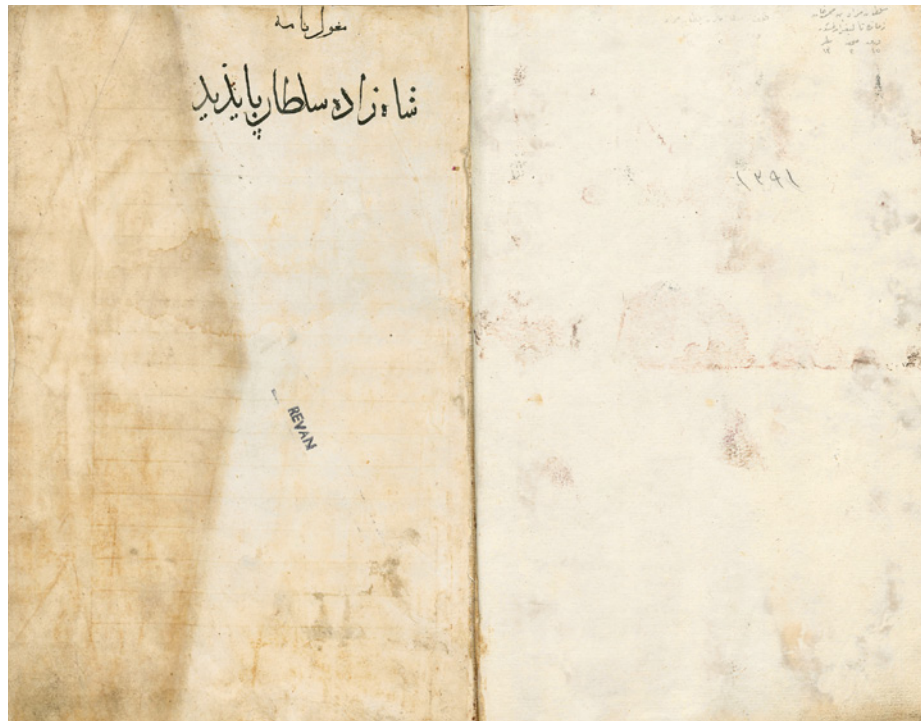


Plate 13 [1–2]. R. 1391 : Prince Bayezid b. Süleyman's (d. 1561) copy of Yazıcızade's *Ta'riḥ-i Āl-i Selçuḳ*. Note the use of the title *Mughūlnāme* for a book that starts with the Inner Asian history of the Oghuz Turks and neighbors. See essay above. Colophon on 455a gives completion date of 951/1544–45. (Photo: courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Plate 14. R. 1927: Three different titles on 1a for this Persian translation of the Gospels; the one by 'Atufi gives names of the four evangelists. (Photo: courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

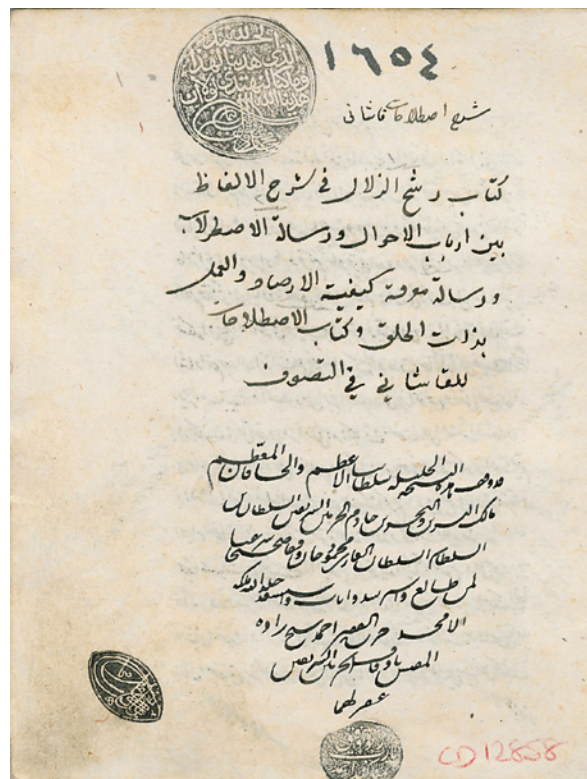


Plate 15. Ayasofya 1654. One long and one short (Persianizing?) title (by the same team?). (Photo: courtesy of Süleymaniye Library)

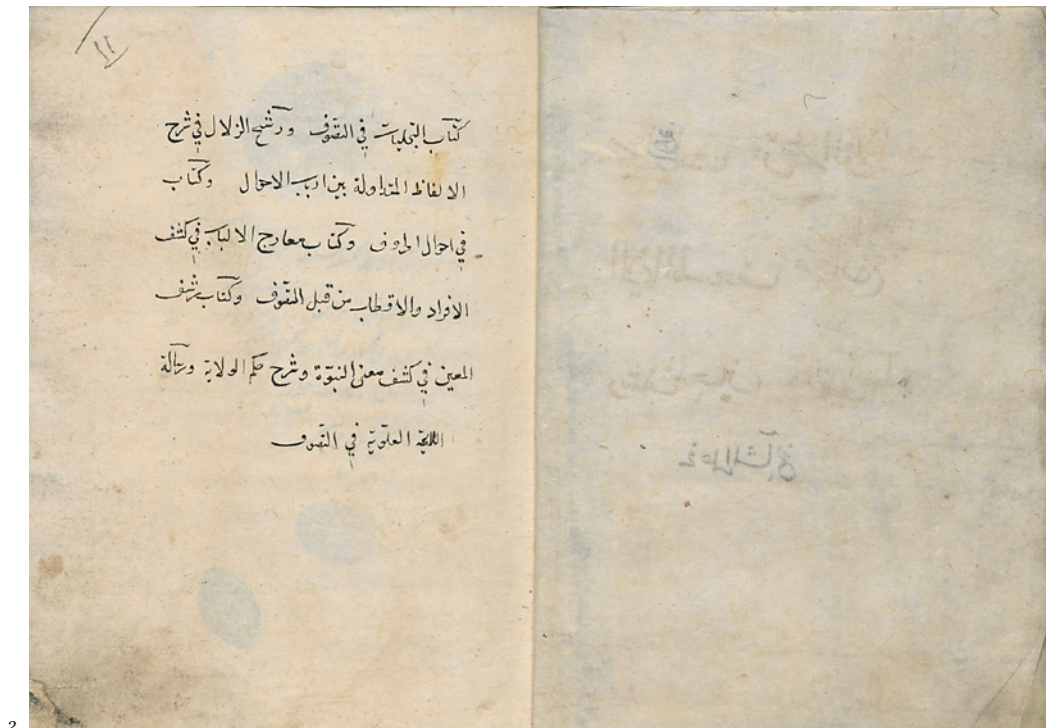
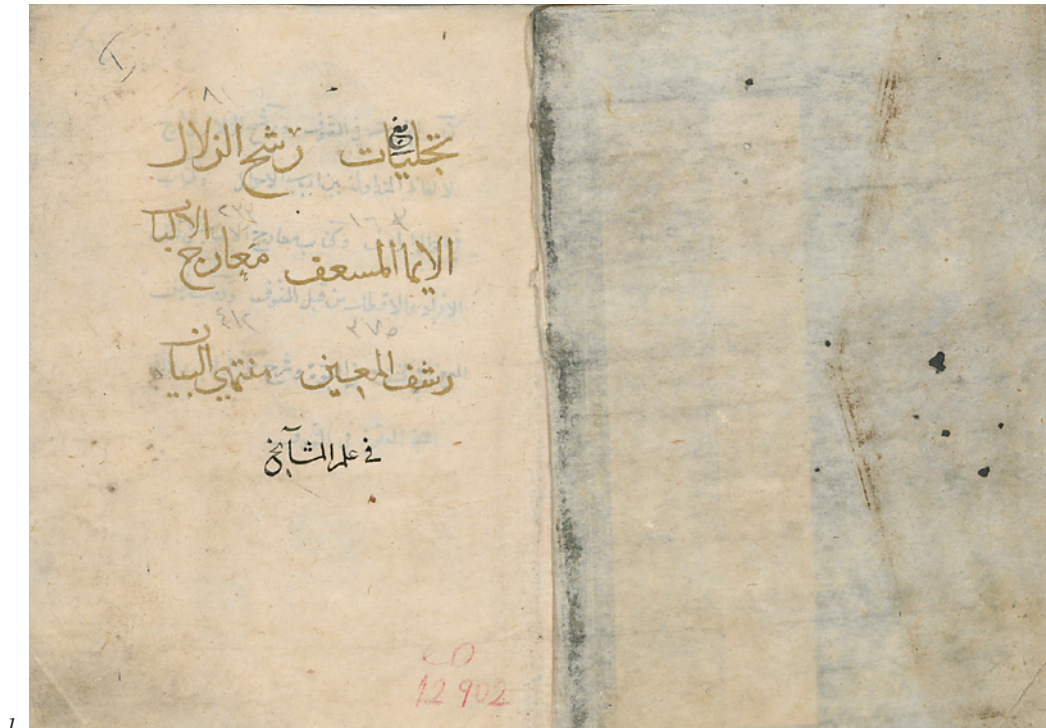


Plate 16 [1–2]. Ayasofya 1694. Merely the field (*fi ʿilmi al-mashāyikhi*) added to an earlier, gilded title first; more detailed table of contents on the next page. (Photo: courtesy of Süleymaniye Library)

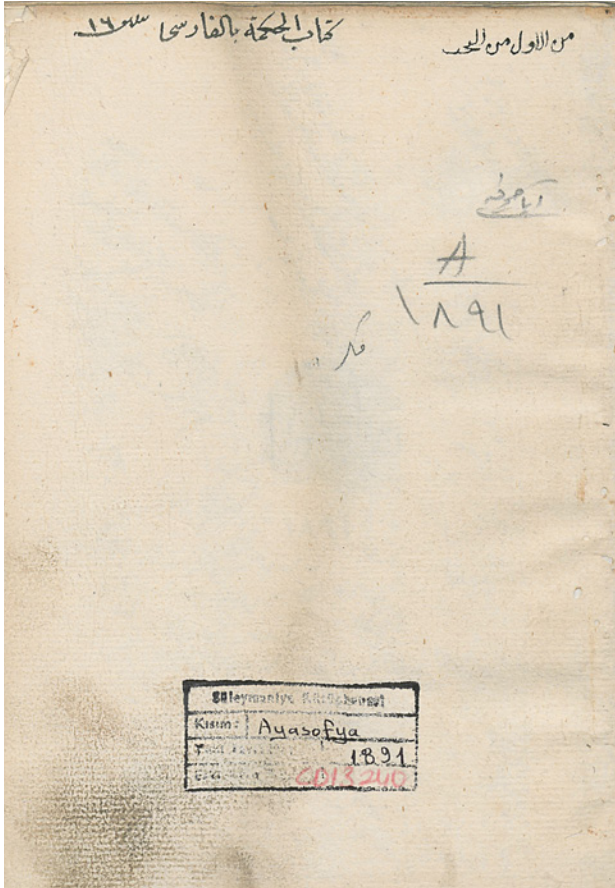


Plate 17 [1–2]. Ayasofya 1891: Title in the style of ‘Atufi on the flyleaf, but by another, later (?) librarian, who also gives the number of lines per page. Seal of Selim I(?) on 1a and 748a. (Photo: courtesy of Süleymaniye Library)



Plate 18. Ayasofya 1898: Labor of titling. First, emendation on earlier gilded title, then a new title in the style of the inventory. (Photo: courtesy of Süleymaniye Library)

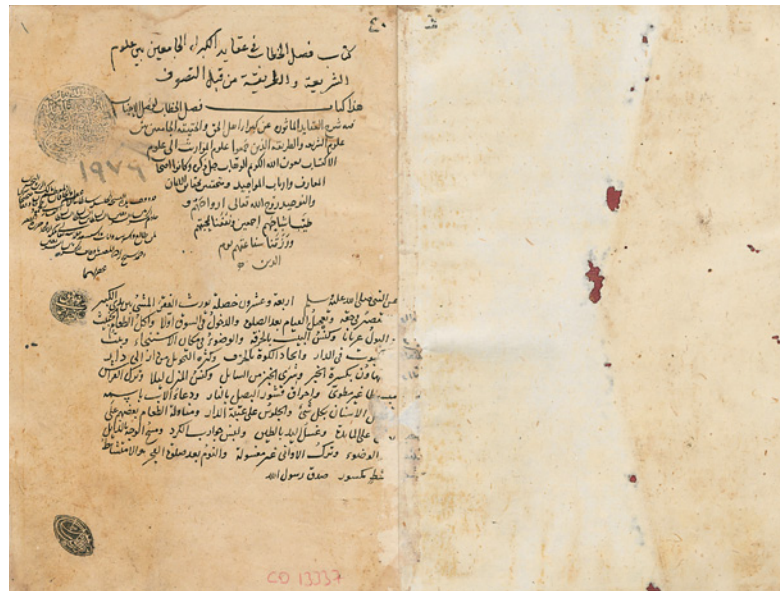
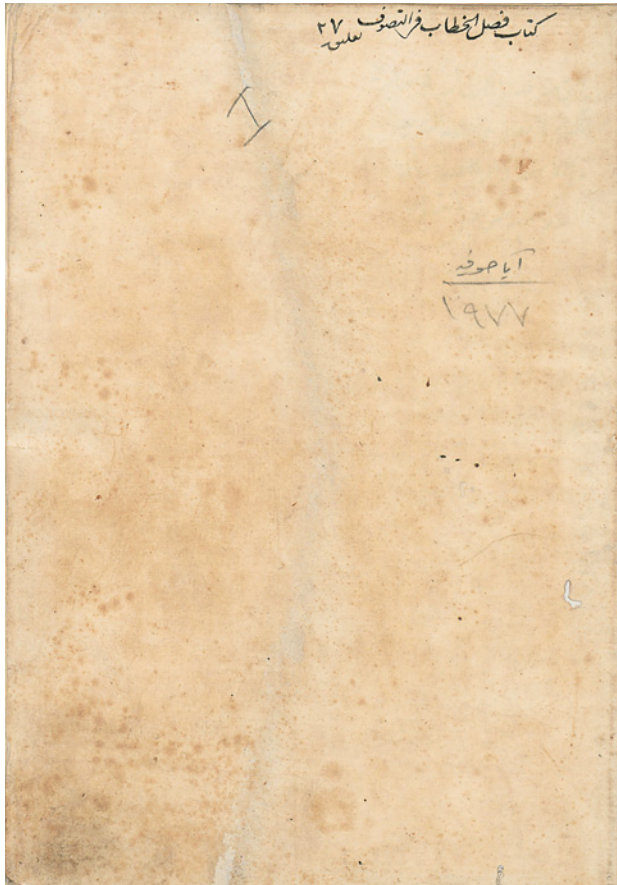
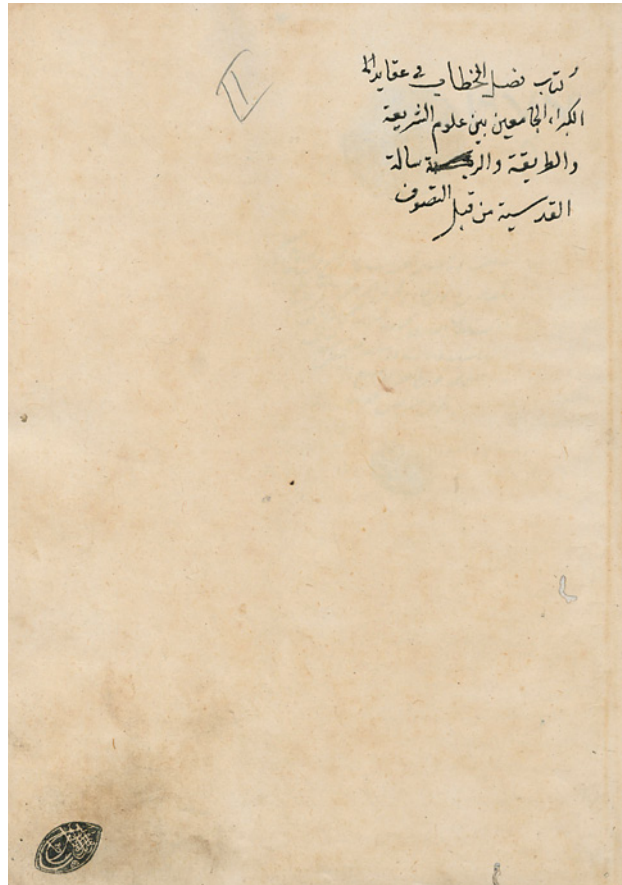


Plate 19. Ayasofya 1976: 'Atufi gives a shorter title on top of an earlier, longer one. (Photo: courtesy of Süleymaniye Library)



1



2

Plate 20 [1–2]. Ayasofya 1977: Two different titles on flyleaf 1 and 2. The second one by 'Atufi is longer and has signs of second thought; the (later?) one on the left is shorter and indicates script and number of lines per page. (Photo: courtesy of Süleymaniye Library)

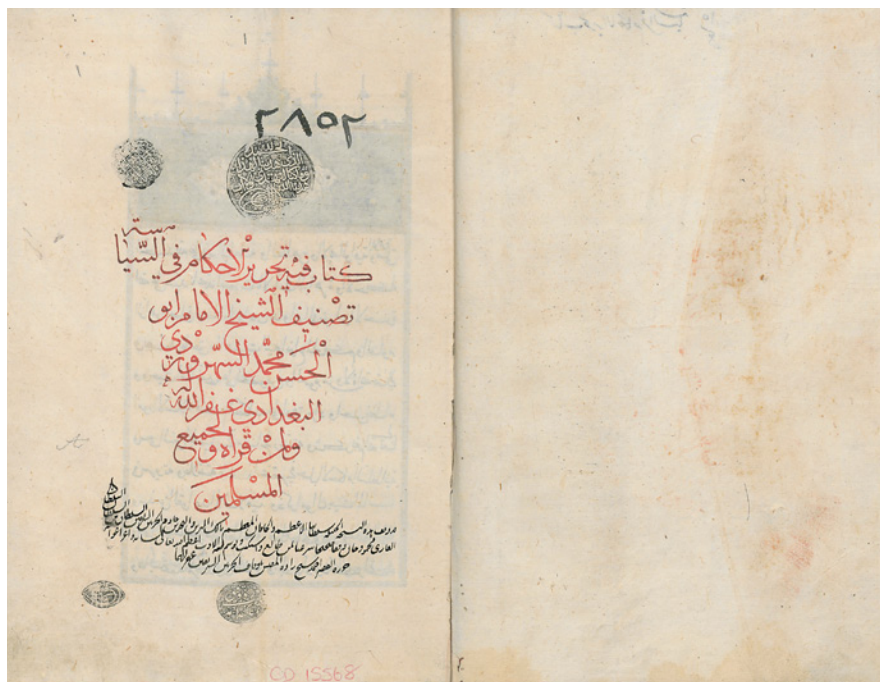


Plate 22 [1–2]. Ayasofya 2852: Long calligraphic title in red ink from the original manuscript and seal of Selim I on 1a, ‘Atufi-style title by later librarian on flyleaf, with indications of script and number of lines per page. (Photo: courtesy of Süleymaniye Library)

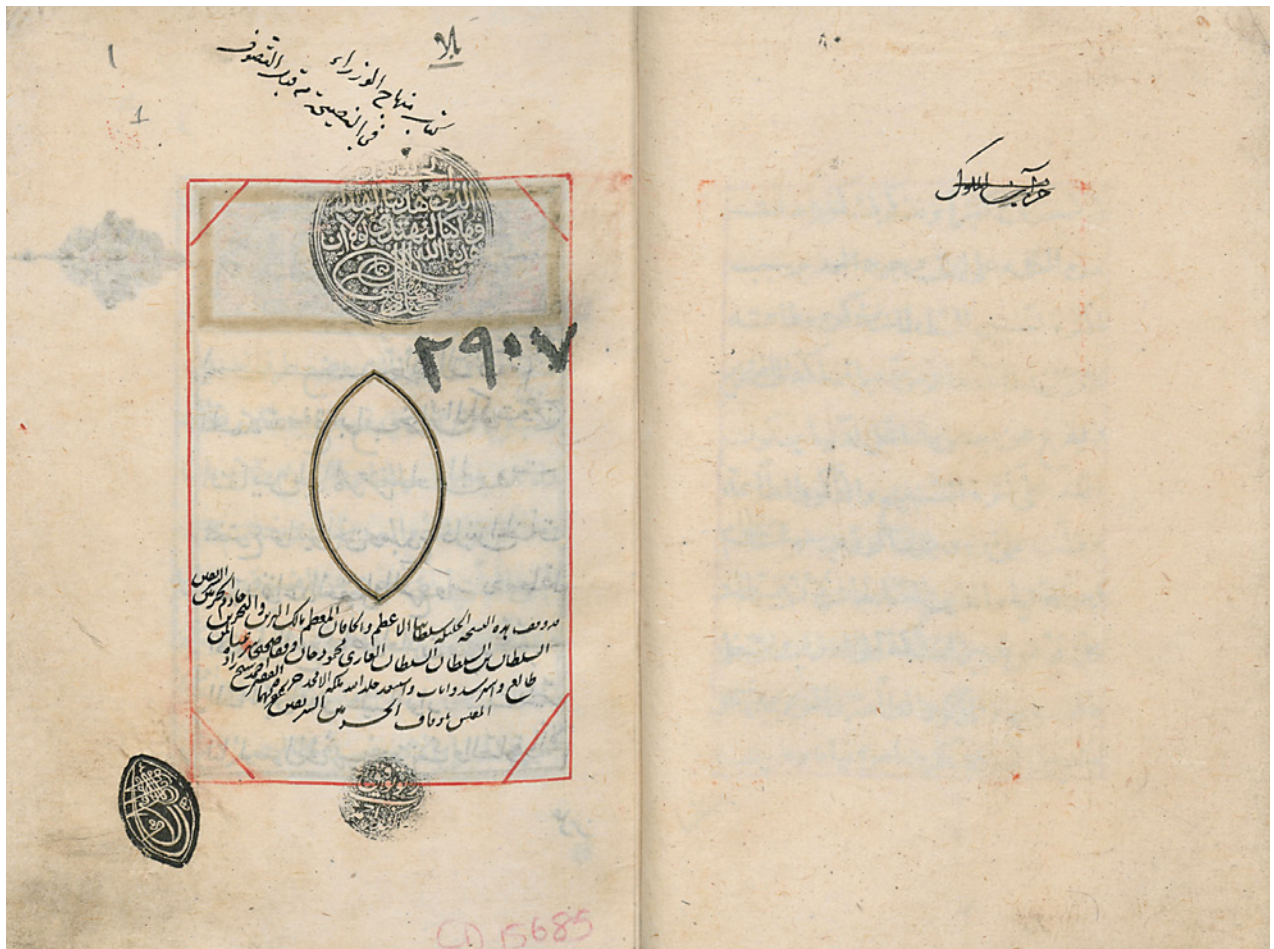


Plate 23. Ayasofya 2907: 'Atufi's title and seal of Bayezid II on 1a, another (earlier?) title on flyleaf crossed through. Almond-shaped frame on 1a left blank, because of uncertainty about patron? (Photo: courtesy of Süleymaniye Library)



Plate 24 [1–2]. Ayasofya 3099: *Kitāb-i Nasab-nāma-i Shaykh Şafī al-Dīn* is the title on the flyleaf by the (later?) librarian who gives the number of lines per page. On 1a, the words “*ḥaẓrat-i sultān sayyid*” are added before the name of the shaykh. Endowment seal and note of Mahmud I. No hand of ‘Atufi or seal of Bayezid II, but note signs of rebinding. See essay above. (Photo: courtesy of Süleymaniye Library)

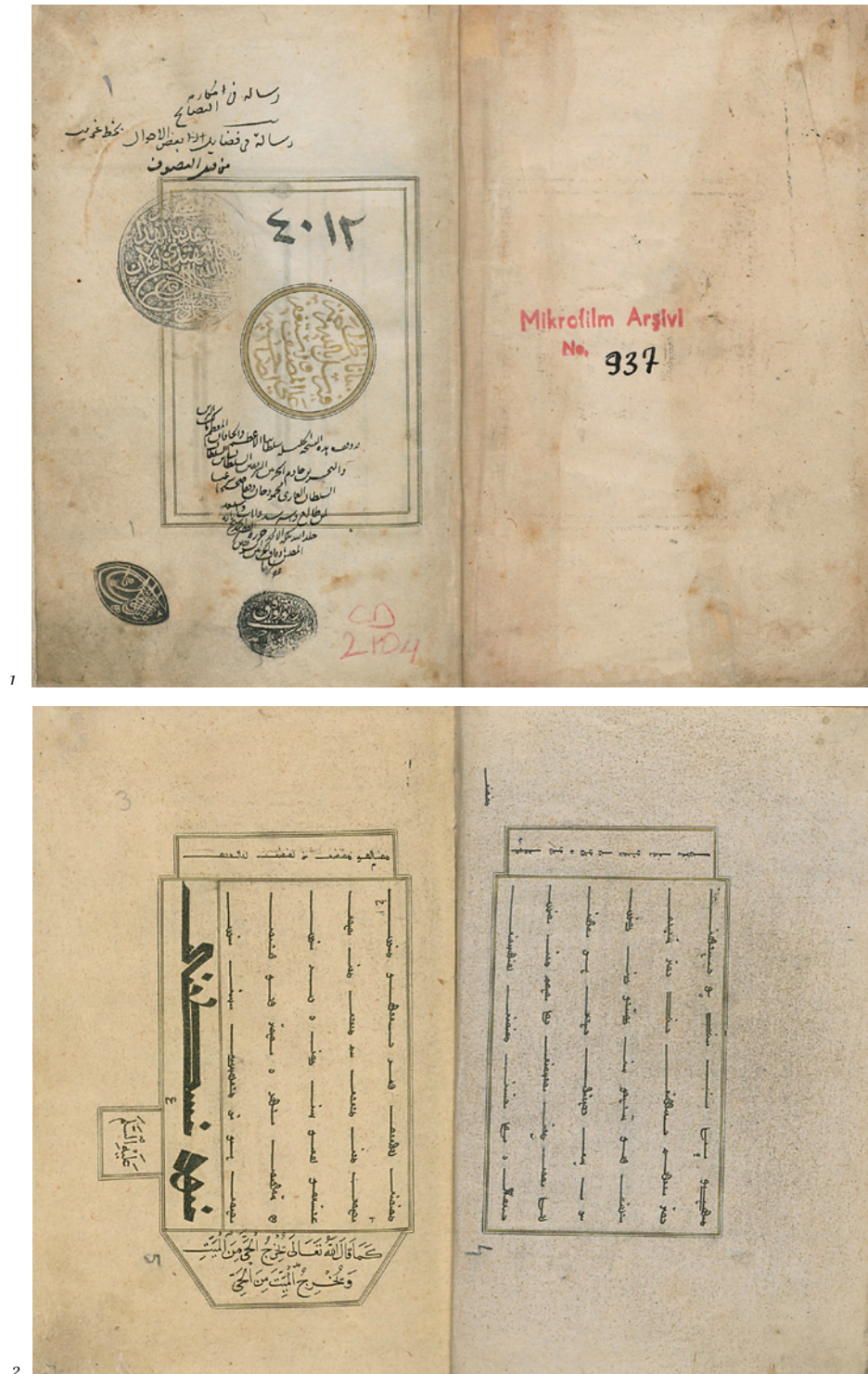


Plate 25 [1-2]. Ayasofya 4041: Text in mixed scripts, including Uyghur, described by 'Atufi as "strange (foreign?) writing" on 1a; signs of hesitation on title. See essay above. (Photo: courtesy of Süleymaniye Library)

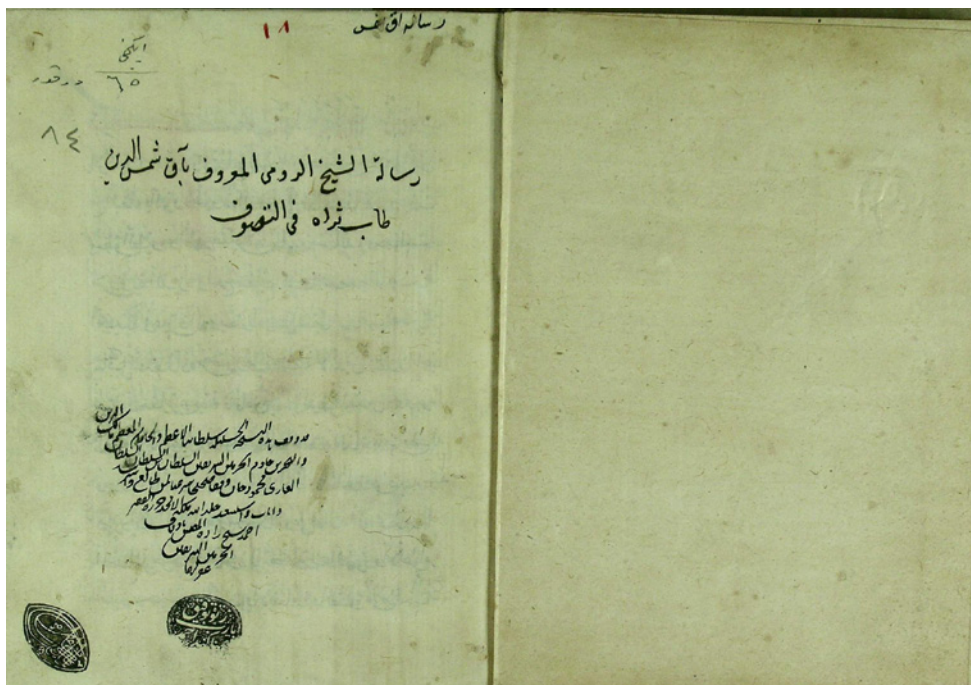


Plate 26 [1–2] Ayasofya 4092: Colophon of the work by Idris Bidlisi dated 909 on 82a; work by Akşemseddin starts on 84a with ‘Atufi’s title and seal of Bayezid II. (Photo: courtesy of Süleymaniye Library)

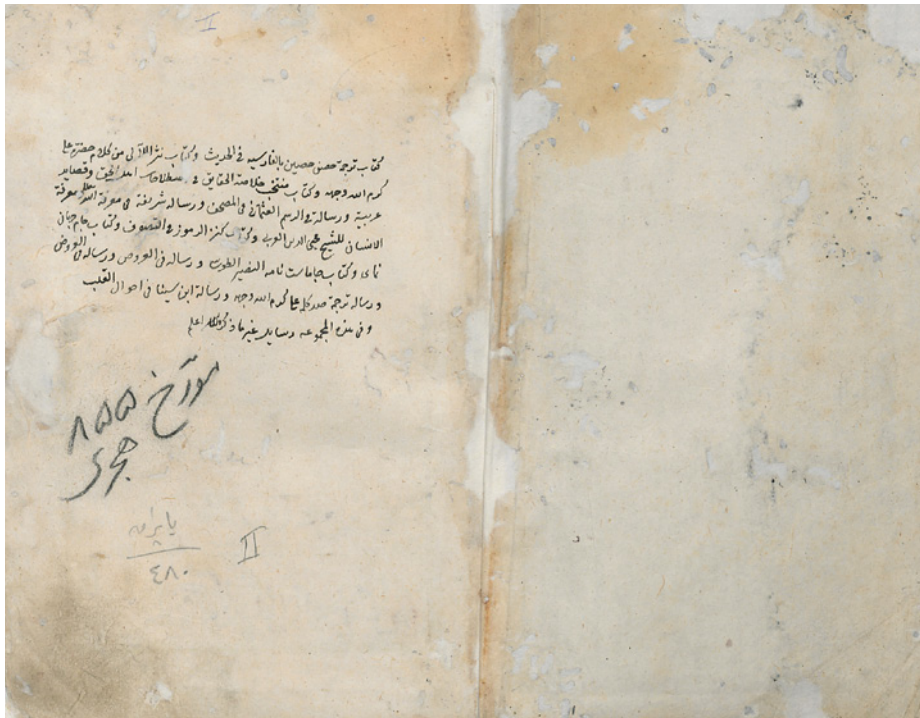


Plate 28 [1–2]. Ayasofya 4795: ‘Atufi’s long list of titles still falls short of the fifty that this multi-text volume contains. The image below is of the (original?) title page of the first work in the volume, with the name of the author, who receives laudatory epithets and prayers. (Photo: courtesy of Süleymaniye Library)

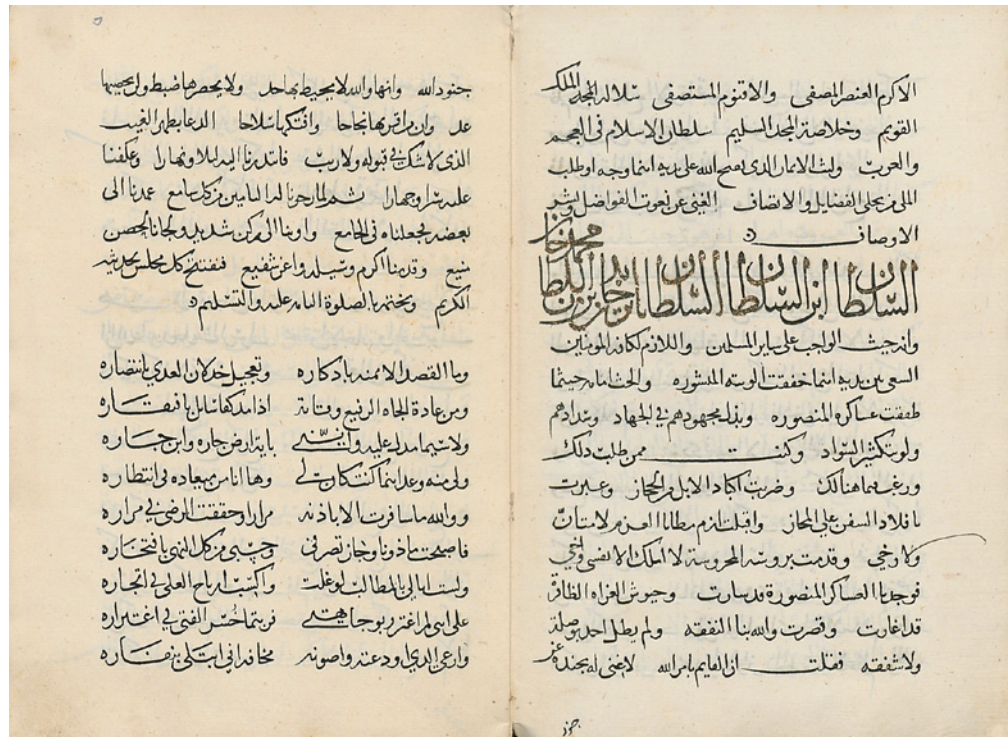
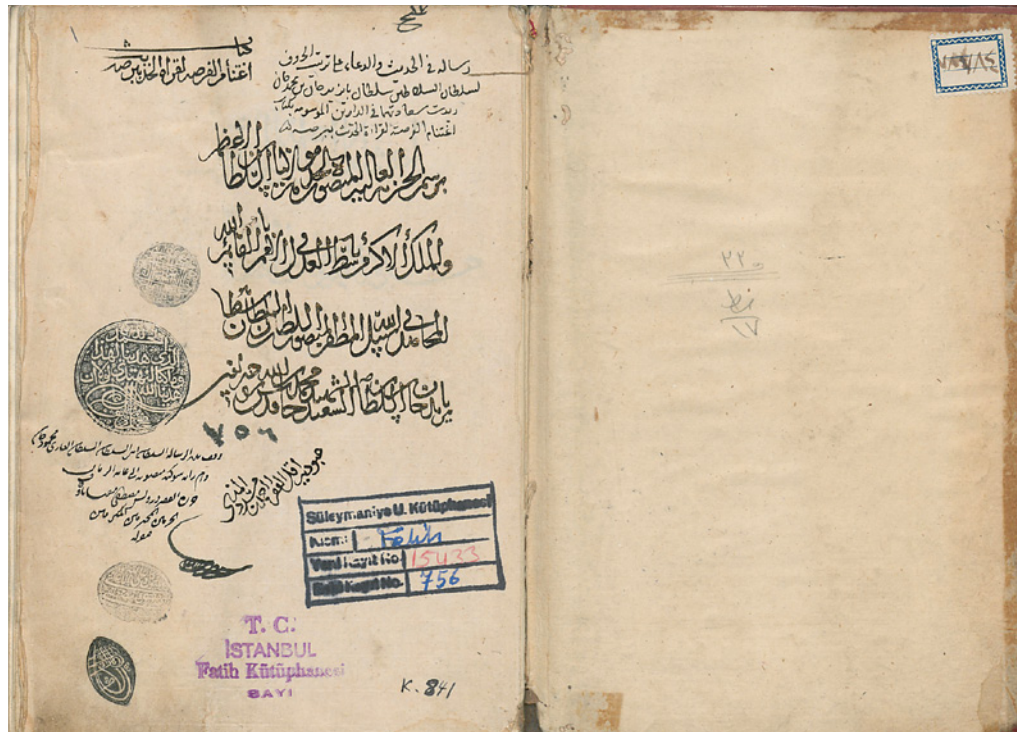


Plate 29 [1–2]. Fatih 756. Bayezid II is mentioned within 'Atufi's title on the upper right on 1a and, in gilded letters, on 5b. See essay above. (Photo: courtesy of Süleymaniye Library)



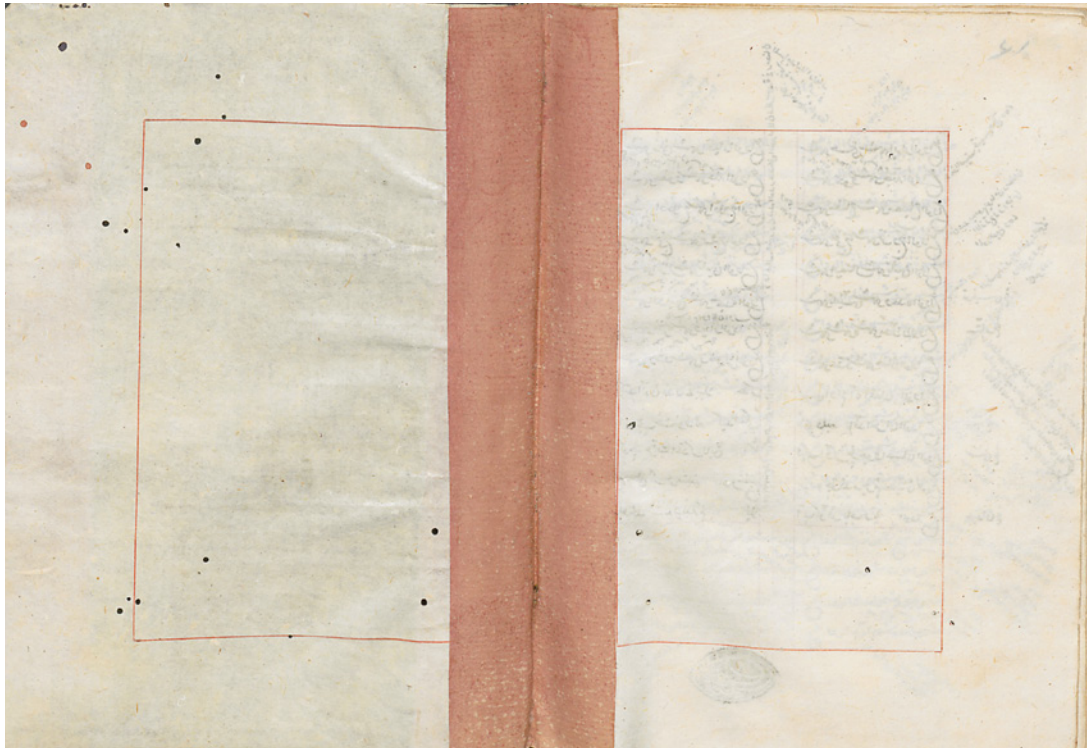
Plate 30. Fatih 2788: Page where the name of Shams [Tabrizi] is given with his initial only on both the illuminated roundel and on 'Atufi's title. (Photo: courtesy of Süleymaniye Library)



Plate 31. Fatih 4041: Original title merely "completed" by 'Atufi to conform to the style of the inventory. (Photo: courtesy of Süleymaniye Library)



3



4

Plate 32 [3-4].

LEARNING AND SOVEREIGNTY IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

‘Atufi’s inventory allows us to address important questions pertaining to Ottoman notions of time, history, writing, and reading. A point of singular value in the inventory is its temporality, situated almost precisely at the midpoint between the physical assertion of Empire with the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, and the appearance of a cultural, historiographical, linguistic, and legal canon, the efflorescence of which took its form from the middle of the sixteenth century. ‘Atufi gives us a snapshot, *in medias res*, of a project under construction and in process: the creation of a universalist imperial identity and culture genealogically identified with the House of Osman and historiographically associated with the notion of a “classical age” achieved under Süleyman the Lawgiver (r. 1520–66) at the hands of the likes of Taşköprizade (d. 1561), Celalzade Mustafa (d. 1567), ‘Aşık Çelebi (d. 1572), and Mustafa ‘Âli (d. 1600).

There are several corollaries to this proposition that deserve some emphasis, obvious though they might seem. The first is that the library is a construction, a product of conscious collection, selection, use, and deployment, as many contributions to this volume demonstrate, and not merely an inheritance at once random and a product of “tradition.” A second is that the library cannot be assumed to be directed, teleologically, to an endpoint in the late sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth century. Whatever developed into a distinctively “Ottoman” culture in the later sixteenth century was not merely an organic phenomenon implicit in the library of 1502–3; it was equally a construction shaped by the massive perturbations of the reign of Selim I (r. 1512–20), the struggles of his successor to secure dynastic legitimacy and supremacy over opponents internal as well as external, and the establishment of a human apparatus

that could seem, at least, to control vast territories formerly ruled by the suddenly vanished states of the Timurids, Mamluks, and Turkman Akkoyunlus. Third, and finally, we should not assume that the Anatolian-Rumelian-Eastern Mediterranean world of the fifteenth century was, *in nucleo*, roughly comparable to that of the sixteenth century post-1520 or, more properly, post-1550. Beginnings do not necessarily imply natural endings. This is why I prefer, in reference to the full-blown “Ottoman” order of the “classical age,” to term the era of the inventory “Ottomanizing,” in the sense that it represents an intermediate phase in the construction of a new formulation of dynastic legitimacy and its lineage, a new language (Ottoman Turkish), and a new genealogy of knowledge particular to the Ottoman lands and their dynastic inheritance.¹ But the project that seems to have ended in this fashion had its origins in a very different world, to which I would like to draw attention, underlining the differences between the very fluid world of the fifteenth century and the apparently more structured and stable one of the sixteenth.

The deeper background of the intellectual organization underlying ‘Atufi’s inventory, and its substantial difference from the context of the later sixteenth century and beyond, is best observed through a snapshot of the career and oeuvre of ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Bistami (1380–1454). A mystic (Bistami) and lettrist (*ahl al-ḥarf*), Bistami was a key figure in the formulation of Ottoman sovereignty as a gnostic project at the court of Murad II (r. 1421–44, 1446–51), and his innovative “classification of the sciences” in the form of a tree with roots, trunk, and branches was certainly one of the major sources for ‘Atufi’s organization of his own material, as demonstrated by positioning, next to one another, of particular sub-

branches of knowledge (see the essays by Gardiner, Markiewicz, Şahin/Fleischer, and Şen/Fleischer in this volume). Bistami's 400-page classification of the sciences (undertaken in response to a request from Murad II spurred by ill-intentioned questioning of Bistami's scholarly and spiritual rectitude), which places the science of letters (*ilm al-ḥurūf*) at both root and pinnacle of all forms of learning, served as an organizational foundation for the massive royal library as catalogued in 1502–3, a library that itself contained an array of Bistami's works, including autograph copies and volumes sealed or signed as belonging to Sultan Bayezid II.

An Antiochene scholar raised and educated in Mamluk Syria and Egypt, and a witness to Timur's catastrophic sack of Aleppo in 1400, Bistami spent most of his career as an author and teacher largely in the "Ottomanizing" territories of Rumelia and Anatolia over a period that saw the dismemberment of the first Ottoman attempt at empire in 1402; a hotly contested restoration of territorial integrity between 1413 and 1421; and expansion under Murad II, whose son, Mehmed, would conquer Constantinople in 1453 and so fully assert the universal imperial stature of the Ottoman house. Bistami spent roughly the last three decades of his life in Bursa, the intellectual and spiritual capital of the Ottoman principality.

Bistami began his "Roman" career by explicating those portions of the Bunian corpus (see the essays by Burak, Gardiner in this volume) dealing with branches of the science of letters and divine names, and teaching his rapidly expanding corpus on much of the vast body of sciences, occult and otherwise, that came into his purview. He was a member of the neo-Brethren of Purity of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, who revived, claimed, and adapted the Pythagorean Hermeticism of their tenth-century Basran eponyms, together with, in Bistami's case at least, much of their Greek terminology. These elite intellectuals, who inhabited a central Islamic world increasingly defined as such by Timurid cultural and political prestige, were supremely self-confident and shared a millennialist project to effect social and spiritual renovation by joining their own command of the sciences and gnostic cosmology to a political (read dynastic) cause they identified as messianic.² The transformation of the Ottoman Murad

II from regional march lord to universal emperor of Islam and representative of the millennial dynasty, made visible in Bistami's literary traces and enduring scholarly prestige well into the sixteenth century, represents the single, long-lived success of the Brethren project. The longevity and vitality of Bistami's influence in the formation of dynastic ideology is most strikingly apparent in the sixteenth century when his apocalyptic compendium, *Miftāḥ al-jifr al-jāmi* (Key to the Comprehensive Prognosticon), constituted the Urtext from which the image of Sultan Süleyman as messianic conqueror, Last World Emperor, Renewer of Religion, and *axis mundi* was hewn.³

In this context I must dwell briefly on the political dimension of Bistami and his Brethren's project to create a millennial society on the basis of a marriage between the new sciences (which aimed to mobilize ancient wisdom in new, historically conditioned contexts) cultivated by the scholarly generation of the Brethren, and new rulers and lineages identified and guided by the scholars. One (but only one) significant part of the answer to the question of why the Ottoman branch of the project should have survived while others (Timurids, Mamluks, Turkmans) did not, lies in the unique novelty of the Ottoman location in the West and in the mystique that Rum enjoyed, in old Muslim lands, as the location in which a new and thus "pure" Islam was being erected, free from the pollution of historical accretion. A second factor, presented schematically in the form of a tree depicting the organic relationship of the sciences to one another, is the centrality of sovereignty as a revealed category to Bistami's preoccupations as a scholar who was both insistent on the approach of a final, apocalyptic resolution of history, and keenly aware of the significance in this context of Mongol and Timurid destruction. Knowledge of politics or rule, *siyasa*, is one of the four branches of Metaphysics, be it royal or prophetic (and the scholars are the inheritors of the prophets), general, domestic, or personal. The tree is reproduced in the manuscripts of both Bistami's *Fawā'ih al-miskiyya fī al-fawātiḥ al-makkiya* (Scents of Ambergris on the Meccan Revelations) and *Naẓm al-sulūk fī musāmarat al-mulūk* (The Ordering of Paths for the Accompaniment of Kings), as well as in a unique autobiographical work, *Durrat tāj al-rasā'il* (Pearl in the Crown



Fig. 1. TKS A. 1597, 56b–57a, al-Bistami, *Naẓm al-sulūk fī musāmarrat al-mulūk*, autograph, stamped twice (beginning and end) with the seal of Bayezid II.

of Tractates, Nuruosmaniye Library 3905). Knowledge (*ma'rifa*) of sovereignty is almost invariably marked in red ink. Its significance, in Bistami's world of the early fifteenth century, is hard to miss and yet more difficult to ignore.⁴

It is noteworthy that Bistami's inclusion of Politics as a branch of Metaphysics—as well as his use of Greek terminology for the Propaedeutic arts—represents, without reference or citation, a direct appropriation of the scheme of the original Brethren, which is also to say that the Brethren of his own time, rather than their predecessors, were the Sunni Muslim objects of Bistami's address. His task, in substantial measure, was to establish pre-Islamic Hermeticism as having a rightful and

licit place in the genealogy of knowledge appropriate to the Sunni (in his own case, proudly Hanafi) Muslim context of his own age. For Bistami, the root and pinnacle of knowledge was Lettrism, or the Science of Letters and Names, the *'ilm al-ḥurūf wa al-asmā'*, which was parallel and equal in revelatory power to Sufism while differing in method. Even in his own time, the universality and “orthodoxy” of his project were not everywhere understood, despite the coda to his Tree of Sciences, citing Plato to the effect that there is no form of knowledge so bad that ignoring it is not worse than knowing it. He penned for Murad II or another “high personage” his summa, *Scents of Ambergris on the Meccan Revelations* (with clear reference to the *Meccan Revelations* of Ibn

al-ʿArabi) in 1440–41, itself a massive classification of sciences with Lettrism at its core. This was a response to the implicit accusations of those “who would impugn the repute of one who came to Rum as a visitor” (TSMK, Hazine 274, 13a). His spirited display of the breadth of his learning and right to be placed among the “Men of Learning of the Time” concludes with a heresiography that reviles—twice—Fazlullah of Astarabad (d. 1394) as one who has perverted Lettrism, just as there are would-be Sufis who use a reputation for spiritual accomplishment for their own carnal purposes but whose existence does not therefore discredit the truth of the particular Way.⁵ This convergence, four years before the celebrated Edirne incident that resulted in the immolation by fire of the Hurufi propagandist who had so intrigued Prince Mehmed, shows, if nothing else, that dynastic interest in Lettrism was not, as generally presented, an aberrant, one-off incident. Bistami’s problem—apparently solved by his writing for the dynast and son whom he served for more than a decade—was to make clear the distinction between true and false Lettrism.

The manuscript evidence from Bistami’s own lifetime in Bursa sheds light on the relationship and evolution of Bistami’s intellectual and political activities. Successive iterations of his work most directly concerned with history, time, chronography, and sovereignty—*The Ordering of Paths for the Accompaniment of Kings*—not only trace the history of the Islamic community in terms of dynastic succession, notable natural events, the ebb and flow of warfare with Christian powers, the Mongol and Timurid disasters of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the births and deaths of major scholars, mystics, and philosophers as well as kings; they also contain the first internally “Ottoman” references to early Ottoman conquests as significant moments in world history, history itself being considered as significant a form of revelation as scripture. This project would seem to be intimately related to the genesis of the other earliest Ottoman sources we possess: the “almanacs” (*taqwīm*) that emerge from 1420 onwards, which contain chronologies in reverse—usually from Creation to the present—that tie proximate dynastic history and the present day to a larger cosmic course.⁶ It is in these ephemeral productions that we can trace, in the use of titulature, the elevation of Murad II (and his lineage) from the status of regional chieftain to world-conquering eschatological

ruler able to challenge the claims to such status of his Timurid rival Shahrukh. Bistami’s notions of time, history, and scholarship were highly influential during his lifetime and beyond. They helped Ottoman literati reimagine their place, and the place of the Ottoman enterprise, within prophetic, dynastic, and, indeed, cosmic history.

In 1430–31, Bistami completed an initial version, in three chapters, of his *Naẓm al-sulūk fī musāmarat al-mulūk* (Süleymaniye Library [hereafter SK], Halet Efendi 311), his major meditation on the measurement of time, the course of history, and renewal of religion (*tajdid*). Copies of the work proliferated after 1453 with a finale clearly linking the conquest of Constantinople to the End of Days and attendant events. Both before (in 1428–29, SK, Ayasofya 3503) and after 1430–31 (in 1431–32, SK, Reisülküttab 721), he composed a projected fifth chapter to the *Naẓm* in the form of a chronology of major events in the life of the Muslim community since its inception: events prophetic and political, successions of dynasties, natural disasters, and deaths of scholars and saints as well as kings and, increasingly, the back-and-forth of conquest and retreat between Muslim and non-Muslim powers, especially but not exclusively in the context of the Crusader wars.

The first of these chronologies ends with a different disastrous watershed, the Mongol destruction of the Abbasid caliphate in 1258. The second carries the chronology down to Bistami’s present day in 1431–32, beginning with the Ilkhans (as Muslim sovereigns), including of course Timur’s 1400 sack of Aleppo, but also inserting the first internal references we possess, beyond Ahmedi, to Ottoman history and ascent to dynastic status. The year 1299–1300 witnessed not only the Ilkhanid-Mamluk confrontation in Syria but also, according to the autograph, “the conquest of Bilecik by the Ghazi Osman son of Ertugrul, the ancestor of the Ottoman line (Bani ‘Uthman). It was one of the fortresses of the land of Rum, conquered by al-Rashid in 190 [AH], then the Rum [Romans/Byzantines] retook it and it remained in their hands until ‘Uthman retook it in this year.” A marginal notation adds: “In the year 731 Urkhan bin ‘Uthman Ghazi conquered Izniq” (SK, Reisülküttab 721, 40a).

We have here, then, in Arabic, the earliest prose and non-epigraphic invocations of ghazi ideology from an

Ottomanizing source. These are only magnified and amplified in the Timurid-inspired chronographic sources represented by the *taqwīms*, in the composition of which, in Murad II's reign, Bistami was likely deeply involved in Bursa. Two of these bear his clear imprint in the form of dedicatory rosettes—dated 1439 and 1440 respectively—that are fully Mamluk in form, eschewing the more Seljuk style of titulature common to both earlier and later exemplars and relying on Mamluk forms natural to Bistami, which were utterly alien to “Ottoman” norms.⁷ The second of these is extraordinary in two respects. First, it follows Bistami's necrologies closely in detailing the deaths of saints and scholars along with the deaths of sultans. Secondly, after the necrology and in its dedication to the living ruler—in contrast to the carefully calibrated terminology used in the reverse chronology—this *taqwīm* elevates all rulers of the lineage back to Murad I to the status of “khan,” i.e., universal ruler. Five years later, yet another almanac of 1446 (Oxford Bodleian Hunt. 16) further claims the status of “Caliph of the Messenger of God among the Muslims” for Murad, along with clear signs of divine mandate that are elaborated in unusual and extravagant titulature (“Succoured by the Support of the Beneficent,” and yet more potently *Ṣāhib-qirān*, “Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction,” universal conqueror in the Timurid mold.

Suffice it to say that these assertions of Ottoman superiority and divine right continued to be made in the reigns of the Conqueror and his progeny. The question we are attempting to answer here is: when and where did these begin? The evidence presented above, and the convergence of the chronographic and historiographical activities of Bistami with the appearance of methodologically cognate materials and concerns in the chronological sections as well as texts of the Ottoman almanacs that begin to proliferate in the reign of Murad II, would suggest that the location is Bursa, the period roughly (but still fairly precisely) 1428–39. At this point, still close to the disaster of 1402, two decades from the Interregnum, with Murad II still asserting control over newly unified territories, the primary ideological target and rival for supremacy in an Islamic mode would have been the Timurid Shahrukh. It was his claims to emperorship of Islam, caliphate, and the status of Centennial Renewer to which Murad II's supporters, among them Bistami, would have been reacting. Timur had reminded

Ibn ʿUthman, in 1402, of his limited and regional status: Bayezid I's grandson would challenge Timur's son for at least equality of supreme status among Muslims in the apocalyptic/messianic idiom of the Timurid and Mamluk *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*—hence the direct connection between Metaphysics and Politics/Sovereignty.

It is equally noteworthy that by the end of the sixteenth century and beyond—despite Bistami's ongoing prestige evidenced by his inclusion in scholarly biographical dictionaries, multiple copies of his best-known works (*Naẓm*, *Fawāʾih*, and above all *Miftāḥ*), and even translations into Turkish (*Fawāʾih*, *Miftāḥ*)—the learning underlying Bistami's work was no longer largely understood. Even the translator/adaptor of the *Miftāḥ*, selected in 1597 for translation and sumptuous illumination, noted that he had been given the commission because of his excellent knowledge of Arabic; even so, he could not be certain of the accuracy of his translations because he did not understand the science underlying the original composition, and therefore had left Arabic expressions of “secrets” he could not comprehend in the original marked in red (TSMK, Bağdat 373). The Ottoman translator of Bistami's *Fawāʾih*, commissioned in the reign of Selim II (r. 1566–74), was either so aware of political sensitivity or so perturbed by the denunciations of Fazlullah because they might actually imply an ongoing “Hurufi” connection for the dynasty that he omitted them entirely from his rendition.⁸ Finally, from the late sixteenth century, scribes producing copies of the popular *Fawāʾih* or *Naẓm*, charged with reproducing, among other things, the Tree of Sciences, show themselves to have been largely flummoxed by the inclusion of Politics as a branch of Metaphysics, presumably because the inclusion made no sense to them. The subcategories of *siyasa* (prophetic, royal, general/public, domestic, individual, etc.) fade away, *siyāsa* is not even recognized, sometimes rendered as the more metaphysical-sounding *sāʾa* (The Hour), and sometimes reduced to unrecognizable scrawl. The later unrecognizability of the world of the fifteenth century is writ large, and tellingly so.

NOTES

Author's note: I must express profound gratitude to the friends and colleagues who have played a role in the gestation and pro-

duction of this essay, which, slight though it is, is meant as an address to the significance of 'Atufi's inventory as a whole, and so also to the virtue of our collaborative project, now with some of us for nearly a decade. Kaya Şahin and Tunç Şen, as ever in our acquaintance, have been there from beginning to end; their suggestions and editorial skills have been crucial to the production of a finished essay at a time when health-related events made the physical task of editing extremely difficult. Colin Heywood, trusted friend and companion in most that matters over four decades, at a late stage read acutely and commented yet more so, to excellent effect. At the earliest stages of this essay as in later ones, enthusiastic and informed discussion with Nikolay Antov, Abdurrahman Atçıl, Evrim Binbaş, Snjezana Buzov, Ferenc Csirkés, Noah Gardiner, Sooyong Kim, Mayte Green-Mercado, Christopher Markiewicz, Nühket Varlık, and Hüseyin Yılmaz always kept things moving in the right direction.

1. One very clear illustration of the cultural intermediacy of the document is found in 'Atufi's grappling with the issue not only of classifying but also rendering in Arabic script works written in a form of Turkish, of which there are a relatively small number as yet. Indeed, as Ferenc Csirkés very plausibly suggests, it may be the case that the inventory served a secondary function as a means of taking stock of such holdings at a time when interest in Turkish production was on the rise, and a mere two decades before an "Ottoman" form of written Turkish was fully launched as an imperial language of letters, as well as of diplomacy and administration. There was not yet, as of 1502–3, either a standard language or a single system for rendering Turkish in Arabic script, though as Csirkés notes, 'Atufi was aware of several methods. 'Atufi's own usage in his Ottoman introduction on principles of classification bears the imprint of his active grappling with the problem of how to render Arabic or Persian vocabulary in a linguistically Turkish context. It was not carelessness or sloppiness that led him to variant usages (for example, sometimes keeping, sometimes omitting a final hamza on *lhyā*), but rather his cognizance of multiple systems and, importantly, a keen awareness of the underlying morphology and grammar—*vide* his extensive discussion of the use or non-use of the Arabic definite article in the listing of book titles. Particularly striking in this regard are several instances of his giving multiple vocalizations to the same Arabic (or Perso-Arabic) word, indicating that he was aware of the original form: as a Turkish vocabulary item, it had a different vocalic structure (with a second prosthetic vowel added), and that it was to be read as Turkish and so the prosthetic vowel dropped with the addition of Persian *izafa* (9/11, *şifir/şifir*). The linguistic enterprise, like that of collection, was a serious and complex one.
2. See İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "İlk Dönem Osmanlı İlim ve Kültür Hayatında İhvanu's-Safâ ve Abdurrahmân Bistâmî," *Dîvân İlmi Araştırmalar Dergisi* 2 (1996): 229–40; Cornell H. Fleischer, "Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences: Prophecies at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth

Centuries," in *Falnama: The Book of Omens*, ed. Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2009), 231–43; İlker Evrim Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran: Sharaf al-Din 'Alī Yazdī and the Islamic Republic of Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "In Defense of Geomancy: Şaraf al-Dīn Yazdī Rebuts Ibn Ḥaldūn's Critique of the Occult Sciences," in *Islamicate Occultism: New Perspectives*, ed. Matthew Melvin-Koushki and Noah Gardiner, special double issue of *Arabica* 64, no. 3–4 (2017): 346–403; Veysel Kaya, "Abdurrahman Bistami'nin Bilimler Tasnifi," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 35 (2016): 187–216; Noah Gardiner, "The Occultist Encyclopedism of 'Abd al-Rahman al-Bistami," *Mamluk Studies Review* 20 (2017): 3–38.

3. Cornell H. Fleischer, "The Lawgiver as Messiah: The Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Süleyman," in *Soliman le magnifique et son temps*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris: La Documentation Française, 1992), 159–77.
4. A simple point of comparison that suggests the originality of Bistami's positioning of *siyāsa* (in all its forms) as a branch of Metaphysics is afforded by Nasir al-din Tusi's *Nasirean Ethics*, which of course formed the foundation of the later (and yet more temporally proximate) ethics treatises of Davani (d. 1502) and Kinalızade 'Alī Çelebi (d. 1572). In his Aristotelian (and Avicennan) classification of the branches of philosophy, Tusi places Metaphysics in the speculative sciences, while Politics belongs to the practical ones. Leaving aside the complexities of Tusi's understandings of imamate and how these were adapted in late fifteenth- and late sixteenth-century Sunni contexts, we may usefully note the striking differences in the placement of crucial forms of knowledge between Bistami (and the Fenarian circle to which he was firmly attached) in the early fifteenth century, on the one hand, and both earlier and later schemes (thirteenth century, sixteenth century) on the other.
5. Denis Gril, "Ésotérisme contre hérésie: 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Bistâmî, un représentant de la science des lettres à Bursa dans la première moitié du XVe siècle," in *Syncrétismes et hérésies dans L'Orient seljoukide et ottoman (XIV^e – XVIII^e siècle)*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris: Peeters, 2005), 183–98.
6. Ahmet Tunç Şen, "Astrology in the Service of the Empire: Knowledge, Prognostication, and Politics at the Ottoman Court, 1450s–1550s" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2016).
7. The former is Bibliothèque nationale de France, F Sup. Pers. 367; for the latter, see Nihal Atsız, *Osmanlı Tarihine Ait Takvimler* (Istanbul: Küçükaydın Matbaası, 1961).
8. On the Ottoman translation (from a primarily linguistic and bibliographical perspective), see Ömer Yağmur, "Abdurrahman El-Bistami ve XVI. Yüzyılda Yapılmış Bir İlimler Ansiklopedisi Tercümesi: Terceme-i Kitab-ı Fevaihu'l-Miskiyye Fi'l-Fevatihi'l-Mekkiyye," *Turkish Studies* 4, no. 3 (Spring 2009): 247–63. Observations on the significant omissions are my own.

ARTISTIC ASPECTS OF SULTAN BAYEZID II'S BOOK TREASURY COLLECTION: EXTANT VOLUMES PRESERVED AT THE TOPKAPI PALACE MUSEUM LIBRARY

The Ottoman sultans' love of books has led to the Topkapı Palace Museum becoming home to one of the most significant manuscript collections in existence. The manuscripts were first systematically catalogued during the reign of Bayezid II, when the entire collection was recorded in the inventory of his librarian 'Atufi and each volume stamped with the sultan's seal. As the manuscript treasury collection grew, later sultans bequeathed some books to libraries they founded within the palace grounds or to other royal libraries. Preliminary studies of the manuscripts remaining today in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library collection provide evidence—in the form of seals, dedications, or annotations of ownership—that at least 1,010 of these manuscripts belonged to the library of Bayezid II. A large number of these were manuscripts that the sultan inherited from his father, Mehmed II. The library collection contains works on an extensive range of subjects, shedding light on history, science, culture, and art in the vast geographical expanse of the Islamic lands at the time. The contents of Bayezid II's library, dating from the ninth to the beginning of the sixteenth century, included artistic manuscripts prepared in such cultural hubs as Tabriz, Herat, Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo, Bursa, and Istanbul. 'Atufi's inventory not only reveals the holdings of Bayezid II's manuscript treasury, but it also provides clues about the subsequent evolution of the collection. My essay analyzes 784 extant manuscripts that I initially identified as belonging to Bayezid II's collection at the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, a number that has since then increased to 1,010 and will likely continue to grow.¹

The manuscript collection is foremost among the Ottoman treasures accumulated in the Topkapı Palace

Museum in Istanbul. Once kept in the Inner Treasury of the Ottoman palace, the collection was initiated during the reign of Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–46, 1451–81) and was augmented by the addition of numerous works under later sultans, all bibliophiles, which resulted in the accumulation of tens of thousands of books over the years. The manuscript collection was built with works commissioned by the sultans as well as those acquired by various other means, such as inheritance, purchase, gifts, and booty.

From the reign of Mehmed II onward, manuscripts arriving at the Topkapı Palace were placed in the Inner Treasury of the third courtyard, under the supervision of a librarian. Inner Treasury registers of Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512), dated 1496² and 1505³, list artifacts stored on the ground floor and in the basement halls of this building, which was constructed during his father's reign in the mid-1460s. Among the listed artifacts are chests containing unbound pages, Qur'ans, non-Islamic books, loose-leaf paintings, archival documents, historical and astrological calendars, maps, and architectural ground plans. The Inner Treasury was employed not only as a storage space but also as a library, whose Islamic book collection was catalogued separately by 'Atufi.⁴ The holdings of this manuscript treasury were subsequently augmented by booty appropriated during the reign of Sultan Selim I (r. 1512–20) after his victories over the Safavids and Mamluks. An inventory dating from Selim's reign lists historical manuscripts, Qur'ans, and parts of the Qur'an, as well as a group of unidentified non-Islamic (*gebrî*) manuscripts, the latter most probably from the collection of Mehmed II.⁵ An inventory dated 1564, prepared during the reign of Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520–66), mentions a number of manuscripts in Turkish, Persian,

and Arabic stored in closets in the throne room (*dīvānhāne*) of the Inner Treasury.

The manuscript collection of the Ottoman imperial palace continued to expand in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. From time to time, sultans were known to have manuscripts removed to their Privy Chamber (Has Oda) in the male or the harem quarters of the third court, where they had established personal libraries consisting of illustrated works, Qur'an copies penned by celebrated calligraphers, as well as literary, scientific, and historic works of particular interest. Notes found on some manuscripts, such as *odadan çıkan Fārsī* / *odadan çıkan Türkī* / *odadan çıkan 'Arabī* indicate that books on loan at the Privy Chamber were frequently being returned to the Inner Treasury.

The first ruler to construct a purpose-built library at the Topkapı Palace was Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703–30), who laid its foundation stone himself. This freestanding library is located at the middle of the third courtyard of the palace. According to its endowment deed (*waqfiyya*),⁶ the sultan commissioned this library, named after himself, in order to gather the many fine manuscripts scattered throughout the palace under a single roof so that they might be better preserved and protected from damage rather than forgotten in some corner, and so that the aghas of the Inner Palace (*Enderun ağaları*) could make use of them. The library collection of Ahmed III is preserved in its entirety today.⁷ Other manuscripts were later added to this collection as endowments by Sultan Abdülhamid I (r. 1774–89) and Sultan Selim III (r. 1789–1807).⁸

As the idea of establishing libraries took root, certain manuscripts were transferred as endowments from the Inner Treasury to the royal pavilions surrounding the Privy Chamber. The Revan Pavilion Library, for instance, was established with books endowed by Mahmud I (r. 1730–54) and was expanded with new endowments from Osman III (r. 1754–57) and Mustafa III (r. 1757–74). The Baghdad Pavilion Library, in turn, was established with manuscripts endowed by Sultan Abdülhamid I (r. 1774–89) and Sultan Selim III (r. 1789–1807).⁹

After the conversion of the palace into a museum in 1924, some of the manuscripts preserved for centuries in the Inner Treasury, the Privy Chamber, the Ahmed III Library, and in various other pavilions and the dormito-

ries for pages within the Topkapı Palace were gathered together. These manuscripts were transferred to the former Mosque of the Aghas in the third courtyard of the palace in 1928, forming the current manuscript library. The ten closets filled with manuscripts in this library were labeled according to the original location of their contents within the palace and classified according to their fields of knowledge and languages, as in the former Ottoman library system.¹⁰

This article examines the manuscripts in the current Topkapı Palace Museum Library collection in such varied fields as science, religion, literature, and history that bear the almond-shaped seal impressions or ownership annotations (*ex libris*) of Bayezid II, focusing particularly on volumes of artistic value. The selected works are some of the finest manuscripts, with bindings, illuminations, and calligraphy in diverse styles from various periods, testifying to the significance of this library collection in terms of the arts of the book. The collection stands out for its broad chronological span and its rich stylistic diversity. During the reign of Sultan Murad II (r. 1421–51), manuscripts were copied and accumulated in cities such as Amasya, Bursa, and Edirne, then the centers of the Ottoman multicultural landscape. Upon the death of Murad II, these books were transferred to the library of his son and successor Mehmed II. Manuscript production gained further momentum during the latter's reign, particularly after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, when the manuscript workshops were transferred to the new capital. Upon his accession, Mehmed II first had his own library transported to Edirne from the provincial capital of Manisa, which he had governed as a prince, then subsequently to Istanbul, where he installed the collection in the Topkapı Palace upon the completion of the Inner Treasury in the mid-1460s. Mehmed II persistently enhanced his library collection by ordering copies of selected manuscripts in Arabic, Persian, and certain western languages and commissioning the translation of a number of works into Turkish. Many of these manuscripts were works of art transcribed by master calligraphers, illuminated by master gilders, and covered with exquisite bindings elaborately worked in an array of different colors and techniques. Upon the death of Mehmed II, this library was inherited by his son and successor Bayezid II.

Even as a prince, Bayezid II had already shown a keen interest in culture and the arts. Surrounded as he was by those who shared his interests, he had transformed his princely palace in Amasya into a vibrant hub of artists and scholars. The cultural exchanges and activities that took place in this setting provided a stimulus for the prolific production of manuscripts dedicated to the future sultan. Once Bayezid II became sultan, his patronage of the arts and sciences continued, enriched by interactions with metropolitan cultural centers in Iran and Central Asia, especially Tabriz and Herat. Some of the finest illuminated manuscripts produced in those locations were sent as gifts to Bayezid II. After 1485, manuscript production gained particular momentum in Istanbul as many poets, authors, and calligraphers dedicated and gifted their works to the sultan, who generously rewarded them for their work. Hence it was the combination of two factors—an imperial patron who was a true bibliophile, and the protection of manuscripts at the Topkapı Palace—that proved instrumental in creating what was to become one of the most significant collections of the Inner Treasury.

Before completing this essay, I had identified 784 manuscripts bearing the almond-shaped seal impressions of Bayezid II, a number that has increased since then. Not included in the present essay, the newly identified manuscripts are incorporated as a separate “addendum” at the end of my list of manuscripts stamped with Bayezid II's seal at the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (see Appendix I at the end of this volume). Some of these manuscripts also feature Bayezid II's *ex libris*, indicating that they belonged to his library. To fully reconstruct and study this extensive manuscript collection is clearly a challenging, if not daunting, task that requires further research. The collection comprises works dating from the ninth to the first decade of the sixteenth century that are characterized by a diversity of provenance from throughout the Islamic world, including manuscripts produced in the Ottoman palace workshops. Works prepared in the first half of the fifteenth century in particular merit rigorous examination. It was in this era that the intercultural exchange and dynamic flow of manuscripts and artists among the Ottoman centers of Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul; the

Timurid capitals of Herat and Samarqand; the three Turkmen cities Shiraz, Baghdad, and Tabriz; and the Mamluk workshops of Cairo and Damascus exerted a significant impact on the arts of the book. The arts of binding and illumination in manuscripts prepared at the Ottoman capitals tended to vary stylistically from one center to another. What is more, certain manuscripts of non-Ottoman provenance later had sections added to them and were rebound in the Ottoman workshops, making it particularly difficult to distinguish between these refurbished works and those of Ottoman origin. Based on their dedication inscriptions, dates of copying, calligraphers, and the stylistic features of their bindings and illuminations, I have grouped the 784 manuscripts into three sections below: those from the reign of Mehmed II and those bearing dedications to him (146 manuscripts); manuscripts from the reign of Bayezid II and those dedicated to him (117 manuscripts); and manuscripts prepared in other locations throughout the Islamic world, along with those that lack dedications to Ottoman sultans but are attributable to Ottoman workshops (521 manuscripts).

MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE PERIOD OF SULTAN MEHMED II AND THOSE DEDICATED TO HIM

Mehmed II, who since his days as a prince had studied under the most important scholars of the day, held culture and the arts in high regard and amassed a great number of manuscripts in his library. As noted above, upon his accession to the throne the sultan brought his library first from Manisa (where he had been based as a prince) to the Edirne palace, and later to Istanbul when it became the new Ottoman capital. His high esteem for the arts of the book and his sustained patronage of their creators stimulated the production of books on many subjects during his reign. Manuscripts created under the patronage of Mehmed II and his grand vizier Mahmud Pasha (d. 1474) are true works of art in terms their superb calligraphy, illumination, and bindings.¹¹ Manuscripts were produced primarily in scientific fields such as medicine, philosophy, logic, and geography, but manuscripts on religion, philology, and literature were also

created, with their autograph copies entering Mehmed II's library.

Of the 784 manuscripts mentioned above, 146 were prepared during the reign of Mehmed II, many of which bear dedications to him,¹² although none were stamped with his seal. We must therefore conclude that many manuscripts in the library collection of Bayezid II that bear his seal but lack any record of attribution to him must have originated in the library he inherited from his bibliophile father. In most such manuscripts, there are indications that they were prepared for Mehmed II. Although some works lack such evidence, they can be attributed to the era of Mehmed II stylistically by means of their calligraphy, illumination, and bindings. Dominated by works on the sciences (98 in total), these manuscripts span a range of topics, including literature (24 manuscripts), religion (20 manuscripts), and history (4 manuscripts). The consistently high quality of their calligraphy, bindings, and illumination make these manuscripts outstanding examples of their time. Foremost among scientific manuscripts are Arabic and Persian works on philology (27 manuscripts), including dictionaries and books of grammar, prosody, and rhetoric. Ten of these were specifically prepared for Mehmed II.¹³ One of them was dedicated to the sultan by its author, Molla Gürani, who had been tutor to Mehmed II since his time as prince. This Arabic work is a 600-couplet treatise in verse on the science of prosody and rhyme, titled *al-Shāfiya fī al-arūd wa-al-qāfiya* (The Comprehensive Treatise on Prosody and Rhyme).¹⁴ Dated 1463, it is written in *naskh* script in a two-column, eleven-line format over 23 folios and is bound in brown leather. The binding covers are decorated with a central *shamsa* (medallion) and corner pieces framed with a border, all of which are decorated with *khiṭāyī* (chinoiserie lotus and peony floral designs), *rūmī* (vegetal scrollwork decorations), and foliate stemmed motifs (fig. 1), while the doublures bear *shamsas* decorated with tooled leather and *rūmī* scrolls over a blue ground. The illuminated medallion on fol. 1a is inscribed with the title of the work, the author's name, and his dedication to Sultan Mehmed II.

The second largest group among Mehmed II's books on the sciences consists of works on wisdom and philosophy. Of these 19 works, 9 were prepared for Mehmed II and dedicated to him.¹⁵ One of these works written by

the Greek philosopher Apollonius of Tyana (d. 100 CE), known as Balinus, is titled *Sirr al-ṭabī'a wa-al-'ilal wa-al-ma'lūmāt li-Bālīnūs* (The Secret of Nature and the Causes and the Infirmities by Balinus).¹⁶ Each of its 119 folios has 25 lines of *naskh* script. The brown leather binding covers have *shamsas* and corner pieces within a border frame. The *shamsa* medallions are divided into small hexagons decorated with large interlaced *khiṭāyī*, *rūmī*, and foliate stem motifs. The rectangular upper and lower registers of the illuminated frontispiece of the opening page (fol. 1a) contain a dedication to Mehmed II in gold letters in *thuluth* script on a dark blue ground (fig. 2). The central section features concentric oval medallions, the innermost bearing the title of the work in gilded *thuluth*, while the encircling medallion is decorated with palmettes, surrounded by *rūmī* motifs and foliate stem infill.

Among philosophical manuscripts copied for Mehmed II, the highest priority is given to works by the renowned philosophers Ibn Sina (Avicenna, d. 1037)¹⁷ and Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi (d. 1234),¹⁸ along with commentaries on their works. Some of these manuscripts were transcribed by leading master calligraphers of the day. One such calligrapher is 'Ali ibn Fathallah al-Ma'dani al-Isfahani, who penned three manuscripts.¹⁹ Two of these are Ibn Sina's *al-Ishārāt wa al-tanbīhāt* (Remarks and Admonitions)²⁰ and a commentary on Athir al-Din al-Halabi's (d. 1265) *Sharḥ hidāyat al-ḥikma* (Commentary on the Guide to Philosophical Wisdom).²¹ The copy of Ibn Sina's work (TSMK, A. 3278) is dated 869 (1464–65). The dark brown binding covers are decorated with lobed *shamsa* medallions with pendants, while the doublures are of plain, light brown leather. This 165-folio manuscript is written in *dīwānī* script with 11 lines per page. The dedicatory opening page (fol. 1a) contains the book title and a dedication to Mehmed II. The headpiece is illuminated in a manner typical of the period and has exquisite calligraphy (fols. 1a–2b, fig. 3). The copy of Athir al-Din al-Halabi's work (TSMK, A. 3213), dated 872 (1467), is transcribed in *ta'liq* script in 17 lines on each of the 244 folios. Its brown leather binding covers bear a lobed oval *shamsa* with pendants and corner pieces, containing large *khiṭāyī*, *rūmī*, and palmette motifs. The doublures contain a lobed, central *shamsa* with pendants, and corner pieces embellished with leather



Fig. 1. Upper binding cover, Molla Gürani, *al-Shāfiya fī al-arūd wa-al-qāfiya*, Istanbul, 1463, TSMK, A. 1691. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 2. Illuminated frontispiece page with dedication, almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II, and round seal of Ahmed III, Apollonius of Tyana, *Sirr al-ṭabīʿa wa-al-ʿilal wa-al-maʿlūmāt li-Bālīnūs*, Istanbul, pre-1480, TSMK, A. 2082, fol. 1a. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 3. Double page with illuminated rectangular headpiece, Ibn Sina, *al-Ishārāt wa al-tanbīhāt*, calligrapher ‘Ali ibn Fathallah al-Ma‘dani al-Isfahani, Istanbul, 1464–65, TSMK, A. 3278, fols. 1b–2a. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

rūmī and foliate stem motifs tooled over a gilded ground (fig. 4). Copied by ‘Ali ibn Fathallah al-Ma‘dani al-Isfahani, these are among the finest examples of manuscript arts, which amply reflect the characteristic taste of the period with their bindings, illumination, and calligraphy.

The third largest group of scientific works belonging to Mehmed II that later entered the library of Bayezid II consists of medical texts, some of them copied for the sultan himself (16 works).²² One such manuscript, copied for Mehmed II, is the *Kitāb al-Karma* (Book on the Grapevine), an Arabic translation of the work of the famous Greek physician and philosopher Galen (d. 210

CE) by the Iraqi Nestorian Arab physician Hunayn b. Ishaq (d. 873).²³ The manuscript of 84 folios, each with 11 lines of *naskh* script, specifies the benefits of the grapevine and its fruit, and is written in question and answer format. The dark brown leather binding covers are embellished with large *shamsas* and corner pieces, decorated with *khiṭāyī* motifs and foliate stems. The doublures and envelope flap of maroon colored leather binding have lobed *shamsas* and corner pieces, containing leather filigree *rūmī* and stem motifs on a blue-painted and gilded ground (fig. 5).

The collection has four manuscripts penned by the calligrapher Shams al-Din al-Qudsi, who copied



Fig. 4. Lower doublure of binding, al-Halabi, *Sharḥ hidāyat al-ḥikma*, calligrapher ‘Ali ibn Fathallah al-Ma‘dani al-Isfahani, Istanbul, 1467, TSMK, A. 3213. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

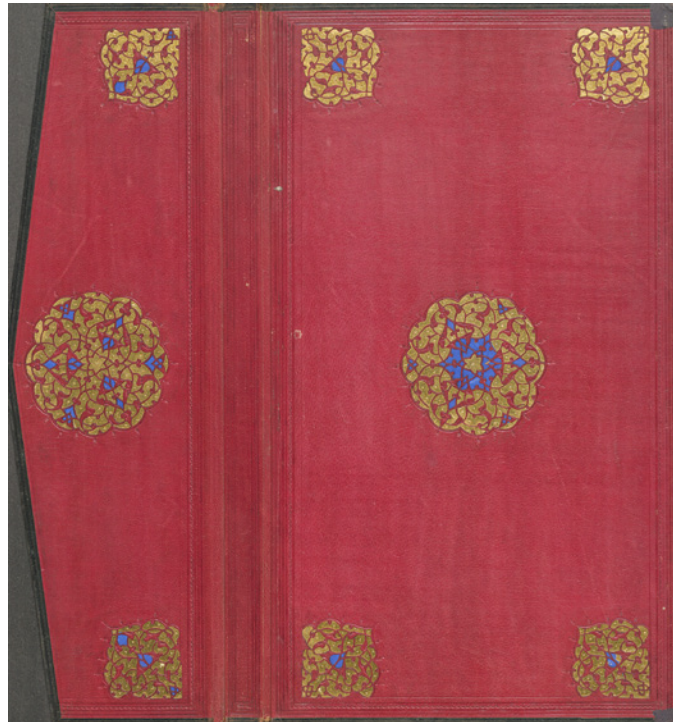


Fig. 5. Lower doublure of binding, translation of Jalinus (Galen), *Kitāb al-Karma*, Istanbul, pre-1480, TSMK, A. 2038. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 6. Upper binding cover, al-Marzuqi, *Sharḥ al-ḥamāsa*, calligrapher Shams al-Din al-Qudsi, Istanbul, 1465, TSMK, R. 706. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 7. Opening double page, al-Tha'alibi's *Fiqh al-lugha wa sirr al-'arabiyya*, calligrapher Shams al-Din al-Qudsi, Istanbul, 1475, TSMK, A. 2753, fols. 1b–2a. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

multiple works for Mehmed II.²⁴ These manuscripts on poetry, ethics, linguistics (lexicons), and philosophy are in *naskh* script. One of them is bound in leather, the other three in cloth. The earliest in date is a commentary on the renowned Abbasid poet Abu Tammam's (d. 846) *Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa* by Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Marzuqi (d. 1030), titled *Sharḥ al-Ḥamāsa* (Commentary on *Heroism*).²⁵ The copy prepared for Mehmed II in 869 (1465) consists of 416 folios in *naskh* script, each of 21 lines. It is a masterpiece of binding, illumination, and calligraphy. The binding is of dark brown leather. Its oval lobed *shamsas* with pendants and corner pieces are filled with *khiṭāyī*, *rūmī*, floral rosette, and foliate stem motifs (fig. 6). The doublures and the envelope flap of light brown leather feature lobed rectangular *shamsas* with leather filigree palmette and *rūmī* motifs over a gilded ground. The illumination is typical of the style of Baba Nakkaş, the renowned illuminator active in the period

of Mehmed II. The rectangular dedicatory frontispiece is illuminated in the style of the era, and its inscription states that the manuscript was prepared for the sultan (fol. 1a). Although the initial folios of the manuscript do not reveal any traces of the seal of Bayezid II, a mark is visible on the final folio. Closer inspection reveals this to be a trace remaining from the erased seal of Bayezid II. The seal on the initial folios was most likely erased as well, since signs of erasure are also seen on the seal of Mahmud I on the opening page, which records his endowment of this volume to the Revan Pavilion.

Another manuscript copied by Shams al-Din al-Qudsi is by the scholar of Arabic language and literature, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muhammad al-Tha'alibi (d. 1038), titled *Fiqh al-lugha wa sirr al-'arabiyya* (The Science of Language and Secrets of Arabic).²⁶ This work on synonyms and literary style, copied in 880 (1475), comprises 132 folios with 17 lines of *naskh* script on each (fig. 7). The



Fig. 8. Binding cover, al-Tha'alibi, *Fiqh al-lugha wa sirr al-'arabiyya*, calligrapher Shams al-Din al-Qudsi, Istanbul, 1475, TSMK, A. 2753. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

binding is made of patterned green velvet woven in two layers, a feature characterizing many volumes prepared for Mehmed II (fig. 8). The fabric is embellished with a gilded floral rosette pattern. Several manuscript bindings from the reign of Mehmed II are covered in fabrics not specifically woven as book covers, but that were adapted from existing pieces destined for other uses.²⁷ There are no examples of cloth-covered bindings among the manuscripts known to have been prepared for Bayezid II.

Three scientific manuscripts on prosody, mathematics, and logic, which were copied for Mahmud Pasha, Mehmed II's bibliophile grand vizier, were inherited by

Bayezid II from his father's library.²⁸ The manuscripts in question bear notable similarities to those prepared for Mehmed II in terms of their content, bindings, illumination, and calligraphy. A copy of the mathematician-astronomer Nizam al-Din al-Nisaburi's (d. 1328–29) treatise on the basic principles and applications of arithmetic, titled *al-Risāla al-shamsiyya fī al-ḥisāb* (The *Shamsiyya* Treatise on Arithmetic), was prepared for Mahmud Pasha according to its dedication (fol. 1a).²⁹ The manuscript, dated 870 (1470), has 84 folios with 13 lines of *ta'liq* calligraphy on each. The dark brown covers of its binding are decorated with oval *shamsas*, infilled with *rūmī* motifs, and gilded corner pieces within a border frame, while the doublures are of plain burgundy leather. The opening page includes the title of the work in addition to the aforementioned dedicatory inscription (fig. 9).

Another scientific manuscript is a copy of Shams al-Din Muhammad Fakhri Isfahani's (d. 1348) book on rhetoric. Titled *Mi'yār al-jamālī* (The Jamali Touchstone) and dedicated to Jamal-al-Din ibn Mahmud-Shah Inju, it comprises four sections on prosody, rhyme, poetry, and a Persian lexicon.³⁰ Its 194 folios are written in *ta'liq* script with 15 lines per page. The undated manuscript must have been copied around 1470. The dark brown binding covers are ornamented with a large central *shamsa* and corner pieces, which extend over the surface of the covers (fig. 10). The light brown doublures are decorated with *shamsas* and corner pieces infilled with palmette, *rūmī*, and stem motifs in filigree leather on a gilded ground (fig. 11).

Among the books inherited from Mehmed II's library by his son Bayezid II are 19 works on religious subjects, including Qur'anic commentary, hadith, jurisprudence, dogma, and Sufism.³¹ One of the most interesting of these works is an Arabic translation of the Bible, which was probably prepared in Syria during the fourteenth century.³² The manuscript contains the four Gospels and information about their authors, the four Evangelists. The binding with an envelope flap is not original. The manuscript has 226 folios with 13 lines of *naskh* script throughout. It contains four miniature paintings depicting scenes from the gospels, as described by the Evangelists, which share typical characteristics of fourteenth-century Byzantine painting. One of these is a Deisis with the Christ figure depicted at the center,



Fig. 9. Illuminated frontispiece with dedication, almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II, and round seal of Ahmed III; al-Nisaburi, *al-Risāla al-shamsiyya fī al-ḥisāb*, Istanbul, 1470, TSMK, A. 3150, fol. 1a. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 10. Upper binding cover, Shams al-Din Muhammad Fakhri Isfahani, *Mi'yār al-jamālī*, Istanbul, ca. 1470, TSMK, A. 1706.
(Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

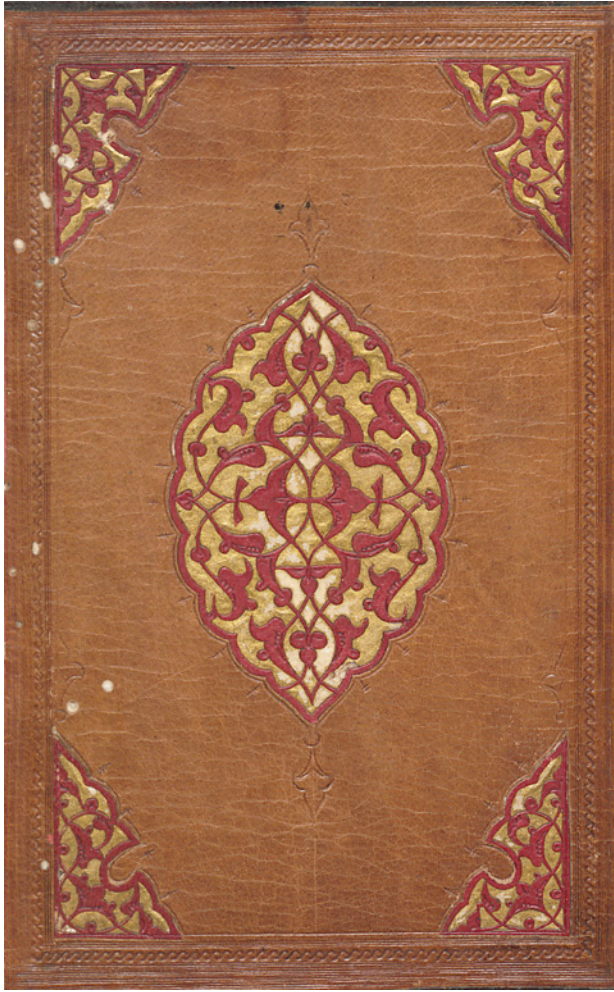


Fig. 11. Doublure of upper binding cover, Shams al-Din Muhammad Fakhri Isfahani, *Mi'yār al-jamālī*, Istanbul, ca. 1470, TSMK, A. 1706. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

flanked by John the Baptist on the left and the Virgin Mary on the right. This painting is on the right hand page of a bifolio (1b–2a), whose facing left page has an illuminated rectangular plate, the central square of which features a cruciform device with arms merging into eight-pointed stars over a ground filled with vegetal and foliate motifs (fig. 12). The composition is completed with two rectangular frames on the upper and lower registers, which are inscribed in Kufic script on a dark blue ground. The entire composition is surrounded by a wide border of cartouches infilled with vegetal and medallion motifs. Although this manuscript contains

no record of provenance, it is thought to have entered Mehmed II's library during his reign. It must be one of the Arabic Bible translations mentioned in 'Atufi's inventory (364 {14–19}).

A copy of the *Qiṣṣa-i 'Antar al-'Absī* (Epic of 'Antar al-'Absi), translated from Arabic into Turkish, also bears the seal of Bayezid II.³³ This work is a folk tale on the life and amorous exploits of the pre-Islamic era poet, Antara b. Shaddad b. Amr al-'Absi (d. 608). Although the manuscript does not contain any indication that it was prepared for Mehmed II, it is known that the work was translated into Turkish in 1477 by the order of the sultan, and that this copy is the manuscript in question. Its 317 folios with 17 lines on each are penned in *naskh* script. On fol. 1a are various annotations together with the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II at the lower left corner. The seal above the page reads *Vakf-ı hāne-i hazine-i hümayūn fī sene 1135* (Endowment of the Chamber of the Imperial Treasury, in the year 1722–23) (fig. 13). This seal, which dates from the reign of Ahmed III (r. 1703–30), indicates that the manuscript was endowed to the Dormitory (Chamber) of the Treasury Pages.³⁴ The annotations on that folio list the names of various readers who borrowed the manuscript. One of these is dated 1258 (1842) and states that the book was read by a servant of the palace school named Ahmed Rıfat Efendi. Superimposed over this note is a small circular seal bearing the name "Ahmed." Another annotation dated 1196 (1781) specifies that this volume was read three thousand times by the Qur'an reciter Hafız Bekir Efendi at the Dormitory of the Treasury Pages. The final note indicates that another reciter, Hafız Münib, read the manuscript in 1258 (1842). These notes show the popularity of this work among the volumes in the palace.

MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE REIGN OF SULTAN BAYEZID II AND THOSE DEDICATED TO HIM

Bayezid II's relationship with poets, calligraphers, and scholars began during his governorship as a prince in Amasya. There, at the palace of the princes, he acted as patron to a significant milieu of poets, scholars, and masters of the arts, such as the renowned calligrapher Shaykh Hamdullah and Hamdullah's tutor Hayreddin



Fig. 12. Double page with a Deisis painting and a rectangular plate with geometric patterning, Arabic translation of the Bible, probably Syria, fourteenth century, TSMK, A. 3519, fols. 1b–2a. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Marashi, the brothers Tacizade Ca'fer Çelebi and Sa'di Çelebi, Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman Çelebi, Zenbilli 'Ali Efendi, the historian Şükrullah, the physician Şerefeddin Sabuncuoğlu (d. 1468), and poets such as Refiki, Afitabi, and Kabuli. Bayezid II, who took calligraphy lessons from Shaykh Hamdullah, was known to be a skilled calligrapher and used the pen name 'Adlî in his poetry. Upon his accession to the throne, the sultan maintained strong ties with the cultural centers of Iran and Central Asia, Herat and Tabriz in particular, and his patronage of culture and the arts continued in Istanbul. From surviving archival documents it is known that Bayezid II showered benefactions on authors, poets, and scribes, rewarding them with the most generous of gifts, and that he received in return many tokens of appreciation in the form of dedications and gifted manuscripts.³⁵

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Fig. 13. Opening page with Bayezid II's almond-shaped seal, other seals, and annotations, *Qışsa-i 'Antar al-'Absî*, Istanbul, ca. 1477–80, TSMK, K. 889, fol. 1a. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

Of the manuscripts kept at the palace library of Bayezid II, I have identified 117 that are dedicated to him and were produced during his reign.³⁶ Most of these manuscripts bear the sultan's seal. Some manuscripts, although lacking his seal impression, are dedicated to the sultan. It is not known when the practice of recording dedications on the opening pages of manuscripts was first adopted in the Islamic lands, a practice that persisted under the Ottomans sultans, including Bayezid II.

Among the manuscripts analyzed in this section, copies of the Qur'an, prayer books, Qur'anic commentaries, hadith collections, works on jurisprudence, doctrine, and Sufism constitute the principal focus, there being 50 such manuscripts in all. These are followed by 49 scientific manuscripts on philosophy, ethics, mathematics, medicine, astrology, and philology. Ten literary and eight historical manuscripts complete the collection. Most of these manuscripts were transcribed by renowned calligraphers and are outstanding representatives of the arts of illumination and binding of their era.

Shaykh Hamdullah, with whom Bayezid II's association began in Amasya and continued after his accession in Istanbul, produced a large number of manuscripts at the sultan's behest. These include many Qur'ans, copies of the sura *al-An'ām*, sections of the Qur'an, prayer books, hadith collections, medical works, poetry anthologies, albums, quatrains, and samples of calligraphy. It was Shaykh Hamdullah who executed the calligraphic inscriptions of Bayezid II's mosque in Istanbul. Qur'an manuscripts transcribed by him are particularly outstanding masterpieces of their time, not only for their calligraphy but also for the artistry of their bindings and illumination.³⁷ His characteristic illumination style was adopted by other contemporary calligraphers of the Qur'an at the Ottoman court.

Two Qur'ans stamped with Bayezid II's seal and copied during his reign were endowed to dormitories of the Topkapı Palace. One of these (TSMK, K. 16), dating from 898 (1492–93)³⁸ and copied by Ahmed bin Mahmud bin Mehmed el-Hallak, bears a note on fol. 1a citing its endowment to the Corps of Cooks (Aşçılar Ocağı) by the harem eunuch Idris Ağa in 1024 (1615). The endowment note is significant, since it indicates that a palace official could have in his personal possession a manuscript belonging to the Inner Treasury (perhaps as a present) and

that books circulated within the palace. This Qur'an has 333 folios with 8 lines of *naskh* and 3 lines of *thuluth* script per folio. Its dark brown binding covers are decorated with *shamsas* having pendants and corner pieces, infilled with gilded diminutive *khiṭāyī*, *rūmī*, and stem motifs. The illuminated frontispiece (fol. 1b–2a) featuring the suras *al-Fātiḥa* and *al-Baqara* is divided into horizontal and vertical fields, embellished with many-colored buds, floral rosettes, and *rūmī* motifs on gilded stems against a dark blue ground (fig. 14). The sura headings are inscribed in gilded *thuluth* script within cartouches infilled with scrolling stems bearing diminutive florettes, buds, and foliate devices executed in a naïve style.³⁹ The layout and repertoire of the illuminations represent a continuation of features in Shaykh Hamdullah's works. The illuminated frontispiece format, the abundant use of gilding over navy blue, the diversity of *rūmī* and *khiṭāyī* motifs, and the *tuğs* (rays) framing the ornamented page are typical stylistic features of the period.⁴⁰

The Qur'an (TSMK, K. 18) with Turkish translation and interlinear annotations in fine *naskh* script, which was copied by the calligrapher Pir Hasan of Gallipoli in 901 (1496),⁴¹ bears a note on fol. 1a stating that it was first endowed to the Dormitory of Small Chamber Pages (Küçük Oda Koğuşu), and then to the Dormitory of Commissary Pages (Kilerli Koğuşu) in the third courtyard of the Topkapı Palace. The manuscript has 286 folios of 11-line *naskh* script. The leather binding was covered in fabric at a later date. However, from vestigial traces visible on the fabric and paper liners, it is clear that the original binding was in the style of the period. The double-page ornamented frontispiece (fol. 1b–2a), featuring the suras *al-Fātiḥa* and *al-Baqara*, is divided into horizontal and vertical fields terminating in triangular end pieces (fig. 15). It is embellished with multi-colored buds, floral rosettes, and *rūmī* motifs on gilded stems against a dark blue ground, executed in a naïve style, and the sura headers are in white *thuluth* script.

One of the Arabic religious manuscripts prepared for Bayezid II is a book on hadith, titled *al-Jawharat al-jināniyya fī al-masā'il al-īmāniyya* (The Jewels of Paradise on Matters of Belief). It was written in 916 (1511) by Hayreddin Hızır b. Mahmud 'Atufi, whom the sultan had commissioned to prepare the palace library inventory in 908 (1502–3).⁴² This 94-folio manuscript has 13



Fig. 14. Double-page illuminated frontispiece, Qur'an, calligraphy by Ahmed bin Mahmud bin Mehmed el-Hallak, Istanbul, 1492–93, TSMK, K. 16, fols. 1b–2a. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 15. Double-page illuminated frontispiece, Qur'an, calligraphy by Pir Hasan, Gelibolu, 1496, TSMK, K. 18, fols. 1b–2a. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 16. Opening double page with illuminated headpiece, 'Atufi, *al-Jawharat al-jināniyya fī al-masā'il al-īmāniyya*, Istanbul, 1511, TSMK, A. 607, fols. 1b–2a. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

lines of *naskh* script per folio. The dedicatory inscriptions in the oval *shamsas* on fols. 93b–94a state that the book was prepared for Bayezid II. The binding covers are of dark brown leather. The rectangular headpiece is illuminated with *rūmī* and *khūṭāyī* motifs, florette buds, and foliate devices on fine stems against a gilded dark blue ground (fol. 1b, fig. 16). On fol. 2a phrases written from the eleventh line of the text onward show that the manuscript was prepared for Bayezid II (fig. 16).⁴³ This folio contains a curious detail. The inscription *Sultān Bāyezīd Hān* appears in illuminated gilded script within a cartouche outside the left margin frame. This unique feature deviates from the common practice in manuscripts, where the name of the sultan or dignitary to whom the work is dedicated is inscribed in a different color within the main text block. It is possible that the scribe inadvertently neglected to inscribe the name of the sultan in contrasting color within the text. This being clearly inadmissible in a work made to be presented to Bayezid II, the error was corrected by adding the sultan's name in an illuminated cartouche in the margin.

Among scientific manuscripts produced during Bayezid II's reign, the largest group consists of 24 works on astronomy and astrology. Almost all of these manuscripts were copied for and dedicated to the sultan. They include the works by such authors as Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (d. 1274), 'Umar Chaghmini (d. 1221), and 'Ali al-Qushji (d. 1474), along with commentaries on these works, and contemporary treatises written by scholars during Bayezid II's reign. Fath Allah al-Shirwani's commentary on Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's *Sharḥ al-tadhkira li-Fath Allāh al-Shirwānī* (Commentary on the Memoir by Fath Allah al-Shirwani) is of particular significance.⁴⁴ This manuscript, which was copied in Amasya around 879 (1474), is one of the many works dedicated to Bayezid II during his time as prince. Its binding covers in brown leather are ornamented with a lobed central *shamsa* featuring pendants and corner pieces, all of which are embossed with large *khūṭāyī* motifs, Chinese-style clouds, and foliate and stem motifs over a gilded ground (fig. 17). The same designs recur on the double pages, although here the ornamentation consists of

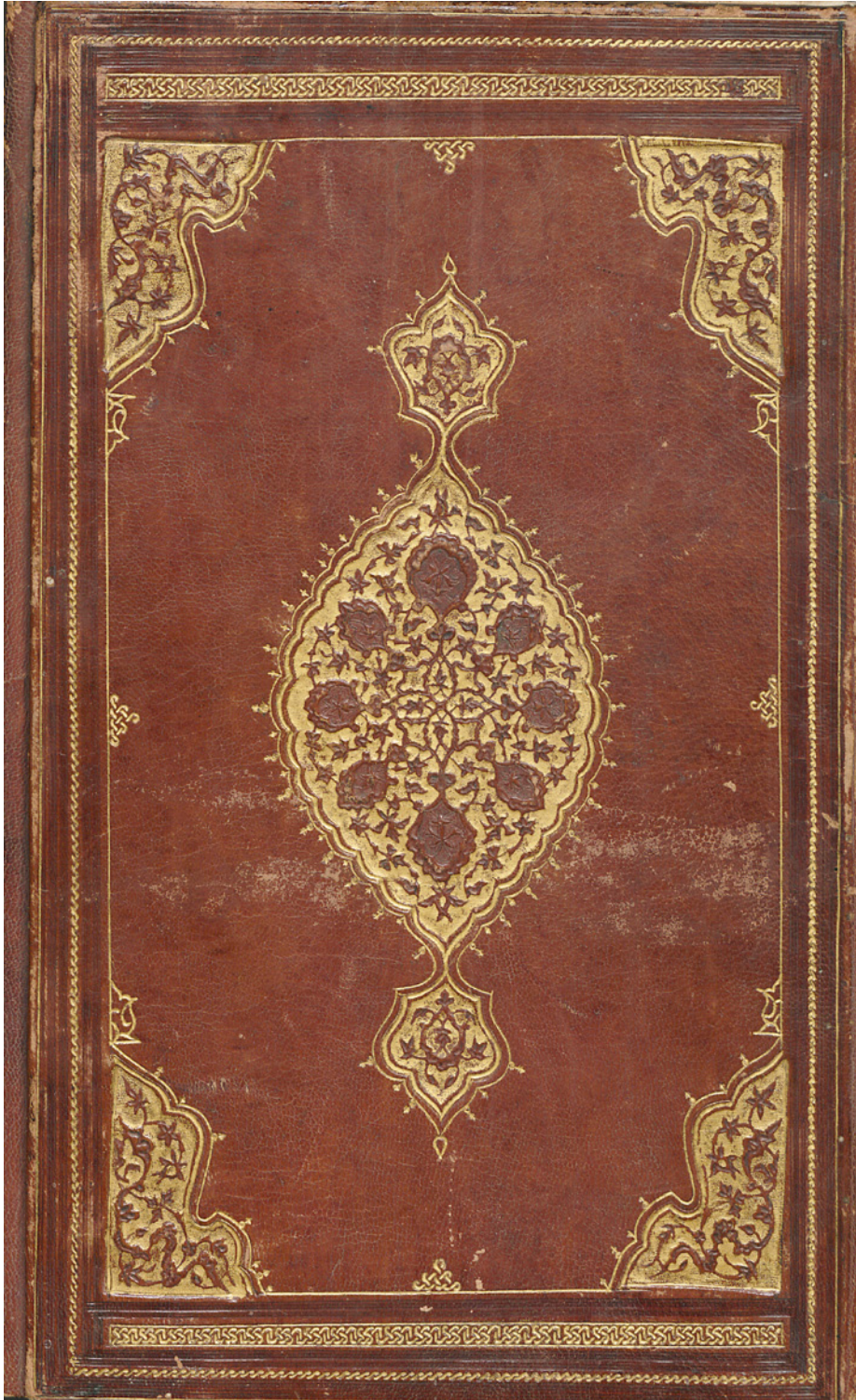


Fig. 17. Upper binding cover, Fath Allah al-Shirwani, *Sharḥ al-tadhkira li-Faṭḥ Allāh al-Shirwānī*, Amasya, 1474, TSMK, A. 3314. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 18. Opening double page with illuminated headpiece, Fath Allah al-Shirwani, *Sharḥ al-tadhkira li-Faṭḥ Allāh al-Shirwānī*, Amasya, 1474, TSMK, A. 3314, fols. 1b–2a. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 19. Opening double page, 'Abd al-Salam al-Muhtadi, *Ma'rifaṭ ḥaqīqīyyat al-mawḍū'āt al-kawākib*, Istanbul, 1502, TSMK, A. 3495, fols. 1b–2a. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

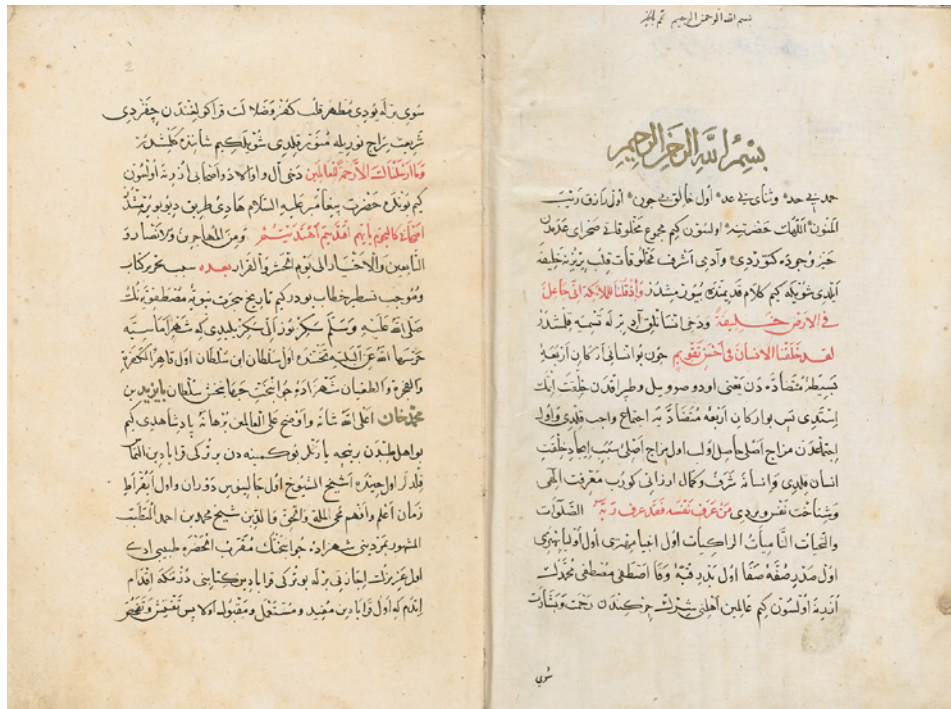


Fig. 20. Opening double page of *Qarābādīn*, a Turkish translation of al-Jurjani's *Zakhīra-i Khwārazmshāhī*, Amasya, 1476–77, TSMK, A. 2124, fols. 1b–2a. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

filigree leather on a dark blue painted ground. The inscription within a plain medallion on the dedication page states that the work was prepared for Bayezid II (fol. 1a). The 368-folio manuscript is in *ta'liq* script with 23 lines per page. The rectangular heading on fol. 1b is decorated with foliate stems bearing *rūmī* motifs and palmettes on a dark blue and gilded ground (fig. 18).

Andalusian Jewish scholars of the period, who were particularly engaged in the study of medicine and astronomy, wrote and translated several works dedicated to Bayezid II.⁴⁵ One of these manuscripts is titled *Ma'rifat haqīqīyyat al-mawḍū'āt al-kawākib* (Knowledge on the Truth of Matters concerning the Stars), which 'Abd al-Salam al-Muhtadi translated from Hebrew into Arabic by order of Sultan Bayezid II in 1502.⁴⁶ The dark brown binding covers are embellished with a floral and foliate design, while the doublures are of plain burgundy leather. The manuscript features 88 folios, each with 11 lines of *naskh* script. On fol. 1b Bayezid II's name is highlighted in gold script (fig. 19).

The 14 medical manuscripts prepared for Bayezid II were written mostly by physicians, who presented their works to the sultan. The earliest of these manuscripts was copied in Amasya at the behest of Bayezid II during his time as prince by the renowned physician and surgeon Şerefeddin Sabuncuoğlu. This work, titled *Qarābādīn* (or *Aqrābādīn*), is a pharmacological handbook or antidotarium, adaptively translated into Turkish during Mehmed II's reign in 858 (1454) from Isma'il b. Hasan al-Jurjani's (d. 1137) Persian treatise, *Zakhīra-i Khwārazmshāhī* (Treasures of the Khwarazmshah), also known as *Qarābādīn-i Khwārazmshāh*. The translated text was copied for Prince Bayezid II in 881 (1476–77) by Mehmed b. 'Ali b. Muzaffer, according to the dedication on fol. 2a (fig. 20).⁴⁷ The manuscript, whose binding is unremarkable, describes medicinal formulas and preparation methods. It is written in 11 lines of *naskh* script over 187 folios. Another medical work, titled *Jawhar ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥa* (Jewel of Hygiene), is a guide to health and nutrition written by 'Abdurrahman el-Müneccim b. Nabi



Fig. 21. Opening double page with illuminated headpiece, *Rubā'īyyāt 'Umar Khayyām*, calligrapher Shaykh Hamdullah, Istanbul, ca. 1490, TSMK, M.R. 541, fols. 1b–2a. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

Yusuf el-Hafiz, an important physician of the period of Bayezid II, and presented to the sultan in 908 (1502).⁴⁸ This diminutive 98-folio manuscript is preserved in its original form in an elaborate binding. The inscription on fol. 3b indicates that it was prepared for Bayezid II, whose name is inscribed there in gold letters.

Among other manuscripts prepared for Bayezid II or copied during his reign are 11 literary works, some of which are illustrated. A copy of the book of poetry by the Iranian scholar and philosopher Omar Khayyam, titled *Rubā'īyyāt 'Umar Khayyām*, was among the holdings of Bayezid's library.⁴⁹ Copied by Shaykh Hamdullah toward the end of the fifteenth century, it has a plain dark brown binding and consists of 24 folios, each with nine lines of *naskh* script. The rectangular heading is decorated with multi-colored palmettes, *rūmī* motifs, floral buds, rosettes, and foliate stems over a gilded navy blue ground (fig. 21). Unusually, the seal of Bayezid II on the book's initial and final folios is masked by paper that has been glued over. On fol. 1a are two additional seals, one erased so that it is illegible and the other, although partially illegible, appears to belong to Sultan Abdülhamid

I (r. 1774–89). The latter is known to have endowed some manuscripts from the Inner Treasury to the Baghdad Pavilion and the Ahmed III libraries within the Topkapı Palace grounds.⁵⁰ The volume in question is thought to have undergone such relocation, but it subsequently entered the library of Sultan Mehmed Reşad (r. 1908–18) and from there was returned to the Inner Treasury of the palace.

The majority of illustrated manuscripts from the reign of Bayezid II are works of literature. Examples of miniature painting are prevalent in literary manuscripts produced in Istanbul, but also in those prepared in the urban centers of Iran and Central Asia, which arrived at the Ottoman court incomplete and were supplemented by illustrations added in the palace workshops. A hint of Western European stylistic influence is evident in most of these miniatures, particularly in the Italianate illustrations characteristic of Mehmed II's reign. Some miniatures, however, were executed in the Shirazi style of Aqqoyunlu workshops. The type of work carried out in the Ottoman palace workshops of the period tended mainly toward the crafting of additions to fourteenth-



Fig. 22. Lower binding cover, Nizami, *Khamsa*, Istanbul, ca. 1500, TSMK, H. 781. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

and fifteenth-century copies of the *Khamsa* (Quintet) by the Iranian poets Nizami and Amir Khusaw Dihlawi, complemented by the restoration of such manuscripts.

The most significant of these is the *Khamsa* of Nizami (TSMK, H. 781).⁵¹ The manuscript, copied in 849 (1445–46) by Yusuf al-Jami in Herat, remained incomplete but somehow found its way into the Ottoman palace library. The 325-folio manuscript has 23 lines of *ta'liq* script per folio. It has a reddish-brown leather binding, whose covers with envelope flaps feature *shamsas* with pendants and corner pieces, which are infilled with *rūmī* motifs, the upper cover's *shamsa* being cruciform and that on the lower cover, lobed (fig. 22). The *shamsa* and corner pieces on the binding flap are infilled with foliate devices interspersed with hares and geese in flight. The border is inscribed with a supplicatory prayer for longevity, and the fore-edge flap section contains the phrase *bi-rasmi khizānat-i Sultān al-Bāyezīd* (by order of the treasury of Sultan Bayezid) in *thuluth* script, which dates the binding to this sultan's reign. Within the text, space for fourteen illustrations has been allocated, although only thirteen partially completed paintings ex-

ist. Nine of these were executed by Khwaja 'Ali of Tabriz, while two others are in a different style. One of the latter depicts the scene of "Bahram engaged in combat with a pair of lions, taking possession of his throne and crown" (fig. 23). Although this scene bears features typical of traditional Persianate paintings, it is somewhat unusual due to the Ottoman headgear of the figures, its painting style, and the spatial depth of the composition. The two distinctive paintings exemplify the influence of European, and particularly Italian, art on Ottoman miniature painting that began during the reign of Mehmed II. The two Italianate paintings have generally been attributed to the palace workshops of Bayezid II; however, a more recent study ascribes these paintings to Mehmed II's reign.⁵²

Another illustrated manuscript, the *Shāhnāma-i Malik-i Āhī* (Book of Kings by Malik-i Ahi), which is datable to around 1495, has another distinguishing feature besides its figural paintings.⁵³ This manuscript is one of the first illustrated Ottoman history books and one of the earliest with illustrations of contemporary history. The 98-folio volume, with 11 lines of *ta'liq* script per page, has



Fig. 23. Painting depicting "Bahram engaged in combat with a pair of lions, taking possession of his throne and crown," Nizami, *Khamṣa*, Istanbul, ca. 1500, TSMK, H. 781, fol. 160a. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 25. Painting depicting an "Assembly of Sultan Bayezid II," *Shāhnāma-i Malīk-i Āhī*, calligrapher and painter Darwish Mahmud b. Abdullah Nakkash, Istanbul, ca. 1495, TSMK, H. 1123, fol. 14a. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 24. Lower binding cover, *Shāhnāma-i Malīk-i Āhī*, calligrapher and painter Darwish Mahmud b. Abdullah Nakkash, Istanbul, ca. 1495, TSMK, H. 1123. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

seven paintings. Its binding covers are maroon leather, embellished with deep moulded lobed *shamsas* and corner pieces, which are infilled with curved stems, *rūmī* motifs, and floral patterns over a gilded ground (fig. 24). Inscribed on folio 14a is the phrase "Assembly of Sultan Bayezid II" (fig. 25). Both the calligraphy and paintings of this manuscript were executed by Darwish Mahmud b. 'Abdullah Nakkash, whose name is also mentioned in registers of Sultan Bayezid II's reign. This is an artist who is thought to have migrated to Istanbul from Tabriz, where he also prepared works for the Aqqoyunlu Sultan Ya'qub (r. 1478–90). He continued to produce work in the traditional Aqqoyunlu painting style,⁵⁴ and archival documents show that he was still actively engaged in miniature painting for the Ottoman court in 1509.⁵⁵

Calligraphers who had worked under the patronage of Mehmed II continued to produce manuscripts for Bayezid II. One of them is the renowned master of *nasta'liq* script, Muhammad al-Badakhshani.⁵⁶ Among the works he copied is the linguist Isma'il ibn Hammad al-Jawhari's (d. before 1009) work on grammar, titled *Ṣurāḥ al-lughā* (Clear Speech), which was translated from Arabic into Persian by Jamal al-Qarsi (d. ca. 1303).⁵⁷ The dedicatory inscription on fol. 1a is set within a rectangular frame, which contains a medallion with pendants and corner pieces (fig. 26). Written in white *ta'liq* script over a gilded ground within the medallion, the dedication inscription reads: *bi-rasm muṭāla'at sulṭān al-islām wa-al-muslimīn burhān al-ḡuzāt wa-al-mujāhidīn al-maktūb fī haykal dawlatahi naṣr min Allāh wa-faṭḥ qarīb al-Sulṭān bin al-Sulṭān Sulṭān Bāyazīd bin Sulṭān Muḥammad Khān Allāhumma ayyadahu bi-al-nuṣr wa-al-'āfiyah fī atamm al-'izz wa-ḥusn al-'āqibah* ("for the reading of the Sultan of Islam and Muslims, Proof of the Ghazis and Warriors of the Faith, on the monument of whose sultanate is inscribed 'Victory is from God and Conquest is Ultimate,' Sultan son of the Sultan, the Sultan Bayezid son of Sultan Mehmed Khan, may God bestow upon him support for perfect victory and health"). This manuscript has 19 lines of *ta'liq* script throughout its 449 folios.

Another manuscript copied by Badakhshani for Bayezid II is the *Dīwān-i Sayf Farghānī*, which contains the collected poems of the Central Asian mystic poet Sayf Farghani (d. 1348).⁵⁸ The binding covers are in dark brown leather. An inscription in white *ta'liq* within the

medallion on the dedicatory page (fol. 1a) states that the manuscript was prepared for Bayezid II. This work, comprising 362 folios of 15 lines in *ta'liq* script, was completed in 904 (1498–99). The rectangular heading on fol. 1b is illuminated in the style of the period (fig. 27).

MANUSCRIPTS PRODUCED IN CENTERS THROUGHOUT THE ISLAMIC WORLD AND THOSE WITHOUT DEDICATIONS TO OTTOMAN SULTANS

A total of 521 manuscripts produced in various other locations throughout the Islamic world were also part of the library of Bayezid II. These manuscripts include those that entered the Inner Treasury as diplomatic gifts and others that lack dedications to the Ottoman sultans.⁵⁹ As mentioned in the introduction to this article, among the manuscripts that constitute this group, those dating from the first half of the fifteenth century are particularly worthy of close scrutiny, as they illustrate the impact of diverse cultural cross-currents on the arts of the book in that era. Typical amongst these are two manuscripts discussed below, which were prepared in previous centuries but appear to have received new bindings during the Ottoman period. I have chosen to restrict this section exclusively to manuscripts that can be historically attributed with certainty.

This group includes manuscripts from the Abbasid, Seljuq, Ilkhanid, Jalayirid, Timurid, Mamluk, Aqqoyunlu, and Qaraqoyunlu Turkmen periods on a variety of subjects that have calligraphy, bindings, and illumination of outstanding quality. A total of 121 such manuscripts in the collection are works on religious topics. Foremost among them are exquisite Qur'ans dating from the eighth and ninth centuries to the beginning of the sixteenth century, copied by the foremost calligraphers of their day that feature skillfully executed bindings and illumination.

The earliest of these manuscripts is dated to the Abbasid period and contains pages from selected suras of the Qur'an (XLI, XVIII, XX, XXX, XI, X).⁶⁰ It is written in Kufic script on 22 folios, each with 5 lines. On fols. 17b–18a are stamped the seals of Bayezid II and Abdülhamid I (fig. 28).⁶¹ The dark brown leather binding is not original, being a late nineteenth-century replacement. This



Fig. 26. Illuminated frontispiece with dedication, Jamal al-Qarsi, *Şurāḥ al-lughā*, calligrapher Muhammad al-Badakhshani, Istanbul, 1501, TSMK, A. 2692, fol. 1a. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 27. Page with illuminated headpiece, *Dīwān-i Sayf Farghānī*, calligrapher Muhammad al-Badakhshani, Istanbul, 1498–99, TSMK, R. 984, fol. 1b. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

must be one of the Kufic Qur'an manuscripts mentioned in 'Atufi's inventory (13 {2–5}, 16 {4}, 17 {15–16}).

A manuscript of the sura *al-An'ām* from the Ilkhanid era, with a colophon dated 690 (1291), is the work of the master calligrapher Yaqut al-Musta'simi (d. 1298) of Baghdad, who is considered one of the foremost Islamic calligraphers.⁶² The manuscript is transcribed in *thuluth* and *naskh* script over 71 folios, with 7 lines each. The frontispiece (fols. 1b–2a) has rectangular inscribed frames above and below, featuring large foliate motifs, while the borders are covered by geometrical interlaces on a gilded ground (fig. 29). The lobed triangular devices on the outer edges are illuminated with large white and gilded *rūmī* and palmette motifs on a dark blue ground. The style of illumination indicates that the triangular devices were later additions, as were the brown leather upper and lower binding covers. On these covers, the cruciform *shamsas* with pendants are embellished with stems, large vegetal and palmette motifs, and a central lozenge studded with gilded points (fig. 30). The contours of the *shamsas* and their pendants are also gilded. The dark brown leather doublures have oval *shamsas* with pendants, which are infilled with vegetal motifs and floriated stems in brown filigree leather over a green fabric-covered ground. The style of illumination points to an Ottoman provenance for the binding covers and would suggest a date of circa 1450.⁶³ This manuscript must be the sura *al-An'ām* transcribed in the hand of the calligrapher Yaqut al-Musta'simi, which is listed in 'Atufi's inventory (17 {18}).



Fig. 28. Bifolio with seal impressions of Bayezid II and Abdülhamid I, Qur'an, eighth to ninth centuries, Abbasid period, TSMK, E.H. 26, fols. 17b–18a. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 29. Double-page illuminated frontispiece, sura *al-An'ām*, calligrapher Yaqut al-Musta'simi, 1291, Ilkhanid period, TSMK, R. 70, fols. 1b–2a. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Two Qur'an manuscripts from the Ilkhanid period copied by Argun al-Kamili, a pupil of Yaqut al-Musta'simi and a renowned master of calligraphy, are also stamped with Bayezid II's seal. The first of these is a Qur'an dated 1330 with 13 lines of *naskh* script over 273 folios.⁶⁴ The binding, with an envelope flap, has covers of dark brown leather and doublures of reddish brown. The manuscript features an illuminated double-page dedication (fols. 1b–2a), and a frontispiece with the suras *al-Fātiḥa* and *al-Baqara* enclosed in rectangular frames (fols. 2b–3a) (fig. 31). The suras are separated by vegetal foliate stems, and the sura headings are inscribed in gold script on a dark blue ground, embellished with vegetal stem infill. The whole composition is enclosed in a border ornamented with gilded stems, palmettes, and vegetal designs on a dark blue ground. The marginal medallions share the same decorative motifs. The manuscript must be one of the two Qur'ans copied by Argun al-Kamili that are cited in 'Atufi's inventory (12 {14}, 16 {11}).

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Fig. 30. Outer binding cover, sura *al-An'ām*, 1291, Ilkhanid period, bound in Ottoman Bursa ca. 1450, TSMK, R. 70. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 31. Double-page illuminated frontispiece, Qur'an, calligrapher Argun al-Kamili, 1330, Ilkhanid period, TSMK, E.H. 151, fols. 2b–3a. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

The second manuscript in the hand of Argun al-Kamili is a *Du'ānāma* (Book of Prayer) dated 1352.⁶⁵ This 71-folio manuscript has 5 lines of *muhaqqaq* script per page. The brown leather binding is not original. The manuscript is stained and damaged in its double-page illuminated frontispiece (fig. 32) and other pages. One may assume that its deterioration is due to frequent use, the work being outstanding for its calligraphy by a master scribe. This is most probably the prayer book in the hand of Argun al-Kamili listed in 'Atufi's inventory (47 {13}).

One finely bound and illuminated Qur'an bearing the seal of Bayezid II,⁶⁶ which is neither dated nor attributed to a calligrapher, has 224 folios in *naskh* script. The binding covers are of black leather and contain lobed oval *shamsas* with pendants and corner pieces, embellished with foliate stems, vegetal motifs, and palmettes (fig. 33). The brown leather doublures are designed in panels, with a central section having concave and convex curved forms (fig. 34). The yellow, green, and black ground is infilled with filigree brown leather stems, vegetal motifs, and palmettes.⁶⁷ The illuminated double-page frontispiece inscribed with the sura *al-Fātiḥa* features broad, oval cartouches and separating strips

(fols. 1b–2a, fig. 35). The central section contains the sura *al-Fātiḥa* in *naskh* script, the upper and lower oval cartouches are inscribed with verses in gold *thuluth*, while the ground is infilled with gilded palmette and vegetal motifs. The wide border framing the cartouches and the composition as a whole, together with the marginal medallion rosettes, share the same style of illumination.⁶⁸ The binding and illumination indicate that this manuscript is of Mamluk origin and can be dated to the first half of the fourteenth century. As previously stated, the work gives no indication as to the identity of the calligrapher. The name Yaqt al-Musta'simi inscribed on the final page (fol. 222a) is a later addition.⁶⁹ Two folios of a Qur'anic divination manual in Persian and Arabic (*Fāl-i Qur'an*) (fols. 222b–224a) were also added at a later date.⁷⁰ Their Persian text is in *ta'liq*, with the Arabic in *naskh* script. The colophon of the *Fāl-i Qur'an* is dated 853 (1450) and was transcribed in *dīwānī* script (fol. 224a) by Bayazid b. Sadiq al-Sufi al-Kirmani.⁷¹ Most probably this is the Qur'an copy with a finely inscribed *Fāl-i Qur'an* mentioned in 'Atufi's inventory (15 {6}).

A Qur'an manuscript from the Aqqoyunlu period (thought to date to ca. 1480) by an unknown calligrapher



Fig. 32. Double-page illuminated frontispiece, *Du‘ānāma*, calligrapher Argun al-Kamili, 1352, Ilkhanid period, TSMK, R. 80, fols. 1b–2a. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

is among the distinguished works that made their way into the library of Bayezid II.⁷² It is transcribed in *naskh* script in a 9-line format on 586 folios. The illuminated frontispiece encloses the suras *al-Fātiḥa* and *al-Baqara* (fols. 1b–2a, fig. 36). The central sections contain suras with Persian translations in red *ta‘līq* script below the text and interlinear commentary. The upper and lower cartouches and the page borders are embellished with floral *khiṭāyī* motifs over a dark blue ground. The sura headings are inscribed in white within the cartouches. The brown binding of the manuscript is plain and is a later addition, apparently dating from the nineteenth century. One Qur’ān copy with a Persian translation is recorded in ‘Atufi’s inventory (14 {4}).

Among manuscripts on religious topics, the 54 works on jurisprudence and hadith are the most numerous. A copy of *Shifā’ al-saqām fī ziyārat khayr al-anām* (The Healing of Hearts in Visiting the Best of Creatures), authored by the Shafī‘ī scholar Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 1355) and dated to the Mamluk period, is amongst these manuscripts.⁷³ This work, which encourages visitation to the Prophet Muhammad’s grave in Medina, was copied by Ahmad b. ‘Alī b. Muhammad al-Hanafī in 775

(1374). The 164-folio manuscript is transcribed in a 19-line format in *naskh* script. The surfaces of the brown leather binding covers are entirely decorated with geometric patterns (fig. 37). The central rectangular panel is filled with geometric interlace motifs dominated by two ten-pointed stars, whose arms extend into an overall geometrical composition. The ground is embellished with diminutive gilded dots.

The most significant manuscript within this group is titled *al-Tuḥfat al-najībīyyat li-ḥadrat al-salṭanat al-Uwaysīyya* (A Fine Gift for Uways, the Lord of All-Revered Sultans). It is the only known copy of this Arabic work on Islamic wisdom and law by Hajjī Muhammad b. Husayn al-Damghani, transcribed in *nasta‘līq* script for the Jalayirid ruler Shaykh Uways Bahadur Khan (d. 1374).⁷⁴ The brown leather upper and lower covers of the binding have undergone repair to re-attach certain separated sections, and the original ornamented leather binding has been detached from the lower cover. However, the upper cover, which survives in its original form, has a lobed medallion *shamsa* with pendants and corner pieces (fig. 38). The inscription panel in *thuluth* script in the lower part of the cover is illegible, having partially



Fig. 33. Lower binding cover, a Mamluk Qur'an, first half of the fourteenth century, TSMK, E.H. 80. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



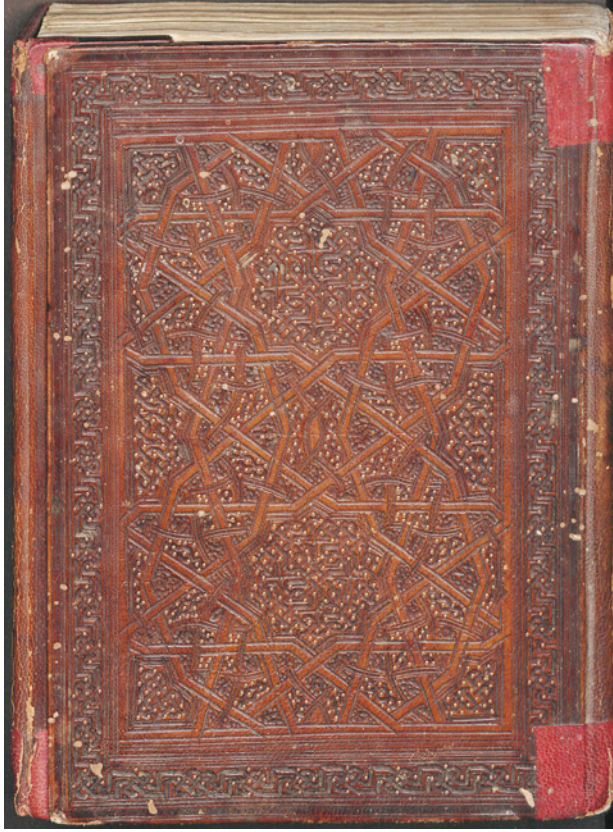
Fig. 34. Doublure of lower binding, a Mamluk Qur'an, first half of the fourteenth century, TSMK, E.H. 8o. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 35. Double-page illuminated frontispiece, Qur'an, first half of the fourteenth century, Mamluk period, TSMK, E.H. 80, fols. 1b–2a. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 36. Double-page illuminated frontispiece, Qur'an, ca. 1480, Aqoyunlu period, TSMK, E.H. 183, fols. 1b–2a. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



broken off. Square panels flanking the inscription on either side are inscribed with the name 'Ali in a style reminiscent of Kufic script. At the center of the brown leather doublures are rectangular gilded *shamsas*. The embellished and inscribed envelope flap is the most noteworthy detail of this binding. Written in monumental *thuluth* over a ground of vegetal motifs on the upper fore-edge of the envelope flap is the aforementioned book title. The two flanking panels contain fragments of a Persian inscription, which is only partially legible due to damage, but it can still be deciphered sufficiently to indicate that the work was made for the Jalayirid sultan Shaykh Uways. The inscription bands on the upper fore-edge flap are embellished with large vegetal motifs, and the border is filled with rosettes and foliate designs. The corner panels are again inscribed 'Ali. The lobed, oval *shamsa* on the lining of the envelope flap is decorated with geometric interlaces. The central inscription band

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Fig. 37. Upper binding cover, al-Subki, *Shifa' al-saqām fī ziyārat khayr al-anām*, calligrapher Ahmad b. 'Ali b. Muhammad al-Hanafi, 1374, Mamluk period, TSMK, A. 324. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 38. Upper binding cover, al-Damghani, *al-Tuḥfat al-naḥbiyyat li-ḥaḍrat al-salṭanat al-Uwaysiyya*, 1373–74, Jalayirid period, TSMK, A. 656. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

on the fore-edge flap is in Kufic script, with the flanking bands in *thuluth*. The information gleaned from these inscriptions, as well as further research, indicates that the manuscript was collated, illuminated, and completed in Tabriz in 775 (1373–74) by Muhammad b. Husayn at the behest of Shaykh Uways, and that Hajji Muhammad b. Husayn al-Damghani, who is named as the author, was also responsible for the design of the binding and executed the calligraphic inscriptions on the covers himself.

Another manuscript bearing the seal of Bayezid II, which is particularly notable for its binding, is a compilation of hadith and prayers titled *Ad'īyya ma'thūra mar-wīyya 'an al-Nabī* (Revealed Prayers Recited by the Prophet).⁷⁵ The manuscript's author is the Arabic linguist and scholar of Qur'anic commentary and hadith, Abu Tahir Majd al-Din Muhammad b. Ya'qub b. Muhammad al-Firuzabadi (d. 1414). The 118-folio copy is transcribed in 7 lines of *rayḥānī* script. The covers of the dark brown leather binding are decorated with a central *shamsa* and borders infilled with geometric interlace. The doublures are lined in a blue, red, yellow, and green fabric (fig. 39). The ground is divided into square panels, each containing alternating enlarged *khiṭāyī* motifs and interlaced lozenges. Bands framing the square panels are embellished with floral rosettes, foliate motifs, and interlaced knots. The dedicatory page is ornamented with undulating concave and convex bands (fol. 1a).⁷⁶ The central section of the page provides information about the contents of the volume, complemented by laudatory phrases about its owner, illuminated with large floriated devices, vegetal motifs, and palmettes. The rectangular heading is illuminated with large multi-colored palmettes, vegetal motifs, and floral rosettes. The format and content of the dedicatory inscription, the composition of the binding, and the style of illumination indicate that the manuscript was prepared between the years 1380 and 1420 in Cairo or Damascus.

A work notable for its binding is a copy of the *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm* (The Key to the Sciences) by Abu Ya'qub Yusuf ibn Abi Bakr al-Sakkaki (d. 1229).⁷⁷ This manuscript, which was copied in 1322, is 173 folios long, with a 17-line format of *naskh* script. The binding covers with envelope flaps are of brown leather, bearing a lobed *shamsa* in the center. The cover designs are foliate, while those on the envelope flap are geometrical. The composition

on the doublures consists of elongated hexagonal panels alternating with four-point stars, each containing infill motifs which alternate between stems and vegetal motifs and two lines of Arabic inscription in *thuluth* script, reading *al-'izz al-dā'im wa-al-iqbāl* (perpetual eminence and prosperity) (fig. 40). Similar compositions are encountered on the bindings of works of Bursa provenance pre-dating 1460.⁷⁸ Hence, it is clear that the binding is not original and that the manuscript was rebound in Ottoman Bursa.

A literary manuscript exquisitely illuminated and bound during Qaraqoyunlu Turkmen rule in Baghdad is also stamped with the seal of Bayezid II. Titled *Dīwān-i Qāsim-i Anwar*, it contains the collected poems of the Iranian poet Qasim-i Anwar and is dated 859 (1455).⁷⁹ The book, transcribed in *ta'liq* script in a 15-line format, is 346 folios long. The illuminations on the dedication page, which bears a *shamsa* motif (fol. 1a), and the frontispiece (fols. 1b–2a) reflect the style of the era. The covers of its brown leather binding with an envelope flap are decorated with a hunting scene in gilded relief, depicting a deer felled by a hunter on horseback (fig. 41). As the deer lies smitten, hares and other deer run off through the trees. The brown leather doublures have lobed *shamsas* with pendants and corner pieces. The dark blue and green ground within the *shamsas* and corner pieces is embellished with finely worked brown leather filigree stems dotted with *khiṭāyī* and vegetal motifs (fig. 42).

Also among the manuscripts bearing the seal of Bayezid II are illustrated medieval works of literature and science, some of which are the only known copies of a particular work. The *Ṣuwar al-kawākib al-thābita* (Images of the Fixed Stars) by the prominent scholar 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sufi (d. 986), written in Arabic, is a synthesis of the star catalogue in Ptolemy's *Almagest* and Arabic astronomical traditions on the constellations. The 148-folio manuscript bearing Bayezid II's seal was copied during the Artuqid period in Mardin by Wathiq b. 'Ali b. 'Umar b. al-Husayn, known as Shawqi, in 525 (1131).⁸⁰ The manuscript contains eighty detailed illustrations of the constellations of fixed stars, indicating proportional distances between the stars. Figural representations of the signs of the zodiac are drawn in black ink, some figures being also painted. The illustration on fol. 91b depicts the "Sign of Sagittarius" (fig. 43).



Fig. 39. Doublure of lower binding cover, al-Firuzabadi, *Ad'iyya ma'thūra marwiyya 'an al-Nabī*, Cairo or Damascus, 1380–1420, Mamluk period, TSMK, A. 526. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 40. Doublure of lower binding cover, al-Sakkaki, *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, 1322, bound in Bursa, pre-1460, Ottoman period, TSMK, A. 1628. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

Although the illustrations adhere to classical iconography associated with this astronomical genre, the stylized contours, figural types, and elements of dress are Islamic in character.⁸¹

Another noteworthy illustrated manuscript from the Middle Ages is the *Kitāb al-bayṭara* (Book of Veterinary Art). This volume (TSMK, A. 2115) is based on a Greek text on the grooming and veterinary treatment of horses titled *Hippiatrika*. Written by Ahmad b. al-Husayn b. al-Ahnaf, it was copied in 606 (1210) by ʿAli b. al-Hasan. The manuscript, transcribed in *naskh* script over 171 folios, contains 56 illustrations. The illustration on page 168b depicts a figure grooming a horse (fig. 44). The stylistic features of this illustration, particularly its approach to figural representation, treatment of landscape elements, and frameless positioning of those features against a blank background directly on the page, are characteristic of the shared medieval pictorial repertoire of Mesopotamia, northern Iraq, and southeastern Anatolia.⁸²

CONCLUSION

To summarize, of the 784 manuscripts in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library identified as bearing a seal, dedication, or annotation of ownership, 750 are stamped with the seal of Bayezid II. The remaining 34 manuscripts have either a dedication to Bayezid II or a proprietorial note verifying their presence in the palace library, such as *min kutub al-Sultān Bāyezīd b. Meḥemmed Ḥān ḥallada mulkahu; šāhibuhu al-Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥemmed Ḥān ḥallada mulkahu*; or *min kutub al-Sultān Bāyezīd*.⁸³ Such notes are, however, not exclusive to the few manuscripts lacking Bayezid II's seal, as they are also found on those stamped with his seal. Although manuscripts bore dedications to the Ottoman sultans before the reign of Bayezid II, volumes entering the palace library before his time did not have any seal impressions or proprietorial exlibris annotations. As mentioned above, despite the fact that certain



Fig. 41. Upper binding cover, *Dīwān-i Qāsim-i Anwar*, Baghdad, 1455, Qaraqoyunlu period, TSMK, R. 991. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 42. Doublure of lower binding cover, *Dīwān-i Qāsim-i Anwar*, Baghdad, 1455, Qaraqoyunlu period, TSMK, R. 991. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 43. The “Sign of Sagittarius,” al-Sufi, *Ṣuwar al-kawākib al-thābita*, calligrapher Wathīq b. ‘Alī b. ‘Umar b. al-Husayn al-ma‘rūf bi-Shawqī, Artuqid Mardin, 1131, TSMK, A. 3493, fol. 91b. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Fig. 44. Painting with a figure grooming a horse, al-Ahnaf, *Kitāb al-bayṭara*, calligrapher ‘Alī b. al-Hasan, 1210, TSMK, A. 2115, fol. 168b. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

works bear dedications to Mehmed II, they do not include his seal impression or a statement of ownership. This highlights the significance of the steps taken with regard to the manuscript treasury during the reign of Bayezid II, steps which would later be adopted as customary practice. Bayezid II's approach to the organization of the palace library sets him apart from both his predecessors and his successors. Manuscripts continued to be dedicated to Bayezid II's successors, some featuring both dedicatory notes and the sultans' seals. However, such practices were restricted solely to manuscripts dedicated to the incumbent sultan of the time, works that entered the treasury during the reign of that very sultan. Manuscripts already in the Inner Treasury collection prior to the reign of the incumbent sultan were

not treated with scrutiny and no attempt was made to create a comprehensive catalogue of the pre-existing collection.

To recapitulate, of the manuscripts analyzed in this essay, 405 are on scientific topics, 192 on religion, 144 on literature, and 41 on history, as well as one album. Twenty-three of these manuscripts are illuminated.⁸⁴ Of the many scholarly manuscripts with dedications to Mehmed II and Bayezid II, the dominant topics are philology, philosophy, astrology/astronomy, and medicine, although works are not limited to these fields. Subjects such as logic, arithmetic, ethics, onomancy, music, dream interpretation, geography, agriculture, and horsemanship are also featured within the palace library collection.

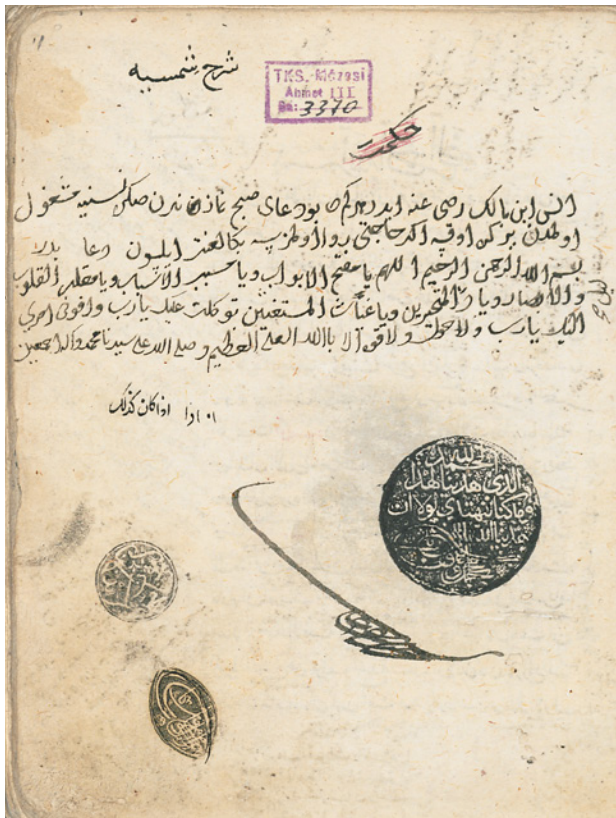


Fig. 45. Opening page with the seal impressions of Prince Mehmed, Bayezid II, and Ahmed III, al-Tahtani, *Tahrīr al-qawā'id al-manṭiqiyya fī sharḥ al-shamsiyya* (The *Shamsiyya* Epistle on the Fundamentals of Logic), 1393, TSMK, A. 3370, fol. 1a. (Photo: Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

Manuscripts on hadith are predominant among the religious-themed works, accompanied by those on theology, Sufism, Qur'anic commentary, and jurisprudence. Qur'ans, prayer books, Arabic and Persian translations of the Bible, as well as Arabic translations of the Psalms and the Torah are also among this group. Qur'ans copied by renowned calligraphers of the Ilkhanid, Jalayirid, Timurid, Mamluk, Aqqoyunlu Turkmen, and Ottoman periods; prayer books; hadith collections; and works on jurisprudence include among them examples of the great artistry characteristic of their time. Most of the works on jurisprudence, Qur'anic commentary, Sufism, hadith, and theology were prepared for Mehmed II and Bayezid II. As noted above, the volumes in this group include Arabic translations of the Psalms and the Torah,

and Arabic and Persian translations of the Bible, which must be counted among the "Psalms, Torah, and translated Bibles" listed in 'Atufi's inventory (364 {11–19}, 365 {1}).⁸⁵

The sultans' love of verse contributed to the existence of many poetry books among the literary works in Bayezid II's library, some of them elaborately decorated, alongside story books and compendiums. One of the four books of poetry stamped with Bayezid II's seal was prepared for him,⁸⁶ and the remaining three were made for Mehmed II.⁸⁷ Illustrated copies of major Iranian works on literature made their way into the palace library as gifts.

Almost all of the historical manuscripts in the collection focus on the history of Islam. Among them are single volumes on the histories of three dynasties—Ghaznavid,⁸⁸ Mongol,⁸⁹ and Iranian⁹⁰—along with a copy of Rashid al-Din's (d. 1318) *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* (Compendium of Chronicles).⁹¹ The *Khunkār-nāma* (Book of the Sovereign)⁹² written for Mehmed II; a Persian *Silsilā-nāma* (Genealogy)⁹³ produced during the reign of Bayezid II; the *Fatḥ-nāma* (Book of Conquest) recording the same sultan's conquest of Modon and Lepanto;⁹⁴ and the *Shāhnāma-i Malik-i Āhī*⁹⁵ are three Ottoman dynastic histories that bear the seal of Bayezid II.

Books belonging to Bayezid II in the palace library are important not only for their contents and artistic characteristics, but also for their previously unknown seals. Studies up to this point have only identified Bayezid II's almond-shaped seal (2.2 × 1.4 cm), inscribed *Bāyezīd bin Meḥammed el-muzaffer dā'imā* (Bayezid son of Mehmed, always victorious). However, two additional seals of Bayezid II, each of them a different type, have recently been discovered in two books at the palace library.⁹⁶ One of the books in question is Abu Mansur al-Maturidi's two-volume work titled *Ta'wilāt Abū Maṣṣūr al-Māturīdī*.⁹⁷ The first volume of this work was prepared in the fourteenth century, while the second volume dates from the thirteenth century. In both volumes, fol. 1a is annotated with the names of their previous owners, Kadi Hasan b. Isma'il 815 (1412) and Ahmad b. Bakr 818 (1415). Upon entering the book treasury of the imperial palace, these volumes were stamped with Bayezid II's seal. Yet fol. 283b of the first volume has a differently shaped seal, although it too is inscribed as *Bāyezīd bin Meḥammed el-muzaffer dā'imā* (see

Appendix, “Examples of Bayezid II’s Ex Libris,” at the end of this essay).⁹⁸ With both of its sides having a curvilinear form, the seal features illegible motifs above and below, whereas its letters are notably intricate. We might compare this design with the tughras (monograms) and seals of Ottoman princes found in extant archival documents and manuscripts.⁹⁹ The striking aspect of these princely seals is that, in comparison with those of the sultans, their lines are imprecise and less sharp, while their calligraphies are relatively crude. It can be observed that princes who became sultans changed their seals, even experimenting with several transitional seal types prior to deciding on their sultanate seals, which stand out for their superior designs. This shows the importance sultans attached to their seals, which symbolized their sovereignty. The oval seal in the first volume of *Taʿwīlāt Abū Maṣṣūr al-Māturīdī* must have been Bayezid II’s princely seal because of its less accomplished form and design in comparison to his sultanate seal.¹⁰⁰

The second different seal of Bayezid II is found in a compendium containing various medical treatises (see Appendix, “Examples of Bayezid II’s Ex Libris,” at the end of this essay).¹⁰¹ The seal imprinted on the first and last pages of this volume features the same text as those above, just as its form and design is almost identical with his well-known almond-shaped seal. However, this seal is larger than the standard seal of Bayezid II (2.7 × 1.6 cm). Moreover, its design displays minor variations in the lowermost knot pattern and the motif on the right side. This variant seal, which has thus far only been identified in the medical compendium, was probably prepared during the last years of Bayezid II’s time as prince or in the first year of his reign. Judging from these examples, it may be concluded that Bayezid II used different seals during his days as a prince and established his sultanate seal soon after his accession to the throne.¹⁰²

Bayezid II gifted many manuscripts to his sons, who were also bibliophiles, especially princes Ahmed and Korkud.¹⁰³ Studies thus far have focused primarily on princes Selim, Ahmed, and Korkud due to their prominence in disputes for the throne, with only brief accounts on the other princes, one of whom was Prince Mehmed. This prince, who governed Caffa in the Crimea, died in

910 (1504) and was interred in the mausoleum of Murad I in Bursa.¹⁰⁴ Among the 784 manuscripts analyzed in this essay, only three feature a diminutive circular seal without any monogram, of a kind not previously noted in any study (fig. 45). Upon close scrutiny, the inscription reveals this seal as belonging to Prince Mehmed, son of Sultan Bayezid II.¹⁰⁵ On two of these three manuscripts (which are on the topics of doctrine, philosophy, and logic), Prince Mehmed’s seal is seen alongside that of Bayezid II,¹⁰⁶ while the third lacks Bayezid II’s seal.¹⁰⁷ The opening page of the latter manuscript, however, indicates that it was prepared for Bayezid II. This manuscript was probably a gift to the prince from his father, and for this reason it may have been deemed unnecessary to stamp it with the sultan’s seal. The books of the little-known Prince Mehmed, who predeceased his father, must have been brought to the Topkapı Palace upon his death. ‘Atufi’s inventory includes a manuscript belonging to Prince Mehmed among the books on astrology (321 {5–6}). However, it has not been possible to identify this particular manuscript in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library.

Curiously, in 14 of these 784 manuscripts in the palace library, the seal of Bayezid II on the first and last folios is either erased, carved out and removed,¹⁰⁸ gilded over, masked by illumination, or covered with a paper patch, which was apparently glued on in an attempt to conceal or destroy it.¹⁰⁹ The seal impressions in these manuscripts are well hidden, and it is often challenging to find any remaining traces of them. Two of these manuscripts bear records of having been copied for Mehmed II,¹¹⁰ and a further two for Bayezid II.¹¹¹ In them, the seals are either gilded over or erased. The seals on a copy of Jalal al-Din Rumi’s (d. 1273) *Mathnawī*¹¹² dating from 1446, and a 1450 copy of the Persian Shafi‘i scholar Farra’ al-Baghawi’s (d. 1122) hadith collection, titled *Maṣābiḥ al-sunnah*,¹¹³ are covered with illuminations that differ in style from those in the rest of these manuscripts. Bayezid II’s seal is only faintly visible in a copy of *Kitāb al-filāḥa* (Book on Agriculture), an Arabic translation of an agrarian almanac that greatly influenced Sufism, by the Greek author Cassianus Bassus Scholasticus (Qasṭūs b. Iskūlas-tika). This is an astrometeorological work detailing the impact of zodiacal signs and lunar aspects on the seasons and on certain calendar events.¹¹⁴ One of the two

annotations and ownership notes on fol. 1a of this manuscript has been partially erased, the other has been gilded over, and both are illegible. However, some notes reveal that the manuscript passed into the possession of Mehmed Ağa, also known as Süleyman Ağazade, and Haşmet Dede el-Mevlevi. Somehow this manuscript, which had once belonged to the library of Bayezid II, was acquired by others and changed hands before ultimately returning to the palace collection. A thorough and detailed investigation would no doubt reveal additional works from which Bayezid II's seal has been erased or masked in the palace library and in other museums or libraries.¹¹⁵ Bearing this in mind, it is highly likely that the number of identified manuscripts that have survived from Bayezid II's library will increase with further examination.

Another significant and interesting aspect is revealed in an Arabic commentary titled *al-Risāla al-faṭḥiyya* (Treatise on [the Commemoration of] the Conquest) by Mirim Çelebi, the grandson of the author of a treatise by the same title, 'Ali al-Qushji (d. 1474), who had dedicated this book on astronomy to Mehmed II following the sultan's victory over the Aqqoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan in 1473.¹¹⁶ We encounter the seal of Bayezid II on folios 1a, 2a, and 188b. However, the work is dated 925 (1519) and includes a dedication to Sultan Selim I on fol. 3a. Such conflicting details complicate the issue of the connection between the manuscript and its seal. Although sufficient research has yet to be carried out in order to reach a definite conclusion on this issue, certain explanations can be tentatively proposed. Mirim Çelebi, the author and copyist of the commentary, was invited to the palace to tutor Bayezid II in mathematics. The author was subsequently appointed by Selim I as the army judge (*kazasker*) of Anatolia in 925 (1519) and retired shortly afterwards. A close inspection of the folios and seals on this manuscript reveals interesting details. The seals on fols. 1a and 188b were expertly carved out and removed from another manuscript and were then skillfully remounted onto the manuscript in question.¹¹⁷ The seal on fol. 2a is genuine, since it is stamped directly onto the paper of the manuscript folio. The gilded border strip surrounding the text on fols. 1b–2a was clearly added later, as it overlaps the original seal. Certain lines of script or single words have been erased by

abrasion and alterations to the text, resulting in two visibly different styles of calligraphy. From this evidence we may speculate that the manuscript was transcribed by Mirim Çelebi for Bayezid II but was left incomplete. After entering the library of Bayezid II and being stamped with his seal, the incomplete book underwent revision at some point, with corrections and additions being made to it while in the library. The book was subsequently presented to Selim I in its revised state. The gilded dedication on fol. 3a, indicating that the manuscript was prepared for Selim I; the colophon dated 925 (1519) at the end of the manuscript; the genuine seal of Bayezid II on fol. 2a (this seal was never used after the sultan's death);¹¹⁸ and the gilded strip overlapping the original seal impression all support such a theory. However, this theory fails to explain the seals of Bayezid II that were glued onto fols. 1a and 188b at a later date. Other manuscripts with seals attached by glue do exist in the palace library. But all of the very obviously glued seals are, as far as I have been able to ascertain, the round treasury seals of Selim I,¹¹⁹ and they are found on manuscripts that have undergone repair or restoration. Ownership attribution inscriptions were usually cut out and removed from worn-out parts but were reattached by gluing them to the page on the new binding liners during restoration. But in the case of the work under scrutiny, the application is quite different. The cut-out seals added at a later date belong to Bayezid II, and an attempt has been made to mask their addition by a nearly perfect merging with the page surface. This application may have been carried out by Mirim Çelebi during his revision and completion of the manuscript as a symbolic act of fidelity to his original patron, Bayezid II.

As has been mentioned above, many of the manuscripts held at the library of Bayezid II were subject to alterations of various kinds at a later date, either by restoration, added illuminations,¹²⁰ renewal of bindings,¹²¹ or the addition of Qur'anic divination sections to Qur'an manuscripts.¹²² Such modifications are extremely critical for the codicology of the works in the collection. This collection, comprising as it does manuscripts on an unusually wide range of subjects, from the ninth century up to Bayezid II's demise in 1512 ('Atufi's inventory only covers volumes acquired until ca. 1502–4), constitutes a

unique record of the stylistic tastes and cultural diversity throughout the Islamic world at the time. Besides shedding light on works of history, science, culture, and the arts across that vast geography, it also documents the web of artistic interactions and relationships evolving over the ages.

Just as the library holdings of Bayezid II were built upon the collections of his forebears, so too his own library was transferred to his successors and was redistributed over time, as the manuscripts made their way into various libraries throughout the palace and beyond. In the library inventories of more recent years, these works have been catalogued according to the names of the collections from which they originated within the imperial palace complex.¹²³ As I have described here, part of the collection that had accumulated for several centuries in the Inner Treasury was endowed to the library of Ahmed III, which was established as the first freestanding library erected in the palace grounds by this sultan. The entire collection of manuscripts was stamped with the endowment seal of Ahmed III and was recorded in an endowment deed (*waqfiyya*), which explains that the sultan

had this freestanding building constructed in the palace grounds with the intention that all those exquisite volumes which had been incorporated into the collection whether by appropriation, purchase, or gift should be preserved in the library to prevent their being mislaid or forgotten in some remote corner of the palace, to better protect them against damage, and also so that those wishing to acquire information from reading them should be granted access to these works.

(*Devlet-i Âliyye-i 'Osmâniyyenin zühûrundan beri sarây-i cedîd-i sulţânide gerek temellük ve şatın alma ve gerekse hediye şûretiyle biriken birbirinden nefis kitâbların köşe bucâkda қаларак unutulmaması, zâyî' olmaması, daha iyi muhâfaза edilmesi, ve bunların müţâla'asına müştâk olan kimselerin istifâde edebilmesi için sarây-i hümayûnda bir dârü'l-kütüb inşâ ettirmiştir.*)

Ahmed III required that works from every field of science and scholarship be selected for the library, which was to be opened on Mondays and Thursdays for the inhabitants of the male quarters in the Inner Palace (*Enderûn*). During those two days, certain volumes could be loaned out by the clerk of the library or the librarian to individuals within the palace; removing the

books from the palace grounds, however, was strictly prohibited. Thus the task of collocating, cataloguing, registering, and stamping these volumes with the seal of the library collection that had begun during the reign of Bayezid II was revived centuries later during the reign of Ahmed III. In establishing this endowed library, Ahmed III employed practices similar to those of his predecessor Bayezid II, so much so that one might conjecture that Ahmed III was inspired by the precedent of his ancestor.

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NOTES

1. At the time of writing this article only 784 manuscripts in the palace library were identified by this author as belonging to the manuscript treasury of Bayezid II. However, more recently additional manuscripts have been discovered in that category. Although not covered in the present article, these have been included in the list of manuscripts stamped with Bayezid II's almond-shaped seal, which are compiled by the author in Appendix I at the end of this volume (see "Appended List," which enumerates 226 manuscripts, yielding 1,010 manuscripts in total).
2. Topkapı Palace Museum Archive, D. 4.
3. The Treasury Register dated 910 (1505) is published in Tahsin Öz, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi Kılavuzu*, facsimile no. 21 (Istanbul, 1938).
4. Gülru Necipoğlu, 15. ve 16. Yüzyılda Topkapı Sarayı Mimari, *Tören ve İktidar* (Istanbul, 2007), 178.
5. Ibid., 179–80. Topkapı Palace Museum Archive, D. 3, no. 2, 12, 12a.
6. Topkapı Palace Museum Library (hereafter TSMK), Y.Y. 75: Fehmi E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1961), 1:355; İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Kütüphaneler ve Kütüphanecilik, Tarihi Gelişimi ve Organizasyonu* (Istanbul, 2015): 181.
7. Ibid., 1:1476. The inventory listing the manuscripts endowed to the Ahmed III Library is kept in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (TSMK, A. 3679).
8. Şükrü Yenal, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Enderun Kitaplığı," *Güzel Sanatlar Mecmuası* 6 (1949): 85–90.
9. İsmail Baykal, "Hazine-i Hümayûn ile Bağdad ve Revan Odası Saray Kütüphaneleri Hakkında İki Hatt-ı Hümayûn," *Tarih Vesikaları* II/9 (1942): 191–92; İsmail Baykal, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kitaplıkları," *Güzel Sanatlar Mecmuası* 6 (1949): 75–84.

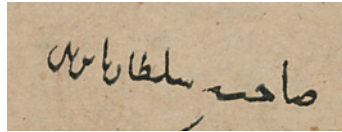
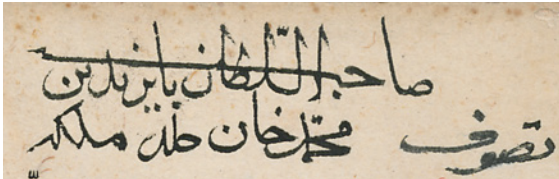
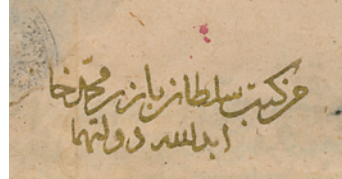
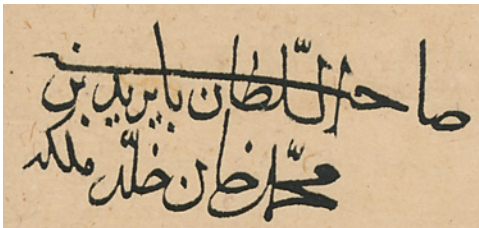
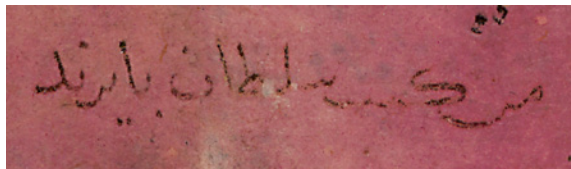
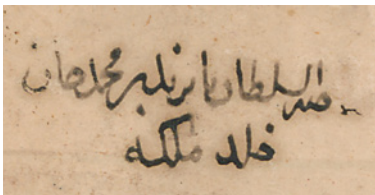
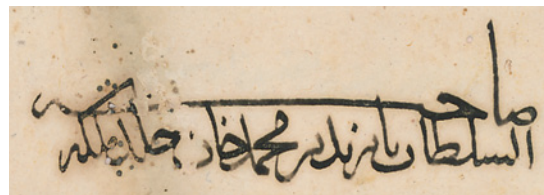
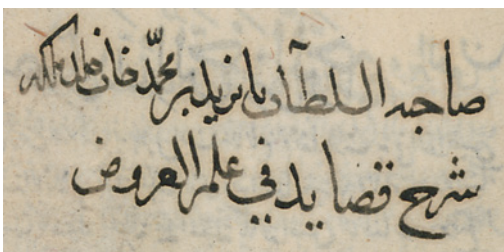
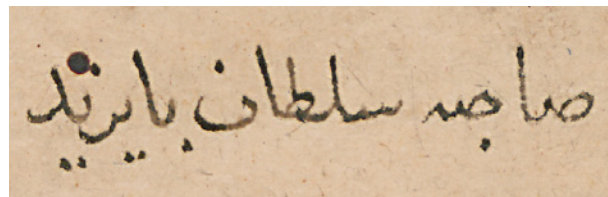
10. Zeynep Çelik (Atbaş), "Palace Library," *Topkapı Palace, Akbank Culture and Art Publications* 68 (Istanbul, 2000), 346–65; "Islamic Miniatures," *Arts of Asia* 31, no. 6 (2001): 101–13; "Illustrated Manuscripts in the Topkapı Palace Museum," *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters (New York, 2009): 270–73.
11. Julian Raby and Zeren Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century*, ed. Tim Stanley (London, 1993), 47–79, 190–91; Aysin Yoltar, "The Role of Illustrated Manuscripts in Ottoman Luxury Book Production: 1413–1520" (PhD diss., New York University, 2002), 81; Zeren Tanındı, "Kitap ve Cildi," in *Osmanlı Uygarlığı*, ed. Günsel Renda and Halil İnalçık, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 2002), 2:841–63; Zeren Tanındı, "Kitap ve Tezhibi," in *Osmanlı Uygarlığı*, 2:865–91.
12. TSMK, A. 121, A. 243, A. 558, A. 1297, A. 1017, A. 1032, A. 1741, A. 1844, A. 1789, A. 1858, A. 2535, A. 1417, R. 472, R. 475, E.H. 1304, A. 2414, A. 521, A. 3519, R. 1927, R. 1585, A. 2871, H. 1417, A. 3040, A. 3349, A. 2082, A. 3195, A. 3278, A. 3220, A. 3445, A. 3448, A. 3250, A. 3217, A. 3266, A. 3377, A. 3183, A. 3267, A. 3236, A. 3280, A. 3213, A. 3279, A. 3496, A. 3273, A. 3192, A. 3446, A. 3438, A. 3418, A. 3419, A. 3210, A. 3405, A. 3428, A. 3441, A. 3433, A. 3429, A. 3437, A. 3432, A. 3444, A. 2460, A. 2633, A. 3141, A. 3148, A. 3154, A. 3150, A. 3152, A. 3491, A. 3477, A. 3478, A. 3296, A. 3298, A. 3299, A. 3331, A. 3318, A. 3492, Y.Y. 830, A. 1996, A. 2038, A. 1964, A. 1953, A. 1932, A. 1934, A. 1973, A. 1935/1, A. 1935/2, A. 1935/3, A. 1978, A. 1972, A. 2072, A. 2062, A. 2005, A. 3447, A. 3449, R. 1726, A. 3462, A. 3159, A. 3256, A. 2693, A. 2753, A. 2778, A. 2149, A. 2204, A. 2167, A. 2177, A. 2257, A. 2191, A. 2251, A. 2254, A. 2203, A. 2227, A. 2213, A. 2193, A. 2732, A. 2164, A. 1691, A. 1706, A. 1728, A. 1673, A. 1656, A. 1702, A. 1687, A. 2338, A. 1635, A. 1672, A. 2565, A. 2627, A. 2473, R. 706, A. 2346, A. 2553/1, A. 2553/2, A. 1569, A. 2550, A. 2352, A. 2332, A. 2441, A. 2470, A. 1663, H. 1554, H. 1555, K. 889, H. 884, R. 880, H. 392, A. 2363, A. 1411, A. 3120, A. 3126, A. 306.
13. TSMK, A. 2149, A. 2204, A. 2177, A. 2251, A. 2254, A. 2203, A. 1691, A. 1656, A. 1635, A. 1672.
14. TSMK, A. 1691: Fehmi E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*, 4 vols. (Istanbul, 1962–69), 1:8006; Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, 41, figs. 46–47.
15. TSMK, A. 2082, A. 3278, A. 3220, A. 3377, A. 3183, A. 3267, A. 3213, A. 3279, A. 3496.
16. TSMK, A. 2082: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 3:6642.
17. TSMK, A. 3278, A. 3220, A. 3445, A. 3448, A. 3250.
18. TSMK, A. 3217, A. 3266, A. 3377, A. 3183, A. 3267, A. 3236, A. 3280.
19. Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, 69–71. Another work copied by this calligrapher is Maḥmūd b. 'Umar al-Chaghmīnī's *Qānūncha*. Though prepared during Mehmed II's reign, it lacks a dedication to him (TSMK, A. 1972: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 3:7273).
20. TSMK, A. 3278: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 3:6649.
21. TSMK, A. 3213: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 3:6719.
22. TSMK, A. 1996, A. 2038, A. 1964, A. 1953, A. 1932, A. 1934, A. 1973, A. 1935/1, A. 1935/2, A. 1935/3, A. 1978, A. 1972, A. 2072, A. 2062, A. 2005, A. 3447.
23. TSMK, A. 2038: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 3:7200.
24. TSMK, R. 706, A. 2460, A. 2753, A. 3195; Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, 70–71.
25. TSMK, R. 706: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 4:8416; *The Anatolian Civilisations III* (Istanbul, 1983), cat. E. 4.
26. TSMK, A. 2753: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 4:7546.
27. Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, 65–69.
28. TSMK, A. 1706, A. 3150, A. 3429.
29. TSMK, A. 3150: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 3:7015.
30. TSMK, A. 1706: Fehmi E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu* (Istanbul, 1961): 315.
31. TSMK, A. 121, A. 243, A. 558, A. 1297, A. 1017, A. 1032, A. 1741, A. 1844, A. 1789, A. 1858, A. 2535, A. 1417, R. 472, R. 475, E.H. 1304, A. 2414, A. 521, A. 3519, R. 1927.
32. TSMK, A. 3519: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 3:5724; Yıldız Demiriz, "Topkapı Sarayı III. Ahmed Kütüphanesinde Bir Arapça İncil," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 2 (1968): 87–101; *De Byzance à Istanbul: un port pour deux continents* (Paris, 2009).
33. TSMK, K. 889: Karatay, *Turkish Manuscripts (Türkçe Yazmalar)*, 2:2812.
34. After the Topkapı Palace was converted into a museum in 1924, all manuscripts contained in the dormitories of the Treasury Pages (Hazine), the Expeditionary Force (Seferli), the Halbediers (Baltacılar), the Cooks (Aşçılar), the Sofa, and other quarters were gathered together to form the Dormitories Library (Koğuşlar Kütüphanesi). Most of these manuscripts bear notes denoting the dormitories from which they had been transferred as well as endowment seals. Most are copies of the Qur'an, sections of the Qur'an, hadith collections, Qur'anic commentaries, and works on Islamic jurisprudence, although some pertain to other disciplines.
35. Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, 81–104.
36. TSMK, K. 16, E.H. 72, A. 5, K. 18, R. 72, A. 175, A. 156, A. 227, A. 231, A. 224, A. 134, A. 198, A. 59, A. 23, A. 391, A. 301/1, A. 302/1, A. 302/2, A. 443, A. 496/1, A. 496/2, A. 623, A. 596, A. 333, A. 576, A. 607, A. 1352, A. 1743, A. 1890, A. 1889, A. 1753, A. 1742, A. 1914, A. 1809, A. 1821, A. 1823, A. 1798, A. 1735, A. 1842, A. 1896, A. 1549, A. 1425, A. 1442, A. 1498, A. 2674, A. 141, A. 525, A. 1490, A. 3364, A. 2924/ 3, A. 2924/ 4, A. 2924/13–14, A. 3006, H. 1590, R. 1271, R. 1465, H. 1123, A. 3191, A. 2493, A. 1116, A. 3144, A. 3297, A. 3317, A. 3314, A. 3485, A. 3328, A. 3290, A. 3291, A. 3289, A. 3500, A. 3501, A. 3481, A. 3495, A. 3487, R. 1713, A. 3499, A. 3502, B. 310, H. 505, H. 513, R. 1709, E.H. 1712, A. 1960, B. 311, H. 506, R. 1706, A. 2053, A. 1979, A. 1977, A. 2051, A. 1987, A. 1982, A. 1991, A. 1993, A. 2010, A. 1967, A. 2081, A. 2141, A. 2045, A. 2124, A. 2692, Y.Y. 690, A. 1678, A. 1647, A. 1729, A. 1705, M.R. 541, H. 781, R. 984, H. 817, A. 3563, K. 954, A. 32, A. 2520, A. 1329, A. 1707, A. 225.
37. TSMK, E.H. 72, A. 5. For more detailed information on Shayk Hamdullah, see Muhittin Serin, *Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah* (Istanbul, 2007).

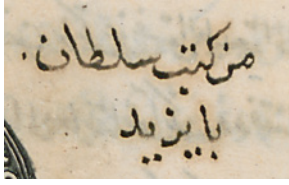
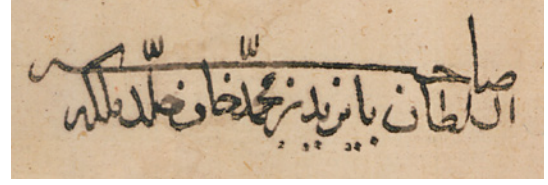
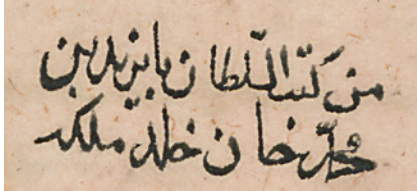
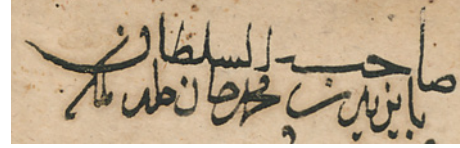
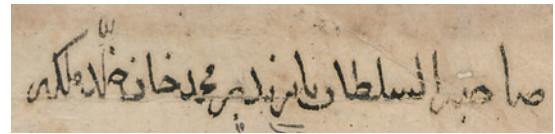
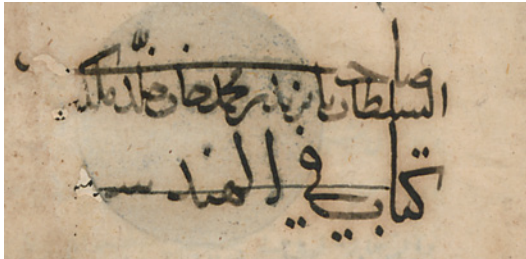
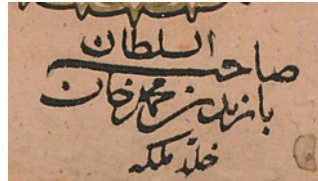
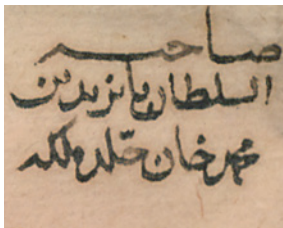
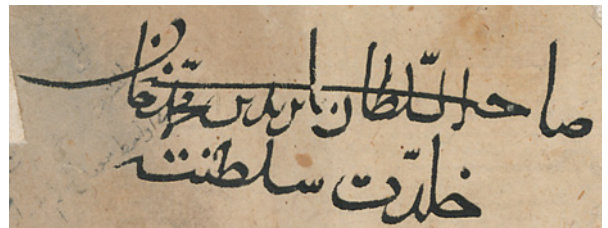
38. TSMK, K. 16: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 1:376.
39. For further information on manuscript illumination in the period of Sultan Bayezid II, see Gülnihal Küpeli, "II. Bayezid Dönemi Tezhip Sanatı" (PhD diss., Marmara Üniversitesi, 2007); Gülnihal Küpeli, "Tezhip Sanatında Yenilik Arayışları: II. Bayezid Dönemi," in *Hat ve Tezhip Sanatı*, ed. A. R. Özcan (Istanbul, 2009), 320–42; Zeren Tanındı, "Başlangıcından Osmanlı'ya Tezhip Sanatı," in *Hat ve Tezhip Sanatı*, 243–82.
40. Banu Mahir, "II. Bayezid Dönemi Nakkaşhanesinin Osmanlı Tezhip Sanatına Katkıları," *Türkiyemiz* 60 (1990): 4–13.
41. TSMK, K. 18: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 1:802.
42. TSMK, A. 607: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 2:3103.
43. The inscription reads: *wa-huwa al-sultān al-sābi' ke-sābi' al-samā fi silsilat sab'a banī 'Osmān zī al-jihād wa-al-'alā'i a'nī Sultān Bāyezīd Khān b. Sultān Mehemmed Khān b. Murād Khān b. al-Sultān Mehemmed Khān b. Yıldırım Bāyezīd Khān b. al-Ghāzī Murād Khān b. Orhān b. 'Osmān*.
44. TSMK, A. 3314: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 3:7093; Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, 84, fig. 75.
45. For detailed information, see Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Büyük Cihad'dan Frenk Fodulluğuna* (Istanbul, 1996), 88–96.
46. TSMK, A. 3495: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 3:7123.
47. TSMK, A. 2124: Karatay, *Türkçe Yazmalar*, 1:1769.
48. TSMK, A. 2010: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 3:7361.
49. TSMK, M.R. 541: Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar*, 389.
50. Baykal, "Topkapı Sarayı," 75–84.
51. Zeren Tanındı, "Additions to Illustrated Manuscripts in Ottoman Workshops," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 150–54; Serpil Bağcı, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda, and Zeren Tanındı, *Osmanlı Resim Sanatı* (Istanbul, 2006), 41–42, 50–53.
52. For this reattribution, see Gülrü Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople," *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 44–47.
53. The pen name of this author was formerly believed to be Ummi rather than Ahi. On the reattribution of this manuscript to Malik-i Ahi by Andrew C. S. Peacock, see the essays of Sooyong Kim and Gülrü Necipoğlu in this volume. TSMK, H. 1123: Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, cat. no. 34; *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600-1600*, ed. David J. Roxburgh (London, 2005), cat. 258; Bağcı et al., *Osmanlı Resim*, 48–49, fig. 20.
54. Yoltar, "Role of Illustrated Manuscripts," 388–98.
55. Istanbul Belediyesi Atatürk Library, MC. 071. See Hilal Kazan, *XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi* (Istanbul, 2010), 167.
56. Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, 91–92.
57. TSMK, A. 2692: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 4:7529.
58. TSMK, R. 984: Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar*, 579.
59. TSMK, E.H. 26, E.H. 28, R. 4, E.H. 61, E.H. 80, E.H. 151, R. 30, R. 32, H.S. 4, E.H. 183, R. 1, R. 70, B. 19, B. 33, B. 34, A. 179, A. 28/2, A. 130a 2, A. 130a 4, A. 82, A. 57/4a, K. 554, K. 563, R. 195, A. 667, A. 244, A. 406/I, A. 406/2, A. 376, A. 403 F2, A. 403 FV, A. 403 F6, A. 403 F7, A. 403 F8, A. 403 F9, A. 403 F10, A. 257, A. 410, A. 540, A. 260, A. 367, A. 369/1, A. 369/4, A. 369/5, A. 369/6, A. 369/9, A. 538, A. 600, A. 509, A. 289, A. 280, A. 294, A. 427, A. 310, A. 314, A. 650, A. 300, B. 67, R. 354, A. 516/2, A. 588, A. 470, A. 595, A. 434/1, A. 434/2, A. 324, A. 547, A. 656, A. 510/1, A. 510/3, A. 510/4, A. 510/5, A. 510/6, A. 510/7, A. 510/8, A. 477, A. 513, A. 559, A. 578, R. 325, A. 1218, A. 673/2, K. 881, A. 1448, A. 1866, A. 1921, A. 1302, A. 1783, A. 1879, A. 1863, A. 1864, A. 1903, A. 1383, A. 1510, A. 1402, A. 1525, R. 474, A. 1465, A. 1473, A. 1474, A. 1507, H. 232, H. 240, H. 244, R. 1058, K. 968, A. 519, A. 1494, A. 573, A. 140, A. 526, B. 81, R. 82, R. 86, R. 80, A. 518, R. 1095, R. 1528, R. 1532, A. 3521, A. 3522, A. 2973, A. 2909, A. 3047, A. 2923/A 1, A. 2923/A 8, A. 2923/A 10, A. 3037, A. 2979, A. 2870, A. 2996, A. 3000, A. 501/5, A. 501/6, A. 2953, A. 2968, A. 2849/2, A. 2849/3, A. 2849/4, A. 505, A. 2815, A. 2811, A. 2814, A. 2852, A. 508, A. 2501, A. 2828, A. 2983, A. 2831, R. 1518, R. 1659, A. 3347, A. 3345, A. 2768, A. 3258 C II, A. 2128, A. 2300, A. 2013, A. 3362, A. 3240, A. 3186, A. 3286, A. 3248, A. 3355, A. 3264, A. 3259, A. 3255, A. 3272, A. 3285, A. 3261, A. 3215, A. 3225, A. 3247, A. 3204, A. 3241, A. 3249, A. 2598, A. 3274, A. 3222, A. 3281, A. 3284, A. 3252, A. 3251, A. 3269, A. 3271, A. 3197, A. 3229, A. 3230, A. 3208, A. 3244, A. 3243, A. 3232, A. 3182, A. 3205, A. 3202, A. 3257, A. 3242, A. 3260, A. 3200, A. 3233, A. 3239, A. 3424, A. 3187, A. 3189, A. 3216, A. 3221, A. 3253, A. 3196, A. 3275, A. 3237, A. 3231, A. 3234, A. 3254, A. 3414, A. 3439, A. 3400, A. 3351, A. 3401, A. 3354, A. 3228, A. 3373, A. 3427, A. 3370, A. 3436, A. 3372, A. 3421, A. 3412, A. 3413, A. 3381, A. 3410, A. 3435, A. 3366, A. 3378, A. 3440, A. 3442, A. 3371, A. 3425, A. 3358, A. 3426, A. 2459, R. 395, A. 3473, A. 3463, A. 3132, A. 3140, A. 3155, A. 3142, A. 3151, A. 3156, A. 3451, A. 3452, A. 3454, A. 3453, A. 3456, A. 3457, A. 3145, A. 3133, A. 3117, A. 3149, A. 3153, A. 3479, A. 3136, A. 3135, A. 3119, A. 3118, A. 3475, A. 3493, A. 3509, A. 3505, A. 3508, A. 3325, A. 3308, A. 3302, A. 3293, A. 3294, A. 3343 Cl, A. 3333, A. 3315, A. 3322, A. 3324, A. 3316, A. 3320, A. 3338, A. 3332, A. 3307, A. 3305, A. 3304, A. 3494, A. 3512, A. 3329, A. 3342, A. 3474, A. 3472, H. 414, A. 3339, A. 3340, A. 3513, A. 3510, R. 1705, R. 1707, R. 1719mük., A. 3337, A. 3310, E.H. 1700, A. 1989/2–3, A. 1989/5, A. 1989/6, A. 1989/7, A. 1989/8, A. 1989, A. 2047, A. 2127, A. 2079, A. 2131, A. 2098, A. 1975, A. 1939/1, A. 1939/2, A. 1946, A. 2069, A. 2101, A. 2096, A. 2132, A. 1958, A. 2085, A. 2070, A. 2115, A. 1963, A. 3468, A. 2286, A. 3458, A. 3470, A. 3171, A. 3172, A. 3173, A. 3167, A. 3238, A. 1408, A. 3207, A. 3245, A. 3169, A. 2591, A. 2280, A. 2256, A. 2705, A. 2788, A. 2786, A. 2243, A. 2590, A. 2707, A. 2723, R. 1883, A. 2148, A. 2153, A. 2154, A. 2163, A. 2161, A. 2158, A. 2160, A. 2210, A. 2265, A. 2200, A. 2178, A. 2205, A. 2217, A. 2220, A. 2187, A. 2188, A. 2284, A. 2174, A. 2255, A. 2212, A. 2225, A. 2230, A. 2229, A. 2233, A. 2281, A. 1636, A. 1652, A. 1662, A. 1734, A. 2500, A. 2735, A. 1625, A. 1627, A. 1719, A. 1628, A. 1665, A. 1667, A. 1655, A. 1724, A. 1675, A. 1674, A. 1653, A. 1660, A. 1710, A. 2630, A. 1630, A. 2151, A. 2448, A. 2615, A. 2325, H. 841, H. 754, H. 759, H. 690, A. 1357, R. 434, H. 898, H. 678, H. 867, R. 947, R. 991, R. 956, R. 891, H. 686, Y.Y. 777, R. 1022, H. 796, R. 1048 mük, R. 1986, A. 2497, A. 2374, A. 2321, A. 2488, A. 2519, A. 2307, A. 2327, A. 2415, A. 2541, A. 2393, A. 2358, A. 2480,

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60. TSMK, E.H. 26: Karatay, *Arabic Manuscripts (Arapça Yazmalar)*, 1:33.
61. The Sacred Relics Treasury library was located in the Privy Chamber in the male quarters of the Third Court in the Topkapı Palace. The library was named after the chamber in which the sacred relics of the Prophet Muhammad were kept. Ottoman sultans endowed manuscripts to this library, and such volumes were stamped with the seal of the sultan who made the endowment. The library collection, 3118 manuscripts in all, consists mainly of illuminated Qur'ans from various eras and regions of the Islamic and Ottoman worlds, copied and ornamented by renowned calligraphers and illuminators.
62. TSMK, R. 70: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 1:101.
63. For details, see Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, 19–45.
64. TSMK, E.H. 151: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 1:136.
65. TSMK, R. 70: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 3:5658.
66. TSMK, E.H. 80: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 1:109.
67. For a detailed description of the design of the binding and other similar items, see Alison Ohta, "Filigree Bindings of the Mamluk Period," *Muqarnas* 21 (2004): 267–76; Alison Ohta, "The Relations Between Mamluk, Ottoman and Renaissance Bookbindings," *Thirteenth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. G. David and I. Gerelyes (Ankara, 2009), 491–503; Alison Ohta, "Turcoman Bindings: Dissemination of Technique and Decoration," in *At the Crossroads of Empires: 14th and 15th Century Eastern Anatolia*, ed. Deniz Beyazıt and Simon Rettig (Istanbul, 2012), 209–19; Zeren Tanındı, "The Arts of the Book: Patrons and Interactions in Erzincan between 1365–1410," in *At the Crossroads of Empires*, 221–38.
68. For similar examples, see David James, *Qur'ans of the Mamluks* (London, 1988), 193–95, 205.
69. Many works in a number of museums and collections bear dubious signatures by calligraphers. The palace collection includes works attested in the colophon to be transcribed by or attributed to Yaquṭ al-Musta'simi. Some of these works have undergone repairs such as the replacement of the original binding, covers, or end papers, and repairs to the frontispiece or dedicatory page after entering the Inner Treasury collection. Hence very few such manuscripts with the seal of Bayezid II remain in the collection.
70. For Qur'anic divination (*Fāl-i Qur'an*), see Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı, eds., *Falnama: The Book of Omens* (Washington, DC, 2009), 90–91.
71. The details of Qur'anic divination added to the end of the work will be analyzed further in future research.
72. TSMK, E.H. 183: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 1:404.
73. TSMK, A. 324: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 2:2963.
74. TSMK, A. 656: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 2:2965. For detailed information, see Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, "Selections from Jalayirid Books from the Istanbul Libraries," *Muqarnas* 28 (2011): 221–64.
75. TSMK, A. 526: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 2:5446.
76. James, *Qur'ans of the Mamluks*, 208, 211.
77. TSMK, R. 1628: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 4:8029.
78. For details, see Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, cat. 4.
79. TSMK, R. 991: Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar*, 656.
80. TSMK, A. 3493: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 3:7044.
81. Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi İslâm Minyatürleri* (Istanbul, 1979), 9; Güner İnal, *Türk Minyatür Sanatı (Başlangıcından Osmanlılara Kadar)* (Ankara, 1995), 24.
82. Çağman and Tanındı, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi İslâm Minyatürleri*, 10.
83. See Appendix: Examples of Bayezid II's Ex Libris.
84. TSMK, A. 2115, A. 2127, A. 3362, A. 3472, A. 3474, A. 3493, A. 3519, A. 3563, B. 411, H. 414, H. 678, H. 686, H. 754, H. 759, H. 781, H. 796, H. 817, H. 841, H. 898, H. 1123, R. 1022, R. 1659, R. 1707.
85. TSMK, A. 3521, A. 3522, A. 3519: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 3:5719, 5723, 5724; R. 1927: Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar*, 97.
86. See note 51 above.
87. TSMK, R. 706, A. 1569, A. 1663: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 4:8416, 8497, 8604.
88. TSMK, A. 3000: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 3:6710.
89. TSMK, A. 3040: Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar*, 132.
90. TSMK, R. 1465: Karatay, *Türkçe Yazmalar*, 1:1011.
91. TSMK, R. 1518: Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar*, 139.
92. TSMK, H. 1417: Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar*, 155.
93. TSMK, H. 1590: Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar*, 113; Serpil Bağcı, "Adem'den III. Mehmed'e Sisilenâme," in *Padişahın Portresi Tesâvir-i Âli Osman* (Istanbul, 2000), 188–215.
94. TSMK, R. 1271: Karatay, *Türkçe Yazmalar*, 1:626.
95. See note 47 above.
96. I have identified the two differing seals of Bayezid II in manuscripts belonging to the collection of the Ahmed III library at the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (TSMK, A. 28/1 and A. 2137) while researching this collection with a fellowship granted by the Barakat Trust. This ongoing project is titled "Stamps and Ownership Records on Books in the Ahmed III Collection of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library." I am also currently studying other collections of the palace library from the same perspective.
97. TSMK, A. 28/1–2: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 1712, 1713.
98. The seal measures 2.2 × 1.3 cm.

99. Zarif Orgun, *Tuğralar, Mühürler ve Elyazıları* (İstanbul, 1943); G. Kut and N. Bayraktar, *Yazma Eserlerde Vakıf Mühürleri* (Ankara, 1984).
100. Two manuscripts prepared for Bayezid II during his days as a prince, one on medicine (see note 47 above) and the other on astrology (see note 44 above), have not been stamped with his princely seal.
101. TSMK, A. 2137: Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar*, 276.
102. Besides Bayezid II's three seals examined in the present essay, Garo Kürkman has identified in the Venice archives a hitherto unknown seal of Bayezid II, stamped on an Ottoman document dated 909 (1503). This seal is nearly the same as Selim I's round treasury seal, the center of which is inscribed *Sultân Selîm Şâh* and is surrounded by the four-fold rotation of the pious phrase *Tawakkulî 'alâ khâliqi*. The only difference is that the newly discovered seal's center is inscribed *Sultân Bâyezîd*. This seal will be published by Garo Kürkman in his forthcoming book, *Anatolian Seals and Engravers*.
103. TSMA, D. 10017. This document in the palace archives records gifts sent by Bayezid II to his sons who governed provinces, in the following order: Şehinşah, Ahmed, Mahmud, Korkud, Alemşah, and Selim. Only gifts sent to the princes Korkud and Ahmed feature books. Known for his interest in Sufism, Prince Korkud received mostly volumes on this subject (*İsfahânî*, *Şerh-i 'Akâ'id*, *Şerh-i Ma'âli*, *Hâşiye-i Ma'âli*, *Kitâb-i Muhtaşar*, and *Hamse-i Nizâmî*). Prince Ahmed, who was interested in poetry, received copies of famous works on Persian literature (*Şehnâme*, *Divân-i Kâsim*, *Divân-i Hâfiz*, *Divân-i Kâtibi*, *Külliyât-i Amâlî*, *Divân-i Câmî*, and *Divân-i Seyh Kemâl*, as well as nine unspecified volumes of diwans).
104. İbn-i Kemâl, *Tevârih-i Âl-i 'Osmân*, VIII. Defter, ed. Ahmet Uğur (Ankara, 1997), 56; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "İstanbul Saraylarına Ait Muhasebe Defterleri," *Belgeler* 9, no. 13 (1979): 372–73; M. Çağatay Uluçay, "II. Bayezid'in Ailesi," *Sancaktan Saraya Seçme Yazılar* (İstanbul, 2012), 213, 222–23.
105. At the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, seven books belonging to Prince Mehmed have been identified by Zeynep Atbaş, who delivered a lecture on this topic, "Kitapsever Bir Şehzade: II. Bayezid'in Oğlu" (A Bibliophile Prince: Şehzade Mehmed, son of Bayezid II), in a conference on Ottoman book collectors titled *Osmanlı Kitap Koleksiyon-erleri Tecessüs ve İhtiras*, Koç Üniversitesi Anadolu Medeniyetleri Araştırma Merkezi, Beyoğlu İstanbul, 23 Aralık 2016.
106. TSMK, A. 3200, A. 3370: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 3:6727 and 6821.
107. TSMK, A. 1821: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 3:4898.
108. TSMK, A. 198, A. 243, A. 1935/2, A. 3220, E.H. 1304, E.H. 1700, H. 392, H. 1590, R. 706.
109. TSMK, A. 5, A. 257, A. 294, R. 434, M.R. 541.
110. TSMK, A. 3220: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 3:6662; TSMK, R. 706: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 4:8416.
111. TSMK, A. 5: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 1:800; TSMK, A. 198: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 1:1978.
112. TSMK, R. 434: Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar*, 504.
113. TSMK, A. 294: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 2:2692.
114. TSMK, E.H. 1700: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 3:7158.
115. Aleksandar Shopov's article in this volume discusses another manuscript with an erased seal of Bayezid II, titled *Risâla fî al-Tâ'un* (Treatise on the Plague): British Library, Or. 9009.
116. TSMK, A. 3480: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 3:7118.
117. The art of seamlessly attaching different pieces of papers together is called *vaşşâle*.
118. In accordance with the testament of Selim I, only his round seal (known as the treasury seal) was used on the Inner Treasury doors and for new manuscripts entering that treasury.
119. See note 108.
120. See note 62, fig. 29.
121. See note 62, fig. 30; note 65; note 72; and note 77, fig. 40.
122. See note 66.
123. Six hundred seventy-five of the manuscripts are registered in the Ahmed III Library, forty-seven are registered in the Revan Library, twenty-eight in the Inner Treasury Library, ten in the Holy Relics Treasury (Emanet Hazinesi) Library, ten in the Baghdad Pavilion Library, eight in the Dormitories (Koğuşlar) Library, three in the New Manuscripts (Yeni Yazmalar) Library, one in the Holy Mantle (Hırka-i Saadet) Library, and one each in the libraries of Mehmed Reşad and Tiryal Hatun.

APPENDIX: EXAMPLES OF BAYEZİD II'S EX LIBRIS

A. 1017: *Min kutub Sultān Bāyezīd*A. 1296: *Şāhibahu Sultān Bāyezīd*A. 1408: *Şāhibahu al-Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥemmed Khān khallada mulkahu*A. 1844: *Min kutub Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥemmed Khān abbad'allahu dawlatahumā*A. 2128: *Şāhibahu al-Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥemmed Khān khallada mulkahu*A. 2167: *Min kutub Sultān Bāyezīd*A. 2321: *Şāhibahu al-Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥemmed Khān khallada mulkahu*A. 2553-1: *Şāhibahu al-Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥemmed Khān khallada mulkahu*A. 2662: *Şāhibahu al-Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥemmed Khān khallada mulkahu*A. 3248: *Şāhibahu Sultān Bāyezīd*

A. 3280: *Min kutub Sultān Bāyezīd*A. 3317: *Şāhibahu al-Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥammed Khān khallada mulkahu*A. 3328: *Min kutub al-Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥammed Khān khallada mulkahu*A. 3343-1: *Şāhibahu al-Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥammed Khān khallada mulkahu*A. 3355: *Şāhibahu al-Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥammed Khān khallada mulkahu*A. 3430: *Şāhibahu al-Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥammed Khān khallada mulkahu*A. 3479: *Şāhibahu al-Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥammed Khān khallada mulkahu*R. 195: *Şāhibahu al-Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥammed Khān khallada mulkahu*R. 1058mük: *Şāhibahu al-Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥammed Khān khallada mulkahu*R. 1528: *Şāhibahu al-Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥammed Khān khallada mulkahu*



A. 28/1: *Bayezid II's seal as a prince*



A. 2137: *Bayezid II's seal in his last years as a prince or in the first year of his sultanate*

ARTS OF THE BOOK: THE ILLUSTRATED AND ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS LISTED IN ‘ATUFI’S INVENTORY

The almond-shaped seal of Sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) is found on many fine manuscripts dating from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries. This seal is stamped on the first and last page, or only on the last page of the best attested works, which were inscribed, often with exceptionally amply illustrated texts, illuminated, and bound by master craftsmen. These manuscripts are mainly to be found today in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (TSMK), sections of the Süleymaniye Library (SK), and other Istanbul libraries: Millet, Köprülü, and Nuruosmaniye, as well as the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum (TİEM).¹ The presence of Bayezid II’s seal indicates that a manuscript in the Imperial Inner Treasury (*hizāne-i ‘āmire-i enderūnī*) of the Topkapı Palace was catalogued and stamped with the imperial seal during his reign.²

Manuscripts are listed in ‘Atufi’s inventory by title and subject, and occasionally by author. The calligrapher’s name or *nisba* is also included for Qur’an manuscripts and some liturgical texts. The masters mentioned are: Yaqut, Arghun al-Kamili, Ibn al-Shaykh, ‘Abd Allah al-Sayrafi, Yusuf Shah al-Harawi, al-Murshidi, Muhammad b. Sultan Shah al-Harawi, al-Wali, Ibn-i Abu Bakr, Mustafa b. Kamal, Ahmad b. Yahya, Fadl Allah, Ahmad al-Misri, Yusuf b. Sulayman, Muhammad al-Awza’i, ‘Abd al-Latif, and ‘Abd Allah al-Harawi. Although very rarely, there are cases in which the artistic merit of the manuscript is also noted, or where an illustrated manuscript (*muṣawwar*) is mentioned as such, or the phrase *khaṭṭ nafīs* (excellent calligraphy) indicates a masterful script. For copies of the Qur’an, the type of paper (such as *al-Dimashqī*, *al-Samarqandī*), occurrence of interlinear Persian or Turkish glosses, divination by the Qur’an (*fāl al-Qur’ān*), and closing prayers of the Qur’an are also mentioned where relevant. One Qur’an manuscript is

recorded as being the gift of an Egyptian envoy. The size of a Qur’an is recorded as being either large or small, and manuscripts inscribed in gold are also indicated.

The titles, calligraphers, and patrons of the extant illuminated and illustrated manuscripts bearing the seal impression of Bayezid II generally match those listed in ‘Atufi’s inventory. However, the inventory lists some illuminated manuscripts that are not currently marked with the seal of Bayezid II, which suggests that the original binding and first or last folios that would have been stamped with his seal are now missing, having probably been replaced during repairs. In what follows, I examine the artistic profile of the Bayezid II manuscript collection by matching works that currently bear his almond-shaped seal in various libraries with those listed or thought to be referred to in ‘Atufi’s inventory.

ILLUMINATED QUR’AN MANUSCRIPTS

According to the tradition in library inventories since the Middle Ages, the first entries in ‘Atufi’s inventory are copies of the Qur’an. Some Qur’an listings also include the name of the scribe, although the type of script is given only when the Kufic script was used (13 {2–5}, 16 {4}, 17 {15–16}). Qur’ans written in Kufic script, which are thought to date from the Umayyad and early Abbasid periods, have rarely survived in full text and in the original binding.³ Even the most ornate bindings were replaced by later owners. Some Qur’an manuscripts with the seal of Bayezid II, written in Kufic script during the Umayyad or early Abbasid periods, are believed to have been illuminated and bound in the late fourteenth century and have been attributed to the Mamluks.⁴ One

Kufic Qur'an dated to the tenth century that bears the Bayezid II seal also contains sura heading markers and marginal ornaments in the form of unique decorative rosette motifs. The outer faces of its leather binding, embellished with deep moulded central medallions and corner pieces, must have been made in the palace workshop during Bayezid II's reign.⁵

One of the earliest known Islamic calligraphers of the medieval period is Yaqut al-Musta'simi (d. 1298), who is thought to have lived in Baghdad during Abbasid rule. Although its authenticity may be contested, his signature appears on many calligraphical masterpieces, including Qur'an manuscripts, literary works, and single folio calligraphy compositions.⁶ 'Atufi's inventory lists two Qur'ans in the hand of Yaqut (12 {13}, 15 {16}). One of these was almost certainly copied by Yaqut on 3 Dhu'l Hijjah 694 (October 14, 1295) and illuminated by Muhammad al-Sa'ati. Although currently lacking the seal of Bayezid II,⁷ it is probably one of the aforementioned Qur'ans described by 'Atufi as being inscribed in the hand of Yaqut. The second copy must be the manuscript dated 17 Ramadan 696 (July 9, 1297) in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, which has an exquisitely illuminated double frontispiece with the seal of Bayezid II on the opening folio.⁸ The finely decorated binding must have been made at the Istanbul palace workshop during the reign of Bayezid II. The third copy is probably a Qur'an manuscript, lavishly illuminated in the sultanic manner and dated 685 (1286–87), even though it lacks Bayezid II's seal impression.⁹

Yet another work listed in 'Atufi's inventory as copied in Yaqut's hand is the *Ad'iyatun bi-Khaṭṭi Yāqūt fi Mujalladin* (Book of Prayers in the Hand of Yaqut Bound in a Volume, 46 {8}). It is highly likely that this book of prayers is the finely illuminated manuscript stamped with Bayezid II's seal and copied on Safar 682 (May 1283), probably in Baghdad (fig. 1).¹⁰ Although the colophon identifies Yaqut as its scribe, this book of prayers is believed to be the work of one of his pupils. Alternatively, this manuscript may be identified as one of the books of "Seven-Day Prayers" (*Ad'iyatu al-Ayyāmi al-Sab'ati*) listed by 'Atufi without identifying their calligrapher (45 {3–4}, 46 {9–10, 13–14}). There are other works recorded in the inventory as written by Yaqut, including *Dīwānu shi'ri Abi Mahjan al-Thaqafi bi-khaṭṭi*



Fig. 1. Illuminated frontispiece, the seal of Bayezid II, and the endowment seal of Mahmud I, *Ad'iyat al-ayyām al-sab'a*, calligraphy signed by Yaqut, 1283, Baghdad. SK, Ayasofya, MS 2765, fol. 1a. (Photo: courtesy of the Süleymaniye Library)

Yāqūt wa-Dīwānu al-Ḥādīra bi-khaṭṭi Yāqūt fi mujalladin wāhidin (The Collected Poems by Abi Mahjan al-Thaqafi in the Hand of Yaqut and the Collected Poems of al-Hadira in the Hand of Yaqut Bound in a Single Volume, 207 {2–3}). This can be identified as a volume copied by Yaqut and the Timurid calligrapher Shams al-Baysunghuri in the Yaqut style; both collections of poems bear the seal of Bayezid II but are less lavishly illuminated than the other works copied by Yaqut.¹¹

One of the masters who adopted the Yaqut style is the calligrapher Arghun al-Kamili, who trained in Baghdad during the Ilkhanid period. This master is renowned for his five Qur'an copies in the *rayḥānī* script, of which those in Turkish collections are exquisitely illuminated.¹² Two Qur'ans (12 {14}, 16 {11–12}) and a book of prayers (47 {12–13}) are attributed to this calligrapher in



Fig. 2. Illuminated frontispiece of the Qur'an, calligraphy signed by Arghun al-Kamili, 1330, Baghdad. TSMK, E.H. 151, fols. 2b–3a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

'Atufi's inventory. One of the Arghun al-Kamili Qur'ans, which was copied on 29 Rabi' I 730 (January 20, 1330), bears the seal of Bayezid II (fig. 2).¹³ There can be little doubt that this courtly manuscript, with its exquisitely decorated frontispiece, is one of those listed in the 'Atufi inventory. The second Qur'an listed must be the work dated to Safar 738 (August 1337).¹⁴ The illuminated book of prayers bearing the seal of Bayezid II, which was copied by Arghun al-Kamili and dated 723 (1352–53), may be the manuscript referred to in 'Atufi's inventory.¹⁵

Magnificently illuminated early fourteenth-century Qur'an sections (*juz'*) between 50 and 70 centimeters in length—some with signed and tooled leather bindings from Ilkhanid Baghdad, Mosul, and Hamadan—are to be found in the *Emanet Hazinesi* (Sacred Relics Treasury) section of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library and at the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts. Today none of these *juz'* bears the seal of Bayezid II. Some were inscribed by the calligrapher Ahmad b. al-Shaykh

al-Suhravardi al-Baqri, also known as Shahykhzada.¹⁶ This must be the Shayhkhzada mentioned in 'Atufi's inventory as the scribe of a book of prayers (48 {4}). A single-volume Qur'an copied by Ahmad b. al-Suhravardi on Shawwal 718 (November 1318) bears the seal of Bayezid II.¹⁷ On its first two double pages it contains the most exquisite illuminations in the style of the Ilkhanid period. The binding, however, and the Qur'anic divination section (*fāl al-Qur'ān*) at the end of the text were later additions. There can be little doubt that the inner and outer covers of this manuscript's binding, which are finely embellished with moulded leather floral decorations, are the work of an Ottoman master binder from around 1470.¹⁸ The divination section was copied in Persian prose in 857 (1453) in *ta'liq* script; since it lacks ornamentation, the provenance of this section is difficult to attribute. It could have been added at the workshop of a previous owner before arriving in Ottoman hands,



Fig. 3. Illuminated last sura of the Qur'an with the seal of Bayezid II, dedicated to Qaytbay, ca. 1485, Cairo. TĪEM, MS T. 533, fol. 437a. (Photo: courtesy of the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum)



Fig. 4. Outer front cover of the Qur'an, dedicated to Qaytbay, ca. 1485, Cairo. TĪEM, MS T. 533. (Photo: courtesy of the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum)

or it could equally have been the product of an Ottoman provincial workshop, such as Amasya, Bursa, or Edirne.¹⁹

The most artistically bound and stunningly illuminated of the Mamluk Qur'ans with the seal of Bayezid II is a copy dedicated to the Mamluk sultan Qaytbay (r. 1468–96) (fig. 3).²⁰ Although the colophon of this work, which is inscribed with gilt ink in the *rayḥānī* script, contains neither a date nor the calligrapher's name, it may be attributed to the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The elegant illuminations and splendidly adorned outer covers and doublures of the binding immediately give the impression of a manuscript of imperial grandeur (fig. 4).²¹ Sultan Qaytbay's Qur'an may well be the very manuscript mentioned in 'Atufi's Qur'an

list as having been presented to the Ottoman court by an ambassador from Egypt (15 {19}). It is known that a Mamluk ambassador visited Istanbul and attended the imperial court on 25 Jumada I (November 15, 1503) with his retinue, where he presented various gifts to Sultan Bayezid.²²

A Qur'an copied by Yusuf Shah al-Harawi is mentioned in the 'Atufi listing (13 {11}), although I have yet to encounter a Qur'an manuscript in his hand. This calligrapher did copy a manuscript of the *Mathnawī* of Mawlana al-Rumi, which was dedicated to the Timurid sultan Abu Sa'id (r. 1451–69) in 859–62 (1453–57), in the *naskh*, *nasta'liq*, and *tavqī'* scripts, with section headers illuminated in the Herat style; yet this work does not



Fig. 5. Illuminated frontispiece of the Qur'an, the seal of Bayezid II, calligraphy signed by Muhammad b. Sultan Shah al-Harawi, 1485, Herat. TSMK, H.S. 4, fol. 1b–2a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

bear the Bayezid II seal.²³ However, a large-sized anthology that does bear this sultan's seal contains Yusuf Shah's exquisite renderings of the sayings of 'Ali (the fourth Sunni caliph and first Shi'i imam 'Ali b. Abi Talib), in *thuluth*, *naskh*, and *muḥaqqaq* scripts copied from the text of the scribe Yaqut.²⁴ The calligrapher Muhammad b. Sultan Shah al-Harawi (al-Hirawi) is referred to in 'Atufi's Qur'an inventory as the scribe of a large Qur'an (13 {18–19}). This master was responsible for a Qur'an copied in *mahrusa-i* Herat on 9 Ramadan 890 (September 19, 1485), inscribed in alternate sequence in a line of elongated *muḥaqqaq* followed by six lines of short *naskh*, then a line in elongated *thuluth*, again followed by six lines of short *naskh*, and subsequently another line of elongated *muḥaqqaq*. The headers, frames, and margins of the first two suras, where the almond-shaped seal of Sultan Bayezid II is stamped, are sumptuously illuminated in the Herat style (fig. 5). The leather binding with moulded outer covers and doublures, bearing central medallions and corner pieces, is the work of a Herat master binder (fig. 6). Although not a large manuscript, its elegant illumination, covers, and masterful rendering of the text make it one of the finest master-

pieces cited by 'Atufi.²⁵ This Qur'an, a select and stunning product of the Herat workshop of the Timurid sultan Husayn Bayqara (r. 1468–1506), must have been sent from that city as a gift to Bayezid II no later than fifteen years after its completion.

Another calligrapher to whom a Qur'an manuscript is attributed in 'Atufi's inventory is Fadl Allah (15 {7}). A Qur'an in the Khalili collection in London was inscribed and illuminated on 10 Muharram 899 (October 22, 1493) by the calligrapher and illuminator Fadl Allah b. Wali, known as Ibn al-'Arab.²⁶ The opening lines of this Qur'an are framed with a finely illuminated heading (*sarlawḥa*) around the text. Although there is no impression of Bayezid II's seal, it is highly probable that this is the Qur'an referred to by 'Atufi. Certain other fine manuscripts stylistically attributable to the second half of the fifteenth century are also assumed to have been illuminated by Fadl Allah. Two *Sūra al-An'am* (sixth sura of the Qur'an) manuscripts were copied by the master in 912 (1506–7) and therefore are not included in 'Atufi's inventory, which was completed in 1503–4. One of these two manuscripts, which were also illuminated by Fadl Allah *naqqāsh* (painter-illuminator), bears the seal of

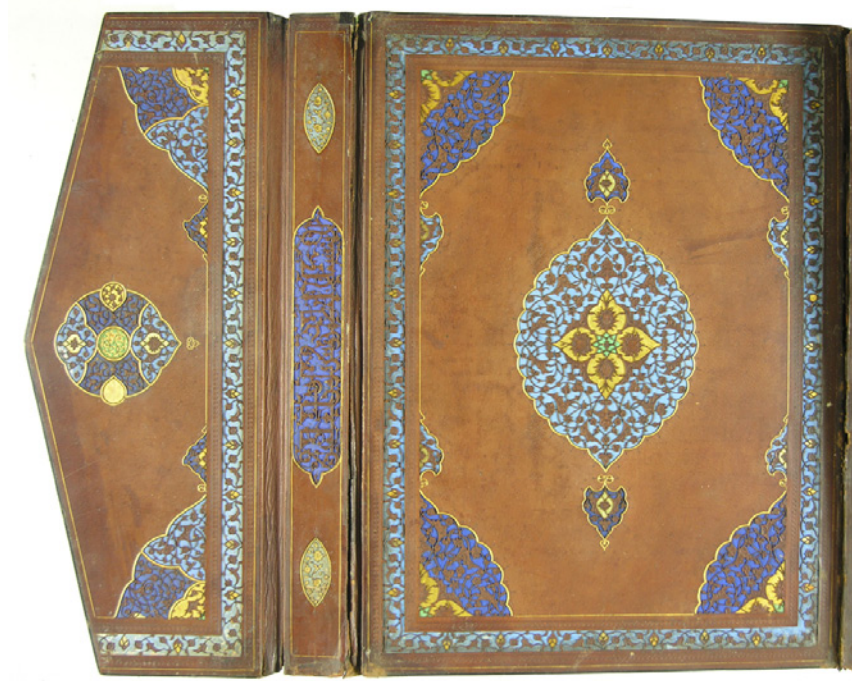


Fig. 6. Binding, doublure of back cover, Qur'an, 1485, Herat. TSMK, H.S. 4. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

Bayezid II.²⁷ As the text was popular among Ottoman Muslims, *Sūra al-An'ām* manuscripts of great beauty and distinction were produced from the sixteenth century onward. Fadl Allah clearly initiated the tradition of copying finely illuminated versions of this much sought-after text.²⁸ *Naqqāsh* Fadl Allah was rewarded with currency and robes of honor by Bayezid II for masterworks he prepared for the court between the years 911 and 915 (1505–9).²⁹ This scribe-painter presented one of his Qur'an copies to the sultan as a gift for the inauguration of the Bayezid Mosque in Istanbul.³⁰

The most renowned examples of the arts of the book from the reign of Bayezid II are the group of Qur'ans copied by the Ottoman calligrapher Shaykh Hamdullah (d. 1520) (fig. 7).³¹ We know that this master was handsomely rewarded for the works he created for the court. The records tell us that between the years 909 and 917 (1503–11), he received imperial gifts totaling fifty thousand aspers (*akçe*), and was presented on four occasions with robes and sable pelts.³² Four works he copied between 1494 and 1508 include divination sections at the end of the Qur'anic text, which was an unusual format

and not a tradition in Ottoman Qur'ans. These sections are written in verse, one in *naskh* and the other three in *nasta'liq* script.³³ Although only one (TSMK, A. 5) of this group of finely illuminated Qur'ans copied by Shaykh Hamdullah bears the Bayezid II seal, records clearly indicate that all but one of them (TSMK, E.H. 71) were produced for the personal use of Bayezid II. Three Qur'ans listed in the inventory as having been copied in the hand of Ibn al-Shaykh, as Shaykh Hamdullah was popularly known (12 {15, 16}), must have been written before 1503–4, the year in which 'Atufi completed his inventory. In this case, it is reasonable to conclude that the three extant Qur'ans in the hand of this shaykh are the ones listed in the inventory. One of these was copied by the shaykh during the middle ten days of Rajab 899 (April 19–26, 1494), and the second one at the "Abode of Conquest, Constantinople" (*dār al-faṭḥ Kōstanṭīniyya*) during the first ten days of Dhu'l-Hijjah 901 (August 11–20, 1496). I believe that the third manuscript is the one dated 909 (1503–4), even though this is the same year in which a clean copy of 'Atufi's inventory was made from an earlier draft prepared in 908 (1502–3).³⁴



Fig. 7. Illuminated colophon page of the Qur'an, calligraphy signed by Shaykh Hamdullah, 1494, Istanbul. TIEM, T. 402, fol. 259b. (Photo: courtesy of the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum)



Fig. 8. Illuminated frontispiece of the Qur'an, the endowment seal of Ahmed III, calligraphy signed by Shaykh Hamdullah, illumination signed by Hasan b. 'Abd Allah, 1503–4, Istanbul. TSMK, A. 5, fol. 1a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

Based on their shared repertoire of sparse stems, trefoil florettes, and large *khatā'i* motifs dispersed over a wide gilded field, the illuminations in two of the above-mentioned Qur'an manuscripts may be attributable to the artist *Naqqāsh* Fadl Allah. Two other Qur'ans copied in Shaykh Hamdullah's hand bear the signature of the artist Hasan b. 'Abd Allah; these manuscripts are dated 909 (1503–4) and 914 (1508–9), respectively (fig. 8).³⁵ Both were presented to the court by the calligrapher Shaykh at the inauguration of Bayezid's mosque in Istanbul, for which he was rewarded with coins and robes of honor.³⁶ The artist Hasan excelled at creating frontispiece panels in which geometrical designs merge almost

seamlessly with ornate foliate patterns, and in which dark blue pigment dominates. The illuminations of another finely illuminated Qur'an copied by Shaykh Hamdullah on 14 Safar 905 (September 14, 1499) may be attributed to the artist Hasan.³⁷ For his finest manuscript work, the artist was rewarded with 32,500 aspers by the sultan between the years 910 and 917 (1504–12); he also received robes of honor on eleven occasions.³⁸ The leather bindings of Qur'an manuscripts in Shaykh Hamdullah's hand are the work of another master craftsman.³⁹ It would appear that they were created by the binder Ahmad, who is referred to in the sources in connection with manuscripts of the Bayezid II period. Be-

tween the years 909 and 916 (1503–10), this master binder was rewarded by the court with 3,900 aspers and was also given robes of honor in return for a slave he gifted to the sultan.⁴⁰

ILLUMINATED AND ILLUSTRATED SCIENTIFIC MANUSCRIPTS

Many of the earliest illustrated manuscripts in Islamic art are works of astrology, philosophy, medicine, and botany. The seal of Bayezid II is stamped on a number of rare illustrated works of this kind in the Topkapı Palace Museum collection, including the *Kitāb Şuwar al-Kawākib al-Thābita* (Book of Fixed Stars, 326 {5–6}), *Kitāb al-ḥashā'ish* (a translation of Dioscorides's *De Materia Medica*, 169 {3}), *Kitāb fī Ma'rīfat al-ḥiyal al-Handasiyya* (Book of Ingenious Mechanical Devices, 201 {16}, 310 {11–12}), and *Kitāb al-Baytara* (Book of Veterinary Art, 199 {4–9}).⁴¹ These works were created during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries in northern Mesopotamia under the patronage of the local nobility and must have been brought to the Ottoman manuscript treasury before 1503–4, since they are recorded in 'Atufi's inventory.

Manuscripts in the Turhan Sultan section of the Süleymaniye Library were removed from the Inner Treasury of the Topkapı Palace and endowed by the queen mother Hatice Turhan Sultan (d. 1682) to the magnificent mosque she built in Eminönü, Istanbul. She was the wife of İbrahim I (r. 1640–48), mother of Mehmed IV (r. 1648–87), and grandmother of Ahmed III (r. 1703–30), the latter being the first sultan to build a freestanding library at the Topkapı Palace. While the mosque was still under construction, Hatice Turhan Sultan had the list of a group of books in the Inner Treasury (*hizāne-i 'āmiri-i enderūnī*) prepared, which mainly include rare works bearing the seal of Bayezid II.⁴² The listed works were also stamped with the endowment seal of Turhan Sultan with the date 1072 (1661–62) and were subsequently transferred to her mosque, which was completed in 1665, where they were probably placed in a special section allocated to the library.⁴³

Hatice Turhan Sultan was the first queen mother to remove a large number of rare books from the Topkapı

Palace's book treasury, relocating them to a public library outside the palace. One of these rare works was the *Dīwān al-Khuṭṭāb al-Nabata* copied by Mahmud b. 'Ali b. Yusuf al-Tari in 661 (1262–63) (figs. 9a–b). The work contains the sermons (*khuṭba*) of Ibn Nubata al-Khatib (d. 984), who is believed to have been born in Silvan and who lived in Aleppo.⁴⁴ The author was renowned in his day for his considerable mastery in the devices of persuasive rhetoric, which he used during the delivery of sermons, a legacy continued by his son and grandson. The copy of the *Dīwān al-Khuṭṭāb al-Nabata* in the Hatice Turhan Sultan collection is a masterpiece. The original leather binding is decorated on its outer and inner covers with a large central medallion and corner pieces. The doublures are paper-lined. The names of the book and that of the author are inscribed within the illuminated medallion on fol. 1a, and to the left of the medallion is the endowment seal of the Turhan Sultan. The second page is embellished with a fully ornamented *lawḥa* (fols. 1b–2a). In the lower left corner of fol. 2a is the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II, which also appears on the end (colophon) page (fol. 189a). The frontispiece (fols. 2b–3a) and finispiece are both decorated with framed illuminations. This rare work was written in the mid-thirteenth century, probably in Mesopotamia, and was bound and illuminated by master craftsmen of the day. Having entered the Ottoman palace library collection prior to 1503–4, it is among the works listed in 'Atufi's inventory (*Kitābu al-Khuṭabi al-Nubātiyyati*, 207 {6}, 218 {9}), according to which two copies of the same work existed in the palace library. Interestingly, at the top of the front page (fol. 1a) of the extant copy described above, the same title is written in the hand of 'Atufi or one of his assistants at the palace library (fig. 9b). That such an exquisite work, rare in terms both of content and artistic merit, should be selected from among the thousands of volumes in the palace library collection to be endowed to the library of a mosque built for the queen mother indicates the influence wielded by knowledgeable bibliophiles well-versed in the arts of the book. Endowing this volume made it accessible to clerics tasked with the delivery of sermons in that mosque, and to their pupils aspiring to become preachers.

The manuscript entitled *Tansūkh-nāma-i Ilkhānī* (Treasure Book of the Ilkhans on the Branches of the



a



b

Fig. 9a–b. *Dīwān al-Khuṭṭāb al-Nabata*, 1262–63, Baghdad. SK, Turhan Sultan MS 272.

[9a.] Illuminated frontispiece and the seal of Bayezid II, fols. 1b–2a. (Photo: courtesy of the Süleymaniye Library)

[9b.] Illuminated title page and the seal of Turhan Sultan, fol. 1a. (Photo courtesy of the Süleymaniye Library)

Chinese Sciences) is a work of medicine that was translated from Chinese into Persian in Tabriz in 713 (1313) at the request of Rashid al-Din (d. 1318), the scientist and vizier to the Mongol Ilkhanid sovereigns Ghazan

(r. 1295–1304) and Uljaytu (r. 1304–17). The book includes illustrated drawings of internal and external human organs (fig. 10).⁴⁵ This rare work made its way into the Ottoman palace library collection, where it was stamped with Bayezid II's seal. It is mentioned in two separate entries in the 'Atufi inventory. The first is among historical works (184 {3}), and the second entry is in connection with works related to medicine, alchemy, and magic. This last entry cites the author as Nasir al-Tusi (307 {7}). Similarly, an exceptional illustrated manuscript of the Ilkhanid era, Ibn Bakhtishu's *Manāfi' al-ḥayawān* (On the Usefulness of Animals), also entered the Ottoman palace library collection; it must have been among the several copies of this work that are recorded in 'Atufi's inventory (169 {13–17}).⁴⁶

One of the multiple-copy works on Sufism inventoried by 'Atufi is the *Kitāb kīmīyā sa'adāt* (Alchemy of Eternal Bliss) (107 {14–19}, 108 {1–4}). A particularly fine copy of this work was executed by the scribe and artist 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Abd Allah al-Shirazi in Shirvan on 2 Safar 781 (May 19, 1379) for the ruler Shirvanshah Hushang. The scribe was also the illuminator of the book, whereas the leather binding was the work of a master binder. We know that this work, a product of the Shirvanshah period dating to the end of the fourteenth century and a rarity among the Islamic arts of the book, entered the palace collection prior to 1503–4, since it bears the seal of Bayezid II.⁴⁷

One of the early fifteenth-century masterpieces of Islamic manuscript art is an anthology, thought to have been about a thousand pages in length, containing texts on astrology, which was copied for Iskandar Sultan, the Timurid crown prince and governor of Fars (d. 1414) in 813–14 (1410–11). The illuminated and illustrated opening pages of this copy, whose first miniature depicts an observatory, are in the Istanbul University Library, along with several illuminated sections of the text (fig. 11).⁴⁸ The Bayezid II seal is stamped on the illuminated frontispiece of this work. This manuscript was removed from the Topkapı Palace Inner Treasury to be sent to the library that was founded in approximately 1886 by Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909) in the Yıldız Palace, where he took up residence for most of his reign. The anthology was later transferred, along with other books, to the Istanbul University Library in 1924. These chang-



Fig. 10. Images of wrists, *Tansūkh-nāma-i Ilkhānī*, 1313, Tabriz. SK, Ayasofya MS 3596, fols. 81b–82a. (Photo: courtesy of the Süleymaniye Library)

es of location led to the loss of the finest, most richly illuminated and illustrated sections of the book to collections outside Turkey.⁴⁹ These sections must have been among the astrology works listed as *nujūm* and *zīj* in 'Atufi's inventory (313–19). Another such manuscript is recorded under the title, *Kitābu Walādati Iskandar bin 'Umar Shaykh bin Amīr Taymūr min qibali al-nujūmi* (Book on the Birth of Iskandar son of Umar Shakh son of Amir Timur pertaining to Astrology, 319 {4–5}). Other works bearing the seal of Bayezid II include a sumptuously illuminated 700-page anthology prepared for Iskandar Sultan in 815–16 (1412–13),⁵⁰ and another anthology made for him in 816 (1413–14), which boasts a number of illustrated pages and samples of fine calligraphy. A heading written on the first page of the latter, probably in the hand of 'Atufi, describes this volume as an anthology of fine calligraphy comprising treatises gathered together into a monumental binding; the same

heading is recorded in 'Atufi's inventory (*Safīnatun fihā khuṭūṭun nafīsatun wa-Rasā'ilu fī mujalladin a'zama*, 257 {9}).⁵¹ These examples, together with other works recorded in the inventory of 'Atufi, suffice to indicate that manuscripts copied for the bibliophile prince Iskandar, particularly those related to history and astrology in which he is known to have had a keen interest, entered the Ottoman palace library collection prior to 1503–4.

'Atufi's inventory also contains entries related to the wonders of creation (*'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt*, 200 {6–14}). We know from other entries that Bayezid's library contained Persian and Turkish translations of an Arabic text on cosmography by Zakariya al-Qazwini (d. 1283). This is a work that was particularly popular in medieval Islamic bibliophile circles, and many illustrated copies of it were made.⁵² There are a number of illuminated and illustrated manuscripts of this genre in the library collection of Bayezid II



Fig. 11. Illuminated frontispiece, the seals of Bayezid II and the *Kitābkhāna-i Mābāyn-i Humāyūn* of Abdülhamid II (Library of the Yıldız Palace), *Anthology*, 1410–11, Shiraz. Istanbul University Library, MS F. 1418, fol. 1a. (Photo: courtesy of the Istanbul University Library)



Fig. 12. Illuminated frontispiece, *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt*, 1422, Shiraz. SK, Fatih MS 4171, fol. 1b. (Photo: courtesy of the Süleymaniye Library)

predating 1503–4, which were copied during the Timurid and Aqqoyunlu Turkmen periods and bear the seal of Bayezid II. One was copied and illustrated in Persian on Rabi' I 825 (February–March 1422) in Shiraz, at the court of the Timurid prince Ibrahim Sultan ibn Shah-rukh (governor of Fars between 1414 and 1435) (fig. 12).⁵³ A copy of the *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* made on Rabi' I 824 (March–April 1421), again in Shiraz and illustrated in the same workshop as the abovementioned work, is stamped on its frontispiece with the oval seal of 'Ala' al-Din (d. 1513), son of the bibliophile prince Ahmad (d. 1513) and grandson of Bayezid II.⁵⁴

HISTORICAL AND LITERARY WORKS

One of the illustrated historical works bearing the seal of Bayezid II is the *Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy* (History of the World Conqueror), Juwayni's (d. 1283) chronicle of Genghis Khan's reign and the establishment of the Mongol empire. This copy was prepared on 4 Dhu'l-Hijjah 689 (December 8, 1290) during the Ilkhanid period, probably in Baghdad.⁵⁵ It is cited in 'Atufi's inventory among historical works of the Ilkhanid period (*Tārīkh-i Jangiz Khān al-mashhūru bi-Tārīkh-i jahān-gushāy fī al-tawā-rīkhi*, 185 {10}).



Fig. 13. Binding, leather filigree of outer cover, *Dīwān of Anwārī*, 1309, Ilkhanid? SK, Fatih MS 3784. (Photo: courtesy of the Süleymaniye Library)

Anwari (d. 1168?), a poet at the palace of the Great Seljuq ruler Sultan Sanjar (r. 1118–57), is renowned as one of the outstanding qasida poets in Iranian literature.⁵⁶ Eleven copies of this celebrated poet's diwan are recorded in 'Atufi's inventory, in addition to a commentary on its difficult passages (238 {10–12, 14}). Sultan Bayezid II's seal is impressed on an extant sultanic copy of Anwari's diwan (fols. 2a, 214b), dated Shawwal 708 (March–April 1309) and written in a script resembling *ta'liq* by Muhammad b. 'Abdallah b. Muhammad al-Hafiz. Its illuminations and superbly carved leather binding are the work of skilled masters (figs. 13, 14). This book prepared for Sultan Mas'ud b. Abu Bakr was probably produced in the Ilkhanid territories.⁵⁷

Manuscripts stamped with the seal of Bayezid II and recorded in 'Atufi's inventory include some of the finest

illustrated and illuminated thirteenth-century literary texts. One of these is the tragic romance of *Warqa wa-Gulshāh* in Persian (254 {4}). The earliest illustrated copy of this work produced in Seljuq Anatolia is a manuscript containing the miniatures of *naqqāsh* 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Muhammad al-Huwayyi, which can be dated to the first half of the thirteenth century and was illustrated in Konya.⁵⁸ The Jalayirid sultans' love of books and their particular predilection for illustrated manuscripts has been demonstrated in various publications. Among those listed by 'Atufi are finely illustrated works of the Jalayirid period, although the inventory does not mention the fact that they are illustrated. These include two copies of the *Farhād-nāmah-i 'Arif* (251 {8–9}), one of which 'Atufi identifies as an autograph manuscript by its author. An extant illustrated version of this work in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, prepared for Shirvanshah Hushang (d. 1382) and the Jalayirid sultan Shaykh Uways (r. 1356–74), is the one inscribed in the author's hand.⁵⁹ On its frontispiece we see the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II. The second copy in the Süleymaniye Library's Ayasofya section also carries the seal of Bayezid II. The ornamentation of its leather binding and the paper type suggest that this manuscript was likely produced in Istanbul around 1480.⁶⁰ The same sultan's seal is stamped on two exquisite copies of the diwan of Sultan Ahmed Jalayir, one illustrated and the other illuminated, which were executed during his lifetime (r. 1382–1410).⁶¹ Both of these copies appear to be included in 'Atufi's inventory, which lists three manuscripts of *Dīwān-i Sulṭān Aḥmad* (244 {11–12}).

'Atufi's inventory shows that a copy of the diwan of the Jalayirid woman poet, Jihan Khatun, was also to be found in the palace library collection (246 {2}). An extant copy of this work in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, dated to 840 (1436–37), is in fact stamped with Bayezid II's seal. That copy, which was produced during the Timurid period, probably in Shiraz, is not illustrated but has delicate illuminations in a "naïve" style. More significantly, the outer cover of its masterfully executed leather binding is embellished with the earliest known human figures seen on an Islamic binding.⁶²

One of the most prominent illustrated literary works of the early medieval period is the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (Kalila and Dimna, or Book of Fables). Two illustrated (*muṣawwar*) copies in Persian and Arabic are featured



Fig. 14. Illuminated dedication page with the seals of Bayezid II, Mahmud I, and the inspector. *Dīwān of Anwārī*, 1309, Ilkhanid? SK, Fatih MS 3784, fols. 1b–2a. (Photo courtesy of the Süleymaniye Library)

in 'Atufi's inventory (189 {10, 11–12}). Several illustrated manuscripts of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* in Arabic and Persian produced before 1503–4 are known.⁶³ One of the Persian illustrated versions was copied for the Timurid crown prince and bibliophile Baysunghur b. Shahkrukh (d. 1433) by the *nasta'liq* master calligrapher Muhammad b. Husam Shams al-Baysunghuri in the palace workshop of the capital (*dār al-saltanat*) Herat in 833 (1429).⁶⁴ This manuscript has an exquisite leather binding with outer covers designed by a master of the Timurid Herat workshop that is decorated with animals, its doublures featuring filigree central medallion and corner pieces.⁶⁵ The first three pages are illuminated with predominantly dark blue designs. The manuscript's twenty-five miniatures, which are clearly the work of a Herat master, superbly illustrate the text. This masterwork prepared for a bibliophile Timurid patron was

clearly among the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* manuscripts recorded by 'Atufi, as we see from the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II impressed upon it.

Most of the fifteenth-century illuminated copies of poetic works in the Persian literary tradition, such as the diwans of Kasimi, Kamal, and Katibi, bear the seal of Bayezid II. These works were written between 1460 and 1500 in the *nasta'liq* script by leading masters of the day either in Baghdad, Shiraz, or Tabriz during the Qaraqoyunlu and Aqqoyunlu periods. They were exquisitely illuminated and bound in sumptuously decorated bindings for royal patrons, sovereigns, and princes governing those cities. One such work is a diwan in Chagatay Turkish, probably copied in Shiraz around 1475 for the bibliophile prince Khalil Sultan (d. 1478), governor of the Aqqoyunlu city of Shiraz, who ruled as sultan for only a year.⁶⁶ This work is recorded in 'Atufi's inventory



Fig. 15. Mihr sailing on the sea, *Mihr u Mushtarī*, 1482, Shiraz. TSMK, A. 3563, fol. 87a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

as *Dīwān-i Mīr-Hidāyat bi-al-Mughūliyyati* (Mir Hidayat's Collected Poems in the Mongolian (i.e., Chagatay) Language, 262 {13}). The manuscript, which contains four miniatures that are clearly the work of a master artist, bears the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II.⁶⁷ One of the finest literary manuscripts to enter the palace library collection is an anthology of selected works from the diwans of twelve poets of Persian literature, including those mentioned above, which was copied by the renowned master calligrapher at the Aqqoyunlu Turkmen court, 'Abd al-Rahim b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Khwarazmi al-Sultani on 26 Dhu'l-Qa'dah (April 3, 1475). The double frontispiece and opening pages to each section of the volume are most elegantly illuminated by a master artist. Unfortunately, the binding, which is thought to have

been equally stunning, is missing. This anthology, one of the greatest masterpieces of the palace workshop of Aqqoyunlu Tabriz, bears Bayezid II's almond-shaped seal on both its frontispiece and finispiece (first and last pages).⁶⁸

The author Muhammad 'Assar's (d. 1382–83) account of the adventures of Mihr and Mushtari, which he wrote in Persian verse, was first copied, illuminated, and illustrated under the title *Mihr u Mushtarī* in the fifteenth century.⁶⁹ This work in Persian also appears in multiple copies in 'Atufi's book inventory (251 {14, 17, 19}). Only one of these is listed as illustrated. An extant illustrated copy of the *Mihr u Mushtarī* in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, dated 18 Ramadan 887 (October 31, 1482) and written by the calligrapher Na'im al-Din al-Katib b. Sadr ad-Din, contains miniatures in the Shiraz style of the Aqqoyunlu period (fig. 15). Bayezid's seal appears on fol. 1a along with a dedication inside an ornamented medallion, which indicates that the work was prepared for this sultan's treasury (fig. 16). It has been suggested that the dedication shows that the work was copied in an Aqqoyunlu workshop prior to being sent as a gift from the Aqqoyunlu to the Ottoman court.⁷⁰ This illustrated manuscript must have arrived at the imperial palace in Istanbul before 1487, since the first *Mihr u Mushtarī* in Turkish translation appeared without miniatures in 892 (1486–87), and was then duly stamped with Bayezid's seal.⁷¹ 'Atufi lists this Turkish version separately from the Persian copies in his inventory (264 {7}).

The works of poetry mentioned above are by no means the only literary masterpieces to have reached the Ottoman manuscript treasury from the Aqqoyunlu palace. Two poets at the Herat court of Sultan Husayn Bayqara (r. 1468–1507), Molla Jami (d. 1492) and 'Ali Shir Nava'i (d. 1501), were renowned not only throughout the Timurid regions but also beyond. Their fame spread to the courts of other contemporary art-loving patron sovereigns, reaching the Aqqoyunlu and Ottoman palaces. According to 'Atufi's entries regarding the works of these two Herat poets, it appears that the first two finely illuminated copies of their work entered Bayezid's manuscript collection during the poets' lifetime (Jami, 237 {2–15}; Nava'i, 262 {6–8}). The 800-page *Kulliyāt* (anthology) of Jami deserves particular attention. This manuscript, dated 1492–95, most probably originated in Herat.



Fig. 16. Illuminated dedication page, and the seal of Bayezid II, *Mihr u Mushtarī*, 1482, Shiraz. TSMK, A. 3563, fol. 1a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

Its sections are finely illuminated with motifs and the binding is the work of a master. Although it does not bear the seal of Bayezid II, we know from the dedicatory inscription on the illuminated opening page that the copy was in the manuscript treasury of this sultan's son, Prince Ahmed (d. 1513).⁷² Bayezid, knowing his son to be a bibliophile, sent him a generous consignment of books as a gift on 4 Dhu'l-Qa'dah 888 (December 4, 1483). Among them were the diwans of poets such as Jami and Hafiz.⁷³

The literary works listed by 'Atufi include multiple copies of those by Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 1273) (230 {12–19}, 231 {1–14}) and Farid al-Din 'Attar (d. 1220) (232 {5–19}, 233 {1–2}). Some fine copies of Rumi's *Mathnawī* dating to the fifteenth century can be found

in the libraries of Istanbul, each section illuminated, with moulded leather or painted lacquer bindings and filigree work on the doublures.⁷⁴ One of these copies bears the date 8 Shawwal 853 (November 24, 1449) and the seal of Bayezid II.⁷⁵ Copies of 'Attar's works are also represented in library collections. Their exquisite bindings, illuminations, and paper quality place them among the finest masterpieces of the Timurid palace workshop of Herat in the first half of the fifteenth century.⁷⁶ Although not all illuminated copies of these poets' works are stamped with Bayezid II's seal, the majority of them must have arrived on Ottoman soil within fifty years of their creation, and undoubtedly entered the imperial palace's manuscript collection.

The *Khamasa* (Quintet of Poems) of Nizami (d. 1217?) and Firdawsī's (d. 1025) *Shāhnāma* (The Book of Kings) were among the most popular Islamic illustrated works. Many illustrated copies of both titles were made in Iran, particularly at Shiraz, over an approximately hundred-year period from the second half of the fifteenth century to the second half of the sixteenth. The largest collection of illustrated copies of these two titles is found in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library. There are fifty-five illustrated copies of the *Shāhnāma* in the library, of which eleven are dated prior to 1503–4. None of these manuscripts bears the seal of Bayezid II.⁷⁷ 'Atufi's inventory lists five copies of the *Shāhnāma* among works of Persian literature, of which only one is specified as being illustrated (240 {7–9}); in addition, he cites three selections from the *Shāhnāma* (240 {8–9}, 249 {12}). 'Atufi records one Turkish translation of the *Shāhnāma* under the section on historical works (187 {7}).⁷⁸

There are seventy-one illustrated copies of Nizami's *Khamasa* in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library. Thirty of these are dated prior to 1503–4, and three manuscripts from this group bear the seal of Bayezid II. Two of them were illustrated at Shiraz during the Aqqoyunlu Turkmen period, towards the end of the fifteenth century.⁷⁹ The third copy possesses certain features of significance for Islamic codicology and for the Islamic arts of the book, which gives it an intriguing biography.⁸⁰ 'Atufi lists relatively few copies of Nizami's *Khamasa*, although he cites each of the five sections of the book separately (234 {5–19}).

OTTOMAN LITERARY MANUSCRIPTS LISTED IN 'ATUFI'S INVENTORY

From the early fifteenth century up to 1503–4, when 'Atufi made the final revisions to his inventory, manuscripts inscribed, illuminated, and bound with moulded and tooled covers of fine leather by master craftsmen were made, first in Amasya and Bursa, later in Edirne and Istanbul. The majority of these works bear the seal of Bayezid II and are included in 'Atufi's inventory. One example is the *Maqāsid al-alḥān* (Purports of Music), a work on music theory written by 'Abd al-Qadir Maraghi (d. 1435), a copy of which was made for the Ottoman sultan Murad II (r. 1421–44; 1446–51). This finely illuminated copy, skillfully bound in leather and dated 14 Jumada II 838 (January 15, 1435) bears Bayezid's seal on the illuminated frontispiece (fig. 17).⁸¹ 'Abd al-Qadir's works are among those recorded in 'Atufi's list; the copy mentioned above must have been one of those (335 {17}). A copy of the author's *Jāmi' al-alḥān* (Collection of Music), which is in the Nuruosmaniye Library, does bear the Sultan Bayezid II seal (336 {3–5}).⁸²

A considerable number of exquisitely illuminated manuscripts bound in fine leather were copied for Mehmed II, son of Murad II, between the years 1465 and 1480 in Istanbul.⁸³ However, masterfully illustrated copies from the Ottoman workshops are rare prior to 1503–4.⁸⁴ It is clear that the masters of book arts who were responsible for production in the Ottoman palace workshop in the mid-fifteenth century continued their activities at the beginning of Bayezid II's reign. Migrant calligraphers such as Ghiyath al-Din al-Mujallid al-Isfahani⁸⁵ and Muhammad al-Badakhshi⁸⁶ produced (this time for their Ottoman patrons) masterful copies of the works of poets much admired and already represented with fine manuscripts in southern and eastern Iran, such as Molla Jami and 'Attar (fig. 18). In this context, another master calligrapher of note is Sayyid Muhammad al-Munshi al-Sultani, who was responsible for the widespread adoption of the *dīvānī* script at the Ottoman court.⁸⁷ This calligrapher copied the *Jawharat al-sharaf* (Honorable Pearl), a work related to *inshā'* (literary composition) in the *dīvānī* script, in *belde-i Koştanīniyye* approximately one month before the demise of Mehmed II in Muharram 886 (March–April 1481) (fig. 19).⁸⁸



Fig. 17. Illuminated dedication page with the seal of Bayezid II, *Maqāsid al-alḥān*, 1435, Bursa or Edirne. TSMK, R. 1726, fol. 2a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

The work is exquisitely ornamented and bound. It is a masterpiece that acquired the seal of Bayezid II and a place in the inventory of 'Atufi (220 {12–13}).

The text of an epic in Persian verse entitled the *Garshāsb-nāma* was generally included in illustrated copies of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsi. Independently bound, illustrated manuscript versions of this tale are rare, and the work was not favored for illustration during the Ottoman period.⁸⁹ The *Garshāsb-nāma* is recorded in 'Atufi's inventory (249 {12}).⁹⁰ It is probable that this copy was the one inscribed for Bayezid II in fine *nasta'liq* in 905 (1499–1500) by the calligrapher Sultan Ahmad al-Harawi, who migrated from Herat to Istanbul during the late Timurid period (fig. 20).⁹¹ That copy is



Fig. 18. Decorated page, *Muammiyat* of Jami, 1480–81, calligraphy signed by Ghiyath al-Din al-mujallid al-Isfahani, Istanbul. SK, Ayasofya MS 4009, fol. 3a. (Photo: courtesy of the Süleymaniye Library)



Fig. 19. Illuminated heading, *Jawharat al-sharaf*, 1481, calligraphy signed by Muhammad al-Munshi al-Sultani, Istanbul. SK, Ayasofya MS 3839, fol. 1b. (Photo: courtesy of the Süleymaniye Library)

finely illuminated and bound. The calligrapher Sultan Ahmad, who is mentioned in the *in‘āmāt defteri* (Register of Donations) from the reign of Bayezid II, must be the master who copied the work referred to above.⁹² This particular calligrapher was rewarded with 24,500 aspers and was presented with honorary robes on five occasions between 900 and 917 (1494–1512). Two thousand aspers were gifted to the master for the book *Yūsuf wa Zulaykha*, which he presented as a gift to the sultan in 910 (1504–5).

A manuscript that appears in ‘Atufi’s inventory under the title *Naẓmu Qışṣa-yi Sultān Bāyezīd Khān -khallada Allāhu ta‘ālā khilāfatahu* (Versified Story of Sultan Bayezid Khan, May God Grant His Caliphate Perma-

nence, 249 {19}) contains an account of the events of the sultan’s reign between the years 1480 and 84. The same title also appears on a label glued to the outer fore-edge flap on the leather binding of a book in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library. The title of this work is inscribed in the central section of the *unwān* (ornamented header frame) as *Shāhnāma az guftār-i Malīk-i Āhī* (*Shāhnāma* according to Malik Ahi).⁹³ The book was copied by the calligrapher Darvish Mahmud Ibn ‘Abd Allah Naqqash, certainly after 1485, but without question prior to 1503–4 when ‘Atufi finalized his inventory. The work bears Bayezid II’s seal on the final page and was probably illustrated by the manuscript’s calligrapher, Mahmud. The name of this master also occurs in the book of



Fig. 20. Illuminated dedication page, *Garshāshnāma*, 1499–1500, calligraphy signed by Sultan Ahmad al-Harawī, Istanbul. SK, Ayasofya MS 3287, fol. 2a. (Photo courtesy of the Süleymaniye Library)

benefaction of the Bayezid II era, which was the record of favors granted to artists of the period. According to that source, Mahmud was the recipient of one thousand five hundred aspers in 914 (1508–9) for another work.⁹⁴

CONCLUSION

During a period in which production of illuminated manuscripts began to gain momentum in the court workshops of Sultan Mehmed II at the palaces of Edirne and Istanbul, Prince Bayezid was serving as governor of Amasya, a duty which would occupy him for twenty-seven years (1454–81). It was in Amasya that he met the calligrapher Shaykh Hamdullah, with whom he studied

calligraphy. While in that city, Bayezid commissioned for himself and for his father's library many finely illuminated and richly bound manuscripts from Shaykh Hamdullah and other master calligraphers.⁹⁵ According to archival sources, during the period of Bayezid's governorship, many émigré artists from Tabriz and other cities in Iran are known to have resided in Amasya prior to being enlisted at the court workshop in Istanbul.⁹⁶ Thus, the production of fine manuscripts in Amasya before and during the period of his governorship should not come as a surprise.

On Bayezid's arrival in Istanbul for his accession to the throne (1481), the manuscript treasury at the Topkapı Palace possessed the finest manuscripts from prominent centers throughout the Islamic world, as well as a notable collection of manuscripts copied by Ottoman masters in the workshops of Amasya, Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul. The masterful bindings of these works clearly indicate royal ownership. Although the outer covers of the bindings are not particularly flamboyant, their inner covers are stunningly ornate. Here the master binders surpassed themselves in their efforts to show off each manuscript to its best advantage.⁹⁷ Similarly, illuminators filled the pages with original compositions, as well as with design elements borrowed from their contemporaries in the Timurid, Turkmen, and Mamluk regions, often achieving a unique synthesis between these borrowings and their own creativity, thereby reinforcing the courtly character of the work. Some of the most stunning examples of this type of ornamented composition may be seen in the extremely refined and innovative illuminations of a Qur'an that was brought to the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts from the Ayasofya Library in 1914. This copy was probably made by Baba Naqqash, a designer of ornamental compositions, and his team, possibly in Edirne in 857 (1457–58) (fig. 21).⁹⁸ Paintings produced by highly skilled artists superbly illustrate the texts of royal manuscripts.⁹⁹

The production of fine manuscripts at the Istanbul court persisted throughout the reign of Bayezid II. Shaykh Hamdullah and other master calligraphers, manuscript painters, illuminators, and master binders continued to create exceptionally valuable Qur'ans and other types of work to add to the manuscript treasury of Bayezid II. As discussed above, it is evident that some of



Fig. 21. Illuminated sura heading of the Qur'an, 1457–58, calligraphy not signed, probably Edirne. TIEM, MS T. 30, fol. 317a. (Photo: courtesy of the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum)

the finest manuscript masterpieces to be produced in the workshops of Islamic courts had entered the manuscript treasury of the Topkapı Palace by 1503–4, when 'Atufi completed his inventory. Although there is no record of how the manuscripts arrived in Istanbul, they were probably either presented to the court as diplomatic gifts or arrived among the personal effects of fleeing nobles seeking Ottoman protection. Some of the magnificent manuscripts may have been brought by scribes, poets, and artists migrating to Ottoman lands. It is fair to say that the migration of master craftsmen and the arrival of such fine, rare manuscripts from beyond Ottoman borders had a considerable impact on the local community of artists at the palace workshops, acting as sources of inspiration in their pursuit of new

artistic ideas, and as catalysts in their quest for innovative artistic interpretation.

We may observe traces of interaction between the Mamluk manuscript masters and their Anatolian counterparts throughout the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁰ This interaction persists in the bindings and illuminations of the fifteenth century.¹⁰¹ One style of illumination in particular, which I would describe as “delicate” or “naïve,” circulates with astonishing persistence among Mamluk, Ottoman, Timurid, Turkmen, and pre-Mughal Indian illuminators throughout the fifteenth century.¹⁰² The impact of the style of Baba Naqqash, which was to expand the repertoire of motifs in Ottoman illumination at the beginning of the second half of the fifteenth century, was felt in the designs of manuscripts prepared for the Mamluk ruler Qaytbay and his son towards the end of the century. Decorative elements from both the Aqqoyunlu Turkmen and the Ottoman design repertoires are evident on the covers of these Mamluk manuscripts.¹⁰³ The work that displays most vividly the similarities between the styles of Mamluk and Ottoman masters is the aforementioned Qur'an prepared for Qaytbay that bears the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid.

The courtly manuscripts collected at the Ottoman palace have double-page frontispieces illuminated with sumptuous, full-page *lawḥa* ornamentation, void of text. In some literary works, the frontispiece illuminations recur as header ornamentation at the onset of each section of the manuscript. The most magnificent examples of this form of ornamentation may be seen in literary works and Qur'an manuscripts with the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II that are recorded in 'Atufi's list. Jala-yirid masters at the turn of the fifteenth century and Timurid-Turkmen masters throughout that century produced stunning, richly ornamented books, while master binders made intricately embellished covers that presage and transmit the contents of royal manuscripts. The courtly manuscripts bearing the seal impressions of Bayezid II that are recorded by 'Atufi provide sufficient evidence that large numbers of the most exquisitely illuminated, illustrated, and bound examples of the arts of the book had reached the Ottoman palace prior to 1503–4. Particularly notable are works of literature prepared by the best Qaraqoyunlu masters from the

mid-fifteenth century onwards, and later by their Aqqoyunlu successors.

Illuminators and binders in the court workshops of Sultan Bayezid II produced manuscripts of great excellence for their royal patron that would vie with the highest quality work of their Timurid and Turkmen contemporaries. In fact, they are even known to have completed the illustrations of some manuscripts that arrived incomplete at the imperial palace in Istanbul, and to have provided decorative bindings for others that arrived unbound. The influence of the *nasta'liq* script, which was particularly preferred by Persian émigré calligraphers and used mainly in the copying of literary works, can be seen in the manuscripts of the Ottoman calligrapher Shaykh Hamdullah, who inserted Qur'anic divination sections in *nasta'liq* at the end of some Qur'ans. His renowned work, in which he defines the six scripts *aqlām al-sitta* (i.e., *thuluth*, *tawqī'*, *naskh*, *muḥaqqaq*, *rayḥānī*, *riq'a*) includes verses by certain Iranian poets inscribed in *nasta'liq*.¹⁰⁴ Shaykh Hamdullah also produced a copy of Jami's diwan in *nasta'liq* in Sha'ban 904 (March–April 1499).¹⁰⁵ Although somewhat debated, the anecdote that Sultan Bayezid II had exquisite calligraphic examples in the hand of Yaqut removed from the manuscript treasury of the imperial palace in 1485 to show them to Shaykh Hamdullah may indicate that such works were occasionally taken out of the Inner Treasury for the perusal of Ottoman sultans and prominent court artists.¹⁰⁶

It is quite clear that the influence of manuscript masters from the Aqqoyunlu regions was prevalent in the masterworks of the Bayezid period.¹⁰⁷ The majority of manuscripts dating to the second half of the fifteenth century that bear the seal of Bayezid II are also of the Aqqoyunlu era. One of the earliest illustrated copies of Jami's diwan, dated 20 Shawwal 882 (January 25, 1478), is ornamented with miniatures in the style of Aqqoyunlu Turkmen Shiraz.¹⁰⁸ The presence in the Topkapı Palace manuscript treasury of the earliest copies of the work of this renowned poet, a contemporary of Bayezid living in Timurid-ruled Herat, would undoubtedly have caught the attention of poets and artists at the Istanbul court.

The flow of decorated manuscripts into the Topkapı Palace manuscript treasury would continue beyond 1503–4, the year in which 'Atufi completed his invento-



Fig. 22. Binding, doublure of front cover, *Khamsa-i Muḥayyira*, 1507–8, Istanbul. Istanbul University Library, MS F. 1398. (Photo: courtesy of the Istanbul University Library)

ry. According to records in the abovementioned *in'āmāt* registers, calligraphers and state dignitaries presented the court with a total of forty-seven gifts, including Qur'ans, sections of the Qur'an, and the *Sura al-An'am* between the years 1503 and 1510. Two of the Qur'ans in question were a gift from Shaykh Hamdullah. Bayezid II reciprocated by bestowing currency and robes of honor upon the bearers of these gifts.¹⁰⁹ Other decorated manuscript copies were made for this sultan in the early sixteenth century. One of two such manuscripts is the *Khamsa-i Muḥayyira*, a work on Sufism. It was calligraphed by the aforementioned Sultan Ahmad (al-Harawi) in 913 (1507–8), who also copied other works in



Fig. 23. The mural and tile decoration from the mausoleum of Prince Mustafa, son of Sultan Mehmed II, Bursa, ca. 1479. (Photo: courtesy of Doğan Yavaş)

nasta'liq for Bayezid II.¹¹⁰ Although this work does not bear the seal of Bayezid, an inscription in the center of the illuminated frontispiece medallion states that it was prepared for the treasury of Bayezid. The exquisitely ornamented *lawḥa* frames extending over the two double frontispiece pages, which are attributed to the illuminator Hasan b. 'Abd Allah, are outstanding, and the leather binding attributed to the bookbinder Ahmad is among the finest masterpieces of the period (fig. 22). The decorative composition on the binding's outer covers and doublures, along with the technical prowess of the binder, enhance the effect of this masterpiece. The second manuscript is a Qur'an. This is a monumental work copied by Darwish Hasan b. Ilyas al-Bursawi in the *rayḥānī* script during the last ten days of the month of Dhu'l-Qa'dah 904 (March 20–30, 1509) at *madīna-i Kōstantīniyye* (the city of Constantinople). The large sized manuscript is leather bound, exquisitely illuminated, and stamped with the seal of Bayezid on the colophon page.¹¹¹

Sultan Bayezid II, under whose patronage the illuminators, illustrators, and calligraphers of the Istanbul pal-

ace workshop produced finely illuminated Qur'ans, as well as scientific and literary texts, also employed these masters to transform the tombs of the imperial family at Bursa into gardens of paradise. Original examples of painted stucco (*kalemiṣi*) wall decoration in the interiors of royal tombs from the fifteenth century and earlier are extremely rare. Although no longer entirely original due to continuous repairs, most of the extant examples of *kalemiṣi* decoration are to be found in the tombs of Bursa. The partially gilded *kalemiṣi* decorations of the tomb of Prince Mustafa (d. 1474), son of Mehmed II, on the grounds of the Muradiye Mosque in Bursa, still bear some traces of the original decoration with motifs of Baba Naqqash (ca. 1479), despite a series of poor repairs (fig. 23).¹¹² Similarly, the authentic painted walls of the tomb of Bayezid II's wife Shirin (d. 1500?) and of his son Mahmud (d. 1507) on the grounds of the same mosque were uncovered after restorations in recent years, revealing decorations similar to those in the tomb of Prince Mustafa. The painted composition on the interior domes of the tombs echo the central medallion designs from the *zahrīyya* (dedicatory page) of contemporary



Fig. 24. Detail of the painted decoration in the dome of the mausoleum of Prince Mahmud, son of Sultan Bayezid II, Bursa, ca. 1507. (Photo: courtesy of Doğan Yavaş)

manuscripts (fig. 24).¹¹³ As with the inscriptions on the tomb walls, designs on the interior of the domes and walls of these tombs are identical, larger-scale versions of the motifs and compositions found in illuminated manuscripts of the fifteenth century. It is quite clear that these fine *kalemişi* wall paintings were executed by master artists, among them Hasan b. ‘Abd Allah and Fadl Allah b. ‘Arab. Thus, Bayezid’s patronage and love of the arts clearly extended into the paradisiacal interiors of his family’s tombs in Bursa.

The sultan’s support for the arts, as evidenced by the generous distribution of gifts and favors to poets, authors, and artists during his reign, created a culturally prolific environment in which Ottoman literature, science, and the arts flourished. How the patronage of Bayezid II and his father, Mehmed II, provided for and guided the artistic developments of their time, both as collectors and bibliophiles, and the way in which masters, styles, and aesthetic tastes moved from one imperial workshop to another is amply evidenced in the body of manuscripts preserved at the *hizāne-i ‘āmile-i*

enderūnī in the third courtyard of the Topkapı Palace and inventoried by the librarian ‘Atufi.

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NOTES

1. Manuscripts bearing the seal of Bayezid II are, for the most part, preserved in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, and are concentrated in that library’s Ahmed III collection. The second largest group of these manuscripts is kept in the library built in 1740 by Sultan Mahmud I (r. 1730–48) along the southern wall of the Hagia Sophia (Ayasofya), in a collection which consists mainly of manuscripts that were removed from the Topkapı Palace Manuscript Treasury (now the Ayasofya collection at the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul). For the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, see İsmail Baykal, “Hazine-i Hümayûn ile Bağdad ve Revan Odası Saray Kütüphaneleri Hakkında İki Hatt-ı Hümayûn,” *Tarih Vesikaları* II/9 (1942): 191–92; İsmail Baykal, “Topkapı

- Sarayı Müzesi Kitaplıkları," *Güzel Sanatlar Mecmuası* 6 (1949): 75–84; Şükrü Yenal, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Enderun Kitaplığı," *Güzel Sanatlar Mecmuası* 6 (1949): 85–90; İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri* (Ankara, 2008), 195–202. For the Ayasofya Library, see Günay Kut, "Sultan I. Mahmud Kütüphanesi ve Kütüphaneler: Ayasofya Kütüphanesi," *Osmanlı Devletinde Bilim Kültür ve Kütüphaneler*, ed. Özlem Bayram, Ali Can, et al. (Ankara, 1999), 99–128; Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 213–21.
2. For the Imperial Inner Treasury, see Gülrü Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York, 1991), 133–41. The almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II is the first such seal of an Ottoman sultan to be stamped on manuscripts entering the Topkapı Palace manuscript treasury. The second such seal is the round or very occasionally almond-shaped seal of Selim I (r. 1512–20), known as the treasury seal (*hazine mührü*). A number of illuminated manuscripts in the treasury bear the oval seal of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66) and his son, the crown prince Şehzade Mehmed (d. 1543). Yet another imperial seal frequently encountered on manuscripts from the Topkapı Palace is that of Ahmed III (r. 1703–30) dated 1115 (1703–4). Additionally, a number of the manuscripts relocated by Ahmed III from the imperial manuscript treasury (*hizāne-i āmire-i enderūnı*) to the library he had built in the third court of the Topkapı Palace bear the round endowment seal of Ahmet III; on some, both the endowment seal and his personal oval seal are found. As mentioned in note 1, Mahmud I was the second sultan to have manuscripts relocated from the Imperial Inner Treasury in the Topkapı Palace to a library founded and endowed in his name and stamped with his endowment seal. A small group of manuscripts bearing the Mahmud I endowment seal was relocated from the Inner Treasury to the Revan Kiosk of the Topkapı Palace. A number of illuminated works which are now recorded in the Revan section of the Topkapı Palace Library bear the endowment or personal seal of sultans Osman III (r. 1754–57), Mustafa III (r. 1757–74), and Abdülhamid I (r. 1774–89). Certain manuscripts in the palace library collection recorded in the Hazine, Revan, and Baghdad sections are stamped with the personal seal of Selim III (r. 1789–1807).
 3. Zeren Tanındı, "The Bindings and Illuminations of the Qur'an," in *The 1400th Anniversary of the Qur'an: Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art Qur'an Collection*, ed. Mujde Unustasi (Istanbul, 2010), 90–92.
 4. Ibid., cat. 16–17.
 5. Ibid., cat. 38.
 6. Sheila S. Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburg, 2006), 242–47.
 7. Nuruosmaniye Library, MS 9. Nourane Ben Azzouna, "Manuscripts Attributed to Yāqūt al-Musta'şimī (D:698/1298) in Ottoman Collections: Thoughts on the Significance of Yāqūt's Legacy in the Ottoman Calligraphic Tradition," *Thirteenth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. Géza Dávid and Ibolya Gerelyes (Budapest, 2009), 113–22, at 114, 120.
 8. TSMK, E.H. MS 61: Fehmi E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*, 4 vols. (Istanbul, 1962–69), 1103.
 9. TİEM, MS 507. Massumeh Farhad and Simon Retting, *The Art of the Qur'an: Treasures from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts* (Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 2016), cat. 21.
 10. SK, Ayasofya MS 2765. Mine E. Özen, *Türk Tezhip Sanatı* (Istanbul, 2003), 26, 30; Ben-Azzouna, "Manuscripts Attributed to Yāqūt al-Musta'şimī," 115, 120.
 11. SK, Ayasofya MS 3881 and MS 3936. Ben-Azzouna, "Manuscripts Attributed to Yāqūt al-Musta'şimī," 116–17, 121–22. For manuscripts in 'Atufi's list attributed to Yaquut, see 12 {13}, 15 {16}, 17 {18}, 46 {8}, 204 {13–14}, 207 {2–3}, 213 {7–8}, 286 {13}.
 12. David James, *Qur'ans of the Mamluks* (London, 1988.), 157–60, cat. 49, 53, 62, 65–66.
 13. TSMK, E.H. MS 151, fol. 1a, 273b. James, *Qur'ans of the Mamluks*, cat. 53; Banu Mahir, "The Collection at the Topkapı Palace Library," *Türkiyemiz* 67 (1992): 17.
 14. Bayezit Devlet Library, MS 8056. James, *Qur'ans of the Mamluks*, cat. 62.
 15. TSMK, R. MS 80. Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 3:5658. Previous sources date the death of Arghun Kamili as corresponding to his latest surviving work in 1344–45. This book of prayers proves that the calligrapher died after 1352.
 16. James, *Qur'ans of the Mamluks*, cat. 39–40.
 17. TİEM, T. MS 486. James, *Qur'ans of the Mamluks*, cat. 48; Tanındı, "The Bindings and Illuminations of the Qur'an," cat. 53.
 18. For similar bindings, see Julian Raby and Zeren Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century: The Foundation of Ottoman Court Style*, ed. Tim Stanley (London, 1993), 182–83, 196–99, 204–11.
 19. For the *fāl al-Qur'ān* added at the end of illuminated Qur'ans, see Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı, *Falnama: The Book of Omens* (Washington, D.C., 2009), 90–91.
 20. TİEM, T. MS 533; Tanındı, "The Bindings and Illuminations of the Qur'an," 99, cat. 62; Farhad and Retting, *The Art of the Qur'an*, cat. 40.
 21. The large medallion form on the doublures of the Qaytbay Qur'an is also seen on the outer covers of the exquisitely bound copy of the *Khamsa-i Muhayyira* (Quintet of Muhayyira) inscribed in the hand of Sultan Ahmad (al-Harawi) made in 913 (1507–8) in Istanbul (Kostantiniyye) for the library treasury of Bayezid II: Istanbul University Library, F. MS 1398; Ahmet Ateş, *İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde Farsça Manzum Eserler I* (Istanbul, 1968), 449–51. The binding and illuminations are unpublished.
 22. Ömer L. Barkan, "İstanbul Saraylarına Ait Muhasebe Defterleri," *Belgeler* 9 (1979): 321–22.
 23. Nuruosmaniye Library, MS 2561: unpublished.
 24. TİEM, T. MS 2015, fols. 23a–35b. This anthology contains a section written for the Mamluk sultan Qaytbay on hadith

- (fols. 1b–22a) and treatises written in 408 (1017–18) in the hand of the calligrapher Ibn al-Bawwab (fols. 37a–69a): *Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi. 100 Yıl Önce-100 Yıl Sonra* (Istanbul, 2014), 338–39.
25. TSMK, H.S. MS 4. Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, I: 373. (The library number is incorrect in the catalogue.) Mahir, “The Collection,” 23; Şehnaz B. Özcan, “Timur Devri Herat Tezhip Ekolü (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi)” (PhD diss., Marmara Üniversitesi, 2007), 266–361; Zeren Tanındı, “Başlangıcından Osmanlı’ya Tezhip Sanatı,” *Hat ve Tezhip Sanatı*, ed. Ali R. Özcan (Istanbul, 2009), 258; *Onbin Yıllık İran Medeniyeti İkibin Yıllık Ortak Miras*, Exhibition Catalogue (Istanbul, 2009), cat. 180.
 26. No. 204. J. M. Rogers, *Empire of the Sultans: Ottoman Art from the Collection of Nasser D. Khalili* (London, 1995), cat. 14.
 27. TSMK, E.H. MS 320–21: Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 1:806–7; Haydar Yağmurlu, “Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesinde İmzalı Eserleri Bulunan Tezhip Ustaları,” *Türk Etnografya Dergisi* 13 (1973): 79–114, at 94. TSMK, E.H. MS 321 bears the Bayezid seal.
 28. Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century*, 104.
 29. İstanbul Belediyesi Atatürk Library, MS MC. 0.71 contains the entirely unpublished document entitled, *Defter-i Müsveddât-ı İn’âmât ve Tasaddukât ve Teşrifât Gayrihi* (Draft Register of Donations, Charities, and Ceremonies, etc.). This document contains records of the gifts and rewards given for various reasons by Sultan Bayezid II to statesmen, foreign envoys, members of the court, artists, and poets between 909–17 (1503–11): İsmail Erünsal, “Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi’nin Arşiv Kaynakları I: II. Bâyezid Devrine Ait Bir İn’âmât Defteri,” *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 10/11 (1981): 303–42; Hilal Kazan, *XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi* (Istanbul, 2010). For the rewards bestowed on Fadl Allah, see Kazan, *XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı*, 167.
 30. Rıfki M. Meriç, “Beyazıd Camii Mimârı,” *Yıllık Araştırmalar Dergisi* 2 (1958): 5–76, at 11.
 31. For the biography of Shaykh Hamdullah, see Nefes Zade İbrahim, *Gülizârı Sevab*, ed. Kilisli Muallim Rifat (Istanbul, 1938), 48–53; Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century*, 96–100. Shaykh Hamdullah’s Qur’ans: TSMK, A. MS 5, E.H. MS 71–72; İstanbul University Library, A. MS 6662; TİEM, T. MS 402. Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century*, 96–100, 192–213. For decorative designs see Gülnihal Küpeli, “II. Bâyezid Dönemi Tezhip Sanatı” (PhD diss., Marmara Üniversitesi, 2007), 115–230, 189–346; M. Uğur Derman, *Doksandokuz İstanbul Mushafı* (Istanbul, 2010), 22–33.
 32. Kazan, *XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi*, 141–42.
 33. İstanbul University Library, A. MS 6662; TSMK, A. MS 5, E.H. MS 71; TİEM, T. MS 402: Farhad and Bağcı, *Falnama*, 90–91.
 34. TİEM, T. MS 402; TSMK, E.H. MS 72; TSMK, A. MS 5.
 35. TSMK, A. MS 5; Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century*, 204–7; Küpeli, “II. Bâyezid Dönemi Tezhip Sanatı” 248–303; Derman, *Doksandokuz İstanbul Mushafı*, 28–33. İstanbul University Library, A. MS 6662: Küpeli, “II. Bâyezid Dönemi Tezhip Sanatı,” 304–46; Derman, *Doksandokuz İstanbul Mushafı*, 28–33.
 36. Meriç, “Beyazıd Camii Mimârı,” 9, 11.
 37. TSMK, E.H. MS 71: Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century*, 208–13; Küpeli, “II. Bâyezid Dönemi Tezhip Sanatı,” 189–230.
 38. Kazan, *XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi*, 165.
 39. Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century*, cat. 37–38, 40–41.
 40. Kazan, *XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi*, 188.
 41. TSMK, A. MS 3493, A. MS 2127, A. MS 3472, A. MS 2115: Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, *Topkapı Palace Museum: Islamic Miniatures* (Istanbul, 1979), cat. 1, 3–5; Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, *Topkapı Saray Museum: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts*, edited, translated, and expanded by M. J. Rogers (London and New York, 1986), cat. 1–19.
 42. TSMA, D. MS 4155, fols. 9b–12a.
 43. *Woman in Anatolia: 9000 Years of the Anatolian Woman*, ed. Günsel Renda (Istanbul, 1993), 230–31; Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 165, n.882, 201; Zeren Tanındı, “A Treasury for Bibliophiles: Ottoman Illuminated Books,” in *Distant Neighbour, Close Memories: 600 Years of Turkish-Polish Relations*, ed. Anna Czarniecka et al. (Istanbul, 2014), 104–5.
 44. SK, Turhan Sultan MS 272; see TDVİA, s.v. “İbn Nûbâte el-Hatib,” by Hulusi Kılıç.
 45. SK, Ayasofya MS 3596. My thanks to Persis Berlekamp for sending me the latest detailed publications on this work. See Persis Berlekamp, “The Limits of Artistic Exchange in Fourteenth-Century Tabriz: The Paradox of Rashid al-Din’s Book on Chinese Medicine, Part I,” *Muqarnas* 27 (2010): 209–50; Vivienne Lo and Yidan Wang, “Blood or Qi Circulation? On the Nature of Authority in Rashid al-Din’s *Tanksuqnama* (The Treasure Book of the Ilkhan on Chinese Science and Techniques),” in *Rashid al-Din: Agent and Mediator of Cultural Exchanges in Ilkhanid Iran*, ed. Anna Akasoy, Charles Burnett, and Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim (London, 2013), 127–72; Persis Berlekamp, Vivienne Lo, and Yidan Wang, “Administering Art, History, and Science in the Mongol Empire: Rashid al-Din and Bolad Chengxiang,” in *Pearls on a String: Artists, Patrons, and Poets at the Great Islamic Courts*, ed. Amy S. Landau (Baltimore and Seattle, 2015), 66–99.
 46. New York Piermont Morgan Library, MS M500. Barbara Schmitz, *Islamic and Indian Manuscripts and Paintings in the Piermont Morgan Library* (New York, 1997), 9–24.
 47. TİEM, T. MS 1999. Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, “Selections from Jalayirid Books in the Libraries of Istanbul,” *Muqarnas* 28 (2011): 227–64.
 48. TİEM, F. MS 1418. Zeren Akalay (Tanındı), “An Illustrated Astrological Work of the Period of Iskandar Sultan,” in *Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie, München 7–10 September 1976* (Berlin, 1979), 418–25; Lale Uluç, ed., *From the Yıldız Palace to the İstanbul University* (Istanbul, 2015), 124.

49. Priscilla P. Soucek, "The Manuscript of Iskandar Sultan: Structure and Content," *Muqarnas* 6 (1992): 116–31; Elaine Wright, *The Look of the Book: Manuscript Production in Shiraz, 1303–1452* (Washington, D.C., 2012), 84–95.
50. SK, Ayasofya MS 3857. Wright, *Look of the Book*, n. 164.
51. I would like to thank Gülrü Necipoğlu for drawing my attention to this entry in 'Atufi's inventory. The anthology of Iskandar Sultan is part of TSMK, B. MS 411. David J. Roxburgh, "Our Works Point to Us: Album Making, Collecting, and Art (ca. 1427–1565) under the Timurids and Safavids" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1996), 489–643; David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album, 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven and London, 2004), 106–18.
52. Persis Berlekamp, *Wonders, Image, and Cosmos in Medieval Islam* (New Haven, 2011).
53. SK, Fatih MS 4171. Another copy with a similar style of miniatures is in the same library under the classification Laleli MS 1991. This copy has no Bayezid seal; see Karin Rührdanz, "Populäre Naturkunde illustriert: Text und Bild in persischen 'Ajā'ib-Handschriften spätmongolischer und frühtimuridischer Zeit," *Studia Iranica* 34 (2005): 231–56, at 243–49.
54. TSMK, R. MS 1660. Çağman and Tanındı, *Topkapı Palace Museum*, cat. 25; Rührdanz, "Populäre Naturkunde illustriert," 243–49. The first two illustrated pages of this work, bearing Bayezid's seal and gilded illumination, are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fletcher Fund, 1934 (34.109). *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: The Islamic World* (New York, 1987), 80–81.
55. Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS P. 205. Francis Richard, *Splendeurs persanes. Manuscrits du XIIe au XVIIe siècle*, Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris, 1997), 41; Francis Richard, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits*, 2 vols. (Rome, 2013), 1:293–95.
56. Ahmet Ateş, "Enveri," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 4 (1964): 278–81; Ateş, *İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde Farsça Manzum Eserler*, 49–54.
57. SK, Fatih MS 3784. Unpublished. One of the copies listed in 'Atufi's inventory was bound together with the diwan of Zahir Faryabi (238 {10}). Two additional copies of Anwari's diwan listed by 'Atufi are also bound together with the diwans of other poets (238 {12–13}).
58. TSMK, H. MS 841. Çağman and Tanındı, *Topkapı Saray Museum*, cat. 6; Çağman and Tanındı, *Topkapı Palace Museum*, cat. 21–24.
59. TSMK, H. MS 678. Çağman and Tanındı, "Selections from Jalayirid Books in the Libraries of Istanbul," 221–64.
60. Ibid., n. 30. SK, Ayasofya MS 3335.
61. Illuminated copy: TIEM, T. MS 2046; illustrated copy: Washington Freer Gallery of Art, MS 32.30–32–37. Çağman and Tanındı, "Selections from Jalayirid Books in the Libraries of Istanbul," 229–30.
62. TSMK, H. MS 867. Oktay Aslanapa, "The Art of Bookbinding," in *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia*, ed. Basil Gray (Paris and London, 1979), 58–91, 61, 79; Çağman and Tanındı, "Selections from Jalayirid Books in the Libraries of Istanbul," n. 65.
63. Ernst J. Grube, "Prolegomena for a Corpus Publication of Illustrated *Kalilah wa Dimnah* Manuscripts," *Islamic Art* 4 (1991): 301–481.
64. TSMK, R. MS 1022. Tanındı and Çağman, *Topkapı Palace Museum*, cat. 29; Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles, 1989), cat. 21, 82–83, 110–11, 136–37. For a technical analysis of the illuminations, see Özcan, "Timur Devri Herat Tezhip Ekolü," 150–82.
65. Aslanapa, "Art of Bookbinding," 61, 86.
66. Chester Beatty Library, MS T. 401. V. Minorsky and J. V. S. Wilkinson, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures* (Dublin, 1958), MS T. 401; Basil W. Robinson, "The Turkman School to 1503," in *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia*, ed. Basil Gray (London, 1979), 234, 241.
67. Library records printed at the end of the nineteenth century indicate that this work was previously catalogued in the library established by Mahmud I in Ayasofya, Istanbul, as MS 3975. However, a note of indeterminate date written next to the work reads: *zāyî' oldu* ("was lost"). Günay Kut, "Sultan I. Mahmud Kütüphanesi (Ayasofya Kütüphanesi)," *Osmanlı Devletinde Bilim, Kültür ve Kütüphaneler*, ed. Özlem Bayram, et al. (Ankara, 1999), 123.
68. SK, Ayasofya MS 3946. Ahmet Ateş, *İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde Farsça Manzum Eserler*, 244–45. The works within the anthology are listed in this modern catalogue alphabetically by author. Hence, information about each section is contained on different pages of the catalogue. There is no record in 'Atufi's list of the manuscript type known as *jong* or *majmū'a* (compendium), in which the selected verses of individual poets or various texts of different authors are gathered together. 'Atufi must have collated the works by authors' name as in the Ahmet Ateş modern catalogue.
69. Zeren Tanındı, "Mihr-ü Müşteri Minyatürlerinin İkonografik Çözümlemesi," in *Sanat Tarihinde İkonografik Araştırmalar Güner İnâl'a Armağan* (Ankara, 1993), 457–90.
70. TSMK, A. MS 3563. Ivan Stchoukine, "Un manuscrit illustré de la Bibliothèque de Bâyezid II," *Arts Asiatiques* 24 (1971): 9–22; Aslanapa, "Art of Bookbinding," 63, 85.
71. British Library, MS Or. 7742. Tanındı, "Mihr-ü Müşteri," n. 1.
72. Nuruosmaniye Library, MS 4171. Ateş, *İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde Farsça Manzum Eserler*, cat. 585. For the crown prince Ahmed's artistic patronage, see Gülrü Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople," *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 1–81, at 79n189. For Jami and his connections with the Ottoman Palace, see *ibid.*, 44. For Jami's other works with illuminated and illustrated section headers dating from the second half of the fifteenth century and the early sixteenth century, see Ateş, *İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde Farsça Manzum Eserler*, cat. 586, 588,

- 595, 601; Fehmi E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu* (Istanbul, 1961), cat. 678, 682, 685, 686–91. Of these works, only cat. 682, the *Dīvān-ı Jami*, contains the seal of Bayezid II.
73. TSMA, D. MS 10017, fol. 2a. Kazan, XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi, 124n308.
 74. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar*, cat. 503–6, 508–11. TİEM, T. MS 1902, 1905, 1906, 2017, 2019. Mehmet Aga-Oglu, *Persian Bookbindings*, IV–V, X–XI; Aslanapa, “Art of Bookbinding,” 62, 82. Nuruosmaniye Library, Ateş, *İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde Farsça Manzum Eserler*, cat. 176, 178, 185, 186.
 75. TSMK, A. MS 1357. Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar*, cat. 503.
 76. TSMK, A. MS 3059. Aga-Oglu, *Persian Bookbindings*, I–II; Aslanapa, “Art of Bookbinding,” 62, 80; Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, cat. 40; TİEM, T. MS 1992. Aga-Oglu, *Persian Bookbindings*, VI–VII; Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, cat. 39; Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, 1400–1600, 160–65.
 77. Some examples of the illustrated or illuminated *Shāhnāma* bearing Bayezid II’s seal were removed from the Inner Treasury to other collections. One unillustrated but richly illuminated *Shāhnāma* in the Turkish and Islamic Art Museum (TİEM, T. MS 2043) bears the Bayezid seal. It is dated 839 (1435–36) and is decorated in Timurid Shiraz style. See *Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi*, 331. There must be more manuscripts bearing Bayezid’s seal in this museum, but I was unable to conduct research there due to restoration work. Istanbul University Library has an illustrated copy of the *Shāhnāma* dated 890 (1489–90), in Aqqoyunlu Shiraz style, stamped with the Bayezid II seal (MS F. 1407). See Uluç, ed., *From the Yıldız Palace*, 121.
 78. An illuminated prose copy of the *Shāhnāma* translated into Arabic and dating to 692 (1293) bears the seal of Bayezid II. Karatay recorded this copy in his catalogue of historical works, as did ‘Atufi. TSMK, A. MS 2996. Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 3:6166.
 79. TSMK, H. MS 754, H. MS 759. Ivan Stchoukine, *Les Peintures des Manuscrits de la «Khamseh» de Nizâmî au Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi d’Istanbul* (Paris, 1977), XIV, XXIII; Lale Uluç, *Turkman Governors, Shiraz Artisans, and Ottoman Collectors: Sixteenth-Century Shiraz Manuscripts* (Istanbul, 2006), 68, 398, 399.
 80. TSMK, H. MS 781. Zeren Tanındı, “Additions to Illustrated Manuscripts in Ottoman Workshops,” *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 150–54; Serpil Bağcı, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda, and Zeren Tanındı, *Ottoman Painting* (Istanbul, 2010), 54–55; Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation,” 44–45.
 81. TSMK, R. MS 1726. Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century*, 112–17; Tanındı, “Başlangıcından Osmanlı’ya Tezhip Sanatı,” 260–61.
 82. Nuruosmaniye Library, MS 3644, 3645. Of these, a work in “naïve” decorative style must have been prepared around (845) 1435 in the Ottoman palace workshop.
 83. Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century*, cat. 5–31.
 84. Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 22–55.
 85. SK, Ayasofya MS 4009. Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century*, 71–73.
 86. SK, Fatih MS 3678. Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century*, 91–92.
 87. Francis Richard, “Dīvānî ou ta’liq: Un calligraphe au service de Mehmet II, Sayyidi Mohammad Monşi,” in *Les manuscrits du Moyen-Orient. Essais de codicologie et de paléographie*, ed. François Déroche (Istanbul and Paris, 1989), 92–93; Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century*, 70–71.
 88. SK, Ayasofya MS 3839.
 89. Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, “Firdevsi’nin Şahnâmesi’nde Geleneğin Değişimi,” *Journal of Turkish Studies. Türklik Bilgisi Araştırmaları* 32, no. 1 (in memoriam Şinasi Tekin III), ed. Y. Dağlı, Y. Dedes, and S. Kuru (2008): 143–67, at 145n15.
 90. An abridged version of the *Shāhnāma* written in Persian for Mehmed II also bears the seal of Bayezid II; see *Orientalische Buchkunst in Gotha: Ausstellung zum 350 jährigen Jubiläum der Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha* (Gotha, 1997), 131–32.
 91. SK, Ayasofya MS 3287. Zeren Tanındı, “Bayezid II’s Collection of Illuminated Books,” in *Kasâyid-i Efsahî der meth-i Sultan Bâyezîd. Efsahî’s Odes in Praise of Sultan Bayezid*, facsimile edition (Istanbul, 2012), 17–18. Other works copied by Sultan Ahmad Harawi include: SK, Ayasofya MS 3977; Istanbul University Library, F. MS 1398. Ateş, *İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde Farsça Manzum Eserler*, 449–50.
 92. Kazan, XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi, 146–47.
 93. TSMK, H. MS 1123. Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century*, 190–91; Ayşin Yoltar, “The Role of Illustrated Manuscripts in Ottoman Luxury Book Production: 1413–1520” (PhD diss., New York University, 2002), 386–99; Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 50–51. The penname of this manuscript’s author was formerly thought to be Ummî rather than Âhî. The correct reading proposed by Andrew C. S. Peacock is cited in Sooyong Kim’s essay in this volume, and has been confirmed by Sara Nur Yıldız and Gülru Necipoğlu. I am grateful to these scholars for having corrected an error that has persisted for many years. An unfinished draft version of this work exists: SK, Fatih MS 4092, fols. 53a–143a. The importance of this manuscript draft is that it contains marginal annotations indicating where illustrations were to be added. This is the earliest known example of a draft manuscript with illustration place-markings. See Zeren Tanındı, “The Illustration of the *Shahnama* and the Art of the Book in Ottoman Turkey,” in *Shahnama Studies II: The Reception of Firdausi’s Shahnama*, ed. Charles Melville and Gabriella van den Berg (Leiden, 2012), 144–45. For the latest discoveries on these two versions and a third version of the *Shāhnāma* of Malik-i at the Cambridge University Library, see Gülru Necipoğlu’s essay in this volume.

94. Kazan, *XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi*, 167.
95. The illuminated *Maşāliḥ al-abdān wa-al-anfus* (Sustenance for Body and Soul) (SK, Ayasofya MS 3740), a medical text copied for Mehmed II by Shaykh Hamdullah, bears the Bayezid II seal and may be dated to around 1475. It is recorded in 'Atufi's list (162 {16–17}). For an exquisitely bound and finely illuminated work in the Shiraz style, copied in Amasya for Bayezid II in 881 (1477), see TİEM, T. MS 1820: Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century*, 184–87.
96. Rıfki M. Meriç, *Türk Nakış Sanatı Tarihi Araştırmaları I, Vesikalar* (Ankara, 1953), 4. There are also examples indicating the production of finely illuminated manuscripts from the beginning of the fifteenth century onwards in that city; see Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 23–25.
97. Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century*, 128–82.
98. Tanındı, "Bindings and Illuminations of the Qur'an," 110–11, cat. 96; Farhad and Retting, *Art of the Qur'an*, cat. 53. On Baba Naqqash, see A. Süheyl Ünver, *Fatih Devri Saray Nakışhanesi ve Baba Nakkaş Çalışmaları* (Istanbul, 1958).
99. Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 23–42.
100. Zeren Tanındı, "Karamanlı Beyliği'nde Kitap Sanatı," *Kültür ve Sanatı* 12 (1991): 42–44; Zeren Tanındı, "The Arts of the Book: Patrons and Interactions in Erzincan between 1365–1410," in *At the Crossroads of Empires: 14th and 15th Century Eastern Anatolia*, ed. Deniz Beyazit (Istanbul, 2012), 221–38.
101. Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century*, 60–62; Alison Ohta, "The Relations Between Mamluk, Ottoman, and Renaissance Bookbindings," in *Thirteenth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. Géza Dávid and Ibolya Gerelyes (Ankara, 2009), 491–503; Zeren Tanındı, "Two Bibliophile Mamluk Emirs: Qansuh the Master of the Stables and Yashbak the Secretary," in *The Arts of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria: Evaluation and Impact*, ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Bonn, 2012), 267–81.
102. Zeren Tanındı, "An Illuminated Manuscript of the Wandering Scholar Ibn al-Jazari and Wandering Illuminators between Tabriz, Shiraz, Herat, Bursa, Edirne, İstanbul in the 15th Century," in *Turkish Art 10th International Congress of Turkish Art. 17–23 September 1995 Geneva*, ed. François Deroche (Geneva, 1999), 236–41; Zeren Tanındı, "Başlangıcından Osmanlı'ya Tezhip Sanatı," in *Hat ve Tezhip Sanatı*, ed. Ali R. Özcan (Ankara, 2009), 252–55, 261, 263. For Mamluk illuminators, see Tanındı, "Two Bibliophile Mamluk Emirs," 270–76. For Timurid and pre-Mughal Indian illuminators, see Wright, *Look of the Book*, 71–80, 84–94, 112–14, 118–19. One of the Qur'ans in the Walters Art Museum (Baltimore) from pre-Mughal India is richly illuminated in the "naïve style" and bears the seal of Bayezid II; see Simon Rettig, "A 'Timurid-Like Response' to the Qur'an of Gwalior? Manuscript W563 at the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore" (in press).
103. TSMK, A. MS 2829. Karatay, *Arapça Yazmalar*, 3:6032; A. 2303, *ibid.*, 4:8549. For bindings, see Alison Ohta, "Filigree Bindings of the Mamluk Period," *Muqarnas* 21 (2004): 269–71; Alison Ohta, "Turcoman Bindings: Dissemination of Technique and Décoration," in *At the Crossroads of Empires: 14th and 15th Century Eastern Anatolia*, ed. Deniz Beyazit (Istanbul, 2012), 214.
104. TSMK, E.H. MS 2086. Muhittin Serin, *Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah* (Istanbul, 2007), 120–26.
105. British Library MS Or. 15579. Muhittin Serin, *Hat Sanatı ve Meşhur Hattatlar* (Istanbul, 2003), 130.
106. Nefes Zade, *Gülizârı Seva*, 49; Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century*, 98.
107. Ayşin Yoltar-Yıldırım, "Following the Path of a Nakkaş from the Ak Koyunlu to the Ottoman Court," in *Pearls from Water, Rubies from Stone: Studies in Islamic Art in Honor of Priscilla Soucek*, ed. Linda Kamaroff (New York, 2006), 147–72.
108. TSMK, H. MS 988: Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar*, cat. 685. This work has no Bayezid seal. However, an illuminated copy dated 877 (1472–73) does bear the seal of Bayezid II: TSMK, R. MS 956. Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar*, cat. 682.
109. Meriç, "Beyazid Camii Mimârı," 8–14.
110. Istanbul University Library, F. MS 1398. Ateş, *İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde Farsça Manzum Eserler*, 449–51. Binding and illuminations unpublished.
111. SK, Ayasofya MS 1. Derman, *Doksandokuz İstanbul Mushafi*, 38–39.
112. Ünver, *Fatih Devri Saray Nakışhanesi*, 39–40, 47–53.
113. The original paint on the stucco decorations on the internal walls of the tomb of Bayezid's bibliophile son, Prince Ahmed (d. 1513), on the grounds of the Muradiye Mosque in Bursa has unfortunately been destroyed by poor repairs.

“THE OTTOMAN MUSE FLUTTERED, BUT POORLY WINGED”: MÜEYYEDZADE, BAYEZID II, AND THE EARLY SIXTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN LITERARY CANON

A contemporary to the King of Hungary and Croatia, Matthias Corvinus (d. 1490), whose legendary Renaissance library has mesmerized generations, the Ottoman scholar, kadi, and bibliophile ‘Abd al-Rahman b. ‘Ali b. Mü’eyyed (d. 1516) was famed for his neoplatonic learning and splendid book collection. According to the Ottoman polymath Taşköprülüzade (d. 1561), Müeyyedzade

had gathered all kinds of extraordinary books, among them books of which none of the contemporaries had knowledge by virtue of [actually] reading [them]. I heard that these are 7,000 volumes, excluding doublets.¹

This exceeds by far the number of books in the Bibliotheca Corviniana, which even by generous estimates is said to have held some 4,000 to 5,000 works in up to 2,500 codices, of which merely 221 volumes survive.² It is also much larger than the humble 1488 precursor of Oxford’s famous Bodleian library, known as Duke Humfrey’s, which prides itself in a “priceless collection of more than 281 manuscripts, including several important classical texts” that Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester and younger brother of King Henry V, had bequeathed to the university in the fifteenth century.³ The building of the famous Bodleian Library itself did not begin until a century later, in 1598, and at that time it was equipped to hold no more than 2,500 volumes, of which some were donated by the founder and namesake Thomas Bodley (1545–1613) himself.⁴

Although the number given by Taşköprülüzade is high in comparison to some of the foremost Renaissance libraries of Europe, it does not appear to be quite as fantastic when considered in the Ottoman context. As Renaissance libraries were mushrooming across fifteenth-century Europe, so they were in the Ottoman

empire.⁵ Here, as throughout Islamic history, learning and knowledge were highly prized by scholars and rulers alike.⁶ Books and libraries were an intrinsic part of intellectual life, as evidenced by the massive manuscript production and historical references to the existence of not only madrasa and royal libraries, but also private libraries such as Müeyyedzade’s. What is special about the Ottoman context in comparison to earlier Islamic libraries is the sheer quantity and quality of available sources on book culture, including endowment records, donation lists, and library catalogues, such as the inventories discussed here, that increasingly become available from the fifteenth century onwards as part of a concerted effort to systematize knowledge in an ever-expanding and interconnected world.⁷

We are fortunate that a copy of the inventory of Müeyyedzade’s library drafted for the Ottoman sultan Selim I (r. 1512–20) soon after Müeyyedzade’s death in 922 (1516) has survived. This inventory records 2,112 titles.⁸ The actual number of books in Müeyyedzade’s collection was probably somewhere between this figure and the much higher number claimed by Taşköprülüzade (7,000), as some of his books were sold before this inventory was drafted (see below). Although the list in our hands thus represents only a partial record of the original library, it still brightly reflects the impressive erudition of the owner and collector. What is more, the inventory of Müeyyedzade’s library is contemporaneous with the catalogue of the Ottoman palace library in Istanbul that was prepared on behalf of Bayezid II in the years 908 (1502–3) (first draft)⁹ and 909 (1503–4) (fair copy, *ta’rikh khurūj al-daftar min al-musawwada ilā al-bayād*).¹⁰ Since the Ottoman palace library inventory shows some 7,200 titles in approximately 5,700 volumes,

its size appears to be comparable to that of Müeyyedzade's collection.¹¹

As for the contents of Müeyyedzade's library, we can tell from the remaining titles that it had a universal outlook. Educated in the erudite circles of Ottoman Amasya, Mamluk Aleppo, and Aqqoyunlu Shiraz, Müeyyedzade had enjoyed a broad education, and his library reflects it. As far as I have been able to establish—and this is preliminary and the only major contrast to Bayezid's inventory I have so far observed—there are no books by European authors in Müeyyedzade's inventory. Given that large parts of his library had been dispersed before the inventory was drafted, it is difficult to know for certain whether it ever held such books.¹² However, in terms of the sciences covered, Müeyyedzade's library exhibited just as much breadth as Bayezid's, or any of the European libraries established in the Renaissance spirit. It was the focus and composition of each library that distinguished them, though overall Bayezid's and Müeyyedzade's collections are surprisingly similar, given that one was a private, and the other a royal library.¹³

For example, like Bayezid's library, Müeyyedzade's held a comparatively high proportion of works on the sciences of the stars, medicine, and the occult, reflecting the great interest in these areas of inquiry at the time, both in the Ottoman empire and beyond, including Renaissance Europe.¹⁴ In the areas of astronomy and astrology, the scope of Müeyyedzade's collection ranges from widespread teaching manuals on astronomy, such as Jaghmini's (fl. 1221) elementary cosmographical work *al-Mulakhkhaṣ* (The Summation),¹⁵ to more specialized works, such as a copy of the somewhat rare Arabic version of al-Mas'udi's (fl. 1154) astronomical-geographical *al-Kifāya fī 'ilm al-hay'a* (The Compendium of Cosmography)¹⁶ and several copies of Qutb al-Din Shirazi's (d. 1311) *Nihāyat al-idrāk* (Extreme Comprehension)¹⁷ and *al-Tuḥfa al-Shāhiyya* (The Imperial Gift),¹⁸ to a large number of *hay'a* works and works on *nujūm* that are difficult to identify because the title is vague or the author's name was not recorded in the inventory.¹⁹ Among the works on magic and astrology, Müeyyedzade held a copy of the *Picatrix*, a work which, as far as I can see, is not listed in the palace inventory.²⁰

Another example of shared interests is the area of medicine. Here Müeyyedzade's inventory records sev-

eral copies of Avicenna's (d. 1037) *Qānūn* (Canon [of medicine])²¹ and multiple copies of commentaries on it, though due to the lack of information on the authors, these are impossible to identify.²² Müeyyedzade's inventory also records a copy of Ibn Jazla's (d. 1100) *Minhāj al-bayān* (The Clear Path, or Path of Explanation),²³ one copy each of volumes one and three of Ibn Hubal's (d. 1213) *Mukhtār fī al-ṭibb* (Choice [Book] of Medicine),²⁴ two copies of Ibn al-Nafis's (d. 1288) *Mūjaz fī al-ṭibb* (Epitome of Medicine),²⁵ a copy of al-Sijzi's (fl. before 1334) *Ḥaqā'iq asrār al-ṭibb* (Truths of the Secrets of Medicine),²⁶ and several other works that are clearly dedicated to medicine, though not all of these can be identified, again due to the lack of information on the authors and the polysemy of the titles.²⁷

In terms of numbers, however, a much larger space than either astronomy or medicine is occupied in both inventories by the topic of literature (more than sixty pages in Bayezid's, if we count literature in all languages together) as well as Sufism, hagiography, and ethics (more than forty pages in Bayezid's inventory). The proportions are similar in Müeyyedzade's inventory. For the purpose of this article, diwan literature has been selected for a comparative case study.

While a detailed comparison of the inventories in their entirety can only be undertaken once both of them have been properly published, the already apparent parallels should not be too surprising, given that Bayezid and Müeyyedzade lived during the same period in the same region and had also been close friends since their youth.

BAYEZID II AND MÜEYYEDZADE

Müeyyedzade was not only Bayezid's close contemporary (Bayezid was his elder by eight years, and predeceased Müeyyedzade by four years), they also grew up together in Amasya, where Müeyyedzade's father, Şemseddin Müeyyed Çelebi, was appointed chancellor (*nişancı*) to Prince Bayezid upon the latter's appointment as governor in 865 (1461).²⁸ In Amasya, Müeyyedzade and Bayezid also enjoyed an outstanding education in the fine arts, studying the art of writing with one of the foremost calligraphers of the time, the Amasya-born

Shaykh Hamdullah (d. 1520), and moved among the circles of some of the finest poets of that age, including the poetess Mihri (d. after 1512), who is known to have developed a liking for Müeyyedzade in her youth.²⁹ It was in Amasya that Prince Bayezid and Müeyyedzade forged a relationship that was to last throughout their lives. Their boon companionship in Amasya in the 1470s apparently acquired dimensions that displeased Bayezid's father Mehmed II (r. 1451–81) to the extent that he issued an order for Müeyyedzade's execution.³⁰ After escaping first to Aleppo and then to Shiraz, where he studied for several years with Jalal al-Din Dawani (d. 1502), Müeyyedzade was called back to the Ottoman empire after Mehmed II's death to serve Bayezid after his accession to the Ottoman throne in 1481. From that time until shortly before his death in 1516, Müeyyedzade held high offices, including that of chief military judge (*kazasker*), throughout Bayezid II's reign and also during the first half of the reign of Bayezid's son and successor Selim I (r. 1512–20).³¹

Bayezid and Müeyyedzade apparently also shared a taste for rare and valuable books. Müeyyedzade's upbringing in a learned family, as well as his extended studies in Shiraz, the connections he forged with the scholars there, and the books he brought back with him, played a key part in the circulation of knowledge between the late fifteenth-century Ottoman empire and Aqqoyunlu Fars. However, as recent research has also shown, the scholarly networks that had been established over the preceding two centuries were equally important, as they clearly informed the shape and scope of Müeyyedzade's library.³²

Müeyyedzade apparently collected books both for their content and because of the intrinsic value of specific copies. Some of the surviving copies that bear the owner's mark of Müeyyedzade were made from autograph copies that had been carefully compared and collated either with the autograph itself or with other authoritative copies.³³ Other books that Müeyyedzade acquired had previously been owned and/or annotated by key figures in the production and circulation of knowledge—such as Zayn al-'Arab al-Misri, who completed his commentary on Avicenna's *Qānūn* in 751 (1350)³⁴—or by otherwise famous scholars, including

authors of non-Muslim background, such as the Syriac Maphrian Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286).³⁵

In other words, Müeyyedzade was well aware of the genealogy of learning that these specific copies embodied, and he consciously collected and consulted them primarily for this reason. Yet there were also books in his library that Müeyyedzade personally commissioned to be copied on his behalf. These were thus "fresh" copies of works that were apparently not or only rarely to be found in the Ottoman empire at the time, or that Müeyyedzade simply wanted to own.³⁶ But even here, he carefully selected as the master copy such manuscripts that had been prepared by specialists in the field, and took care to collate the new copy once again with the master copy.³⁷

In-depth studies of individual cases are required in order to properly analyze why Müeyyedzade may have wished to consult more than one copy of the same work. For now, the evidence suggests that Müeyyedzade was a scholar with broad interests and a high epistemological consciousness who was not satisfied with references of a lesser order (later copies) when he could have access to autograph copies, or to copies annotated by famous scholars or past specialists in the field. In other words, where modern scholars read journal articles, pre-modern scholars like Müeyyedzade would have consulted the margins of manuscripts, which embodied the collective knowledge of the field through the comments and analysis of past scholars: The topic was defined by the main text of a given work, and the analysis and scholarship about it (in modern jargon, the "secondary literature") was delivered right with it in the margins, together with its epistemological framework—not a bad way to carry out research.

A FEW WORDS ON METHOD

Describing and comparing Bayezid II's and Müeyyedzade's inventories is easier said than done, as Müeyyedzade's is both incomplete and unsystematic. A major difference between the two inventories is that the one prepared for Bayezid II by his librarian 'Atufi is a proper catalogue of a complete royal library that to some extent is a projection and serves as a mirror of the

division of sciences (*taqṣīm al-ʿulūm*) at the time. By contrast, the inventory of the holdings of Müeyyedzade's private library prepared for Selim I records the remainder of the collected books of a scholar and true bibliophile that was established only after his death. Furthermore, we are comparing a royal library that grew over several generations³⁸ and was also enriched by many donated books from friends and protégés,³⁹ with the private library of a scholar and bibliophile who probably also inherited a good number of books from his learned ancestors. But clearly Müeyyedzade acquired many of his books by purchase or had them specifically copied for himself, without access to the same means as his royal patron. Indeed, Müeyyedzade may even have fallen into debt because of his bibliophilia, though this remains a matter of speculation.

Probably because of his precarious financial situation, Müeyyedzade never established an endowment for his library. His books were sold and dispersed upon his death, and today they can be found in various libraries across the world, which makes it a particularly daunting task to establish a list of his surviving books (and here the fate of his collection somewhat parallels that of Corvinus's).⁴⁰ It is difficult to reconstruct the sequence of events following Müeyyedzade's death, but the available evidence cited below supports the following scenario: The sons of Müeyyedzade sold part of his library in order to pay off his debts. The funds that they raised from the sale appear to have covered his debts only partially. At this point, Selim I became aware of the dispersal of Müeyyedzade's collection. He dispatched a delegation to gather Müeyyedzade's books, if necessary from the book sellers. Selim instructed his delegates to record the books that they were able to recuperate (which resulted in the book inventory studied here), and then sell them on his behalf so that Müeyyedzade would be relieved of his debts. As suggested by İsmail Erünsal, it is reasonable to presume that Selim himself also wished to possess some of Müeyyedzade's books in order to fill lacunae in his palace library.⁴¹

The inventory includes Selim's instructions to the delegation:

However many books [had] belonged to the late Müeyyedzade, they should be collected, and if they have [already] been sold, they should be bought back from the

places to which they have been sold, and be safely stored in a place.⁴²

Selim's order also contains a clause indicating that he asked for "important" (*mühimm*) books to be singled out and highlighted as such, which reinforces the impression that one of his aims was to acquire some of these titles for the palace library:

The number of [Müeyyedzade's] creditors is endless. If the important [manuscripts] were pointed out to the Emperor and the remainder sold and [the proceeds] given to the creditors, the deceased [Müeyyedzade] would be relieved from his debts [and could rest in peace].⁴³

Probably as a result of these instructions, Müeyyedzade's books are recorded in two contiguously copied but distinct lists, with most of the more valuable manuscripts (apparently the "important" books) recorded in the first list and often marked as "first rate" (*a'lā*) copies (TSMA, D. 9291.1). This first list is also visually more distinguished, as there are fewer items per page (between 22 and 40 entries, arranged in four columns of up to 10 items per column), whereas the second list (TSMA, D. 9291.2) features between 95 and 110 entries per page (arranged in five columns of between 19 and 22 items each, with additional items sometimes listed in smaller script, or entries spread across two columns if necessary).⁴⁴ In this article I refer to these two documents as "List I" and "List II," respectively, or, when referring to specific entries, briefly as "I" and "II," followed by the folio numbers.

Since many of the books that Müeyyedzade once owned had already been sold when Selim's delegation arrived, those books that they could find were not listed according to topic, but by the criteria of value (which distinguishes List I from List II) and the location from which the books were recovered.⁴⁵

This has resulted in a major difference between the book inventories of Müeyyedzade and Bayezid II in terms of their organization and the arrangement of entries. Bayezid's inventory is ordered according to two major principles and several subprinciples (referred to as *qānūn* in the compiler 'Atufi's introduction).⁴⁶ The major organizing principles are disciplines or fields of knowledge (hadith, *ta'rikh*, etc., called *fann* in the introduction [5 {7}; 6 {1–9}]); within each discipline, titles are

ranked in terms of popularity and rarity (*maṭlūbiyyet ve kullet-i vüçüd*, 6 {11}). We can observe additional sub-principles of organization, including whether a work was composed in verse or prose (8 {7–14, 14–18}), languages (in the case of diwans), clusters of authors who wrote at approximately the same time, and certain clusters of titles grouped together with related commentaries, continuations, and translations.

Thus, if one wanted to find all the copies of a given book in a given discipline in Müeyyedzade's inventory and to compare these with all the books of the same discipline in Bayezid's inventory, one would first need to read the entirety of Müeyyedzade's inventory and establish alphabetical indices of all books and authors contained therein, then identify these works, and finally prepare a concordance of the individual titles with their equivalents in the relevant section of Bayezid's inventory.

I have undertaken the first two steps and am currently preparing the alphabetical indices by titles and authors for publication, with about ten percent of the books still remaining that I have yet to identify.⁴⁷

For the purpose of the present article, and in order to achieve a meaningful comparison, I had to select a clearly defined and comparable subgroup of works.⁴⁸ Here diwan literature offered itself as one of the fields with the sharpest contours, as the combination of the generic title *dīwān* (which is sometimes supplemented by subtitles such as *Najdiyyāt*, *Irāqīyyāt*, etc.) with the author's name promised to yield the most crisp picture and reliable identification for a confined, yet sizeable group of texts.⁴⁹ This is less often the case for other book titles in the inventory, which yield much higher "unknown" rates, often providing only an abbreviation of a title with multiple possibilities of identification (such as *mufaṣṣal*, *sharḥ mukhtaṣar*, and the like), without the author's name. Moreover, in contrast to Bayezid's inventory, the titles listed in Müeyyedzade's inventory lack circumstantial indication about the discipline or language of the work, which are significant hints for identifying an entry. Of course, language mattered little to an educated Ottoman, for whom works in Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish (and during this period also Chaghatay Turkish) were equally accessible. Nonetheless, language is an important criterion for identifying any given work, including diwans.

Diwans also offer a meaningful point of comparison because Müeyyedzade and Bayezid were not only collectors of poetry, but they also both wrote poetry and were patrons of poets. Under the pen name Ḥātemī (Khātimī), Müeyyedzade composed poetry in three languages: Arabic, Persian, and Turkish.⁵⁰ Among the poets who benefited from Müeyyedzade's patronage were Necati (d. 1509),⁵¹ Kemalpaşazade (d. 1534),⁵² and Zati (d. 1546).⁵³ Hence, we may assume that Müeyyedzade was somewhat of a connoisseur when it came to collecting poetry.

For the purpose of this article, and without skirting the important question of the authorship of diwans, "the diwan of author X" will be treated as the poetry collection of that author, regardless whether the poetry gathered therein was composed by the author or was later ascribed to him or her, and regardless of whether the diwan was gathered by the author himself or herself, or by third parties after the author's death.⁵⁴ Known titles (for instance, *Siqṭ al-zand* for the diwan of Ma'arri, the *Ḥamāsa* for Abu Tammam, and the *Irāqīyyāt* and *Najdiyyāt* for the two parts of the diwan of Abu Muzaffar al-Abiwardi) have been checked against the alphabetical title index of Müeyyedzade's inventory that I created in order to ensure that no diwans were omitted. Such cases are identified and discussed as appropriate.

For the present study, I used the entirety of Müeyyedzade's inventory, whereas for Bayezid's inventory I only systematically read and analyzed the *Dawāwīn* sections (in Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman and Chaghatay Turkish). As İsmail E. Erünsal has demonstrated in his much broader study of the Turkish literary works recorded in Bayezid's inventory, such titles can be found in virtually any section of the inventory, not only in the diwan section.⁵⁵ Entries from other sections are thus included as applicable, though only in one case is a *dīwān* work (as opposed to other literary genres, such as *mathnawīs*, *khamṣas*, and the like) found in a different section of Bayezid's inventory.⁵⁶

As for the nature of the inventories studied here, I have assumed that in Müeyyedzade's case, the inventory established by Selim I's commission is a snapshot, recording a specific moment in time for a library that had already begun to disintegrate. In Bayezid's case, by contrast, the inventory is not a finite document but served as a living tool and accretional text, a kind of

checklist that was used to account for acquisitions as new books arrived, as does any modern library catalogue or current bibliography. The copy of Bayezid II's inventory that we have is precisely such a document, featuring empty spaces and entire blank pages at the end of each section to permit future additions.⁵⁷ This assumption is further confirmed by additions to the blank spaces that are written in different hands, recordings in awkward places,⁵⁸ and inconsistencies within an otherwise very thoughtfully devised system (e.g., recordings of the same author's name with and without a prayer formula; or inconsistent recordings of the language in which a work was written).⁵⁹ While at first glance, two dates can be read on the front page of Bayezid's inventory, i.e., 909 (1503–4, in *abjad* letters on 1b {5 and 10}), as per the *ta'rikh* given for the fair copy of the catalogue), and 959 (1551–52, in numbers, on 1b {6 and 11}),⁶⁰ the contributors to this volume have established that the copy of the inventory that is in our hands can be dated to 909. We therefore assume that entries seemingly attributed to later authors in Bayezid's inventory, such as Zati (d. 1546, e.g., 246 {11}) and the famous Khayali (d. 1557), refer instead to different, earlier authors using the same pen name, or that these may be accounted for in other ways, as explained below.

Lastly, whereas this article concentrates very much on *books* due to the focus of the present volume, we must not forget that it was above all *people* who drove the debates, nurtured the culture of learning, and penned and reproduced the very books that permit us to catch a glimpse of the past. Scholarly gatherings inside and outside of mosques, madrasas, in *majlises* of learning and poetry alike, including, one would imagine, gatherings convened in private homes in the vicinity of libraries, were the spaces where debates were carried out, poetry proclaimed, and further knowledge produced, without which even the best library would be but shelves filled with empty paper.⁶¹

PATRON, POET, AND CONNOISSEUR: MÜEYYEDZADE'S DIWAN COLLECTION

Müeyyedzade's personal library comprised a substantial number of diwans by major poets, often in several cop-

ies. Thus, we learn that he owned at least four copies of al-Mutanabbi's (d. 955) diwan alone, together with three different commentaries (*sharḥs*) of the same work, as well as possibly a fifth diwan or parts thereof, listed as *Ash'ār Mutanabbī*.⁶² It is unfortunate that the inventory of Müeyyedzade's books is only a partial record of his total library, but even this glimpse is impressive. On the other hand, the comparison with the palace library makes Müeyyedzade's book collection look much more modest than Taşköprülüzade's statement suggests, both in terms of diwans held and the number of copies of each diwan that it contains (Taşköprülüzade, we will recall, had explicitly excluded doublets from his account). Table 1 below shows the diwans with more than one copy recorded in Müeyyedzade's inventory (TSMA, D. 9291.1-2) in comparison with Bayezid's.

Diwans with More than One Copy in Müeyyedzade's Library (Table 1)

The evidence suggests that in the great majority of cases, Bayezid's inventory was richer than Müeyyedzade's in terms of the number of copies it held of each diwan.⁶³ Only in the case of the diwan of Abu Tammam (d. 845) and possibly that of Abiwardi (d. 1113) does it appear that Müeyyedzade's library is comparable to Bayezid's. Müeyyedzade's inventory shows three copies of Abu Tammam's *Dīwān* (II/3b, II/6b, II/8a), whereas Bayezid II's has only one (205 {11}), though it holds six copies of the same author's *Ḥamāsa* (against two copies in Müeyyedzade's inventory). As for Abiwardi's *Dīwān*—which consists of two parts, the *Trāqīyyāt* and the *Najdiyyāt*—there are altogether nine copies of the work found in Bayezid's inventory (two copies of the *Trāqīyyāt* and seven of the *Najdiyyāt*). Although not a single work titled *Dīwān Abiwardi* is listed in Bayezid's catalogue, it would be misleading to state that the palace library did not hold a copy of this diwan. If one combines the *Trāqīyyāt* and the *Najdiyyāt* volumes held in the palace library, this adds up to two full copies of the *Dīwān*, which is the same number as found among Müeyyedzade's books. In addition, the palace library held five extra copies of the *Najdiyyāt* and four copies of the *Sharḥ Najdiyyāt* (as compared to a single copy of this *sharḥ* in Müeyyedzade's inventory). Thus, in terms of

sheer numbers the palace library also proves to be richer overall than the recorded portion of Müeyyedzade's library.

Put differently, with the exception of Abu Tammam's *Dīwān*,⁶⁴ wherever Müeyyedzade's inventory shows multiple copies, so does Bayezid II's. In the majority of cases, the palace library held more (often several more) copies than Müeyyedzade's library, at least in the form in which it was retrieved after his death. Nonetheless, Müeyyedzade's private collection stood up well, considering that it was a private as opposed to a royal collection. Whether the individual copies in question might have included special features (such as comments from famous former owners, autograph copies, and the like), only an investigation of surviving copies can ultimately answer.

Diwans Identified as "Important" (mühimm) (Table 2)

Both Taşköprülüzade's comments and the introduction to Bayezid's palace library inventory suggest that not only the age and execution of a book, but also its rarity (*kullet-i vücūd*, 6 {11}) may have been important criteria for Müeyyedzade in establishing his collection. Therefore, if we take seriously Taşköprülüzade's claim of the exceptional rarity of Müeyyedzade's books, we might assume that Müeyyedzade's "important" List I (TSMA, D. 09291.1) would record copies of those diwans of which fewer (or possibly no) specimens were held in the palace library. Such works are presented here in Table 2 ("Important" Diwans in TSMA, D. 9291.1 Compared with MS Török F. 59).⁶⁵ In light of Taşköprülüzade's claims, it is perhaps surprising that copies of most of these diwans appear to have already been part of Bayezid's library when Müeyyedzade's inventory was drafted. In all but one of these cases, the palace library held at least two or three copies of each of these diwans; in six cases, it held five copies or more; and in one case (Hafiz), even as many as eighteen.

There is only one diwan of which the palace library apparently did not hold a copy, which is that of a certain Hatifi. The individual in question here is probably the poet and nephew of Jami, 'Abd Allah Hatifi of Khargird in Khurasan (d. 1521), who belonged to "the circle of Herāt formed under the liberal patronage of the later Timūrids."⁶⁶ He appears to have been relatively un-

known in Ottoman circles at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and his diwan apparently also had not entered the palace library by this time. Bayezid's inventory records only two copies of Hatifi's *Khusraw wa Shirin* (253 {4–5, 9}), which is part of Hatifi's *Khamisa*, but does not list his diwan. In addition to Hatifi's diwan, Müeyyedzade's collection also held an especially precious copy of the entire *Khamisa* that was apparently also illustrated (*Khamisa-yi Hātifi, muṣawwar, a'lā*, I/1b).⁶⁷ Müeyyedzade's travels and protracted studies in Shiraz may have led to personal contacts that facilitated his acquisition of Hatifi's *Dīwān* and *Khamisa*. In this particular case, it appears that not only the rarity of the work itself, but also the execution of the copy in question made the volume particularly valuable. Several of the remaining poets in List I (such as Hasan, Qasim, and Amir Shahi) also belonged to the Herat circle and were possibly less well known among Ottoman readers, although copies of their work were available in the palace library. A certain curiosity about—and possibly a sense of competition with—the sparkling circle of poets around 'Ali Shir Nava'i (d. 1501) at the contemporaneous court of Sultan Husayn Bayqara (d. 1506) in Herat (which in just the decade between 1490 and 1500 included some 150 to 200 poets) may have contributed to the novelty factor and desirability of these works in Ottoman circles.⁶⁸

Equally striking is that nine of the ten shared diwan titles presented in Table 2 are recorded in the section of Persian diwans in Bayezid's catalogue. Only one (the diwan ascribed to 'Ali b. Abi Talib) was presumably written in Arabic;⁶⁹ and there is at most one Ottoman Turkish diwan among the "important" works in Müeyyedzade's List I (the *Dīwān Khayāl[ī]*). Given the period under consideration, however, it is likely that this refers to Khayali Bukhari (d. ca. 1446), the author of a Persian diwan, rather than the more famous, but much later, Ottoman poet Khayali (d. 1557).⁷⁰ In sum, we can state that diwans in Persian constituted the overwhelming majority of the key ("important") diwans recorded in Müeyyedzade's List I. As İsmail E. Erünsal has pointed out, during this period Ottoman readers continued to hold Persian literature in high esteem, and Persian poets were regarded as models; hence, it is not particularly

surprising to find such a high number of Persian diwans among Müeyyedzade's books.⁷¹

A similar image emerges from an investigation of Müeyyedzade's Lists I and II taken together. Only one of the authors, 'Ishqi/Aṣki, who flourished during the period of Mehmed II, wrote in Ottoman;⁷² and at most two, Bana'i (d. 1512) and Lutfi (d. 1462–63 or 1492), wrote in Chaghatay Turkish. However, parts of their diwans were probably written in Persian as well, since no diwan written entirely in Chaghatay Turkish is known to have been authored by Bana'i, who in fact is known to have authored two diwans in Persian and even actively opposed Turkish as a literary language in his early life.⁷³ Overall, Müeyyedzade's literary orientation was clearly towards the Persianate East. This should not be surprising, given his extended sojourn and study with the foremost scholars of Shiraz in the 1470s and 1480s, with whom he apparently also maintained close relations after returning to Ottoman service. In a sense, this shows that Müeyyedzade's library was both selectively constructed, and reflects his very specific vita and historical context. Whether Müeyyedzade's library may have once held Ottoman diwans, which perhaps were sold too quickly after his death to be recorded in his inventory, we do not know. What is clear is that Müeyyedzade's collection held a significant number of Persian diwans. This is paralleled by the significant number of Persian diwans in Bayezid's collection.⁷⁴ In both inventories, Turkish as a literary language is present, but it is less prominent than the Persian (and Arabic) sections at least in terms of absolute numbers, which confirms our knowledge of the history of Turkish as a literary language.

The remaining diwans of Müeyyedzade's library are recorded in the second inventory list (TSMA, D. 09291.2).⁷⁵ In addition to the already discussed diwans represented with multiple copies, Müeyyedzade's List II includes single copies of the *Dīwān Anwarī* (II/10a), *Dīwān Shaykh 'Arabī* (II/4b), *Dīwān Bākharzī* (II/3b), *Dīwān Banā'ī* (II/10a), *Dīwān Humām* (II/2b), *Dīwān Ibn Fāriḍ* (II/3a), *Dīwān Ibn Ishāq* (II/5b), *Dīwān Ibn Khaṭīb al-Maghribī* (II/9b), *Dīwān Ibn Nubāta* (II/4a), *Dīwān Ibn Qārī* (II/3b), *Dīwān 'Irāqī* (II/6a), *Dīwān 'Ishqī* (II/6b), *Dīwān Khāwarī ma'a risāla ukhrā* (II/6a),⁷⁶ *Dīwān Kamāl Khujandī* (II/8a), *Dīwān Lutfī* (II/6b), *Dīwān Maghribī* (II/5b),⁷⁷ *Dīwān Qāḍī Īsā* (II/6b), *Dīwān Quṭb* (II/4a),⁷⁸

Dīwān Rukn al-Dīn (II/6b),⁷⁹ *Dīwān Sa'd* (II/8a), *Dīwān Shahīd* (II/5a), *Dīwān Shaykh 'Aṭṭār* (II/8a), *Dīwān Shaykh Yaḥyā Ṣarṣarī* (II/4a),⁸⁰ *Dīwān Sharaf Rāmī* (II/7a), *Dīwān Sulṭān Aḥmad* (II/8a), *Dīwān Sulṭān al-'arīfīn* (II/5a),⁸¹ *Dīwān 'Ubayd-i Zākānī* (II/8a), *Dīwān Zahīr/Zuhayr* (II/1b, II/9a),⁸² as well as several diwans whose authors I have so far been unable to identify.⁸³

The palace library also held copies of the majority of these diwans. In general terms, Müeyyedzade's library inventory largely overlaps with and generally confirms the literary canon represented by the palace library—albeit on a smaller scale, and with a more expansive collection of diwans overall, especially those written in Persian and, to a lesser extent, in Arabic (although key poets writing in Arabic are also present together with their *sharḥs*, as we have already seen). Major poets are well represented, including with literary works other than diwans, especially when they wrote in Persian: Nizami's (d. between 1180 and 1217) *Khamsa*,⁸⁴ 'Attar's (d. 1221) *Muṣibat-nāma*,⁸⁵ (probably) Rumi's (d. 1273) *Mathnawī*,⁸⁶ Sa'di's (d. 1292) *Kulliyāt* and *Gulistān*,⁸⁷ and Jami's (d. 1492) *Khamsa*⁸⁸ are all recorded in Müeyyedzade's inventory.

Equally well represented are "lesser" poets (or at least ones who are lesser known today), such as Hatifi, 'Ismat, and Bisati (all recorded in List I). By contrast, Müeyyedzade's inventory is significantly less well equipped on the Turkish side when compared to Bayezid's inventory. This is particularly visible in the area of Chaghatay works, which at the time were flourishing in one of the most politically stable centers of cultural efflorescence in the Eastern Islamic lands under the patronage of Sultan Husayn Bayqara and Mir 'Ali Shir Nava'i.

Even though Müeyyedzade's inventory was drafted more than a decade after Bayezid's, and even though Müeyyedzade clearly maintained excellent connections to scholars and the book trade in Iran and Central Asia, Turkish works are also almost entirely absent in his List II. Whether this is a reflection of Müeyyedzade's own predilections, or whether these books were particularly popular and therefore sold more swiftly than others and could not be retrieved by Selim I's delegation, will have to remain an open question. İsmail E. Erünsal has suggested that the number of Chaghatay works in Müeyyedzade's book collection would have

been lower than in Bayezid's because the Chaghatay works probably reached Bayezid's library as presents.⁸⁹

Not surprisingly, given its royal patronage and larger size, the palace library inventory features many books that are not found in Müeyyedzade's inventory, including books that one might reasonably expect to find there, such as copies of the diwans of Müeyyedzade's own protégés. The absence of Zati's (d. 1546) diwan in Müeyyedzade's inventory is not entirely surprising, given his late death date; the presence of a diwan by a poet of this name in Bayezid's catalogue probably refers to another poet with the same *makhlaṣ* (Zātī) who lived during an earlier period.⁹⁰ By contrast, the absence of Necati's diwan in Müeyyedzade's catalogue is surprising. Necati not only predeceased Müeyyedzade, but was encouraged by Müeyyedzade to collect his dispersed ghazals in a diwan, which he did. Necati subsequently dedicated this diwan to Müeyyedzade, which created a major splash, since the dedication went against etiquette by stepping over some more senior individuals.⁹¹ Thus we might reasonably assume that Necati's diwan is one work that had already been sold before Selim was able to retrieve it. It is curious, as İsmail Erünsal has pointed out, that Necati's diwan is also absent from Bayezid's inventory.⁹²

IMPLICATIONS AND PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

Returning to Taşköprülüzade's quote at the beginning of this article, one of the aims here has been to assess whether Müeyyedzade had indeed possessed books that were otherwise not known in Ottoman lands. The other aim has been to determine the ways in which these books may have been special, and what this can tell us about the literary canon of the time.

Harawi and Bukharan Literary Circles

There are two major differences between the two inventories in the area of diwan literature. As noted above, one is the greater presence of diwans in Ottoman and Chaghatay Turkish in Bayezid's library as compared to Müeyyedzade's incomplete inventory. Despite its slightly later date, Müeyyedzade's catalogue is virtually devoid of diwans in Ottoman Turkish (except for 'Ishqi's/

Aşki's, as we have seen), even though most of Müeyyedzade's own surviving poetry is in Ottoman Turkish. The survival of these works by Müeyyedzade, however, may have resulted from a selective process dictated by the tastes of audiences in subsequent centuries, rather than representing the languages in which Müeyyedzade actually composed.

As noted above, Müeyyedzade's inventory holds only one, or possibly two, diwans with verses in Chaghatay Turkish. These are a copy of the *Dīwān Lutfī*, which, given the dating, probably refers to the diwan of the Herat-based Lutfi (d. 1462–63 or 1492), who wrote in Chaghatay Turkish,⁹³ and a copy of a diwan of the Herat-born and Herat-educated Bana'i (d. 1512) that may have contained some verses in Chaghatay.⁹⁴ While Bana'i spent most of his life in Transoxania, he also spent extended periods between Iraq and Tabriz around the time of Müeyyedzade's sojourn in Shiraz, which was probably when Müeyyedzade became acquainted with his poetry.⁹⁵

Bayezid's catalogue, by contrast, records several copies of the diwans of the better-known poets writing in Chaghatay Turkish, such as Sayf-i Sarayi (d. after 1394), who also wrote in Qipçak Turkish;⁹⁶ Gada ("Gadā," Gadā'i, fl. 1491–92);⁹⁷ and Mir 'Ali Shir Nava'i (d. 1501).⁹⁸ As already pointed out by İsmail Erünsal, Bayezid's inventory features a substantial amount of literature in Chaghatay Turkish for the period. This would suggest that Nava'i's works spread into Ottoman circles earlier than previously assumed.⁹⁹ The overall comparatively low number of diwans in Chaghatay Turkish in both Bayezid's and especially Müeyyedzade's catalogue reflects the fact that ninety percent of the poetry in Central Asia before 'Ali Shir Nava'i was composed in Persian, and only ten percent was written in Chaghatay Turkish, which somewhat parallels the situation in Ottoman lands.¹⁰⁰ Neither Bayezid's nor Müeyyedzade's book inventory records copies of Chaghatay diwans from the first half of the fifteenth century, such as the diwans of Sakkaki of Samarqand (fl. 1410),¹⁰¹ Ata'i of Balkh (fl. 1450),¹⁰² and Yusuf Amiri of Badakhshan (fl. 1433).¹⁰³ This would suggest that Bayezid was less concerned with the Turkish language in which these diwans were written than he was with their fame, especially the renowned Harawi circle in which the later works were

produced. Considering that literary production in Chaghatay Turkish was at its height at exactly this time—especially in the Herat of Husayn Bayqara—and taking into account our current knowledge concerning the history of Nava'i's reception in Ottoman literary circles, this shows to what extent the palace library was on the cutting edge of the literary trends of the time.¹⁰⁴

From the three great centers of Chaghatay and Persian literary activity in the fifteenth century (i.e., Samarqand, Shiraz, and Herat), Müeyyedzade's library appears to have been particularly well stocked with works by authors who were related to Shiraz and Herat.¹⁰⁵ To these can be added works from the lesser-known literary circle in Bukhara surrounding 'Ismat Allah Bukhari (d. 1436 or 1437; see below). The literary connection to Shiraz was obviously established and reinforced through Müeyyedzade's extended sojourn and study there. The connection to Herat is particularly evident in a cluster of diwans from the circle of Husayn Bayqara that Müeyyedzade had once owned. Husayn Bayqara is known to have completed his own diwan in 1491.¹⁰⁶ While Müeyyedzade's inventory does not list a copy of this work, it does include copies of diwans by the aforementioned Herat-based poets Lutfi, Jami, and Bana'i. To this group may be added Hasan Shah Harawi, who is said to have died at the age of 105 in 905 (ca. August 8, 1499).¹⁰⁷ It is not certain that he is the person behind the mysterious name or pen name "Hasan," but given the prominence of poets from Herat in Müeyyedzade's inventory, and considering Herat's role as the foremost center of literary production in the Eastern Islamic lands at the time, Hasan Shah Harawi is one of the strongest contenders (*Dīwān Hasan, a'lā, I/2a*).¹⁰⁸ Also included in Müeyyedzade's collection are works by earlier authors from Herat, such as the *Dīwān* of Qasim-i Anwar (d. 1433–44), who spent a substantial amount of time in Timurid Herat. Two copies of his diwan are listed in the "important" section of Müeyyedzade's book inventory (I/2a). Müeyyedzade moreover owned a copy (I/2b) of the diwan of the poet Amir Shahi of Sabzawar (d. 1453), who spent some time in Herat in the circle of Baysunqur.¹⁰⁹ And last but not least, Müeyyedzade's catalogue lists a copy of the diwan by the already mentioned maternal nephew of Jami, Hatifi, who like Qasim al-Anwar was from Khargird, not far from Herat, where

he served as the custodian of Qasim-i Anwar's tomb that had been built by Mir 'Ali Shir Nava'i.¹¹⁰

That Nava'i's Turkish poetry in particular was avidly read, copied, and even adapted to the Oghuz Turkish dialect prevalent in the Aqqoyunlu Shiraz of the early 1470s is evident from the copy of his so-called *Dīwān of the Aq Qoyunlu Admirers* that was penned (and possibly compiled) by the famous Aqqoyunlu calligrapher 'Abd al-Rahim Khwarazmi in 1471.¹¹¹ Aqqoyunlu Shiraz, which had strong cultural ties to Herat as well as Bukhara, served as a key entrepôt for the introduction of Nava'i's works to Ottoman audiences.¹¹² Not coincidentally, it was here that Müeyyedzade spent several years of intensive study in the decade immediately following the copying of the *Dīwān of the Aq Qoyunlu Admirers*, and Müeyyedzade likely not only brought back copies of Nava'i's works, but also reinforced the excitement about his poetry in Ottoman circles. If he owned a copy of Nava'i's diwan, however, it appears to have sold quickly, as no copy of the work is recorded in his inventory.¹¹³

Müeyyedzade's collection also includes a good selection of diwans by poets from the early fifteenth-century Bukharan circle of 'Ismat Allah Bukhari (d. 1436), which included 'Ismat himself, Bisati Samarqandi (fl. 1411), Pir Barandaq (d. ca. 1433), and Khayali Bukhari (d. ca. 1446–47), among others.¹¹⁴ Of these, Müeyyedzade held copies of the diwans of 'Ismat (*a'lā, I/2a*), the *Dīwān Bisātī* (*a'lā, I/2a*), and two copies of "Khayāl[ī]'s" *Dīwān* (I/2a, I/2b, one *a'lā*), which may refer to Khayali Bukhari.¹¹⁵

Even though at the turn of the sixteenth century Herat surpassed Shiraz, Cairo, and Istanbul as the leading center of literary activity, and a certain interest in works from Herat should thus not be surprising, the clusters of works discussed above are striking. They seem to point to a personal connection that was perhaps established during Müeyyedzade's studies in Shiraz, though further research is needed to verify this. Diwans from the Herat-based poets (i.e., Hasan, Hatifi, Qasim, and Amir Shahi), the Bukhara-based Bisati, Khayali, and 'Ismat, and the Shirazi poet Hafiz, are all recorded in Müeyyedzade's List I. They are registered in this list along with the most important (*mühimm*) and valuable (*a'lā*) books probably because of their rarity in Ottoman lands at that time, but also because of their literary excellence and the illustrious literary circles they represented.¹¹⁶ As noted

above, the palace library held copies of all of these except for Hatifi's diwan.

Spiritual Orientations

The other major difference between Bayezid's and Müeyyedzade's diwan collections is the focus of their content. Generally speaking, it appears as though the Arabic diwans in Bayezid's inventory are ranked roughly by the ancientness of their authors. Thus, the Arabic diwan section begins with the diwan ascribed to 'Ali b. Abi Talib (d. 661), followed by early Arabic poets, such as al-Mutanabbi (d. 935), Hassan b. Thabit (d. 674), etc., before moving on to later ones. The section of Persian diwans could have followed a similar order, and indeed, it could have followed the model of the work of another famous author from the literary circle surrounding Mir 'Ali Shir Nava'i, Dawlatshah Samarqandi's *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā'* (Biographies of Poets), which was completed in 1486.¹¹⁷ Here the poets are arranged by *tabaqas*, roughly half centuries. The *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā'* starts with Rudaki, followed by (skipping here quite a few lesser-known names) Asadi Tusi, 'Unsuri, Mas'ud b. Salman, Firdawsi, Nizami 'Aruzi, Nasir-i Khusraw, Khaqani, Sana'i, and 'Attar before reaching Rumi (d. 1273). Here, and only here, is where Bayezid's inventory sets in. While it does include works by the earlier authors (Rumi is immediately followed by the earlier 'Attar, for example), it does so only after having listed all the works by Rumi. It thereby establishes a hierarchy that is not based on chronology, local patriotism, or appreciation of literary excellence alone, as it expresses veneration for Rumi as a Sufi saint with a prayer formula added after each occurrence of his name (fifteen times: *quddisa sirruhu*, or "may his secret be sanctified," a formula usually employed for deceased Muslim saints). This seems to hint at a special connection to the Mawlawi order, or at least veneration for Rumi. In light of this, it is reasonable to suggest that the position of the diwan ascribed to 'Ali b. Abi Talib at the beginning of the Arabic diwan section of Bayezid's catalogue likewise expresses deference to the authority of 'Ali, rather than being merely an expression of chronological ordering. A similar arrangement had been followed by Necati, whose diwan, as we had seen, starts off with *qaşidas* first on the Prophet Muhammad, then 'Ali, and then the Ottoman sultans, followed

by their dignitaries, including his patron Müeyyedzade. To determine whether the order followed by the palace library's inventory reflects the general custom of the time, Bayezid's own preferences, or those of the compiler 'Atufi, and to what extent it may have served, in turn, as a foil for later anthologies, would require further investigation.¹¹⁸

However this may be, Bayezid's section of Persian diwans starts out with the works of Rumi and those of his son and successor Sultan Veled (d. 1312), all in multiple copies. There are nineteen full copies of the *Mathnawī* of Rumi, whose name in the first fifteen entries is followed by blessings on the author, and two volumes of selections from Rumi's *Mathnawī*, one *sharḥ* of his *Mathnawī*, in addition to two full copies of Sultan Veled's diwan and a copy of the diwan of "Shams-i Tabrizi." Overall, these works are much less strongly represented in Müeyyedzade's inventory, which holds only one (or possibly one, as the author is not named) full copy of Rumi's *Mathnawī*,¹¹⁹ and no copy of Sultan Veled's diwan.¹²⁰ By contrast, a strong representation of the works of 'Attar, Ibn 'Arabi, Sadr al-Din Qunawi, 'Iraqi, and Jami is clearly discernible in Müeyyedzade's inventory, which appears to reflect deeply entrenched differences between two Konya-based spiritual and intellectual circles (Rumi vs. Ibn 'Arabi). Whether this points to differences in the spiritual orientation or literary tastes of Bayezid and Müeyyedzade, or whether once again the additional copies in Müeyyedzade's collection were simply sold more quickly, is a question that deserves further investigation.

However we may interpret the above differences, it is clear that Sufi works occupy a significant space in both Müeyyedzade's and Bayezid's inventories. Already Maróth has drawn our attention to the fact that, with forty-six pages, the section on Sufism (arranged together with the genres of hagiography and ethics) is by far the single largest chapter in Bayezid's inventory. (With more than sixty pages, only the section on diwan literature is larger if we count all languages together.¹²¹) For the sake of comparison, works on philosophy, logic, dialectics, and Islamic wisdom cover only twenty-five pages in the inventory (339–63), and works on medicine, twenty-two (151–72).¹²² By contrast, the entire section of works on "the interpretation of dreams, physiognomy,

alchemy, mineralogy, talismans, prediction, incantation, magic, and other miraculous activities,” an area in which Bayezid is known to have had a special interest and which has commanded much attention in recent scholarship, is recorded on only ten pages (302–11).¹²³ While Sufism, and Ibn ‘Arabi in particular, have both received their fair share of scholarly attention over the years, preliminary research suggests that it would be worthwhile to investigate further this aspect of Bayezid’s and Müeyyedzade’s collections in future studies.

CONCLUSIONS

Although Bayezid’s library collection was broader, and individual works were represented with more copies in comparison to Müeyyedzade’s, both collections represent the wide spectrum of their patrons’ intellectual interests, which overlapped significantly, regardless of the fact that one was a royal and the other a non-royal library. While this may not be particularly surprising given the shared upbringing and lifelong interaction of the two patrons, it is nevertheless worth pointing it out, since the interests of scholars and politicians do not always show such strong parallels. One of the reasons for this similarity may be as simple as it is obvious: not only did Bayezid and Müeyyedzade love books, but they also maintained vast aspirations and an encyclopedic vision of the ideal library. Both of them believed that the ideal library should be as broad and complete as possible, regardless of whether this scope exceeded one’s own immediate professional needs.¹²⁴ This points not only to the well-recognized thirst for knowledge and encyclopedic approach to learning prevalent among the scholars of this period, but indeed it also exemplifies a certain “outreach” mentality: rather than seeking to build a library for the sole purpose of the owner’s personal consultation, these book collectors apparently reckoned with a broader usership and purpose for their books. To what extent these collections were open to a reading “public”; whether there was ever a building or just a room in a house dedicated to Müeyyedzade’s collection; and whether social and scholarly gatherings and debates may have been carried out perhaps involving the use of these books is at this point an open question.

As for the diwan literature collected by Bayezid and Müeyyedzade, and the role of Ottoman Turkish diwans therein, both inventories confirm that at the turn of the sixteenth century, the production and reception of Ottoman diwans appears to have been less intensive than only half a century later. H. F. Hofman, who has analyzed Chaghatay Turkish literary production during approximately the same period, has summarized the commonly expressed view that at the beginning of the sixteenth century, “the Ottoman muse fluttered, but poorly winged.”¹²⁵ By the time it started to fly in the mid-sixteenth century, the political and literary landscapes had significantly changed, to which several major Ottoman *Tezkire* works appearing in tight succession from the mid-sixteenth century onwards bear vivid testimony.¹²⁶ Bayezid’s and Müeyyedzade’s book inventories provide eloquent correctives to this later literary canon, offering insight into the literary tastes at the very beginning of the sixteenth century, which were strongly oriented eastward, in terms of both content and languages represented.

Müeyyedzade and Bayezid lived at the turning point of the sixteenth century, with such famous literati as Husayn Bayqara, Nava’i, and Jami as their faraway neighbors in Herat whose literary achievement they could barely compete with, and such bibliophile Renaissance men as Corvinus as a closer neighbour in Buda, whose library even a private library like Müeyyedzade’s had no difficulty matching. They also lived through a time of major worldwide political changes that had an immediate impact on the Ottoman empire, including the final blow of the 1492 Reconquista in Spain and the establishment of the Shi’i Safavid dynasty in Iran in 1501, both of which resulted in a major influx of Muslim and non-Muslim refugees to the Ottoman empire that left deep marks in its cultural, religious, and intellectual landscape.

While the center of Müeyyedzade’s life (as well as that of Bayezid, and many of their contemporaries) shifted eventually from Amasya in Northern Central Anatolia westwards to Istanbul and Edirne, Müeyyedzade’s library was clearly steeped in an earlier network of scholars that extended well into Fars, Khurasan, and Central Asia. It is perhaps because Müeyyedzade was so connected to past networks and learning—possibly to

the detriment of his engagement with more recent developments—that his own work, like his library, eventually dispersed: Müeyyedzade had gathered a massive private library, but did not have the means to endow it; he wrote and collected poetry and encouraged others, such as Necati, to gather their poetry in a diwan, but had no diwan of his own; and he wrote extensively in the area of law, but was soon outshone in this area by one

of his students, Ebussuud Efendi.¹²⁷ While Müeyyedzade may appear to have ultimately been unsuccessful in his bibliophile endeavors, studying people like him nonetheless enables us to scrutinize the undercurrents, transition periods, turning points, and impasses in history that are not usually in the spotlight of research, reminding us of a few “blind spots” in the intellectual landscapes of modern scholarship along the way.

APPENDIX: TABLES

Table 1 Diwans with More than One Copy in TSMA, D. 9291.1-2 Compared with MS Török F. 59

Author	Work	Copies in Müeyyedzade's Inventory	Copies in Bayezid II's Inventory (A, P, T = in the Arabic, Persian, or Turkish section)
al-Abīwardī, Abū al-Muẓaffar (d. 1113) ¹²⁸	<i>Dīwān Abīwardī</i>	2 copies of <i>Dīwān Abīwardī</i> (II/5b {14} and II/7b {18})	0 copies (de facto: 2 copies when the <i>Trāqīyyāt</i> and <i>Najdiyyāt</i> copies are combined)
	<i>Trāqīyyāt Abīwardī</i>	1 copy of <i>Trāqīyyāt Abīwardī</i> (II/7b {9})	2 copies (A) of “ <i>Dīwān Abī al-Muẓaffar al-musammā bi al-Trāqīyyāt</i> ” (205 {12–13}; 206 {2})
	<i>Najdiyyāt Abīwardī</i>	1 copy of “ <i>Najdiyyāt Abīwardī ma’a dīwān ākhar</i> ” (II/7b {11})	7 copies (A) of “ <i>Dīwān Abī al-Muẓaffar al-musammā bi al-Najdiyyāt</i> ” (205 {14–15/2x}; 206 {14}; 207 {9, 12/3x}; 214 {10–11})
	<i>Sharḥ Najdiyyāt Abīwardī</i>	1 copy (II/5b)	4 copies (A) of “ <i>Sharḥ Dīwān Abī al-Muẓaffar al-musammā bi al-Najdiyyāt</i> ” (205 {16}; 212 {16, 18/2x}; 213 {1})
Abū Tammām (d. 845) ¹²⁹	<i>Dīwān</i>	3 copies (II/3b, II/6b, and II/8a)	1 copy (A) (205 {11})
	<i>al-Ḥamāsa</i>	2 copies (II/7b, II/9b)	6 copies (A) of “ <i>Kitāb al-Ḥamāsa li-Abī Tammām</i> ” (212 {2–5/6x})
	<i>Sharḥ al-Ḥamāsa</i>	2 copies “ <i>jild thānī min Sharḥ Ḥamāsa</i> ” (II/4b); “ <i>Sharḥ Ḥamāsa</i> ” (II/9b)	2 copies (A) of “ <i>Sharḥ al-Ḥamāsa</i> ” (212 {5/2x})

Table 1 Diwans with More than One Copy in TSMA, D. 9291.1-2 Compared with MS Török F. 59 (cont.)

Author	Work	Copies in Müeyyadzade's Inventory	Copies in Bayezid II's Inventory (A, P, T = in the Arabic, Persian, or Turkish section)
Hāfiẓ (d. 1390) ¹³⁰	<i>Dīwān</i>	2 copies (I/2a, I/2b)	18 copies (P) (235 {10, 16–17/2x}; 236 {9–14/12x}; 237 {1/1x}; 238 {3, 6, 18/3x})
“Ḥasan” ¹³¹	<i>Dīwān</i>	3 copies (one <i>a’lā</i>) (I/2a, II/6b, II/8a)	5 copies (P) (235 {8, 10, 18/3x}; 238 {3}; 239 {16})
Kamāl Isfahānī (d. ca. 1237) ¹³²	<i>Dīwān</i>	2 copies (II/4a, II/7a)	1 copy (P) of “ <i>Dīwān Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā’īl</i> ” (238 {7}) ¹³³
Khāqānī (d. 1199) ¹³⁴	<i>Dīwān</i>	2 copies (II/4b, II/8a)	2 copies (P) (245 {13, 17})
Khayāl[i] of Bukhara (?) (d. ca. 1446–47) or Darwīsh Khayālī (fl. ca. 1449) ¹³⁵	<i>Dīwān</i>	2 copies (I/2a, 2x)	5 copies (P) of “Khayālī” (237 {1}; 241 {8}; 247 {7/2x}; 248 {3})
Khwājū/Khūjū [Kirmānī] (d. 1352) ¹³⁶	<i>Dīwān</i>	2 copies (II/4a, II/9b)	3 copies (P) (241 {13, 15–16/2x}; 242 {2})
al-Mutanabbī (d. 965) ¹³⁷	<i>Dīwān</i>	4 copies (II/6a, II/7b, II/10a, II/10b)	6 copies (A) (204 {12–14})
	<i>Sharḥ Dīwān Mutanabbī</i>	3 copies (II/4b, II/8a, II/9a)	14 copies (A) (204 {15–17/7x}; 205 {1–5/7x})
Qāsim [al-Anwār] (d. 1433) ¹³⁸	<i>Dīwān</i>	2 copies (I/2a {7}, II/2b {8})	9 copies (P) (239 {7–12/9x})
Salmān [Sāwajī] (d. 778/1376) ¹³⁹	<i>Dīwān</i>	3 copies (I/2a, I/2b, II/9a)	5 copies (P) (237 {1}; 238 {12, 17, 19/4x})
Ẓahīr/Ẓuhayr ¹⁴⁰	<i>Dīwān</i>	2 copies (II/1b, II/9a)	4 copies (P) (238 {10}; 246 {6}; 247 {15–16/2x})

Table 2 “Important” Diwans in TSMA, D. 9291.1 Compared with MS Török F. 59

Müeyyedzade's Inventory TSMA, D. 9291.1 (Table 1)	Bayezid II's Inventory MS Török F. 59
<i>Dīwān Ḥaḍrat-i ‘Alī raḍīya Allāhu ‘anhu</i> , 2 copies; one <i>a’lā</i> (I/2a {2}, I/2b {6}); ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 660) ¹⁴¹	5 Arabic copies + 1 Persian + (possibly) 1 Ottoman translation; “ <i>Dīwān ash‘ār Amīr al-mu‘minīn ‘Alī raḍīya Allāhu ‘anhu al-musammā bi-Anwār al-‘uqūl ma‘a tarjumatihā bi-al-fārisīyya al-manẓūma</i> ” (204 {4–10}; “ <i>Dīwān ‘Alī bi-al-Turkiyya</i> ” ¹⁴² (262 {2}))
<i>Dīwān Bisāṭī</i> , <i>a’lā</i> , 1 copy (I/2a {7}); Bisāṭī Samarqandī (d. Oct. 28, 1411) ¹⁴³	5 copies (P) ¹⁴⁴ (241 {8–9/4x}; 247 {8})
<i>Dīwān Ḥāfiẓ</i> , 2 copies, one <i>a’lā</i> (I/2a {7}, I/2b {7}); <i>Ḥāfiẓ</i> (d. 1390) ¹⁴⁵	18 copies (P) (235 {10, 17/2x}; 236 {9/3x, 10/2x, 11/3x, 12, 13/2x, 14}; 237 {1}; 238 {3, 6, 16/3x})
<i>Dīwān Ḥasan</i> , <i>a’lā</i> , 1 copy (I/2a {3}); “Ḥasan” ¹⁴⁶	5 copies (P) (235 {8, 10, 18/3x}; 238 {3}; 239 {16})
<i>Dīwān Hātifi</i> , 1 copy (I/3b {9}); ‘Abd Allāh Hātifi (d. 927/ca. 12 Dec. 1520) ¹⁴⁷	—
<i>Dīwān Khayāl[i]</i> , 2 copies, 1 <i>a’lā</i> (I/2a {1}, I/2b {6}); Khayāl[i] of Bukhara (?) (d. ca. 1446) or Darwish Khayālī (fl. 1449) ¹⁴⁸	<i>Dīwān Khayālī</i> , 5 copies (P) (237 {1}; 241 {8}; 247 {7/2x}; 248 {3})
<i>Dīwān Iṣmat</i> , <i>a’lā</i> , 1 copy (I/2a {4}); Iṣmat Allāh Bukhārī (d. 840/1437) ¹⁴⁹	3 copies (P) (240 {19/2x}; 241 {1/1x})
<i>Dīwān Nāṣir</i> , <i>a’lā</i> , 1 copy (I/2a {1}); “Nāṣir” ¹⁵⁰	<i>Dīwān Nāṣir</i> , 2 copies (P) (240 {19}; 247 {15}) <i>Dīwān Nāṣir-i Khusraw</i> , 2 copies (P) (246 {5–6}; 247 {4}) <i>Dīwān Nāṣir-i Bukhārī</i> , 2 copies (P) (247 {6}; 248 {4})
<i>Dīwān Sayyid Qāsim</i> , <i>a’lā</i> , 1 copy (I/2a {7}); ¹⁵¹ Qāsim al-Anwār (d. 1433–34) ¹⁵²	9 copies (P) (239 {7–12/9x})
<i>Dīwān Shāhī</i> , 1 copy (I/2b {6}); Āqā Malik b. Jamāl al-Dīn Fīrūzkūhī, whose pen name was Shāhī or Amīr Shāhī of Sabzawar (d. 1453) ¹⁵³	5 copies (P) (246 {1, 15/2x}; 247 {11, 13/2x}; 248 {2})
<i>Dīwān Salmān</i> , 2 copies, one <i>a’lā</i> (I/2a {2}; I/2b {7}); Salmān Sāwajī (d. 1376) ¹⁵⁴	5 copies (P) (237 {1}; 238 {12, 17, 19/4x})

NOTES

Author's note: This article has benefited from the generosity of several colleagues. I am indebted in particular to İsmail E. Erünsal for carefully reading and commenting on this article, and for arranging a memorable *meclis* in which parts of Müeyyedzade's library inventory were read and solutions proposed for those passages that I found difficult to read. I would furthermore like to thank Giovanni Maria Martini and İlker Evrim Binbaş for reading and commenting on early drafts of this article, and Gülru Necipoğlu and Cemal Kafadar for reading and providing comments on it once it was submitted. Any remaining errors are, of course, my own. Funding for research for this article was made available by the European Research Council under the *European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013)* / ERC Starting Grant 263557 IMPAcT, the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, and a Scaliger Fellowship at the Scaliger Institute in Leiden. I am grateful for the support they provided.

1. Taşköprülüzade Aḥmet, *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya fī 'ulamā' al-dawla al-'Uthmāniyya*, ed. Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabā'ī Bihbahānī "Maṣṣūf" (Tehran: Kitābkhāna-yi Mūza va Markaz-i Asnād-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, 1389 H.sh./2010), 261.
2. Csaba Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library: History and Stock* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973); Edit Madas, "La Bibliotheca Corviniana et les Corvina 'Authentiques,'" in *Matthias Corvin, les bibliothèques princières et la genèse de l'État moderne*, ed. Jean-François Maillard, István Monok, and Donatella Nebbiai (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 2009), 35–78; with a list of 221 manuscripts that she has identified as authentic, at 48–75. See also Christian Gastgeber, *Matthias Corvinus und seine Zeit: Europa am Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit zwischen Wien und Konstantinopel* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011). Already during the period between 1491 and 1526 (Corvinus's death and the Ottoman conquest of Budapest), "spoliation and incipient dispersion" had set in, as no librarian was looking after the collection (Csapodi, *Corvinian Library*, 17–90, at 72). In an ironic twist of history, the library suffered during the Ottoman conquests under Sultan Süleyman in 1526—though as Csapodi has argued, and contrary to reports by later sources, the books were not burned during Süleyman's capture of Buda; rather, a good number of them would have been taken to Istanbul or dispersed in other ways, e.g., to the Medici family, who showed a great interest in them (Csapodi, *Corvinian Library*, 79–83).
3. This donation provided the incentive for the university to build a new library above the new Divinity School. *The Bodleian Library Oxford* (Oxford: n.d. [2016]), 3; brochure also available online at <http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/docs/historybodleian.pdf>. The more detailed 1796 description by Anthony Wood accounts for some 600 volumes from Humphrey's and other donations that made up the book collection of the University Chest that stood at the beginning of the Duke Humphrey's Library by the late fifteenth century (Anthony Wood and John Gutch, *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford: In Two Books* [Oxford, 1792–96]. Now first published in English, from the original MS in the Bodleian Library: by John Gutch, Oxford: Printed for the editor, 1796, vol. 2, part 2, 914–15).
4. The Bodleian Library itself opened in 1602. Between the foundation of the Duke Humphrey's and Bodleian Library, there was a hiatus of ca. fifty years when, in 1550, the year during which a large quantity of the rare books of Oxford's College libraries were deliberately removed and destroyed (Anthony Wood and John Gutch, *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, vol. 2, part 1, 106–10), the Duke Humphrey's Library was emptied of its books and subsequently "stript stark naked [of] the benches and desks therein" (ibid., vol. 2, part 2, 919) in 1555 (ibid., 919) as part of a purge of Roman Catholic books and other publications that were considered "heretic" under Edward VI: "Some of those books so taken out by the Reformers were burnt, some sold away for Robin Hoods pennyworths, either to Booksellers, or to Glovers to press their gloves, or Taylors to make measures, or to Bookbinders to cover books bound by them, and some also kept by the Reformers for their own use" (ibid., 919). It was a drastically changed political situation half a century later that enabled Thomas Bodley to come to the rescue by providing the funds—and some books—for the establishment of the new library that was to bear his name.
5. For contemporary and comparable examples from fifteenth-century European libraries, see Maillard, Monok, and Nebbiai, eds., *Matthias Corvin*.
6. This is explicitly stated in the Arabic introduction to Bayezid II's palace library inventory: "Praise be to God who [...] made knowledge a pillar of religion, and the Qur'an [literally: 'the Book'] a pillar for knowledge and certitude" (*al-ḥamdu li-Allāhi al-ladhī [...] ja'ala al-'ilma 'imādan li-al-dīn wa al-kitāba 'imādan li-al-'ilm wa al-yaqīn*); MS Török F. 59, 7 {1–3}. See also the translation of the Arabic introduction at the end of this volume: Appendix V, by Mohsen Goudarzi. For a survey of Islamicate libraries before the Ottoman era, see İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2008), 1–74.
7. The book inventories of Bayezid II (MS Török F. 59) and Müeyyedzade (TSMA, D. MS 9291.1–2) are among the earliest and most complex Ottoman library inventories in terms of their size and the breadth of sciences represented. For a survey of references to books found in public institutions such as Murad II's *Dār al-ḥadīth* in Edirne (1435), Umur Bey's mosque in Bursa (1440 or 1456), and İshak Bey's madrasa in Üsküp (1445), see İsmail E. Erünsal, "959/1552 Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb," *Erdem* 10 (1988): 181–93. It is worth recalling that the famous Ghazi Hüsrev Bey Library in Sarajevo was also established at this time as part of an endowed madrasa library. Not coincidentally, its founder Ghazi Hüsrev Bey (1480–1541) was the son of one of Bayezid II's daughters, Selçuk, and thus was connected to the same circles as Bayezid II and Müeyyedzade. However,

in this case no contemporary library catalogue is extant. See Kasim Dobrača, "Introductory," in *Katalog arapskih, turskih i perzijskih rukopisa / Catalogue of the Arabic, Turkish, and Persian Manuscripts* (Sarajevo: Starješinstvo islamske vjerske zajednice za SR Bosnu i Hercegovinu, 1963–), 1:xix–xxvi, at xxii. The earlier catalogue of the Ashrafiyya Library in Damascus (wr. ca. 1270) is an exception rather than the rule for libraries in this early period. See Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus: Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library: The Ashrafiyya Library Catalogue* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016).

8. Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 127.
9. MS Török F. 59, 12 {11}.
10. MS Török F. 59, 1b {5, 10}.
11. For a discussion of the date of Bayezid's library inventory, see İsmail E. Erünsal, "Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinin Arşiv Kaynakları 6: 909/1503 Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 32, no. 1 (2008): 203–19, at 205; and Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 460–61, with the Ottoman introduction in transliteration and a facsimile of the first five folios of MS Török F. 59 in Appendix XV, 650–58 (which is a revised version of Erünsal's 1988 publication, "959/1552 Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb," 184–93, where he had first introduced this important document). See also Erünsal, "The Catalogue of Bâyezid II's Palace Library," *Kütüphanecilik Dergisi, Belge Bilgi Kütüphane Araştırmaları* 3 (1992): 55–66; Feridun M. Emecen, "II. Bâyezîd'in Tarih Merakı Üzerine Bir Not: Fenarîzâde Alâeddîn Alî'nin Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi Derlemesi," in *Kitaplara Vakfedilen Bir Ömre Tuhfe: İsmail E. Erünsal'a Armağan*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Ülke Yayınları, 2014), 1:331–44, at 333; and, for an estimate of the number of work titles and volumes, Miklós Maróth, "The Library of Sultan Bayezid II," in *Irano-Turkic Cultural Contacts in the 11th–17th Centuries*, ed. Éva M. Jeremiás (Piliscsaba: The Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, 2003), 111–32, at 112.
12. Here we see the difference, perhaps, between a private scholar's library and that of a ruler who inherited and further expanded the collection of his father (Mehmed II), which was characterized by universal aspirations.
13. For comparative material from some 40 sixteenth-century endowed libraries in Istanbul, see Faruk Bilici, "Les bibliothèques vakıf-s à Istanbul au XVI^e siècle, prémices de grandes bibliothèques publiques," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 87–88 (September 1999; dedicated to the topic, "Livres et lecture dans le monde Ottoman"): 39–59.
14. It is precisely these books that were going to be 'purged' in England under Edward VI after 1550, where many of the books that were "either condemned to the fire or jakes" were "guilty of no other superstition than red letters in their fronts or titles" (Wood and Gutch, *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, vol. 2, part 1, 106). On the discussions of "the science of the stars" in late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ottoman intellectual circles, see Ahmet Tunç Şen, "Rasattan Takvime: XV/XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Dünyasında Astrolojinin Yeri Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler," in *Osmanlı'da İlim ve Fikir Dünyası, İstanbul'un Fethinden Süleymaniye Medreselerinin Kuruluşuna Kadar*, ed. Ömer Mahir Alper and Mustakim Arıcı (Istanbul: Klasik, 2015), 227–49.
15. *Sharḥ Jaghmīnī li-al-ʿUbaydī*, TSMA, D. MS 9291.1 (henceforth "I"), I/3b; *Sharḥ Jaghmīnī*, TSMA, D. MS 9291.2 (henceforth "II"), II/2a; *Sharḥ Jaghmīnī*, II/2b; *Sharḥ Jaghmīnī Qādī-zāda*, II/2b; *Sharḥ Jaghmīnī*, II/4b; *Sharḥ Jaghmīnī*, jild, II/7a; *Sharḥ Jaghmīnī*, II/7b; *Sharḥ Jaghmīnī li-al-Sayyid*, II/8b; *Sharḥ Jaghmīnī*, II/9b. References here are given to Müeyyadzade's inventory only; for entries from Bayezid's inventory, please see the relevant articles in this volume.
16. *Kitāb al-kifāya fī al-hay'a ma'a risāla*, II/8b. On the relative position of this work among the larger oeuvre of al-Mas'ūdi, see Ayman Shihadeh, who has pointed out that the Persian version with the title *Jahān-dānīsh* (prepared by Mas'ūdi himself probably shortly after the Arabic version) "clearly had a much wider circulation than the Arabic original" and referred to Istanbul, Hafid Efendi MS 154, ff. 107b–149a and Medina 'Ārif Hikmat MS 9 *Falak* as the two known copies of the Arabic version of this work (Shihadeh, *Doubts on Avicenna: A Study and Edition of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Mas'ūdī's Commentary on the Ishārāt* [Leiden: Brill, 2015], 22–23). According to the inventory, Bayezid's library held copies of both the Arabic and Persian versions of the work: *Kifāyat al-ta'lim fī al-nujūm*, 316 {15–16} and *Kitāb-i Jahān-dānīsh bi al-fārisiyya tarjumat al-kifāya fī 'ilm al-hay'a*, 325 {17–18}. Several copies of the work in both Arabic and Persian are extant in the collections held in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul; for their possible identification with Bayezid II's holdings, see the relevant article in this volume.
17. *Nihāyat al-idrāk fī dirāyat al-falāk* [sic], I/3b; *Nihāyat al-idrāk*, II/2a; *Nihāyat al-idrāk fī al-hay'a*, II/2b; *Nihāyat al-idrāk*, II/10a; *Nihāyat al-idrāk*, II/10a.
18. *Tuhfa-yi Shāhiyya*, jild, II/4a; *Tuhfa-yi Shāhiyya*, II/4a; *Sharḥ Tuhfa-yi Shāhiyya ma'a risāla-yi* [sic] *ākhar*, II/4a; *Tuhfa-yi Shāhiyya*, II/5b; *Tuhfa-yi Shāhiyya*, II/7b; *Tuhfa-yi Shāhiyya*, II/8b; *Tuhfa Shāhiyya*, II/9b; *Tuhfa-yi shāhiyya*, II/10a; also probably *Tuhfa fī al-hay'a*, II/8a.
19. *Risāla fī al-hay'a*, I/3b; *Kitāb fī 'ilm al-nujūm*, II/4a; *Jūnk (jōnk) fī al-nujūm*, II/6a; *Kitāb fī al-nujūm ma'a rasā'il ukhrā*, II/6a; *Risāla fī al-nujūm*, II/6a; *Risāla fī al-nujūm wa si fasl*, II/6b; *Kitāb āthār fī al-nujūm*, II/7a; the copy of a work titled *Kitāb fī ikhtiyārāt al-nujūmiyya*, II/8b (possibly a copy of Sahl b. Bishr's [d. 845] *Kitāb al-ikhtiyārāt 'alā al-buyūt*, or Abū Ma'shar's [d. 885] *Kitāb Ikhtiyārāt al-sā'āt*, or Abū Bakr al-Qasrānī's *Ikhtiyārāt nujūmiyya*, of which a copy is found in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek oct. 3296/3, see *GAL S I*, 392 (not seen); and possibly two copies of Sahl b. Bishr's *Aḥkām al-nujūm: Kitāb min aḥkām al-nujūm*, II/7a, *Aḥkām-i nujūm*, II/10a. The work titled *Mawāqī' al-nujūm* (II/9a) is probably to be identified as Ibn 'Arabi's (d. 1240) work of the same title and ought to be classified among the works of Sufism

- (*GAL* G I, 443), which is also where it is listed in Bayezid's inventory (113 {13–14; 16} and 149 {4–5}).
20. *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm*, II/10a. On the *Picatrix*, see Hellmut Ritter, "Picatrix, ein arabisches Handbuch hellenistischer Magie," in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg herausgegeben von Fritz Saxl, Vorträge 1921–1922* (Leipzig/Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1923), 94–124.
 21. *Qānūn-i Ṭibb-i Abī 'Alī, naḥs, a'lā*, I/2a; *Kulliyāt Qānūn*, II/2a, *Kulliyāt Qānūn fī al-ṭibb*, II/5a, *Qānūn fī al-Ṭibb*, II/8b, *Kulliyāt Qānūn*, II/9a.
 22. *Sharḥ Kulliyāt Qānūn*, II/1b, *Sharḥ Qānūn 'Allāma, jild awwal*, II/3a, *Sharḥ Kulliyāt Qānūn, jild thānī*, II/3a, *jild thālith min sharḥ Kulliyāt Qānūn*, II/3b, *Sharḥ Qānūn li-Quṭb al-Dīn*, II/3b, *Sharḥ Qānūn nā-tamām*, II/4a, *Sharḥ Kulliyāt Qānūn*, II/4b, *Sharḥ Kulliyāt Qānūn*, II/5a, *Sharḥ Kulliyāt Qānūn li-al-'allāma*, II/5a, *Sharḥ Kulliyāt Qānūn, jild awwal*, II/7b, *Sharḥ Kulliyāt Qānūn*, II/9b.
 23. *Minhāj al-bayān fī al-ṭibb*, II/3b.
 24. *Jild awwal min Kitāb al-Mukhtār min al-ṭibb*, II/3a; *Juz' thālith min al-Mukhtār fī al-ṭibb*, II/4b.
 25. *Mūjaz fī al-ṭibb*, II/7a; *Mūjaz fī ṭibb*, II/8a.
 26. *Ḥaqā'iq asrār ṭibb*, II/9b.
 27. *Kitāb min al-ṭibb*, II/2a; *Risāla-yi fārsī fī al-ṭibb*, II/3a; *Risāla fī al-ṭibb*, II/5b; *Kitāb fī al-ṭibb*, II/9b; *Risāla min al-ṭibb ukhrā*, II/10a. Works that can possibly be identified include the *Ganj asrār al-ṭibb*, II/8b and *Kitāb al-Īdāḥ fī al-ṭibb*, II/10a; also *Ṭibb Nabawī*, II/10b.
 28. On Müeyyedzade, see M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Müeyyedzāde," *İslam Ansiklopedisi* VIII (1997): 786b–790b; *TDVİA*, s.v. "Müeyyedzāde Abdurrahman Efendi," by Hasan Aksoy; Cemal Kurnaz, "Osmanlı Tarihinde İz Bırakan Amasyalı bir Aile: Müeyyedzādelar," in *I. Amasya Araştırmaları Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, ed. Yavuz Bayram, 2 vols. (Amasya: T.C. Amasya Valiliği, 2007), 2:647–66. On the important role of Amasya as a center of learning during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Petra Kappert, *Die osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te İstanbul, 1976); Hedda Reindl, *Männer um Bāyezīd: Eine prosopographische Studie über die Epoche Sultan Bāyezīds II (1481–1512)* (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 1983); Hasan Karataş, "The City as a Historical Actor: The Urbanization and Ottomanization of the Halvetiye Sufi Order by the City of Amasya in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2011).
 29. *TDVİA*, s.v. "Mihri Hatun," by İsmail E. Erünsal.
 30. For further references on this episode, see *TDVİA*, s.v. "Müeyyedzāde Abdurrahman Efendi," by Hasan Aksoy.
 31. For an edition and analysis of the *ijāza* that Dawani issued to Müeyyedzade, see Judith Pfeiffer, "Teaching the Learned: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī's *Ijāza* to Mu'ayyadzāda 'Abd al-Rahmān Efendi and the Circulation of Knowledge between Fārs and the Ottoman Empire at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century," in *The Heritage of Arabo-Islamic Learning: Studies Presented to Wadad Kadi*, ed. Maurice A. Pomerantz and Aram Shahin (Leiden: Brill, 2015 [2016]), at 298–324.
 32. Hanna Sohrweide, "Dichter und Gelehrte aus dem Osten im osmanischen Reich (1453–1600)," *Der Islam* 46 (1970): 263–302; Pfeiffer, "Teaching the Learned"; Pfeiffer (in preparation). For the central role that Shiraz continued to play in the production of illustrated manuscripts throughout the sixteenth century, with Istanbul as a key destination, see Lale Uluç, "Ottoman Book Collectors and Illustrated Sixteenth Century Shiraz Manuscripts," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 87–88 (1999): 85–107; Lale Uluç, *Turkman Governors, Shiraz Artisans and Ottoman Collectors: Sixteenth Century Shiraz Manuscripts* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2006); Lale Uluç, "Onaltıncı Yüzyılda Osmanlı-Safevî Kültürel İlişkileri Çerçevesinde Nakkashānenin Önemi," *Doğubatı* 54 (2010): 23–60. The fame of the Shirazi calligraphers also spread eastward, certainly by the end of the fifteenth century; see below for an example from Bukhara.
 33. E.g., Müeyyedzade once owned a copy made directly from an autograph copy (*nuskhat al-mu'allif*) of Quṭb al-Dīn Shirazī's (d. 1311) *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* (Commentary on [Suhrawardī's] *Philosophy of Illumination*), which had also been collated twice with the original, and was then collated a third time by al-Hasan b. 'Alī al-mutaṭabbib al-Mawlawi al-Siwasi "from a copy of the text which had been read with the author" (*nuskha maqrū'a 'alā al-muṣannif*; MS Leiden, Or. 606, fol. 157a). On fol. 1a this copy bears an owner's note by 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn 'Alī b. Mu'ayyad, dated Friday 7 Ramadan 901 (May 20, 1496) in Istanbul ("*bi-maḥrūsa Qusṭanṭīniyya*").
 34. MS Leiden, Or. 606, fol. 1a, which features an owner's mark by Zayn al-'Arab al-Misri. For a copy of al-Misri's *Sharḥ al-Qānūn* (Commentary on [Avicenna's] *Kanon*), see MS London, Wellcome Historical Medical Library, WMS Or. 119.
 35. E.g., a copy of Nasir al-Dīn al-Tusi's comments on Archimedes's treatise "On Sphere and Cylinder" ([Tahrīr] *Kitāb Arshīmūdhīs fī al-kura wa al-uṣṭuwāna*) bears both an ownership mark of Müeyyedzade (dated to Rabi' I 914/ca. July 1508) and the record (in Syriac) "*ex-libris* of Gregory, the lowly maphrian; year 1592 of the Greeks [A.D. 1280/1]" (MS Istanbul, Hacı Selim Ağa 743, fol. 1a).
 36. İsmail Erünsal has drawn our attention to the fact that book inventories were also used in lending ("Catalogue of Bāyezīd II's Palace Library," 56). With regard to Müeyyedzade's books, we find that he often used the term *ista'ara* (which means literally "to borrow") to express ownership, usually as part of the phrase *ista'arahu min al-zamān* (he, i.e., I, Müeyyedzade, have borrowed this [book] from time). If we were to take the term at face value, there is a remote possibility that Müeyyedzade was permitted to "borrow" books from the palace library temporarily. An example is MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Carullah 1264 (a copy of Taftazani's [d. 1390] *al-Maqāṣid fī 'ilm al-kalām*, *The Objectives of Dialectical Theology*), which bears both an owner's (or

perhaps borrower's) mark by Müeyyedzade (*ista'ārahu*) on fol. 1a and Bayezid II's seals on fols. 1a and 192b. However, it seems more likely that Bayezid gave this book to Müeyyedzade as a present, or vice versa, and that the term *ista'ārahu* is an ownership statement expressing the idea of temporary ownership, suggesting that Müeyyedzade used this phrase both as a gesture of *humilitas* and as a "personal signature." For similar expressions in ownership statements, see Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 176.

37. E.g., Müeyyedzade left the following note on a copy of Nasir al-Din Tusi's Exposition on Euclid's *Elements* (*Tahrīr Uqlīdis fī uṣūl al-handasa wa al-ḥisāb*): "I had this copy made from a copy prepared by the hand of the distinguished and most erudite master known as al-Nizām al-A'raj. I, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad al-Rūmī al-Amāsī, who am in need of the one God's kindness, collated it with it according to [my] ability as much as possible." [*istaktabtu hādhihi al-nuskha min nuskhatin bi-khaṭṭ al-Mawlā al-fāḍil al-'allāma al-mushtahir bi-al-Nizām al-a'raj wa qābaltuhā bihā ḥasba al-wuṣ' wa-al-imbkān wa anā al-faqīr ilā rahmati rabbīhi al-aḥad 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad al-Rūmī al-Amāsī.*] He dated this event to Tuesday, 18 Ramadan 885 (November 21, 1480), in Shiraz (*bi-madīnat Shīrāz*; Istanbul, Veliyüddin MS 2304, fol. 184a). See Pfeiffer, "Teaching the Learned." The name al-Nizām al-A'raj almost certainly refers to Nizām al-Din al-Hasan b. Muhammad b. al-Husayn al-A'raj al-Nishaburi (d. ca. 1330), who authored an important commentary on Tusi's *Tadhkira*. In other words, the copy that Müeyyedzade selected as the basis for his fresh copy had been prepared by a scholar who knew what he was doing when he wrote out the text; equally important in this particular case, his name stood for the accurate execution of the highly intricate geometrical illustrations accompanying the text. On al-Nizām al-Din al-Nishaburi, see Robert Morrison, *Islam and Science: The Intellectual Career of Nizām al-Dīn al-Nisābūrī* (London: Routledge, 2007).
38. İsmail E. Erünsal has pointed out that the collection was particularly enriched during the reign of Bayezid II's grandfather Murad II (r. 1421–44, 1446–51): Erünsal, "959/1552 Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb," 181; Erünsal, "Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinin Arşiv Kaynakları 6: 909/1503 Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb," 205.
39. These included, among others, such illustrious names as Molla Lütüf (Erünsal, "Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinin Arşiv Kaynakları 6: 909/1503 Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb," 205).
40. The fact that Müeyyedzade's book collection was unendowed distinguishes it from other (mostly later) private Ottoman libraries that were endowed, often by the scholars themselves, such as the collections of Carullah (d. 1738), Ragıp Paşa (d. 1763), and others, for which at least the majority of the books are still found today in known collections. Müeyyedzade's collection was dissolved immediately after his death, which makes it more difficult to check book titles listed in his inventory against actual surviving copies. As Gülru Necipoğlu has pointed out, "this is also the case

with Bayezid's books, dispersed to many sultan's madrasas, etc., though a core is present in TSMA and we know which collections the dispersed books were endowed to" (personal communication, May 28, 2016). On the library of Ragıp Paşa, see Nevzat Kaya, "Ragıp Mehmed Paşa and His Library," in *Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer and Manfred Kropp (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2007), 185–93, with further references to earlier scholarship.

41. "Muhtemelen Müeyyed-zâde'nin kıymetli kitapları I. Selim'in Saray'daki özel kitaplığına alınmıştır" (İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 127).
42. "*merhûm Müeyyedzade'nün ne kadar kitâbları var ise cem' olunub ve satılmış var ise daḥi satılan yerlerden alınub bir yerde hıfz oluna deyü emr olunub [...]*" (TSMA, D. MS 9291 II.10b). For this and the following quotations, see İsmail E. Erünsal's *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 127, where he published several of the passages previously. As Erünsal has pointed out, in a sense this document is part of the *Nachlaßregister* genre (*tereke/metrukât* or *muḥallefât defteri*) (İsmail E. Erünsal, "Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinin Arşiv Kaynakları 6: 909/1503 Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb," 203). For reflections on books listed in the *muḥallefât defterleri* of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ottoman bureaucrats, see Henning Sievert, "Verlorene Schätze – Bücher von Bürokraten in den *Muḥallefât*–Registern," in *Buchkultur im Nahen Osten des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Tobias Heinzelmann and Henning Sievert (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 199–263.
43. *Deyn taleb ider eşhâsın nihâyeti yok. Hüdâvendigâr Hazretlerine mühimm olan işâret buyurulub mâ'adâsı satılıb dâyinlere verilse merhûm daḥi deynden ḥalâş olurdu* (TSMA, D. MS 9291 II.10b; İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 127).
44. This use of space as an indicator for the wealth of the writer or owner has a long tradition in Islamic manuscript culture and diplomatics alike, where a more generous use of space and paper usually signifies the higher standing and importance of the patron, addressee, and/or text involved.
45. E.g., "The [titles listed] below are those that were found in the hands of Hasan, son of the keeper of the sultan's fur robes, during the foregoing investigation" (*Bundan aşağısı teftiş-i sâbıkda Kürkçibaşı oğlu Hasan elinde zâhir olandır*, I.4a); "These mentioned [books] are the ones found in the possession of [Müeyyedzade's] son 'Abdülfettah" (*Oğlu 'Abdülfettah elinde zâhir olan bunlardır ki zikr olunur*, I.2b), etc.
46. The first to publish the Ottoman Turkish introduction of this document (in transliteration, alongside facsimiles of the five folios of MS Török F. 59 to which he had access at the time of publication in 1988) was İsmail Erünsal, who also undertook an analysis of the rules for cataloguing it (Erünsal, "959/1552 Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb," 193); when fuller evidence became available several years later, he revised his initial assessment of the date of the document in Erünsal, "909/1503 Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb," 205; Erünsal, *Osmanlı*

- Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 460–64 and 650–58 (Appendix XV). For a detailed discussion of the classification principles and rules, as well as an English translation of ‘Atufi’s Turkish preface, see Gülru Necipoğlu’s essay as well as Appendix IV at the end of this volume.
47. The difficulty of identifying ambiguous titles or descriptions of books applies to both inventories; for examples from Bayezid’s catalogue, see Maróth, “Library of Sultan Bayezid II,” 112.
 48. A broader comparison will have to await the publication of both catalogues with full indices.
 49. For a prior study of the section of Turkish literature in Bayezid’s inventory, including diwans, see İsmail Erünsal, “Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinin Arşiv Kaynakları 6: 909/1503 Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb.” For a study of the section on works in the area of historiography, see Maróth, “Library of Sultan Bayezid II,” 115–29; see also the relevant chapters in this volume.
 50. On Müeyyedzade as a poet, and for examples of his Turkish poetry, see e.g., Sehî Beg’s (d. 1548–49) *Heşt Bihişt (Sehî Beg Tezkiresi)*, ed. Günay Kut (Harvard University Printing Office, 1978), ff. 28a–29a (facsimile of MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 3544); trans. Rescher (1942), 17; ‘Aşık Çelebi (d. 1572)’s *Tezkere*, ed. G. M. Meredith-Owens, ff. 260a–262a; Latîfî’s (d. 1582) *Tezkire*, ed. Mustafa İsen, 85–86; trans. Rescher (1950), 189–190; 355–56; trans. Rıdvan Canım (2000), 383–84; Beyânî Mustafa Bin Carullah’s (d. 1597) *Tezkiretü’ş-şuarâ*, ed. İbrahim Kutluk (1997), 39 (Latin script); 77–78 (Arabic alphabet), and Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebi’s (d. 1604), *Tezkiretü’ş-şuarâ*, ed. İbrahim Kutluk (Ankara: TTK, 1978), 1:318–25. Other examples of his poetry are found in a *majmû’a* (collective or composite volume) with Ottoman poetry that is held in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, MS Thurton etc. 23 (Ethé No. 2153), fol. 20b. It contains also poetry by Zati, Necati, Kemalpaşazade, and other poets of this circle. On Müeyyedzade as a patron of poets, see Muhsin Macit, “Hem Hami Hem Şair: Müeyyedzâde’ye Dair,” *Türk Edebiyatı* 377 (2005): 44–56. On Müeyyedzade’s qualities as a calligrapher, see Müstakimzade, *Tuhfe-i hattâtîn*, ed. Mustafa Koç (Istanbul: Klasik, 2011), 232–33 (with further references on p. 233); Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Fatih Devri Hattatları ve Hat Sanatı* (Istanbul: Istanbul Matbaası, 1953), 7–8.
 51. *TDVİA*, s.v. “Necâtî Bey,” by Bayram Ali Kaya; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, “Müeyyedzâde,” 790; Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, *Necâtî Bey Divânı’nın Tahlili* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1971), 64–65; Hammer, *Dichtkunst*, 162–78; *Necâtî Beg Divanı*, ed. Ali Nihat Tarlan (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 1992), 19–20, 40 and his *qasîda* (a laudatory poem) “*der vaşf-ı ‘Abdurrahmân Efendi*” on pp. 55–57, immediately following Necati’s opening *qasîdas* on the Prophet Muhammad, ‘Ali b. Abi Talib, Mehmed II, and Bayezid II, and preceding a *qasîda* on Sultan Mahmud.
 52. *TDVİA*, s.v. “Kemalpaşazâde,” by Şerafettin Turan; Gökbilgin, “Müeyyedzâde.”
 53. *TDVİA*, s.v. “Zâtî,” by Vildan S. Coşkun; Gökbilgin, “Müeyyedzâde.”
 54. The questions of who collated diwans, and what constitutes a diwan, have been left to the side. If the inventory or catalogue calls something a *dîwân*, it is included in this study; if it says “*majmû’at abyât/ash’âr*,” “*ghazaliyyât*,” “*kulliyât*” (collective volume of poetry; love poems; collection of poetry), or the like, it has not been considered here. For a pertinent discussion of what constitutes an author, and who is involved in writing and arranging a composite text, see Bilal W. Orfali and Maurice A. Pomerantz, “Assembling an Author: On the Making of Hamadhānī’s *Maqāmāt*,” in L. Behzadi and J. Hämeen-Anttila, *Concepts of Authorship in Premodern Arabic Texts* (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2017), 107–29.
 55. İsmail E. Erünsal, “Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinin Arşiv Kaynakları 6: 909/1503 Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb.”
 56. MS Török F. 59, 203 {18}–267 {3}. This article was prepared based on a pdf of the original document in the Arabic script. If diwans appear elsewhere in Bayezid’s inventory, these are only included insofar as they were found via a search in the draft edition made accessible to the authors after submitting the present article to the editors. I thank Gülru Necipoğlu, who kindly sent me a copy of the catalogue typed in Roman characters after I had submitted the article; this search yielded only one additional diwan outside the section on diwans (*dawāwīn*), though the involvement of transliteration may mean that some diwans were overlooked in the search.
 57. This has already been pointed out by İsmail E. Erünsal, e.g., *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 465.
 58. For instance, a different hand has added the entry *dîwân Abi Nuwās Abū Ṭawq* to the cluster of six diwans by al-Mutanabbî at the beginning of the section on Arabic diwans (204 {14}). The hand is clearly different from that of the main scribe, and the entry was also made in the wrong place, as the actual cluster of Abu Nuwas’s diwans follows on the next page (207 {3, 9, 11}). In this case the different hand, and the fact that it was added both in the “wrong” place and at the end of a distinct cluster of authors, followed by empty lines (i.e., a place *foreseen* for additions), are clear indicators of a later addition to the catalogue. The out-of-place, end-of-cluster position is also an indicator for later additions in other cases. An example of additions in the same hand (which are thus less immediately “visible”) are the entries on Abiwardi. Two copies of Abiwardi’s *Najdiyyāt* were added to Bayezid’s inventory at the end of a block of early Arabic diwans (207 {12}) before several blank lines (207 {13–17}) at the end of the cluster, but long after the initial Abiwardi had already been dealt with in a cluster of several copies of his *Najdiyyāt* and *Irāqīyyāt*, together with commentaries on the *Najdiyyāt*, two pages earlier (205 {12–15}). In other words, like Abu Nuwas’s diwan, these two copies of the *Najdiyyāt* were probably added after the initial draft had already been completed and copied. Given how much thought and care went into the establishment

of the cataloguing rules and the preparation of the inventory itself, the fact that both a first draft and then a "clean copy" were prepared in 908 and 909 respectively, and that an entire year passed between the two, it appears that further records were added to the inventory possibly even after 909, as new books and additional copies entered the library *after* the initial catalogue had been completed. Page 207 of the Arabic diwans (perhaps not coincidentally *at the end* of the section on Arabic diwans), and pages 245–48 of the Persian diwans (again *at the end* of the Persian diwan section) are similar cases. Here we find listed, in a seemingly random order, additional single, un-clustered copies of diwans of which other copies had already been recorded earlier; or diwans by more recent authors, such as Şeyh Vefa (d. 1491; 246 {1} and 248 {1–2}), Kashifi (d. 1504–5; 246 {17} and 247 {15}), Zati (d. 1546; 246 {11}), and possibly the sixteenth-century poet Khayali/Hayali (d. 1557; 248 {3}; for earlier authors with this *makhlāṣ* [pen name], including from Central Asia, see below), as well as Muniri (d. 1520–21). Also recorded here are a substantial number of copies of Navā'ī's (d. 1501) works at a relatively early date (four copies of his Chaghatay diwan in Arabic and one in Uyghur script, together with two copies of his *Khamṣa* in Uyghur script (cluster on p. 262 {6–8}). Since Gülrü Necipoğlu has established that, of the extant dated books listed in Bayezid II's palace library inventory and stamped with his seal at the current Topkapı Palace Museum Library, none is later than 1503–4 (personal note on May 28, 2016; see her Appendix III at the end of this volume), this is extraordinary proof of the early reception history of Chaghatay works in Ottoman circles.

59. For examples, see Erünsal, "Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinin Arşiv Kaynakları 6: 909/1503 Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb," 212.
60. This number is found twice on folio 1b of the inventory, with a clearly written 5 ("o" – an open circle, as opposed to the closed "full stop" of the zero, "·"). But since it is not 959 ("٩٥٩"), but rather 909 ("٩٠٩") that is supported by the numerical *abjad* date, scholars are in agreement that MS Török F. 59 was copied in 909.
61. On Ottoman poetic séances (*meclis*, pl. *mecâlis*) as a "focal point of Ottoman cultural and intellectual life," see Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541–1600)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 22–23. See also Walter Andrews and M. Kalpaklı, "Toward a *Meclis*-Centered Reading of Ottoman Poetry," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 33 (2009): 309–18. For the literary *majlis* in the Timurid context, in which several of the poets whose diwans are discussed here participated, see Eva Maria Subtelny, "Arts and Politics in Early 16th Century Central Asia," *Central Asiatic Journal* 27, no. 1–2 (1983): 121–48, at 139–43.
62. *Dīwān Mutanabbī*, II/6a; II/7b; II/10a; II/10b; *Sharḥ Dīwān Mutanabbī*, II/4b; II/8a; II/9a; *Ash'ār Mutanabbī*, II/5a.
63. Where Müeyyedzade's inventory shows two copies of the *Dīwān-i Khāqānī* (II/4b; II/8a), Bayezid II's catalogue has two as well (245 {3, 17}). Where Müeyyedzade's inventory

lists three copies of the *Dīwān Ḥasan* (I/2a; II/6b; II/8a), there are five copies in Bayezid's catalogue (235 {8, 10, 18/3 copies}; 238 {3}; 239 {16}). Where Müeyyedzade's inventory shows four copies of al-Mutanabbī's *Dīwān* (II/6a; II/7b; II/10a; II/10b), Bayezid II's has six (204 {12–14}); and where Müeyyedzade's inventory lists three copies of the *Sharḥ Dīwān Mutanabbī* (II/4b; II/8a; II/9a), Bayezid II's has fourteen (!) (204 {15–17}; 205 {1–5}). The ratio is similar for Abū Tammām's *Ḥamāsa* (i.e., 2:6; two copies listed in Müeyyedzade's inventory versus six in Bayezid's), as well as for the *Sharḥ al-Ḥamāsa* (2:2), Abīwardī's *Trāqīyyāt* (1:2) and *Najdiyyāt* (1:7), the *Sharḥ Najdiyyāt Abīwardī* (1:4), the *Dīwān of Ḥāfiẓ* (2:18), the *Dīwān of Khayāl[ī]* (2:5), *Dīwān Khwājū* (2:3), *Dīwān Qāsim* (2:9), *Dīwān Salmān* (3:5), and the *Dīwān Zuhayr* (2:4). Of the diwan of Kamāl Isfahānī, Müeyyedzade's inventory shows two copies, whereas Bayezid's inventory records only one entry that says *Dīwān Kamāl Isfahānī*, strictly speaking, though there are an additional 14 copies of a *Dīwān Kamāl* listed in the vicinity of this record, and it is highly likely that several of these refer to the same author's diwan as well (as opposed to Kamāl Khujandī and other possible Kamāls). To avoid reduplication and to facilitate the retrieval of information about authors, such information is provided in the Table section of this article.

64. This possibly reflects Müeyyedzade's sojourn in Aleppo, where he went to deepen his knowledge of Arabic. He may have acquired several copies of this Levantine author's work there, or met fellow scholars who sent him books in later years.
65. In addition, there is a diwan in List I—*Dīwān Abharī* (?), *a'lā* (I/1b)—whose authorship is doubtful. This entry is difficult to read due to a water stain, and there is no known diwan of an author with this name.
66. Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (hereafter *LHP*), 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), 3:459; 4:5, 83, 227–29; for further information on Hātifi, please see the references to Table 2.
67. A possible contender might be a manuscript that is held at the Met with the accession number 69.27; it is a copy of Hātifi's *Khusraw wa Shīrīn* that is dated to 904 (1498–99) and was penned and painted by Suzi, probably either in Istanbul or Amasya; see <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/452037>, accessed July 19, 2016.
68. Eva Maria Subtelny, "Arts and Politics in Early 16th Century Central Asia," 124, 128–29; see also Maria Szuppe, "Circulation des lettrés et cercles littéraires. Entre Asie centrale, Iran et Inde du Nord (XVe–XVIIIe siècle)," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 59.5 (2004): 997–1018; Szuppe, "Lettrés, patrons, libraires. L'apport des recueils biographiques sur le rôle du livre en Asie centrale aux xvi^e et xvii^e siècles," in *Patrimoine manuscrit et vie intellectuelle de l'Asie centrale islamique*, ed. Ashirbek Muminov, Francis Richard, and Maria Szuppe (Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 1999), 99–115. On the establishment and endowment of (albeit largely post-sixteenth century) private libraries in Istanbul, see

- Frédéric Hitzel, "Manuscripts, livres et culture livresque à Istanbul," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* [RMMM-Special number on Livres et lecture dans le monde ottoman] 87-88 (1999): 19–38. From sixteenth-century Istanbul alone, we know of some forty endowments for book collections and libraries. Despite the large number of books once possessed by Müeyyedzade, his collection was not among these endowed collections. For a survey study of these endowments, see Faruk Bilici, "Les bibliothèques vakıf-s à Istanbul au XVI^e siècle, prémices de grandes bibliothèques publiques," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 87-88 (1999): 39–59.
69. This diwan is recorded in the Arabic section of Bayezid's inventory, though from Müeyyedzade's inventory it is not clear in which language it was composed. It refers possibly to the *Khāwar-nāma*, "a lengthy mathnawī dealing with the miracles and martyrdom of Ḥaḍrat 'Alī and other Shiite Imāms, composed by Muḥammad b. Hisāmu'd-dīn [...]" (d. 875/1470). This work is in imitation of Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma* and was completed in 830/1427" (*Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts* [Hyderabad: Salar Jung Museum and Library, 1967], vol. 4, no. 1554, p. 253). Alternatively, it might be a reference to the long *tarjī-band* by Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥasan (d. ca. 720/1320) that was written in praise of "Ḥaḍrat 'Alī" (*Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, vol. 4, no. 1369, p. 156).
 70. Khayālī Bukhārī's (d. ca. 1446) Persian *Dīvān-i Khayālī Bukhārā'ī* was published by Ahmad Karami in 1380 (2001 or 2002; Tehran: Mā).
 71. Personal communication, August 18, 2016.
 72. II/6b. On 'Ishqī/'Aşki, see *TDVİA*, s.v. "Aşki, Kadīm," by İsmail Ünver.
 73. "In his youth Kamāladdīn [Banā'ī]—it seems—opposed the Turcophile tendencies of 'A.[li] Şīr [Navā'ī] in disclaiming that poetry should, would, or could be at all possible in the tongue of these sons of 'Japhet.' However, in later years he made a full volte-face [...]. He could even cite to 'A.[li] Şīr [Navā'ī] some vv. [verses] of Luṭfī's (not known before to the mīr?) which were then taken as the *maṭla'* for one of his ḡg. [ghazals] by that illustrious Č.[aghatay] paragon and protagonist" (H. F. Hofman, *Turkish Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey* [Utrecht: The Library University of the University of Utrecht, 1969], part I, vol. 2:215–23, at 220). On Banā'ī, see also Şafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyāt dar Īrān*, 4:393–411; Z. Şafā, "Banā'ī Heravī, Kamāl-al-Dīn Şīr-'Alī (1453–1512)," *ELr* 3 (1989): 667–68; Maria Eva Subtelny, "Scenes from Literary Life in Timūrid Herāt," in *Logos Islamikos: studia islamica in honorem Georgii Michaelis Wickens*, ed. Roger Savory and Dionisius Agius (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984), 137–55, at 147–48.
 74. Cornell Fleischer has pointed out that, in contrast to the calendars prepared for Mehmed II and Selim I respectively, those prepared for Bayezid II were composed in Persian, not Turkish. See Cornell H. Fleischer, "Ancient Wisdom and New Science," in *Falnama: The Book of Omens*, ed. Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı (London: Thames & Hudson, 2009), 232–43, at 235. Bayezid II may have had a similarly strong appreciation for Persian poetry. On Ottoman Persianate court culture during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, see Christopher Markiewicz, "The Crisis of Rule in Late Medieval Islam: A Study of Idrīs Bidlīsī (861–926/1457–1526) and Kingship at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century" (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2015).
 75. Certain exceptions are the *Dīvān Salmān* and the *Dīvān Ḥasan*, copies of which are found in both lists: one copy of the *Dīvān Salmān* is recorded in List II (II/9a), whereas two copies (one as part of a collective volume that also contained other diwans, which may have made this copy particularly interesting) were recorded in List I, one of which is marked as *a'lā* (*Jūng-i dīvān-hā awwaluhā Dīvān-i Salmān*, *a'lā*, 1/2a; *Dīvān Salmān*, 1/2b). Of the *Dīvān Ḥasan*, one copy is found in List I (*Dīvān Ḥasan*, *a'lā* (1 copy; 1/2a), and two further copies are found in List II (II/6b; II/8a), though it is possible that different authors may be referred to as "Ḥasan"; see below.
 76. According to Dawlatshah Samarqandi, "Khāwarī" is the *takhalluṣ* (pen name) of either Anwari (83) or Sudā'ī (421); *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, ed. Browne, 83, 421.
 77. This is possibly Muḥammad Shīrīn Maghribī (d. 1407–8), which would explain why the work is listed here separately from the diwan of *Ibn Khaṭīb al-Maghribī* (II/9b).
 78. The entry is clearly readable, though it is unclear which author this refers to. Possibly it is the fourteenth- or fifteenth-century poet Qutb-i 'Atiqi with the *makhlaṣ* "Qutb" (Şafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyāt dar Īrān*, 3:1124).
 79. There are, of course, a number of individuals who may have been referred to with the honorific "Rukn al-Dīn." I am grateful to Giovanni Maria Martini for pointing out to me that this might be a reference to 'Ala' al-Dawla Simnani who wrote a diwan, who was for a short while the master of Kamal al-Dīn Kirmani, and who has an entry in Dawlatshah's *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā'*.
 80. On the *Dīvān* of Shaykh Yahya al-Sarsari (d. 1258), which apparently comprised 20 volumes, see Li Guo, ed., *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography: Al-Yūnīnī's Dhayl Mir'āt al-zamān*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1:68.
 81. Several authors are known by this honorific, including Bayazid Bistami (d. 848 [?]) and al-Sayyid al-Sharif al-Jurjani (d. 1413), though neither is known to have had a diwan to his name.
 82. For possible disambiguations, see below.
 83. These include the following: *Dīvān Wahbī/Vehbī* (II/1b); *Juz' thānī min dīvān Ridā'ī* (?) (II/3a); *Sharḥ Dīvān Sarwar/Server*/[*Servi*?] (?) (II/4a); *Dīvān Raḍī* (II/7b); *Dīvān Sārum Najd/Yazd* (?) (II/8b).
 84. Nizāmī is represented with one work, the *Khamṣa-yi Nizāmī*, *a'lā* (I/1b).
 85. *Muṣibat-nāma-yi Khwāja 'Aṭṭār* (II/3b); *Dīvān Shaykh 'Aṭṭār* (II/8a); also *Ḥāshīya-yi 'Aṭṭār*; *Mathnawī bar-kinār*, *a'lā* (I/2a).
 86. *Ḥāshīya-yi 'Aṭṭār*; *Mathnawī bar-kinār*, *a'lā* (I/2a).

87. *Kulliyât-i Shaykh Sa'dî, a'lâ* (I/1b); *Kulliyât-i Shaykh Sa'dî* (II/8a); *Gulistan-i Shaykh Sa'dî* (II/9a).
88. *Khamsa-yi Jâmî* (II/8a). In addition, the record shows a *Kitâb Shaykh Jâmî fi al-ash'âr, a'lâ* (I/2a).
89. Personal communication, August 18, 2016.
90. For the identification of this poet, see the relevant article in the current volume.
91. *Necatî Beg Divanı*, ed. Ali Nihat Tarlan (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 1992), 19–20, 40, and a *qaşıda* "der vaşf-ı Abdurrahman Efendi," on 55–57, following immediately the *qaşidas* on the Prophet Muhammad, 'Ali b. Abi Talib, and the Ottoman sultans Mehmed II and Bayezid II.
92. Erünsal, "Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinin Arşiv Kaynakları 6: 909/1503 Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb," 215.
93. On Lutfi see János Eckmann, "Die Tschaghataische Literatur," in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* 2, ed. Louis Bazin, Jean Deny, et al. (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1964), 304–402, at 308–14; *TDVİA*, s.v. "Lutfi," by Kemal Eraslan.
94. II/10a. On Banā'î, see n. 73. Since language is not consistently indicated in Müeyyedzade's catalogue, we cannot be absolutely sure, but given what we know about Banā'î as a poet, this diwan was most probably written in Persian, with at most a few Chaghatay poems or lines in it.
95. See also Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, "Nawā'î – eine Skizze zum historischen Hintergrund," in *Mîr 'Alî Shîr Nawā'î*, ed. Barbara Kellner-Heinkele and Sigrid Kleinmichel (Würzburg: Ergon, 2003), 1–13.
96. Hofman, *Turkish Literature*, 5173–75.
97. On "Gadā/Gadā'î," see Eckmann, "Tschaghataische Literatur," 324–25.
98. On Navā'î, see *ibid.*, 329–57.
99. "Katalogda ilk göze çarpan Doğu Türkçesiyle yazılmış eserlerin sayısıdır" and the subsequent discussion: Erünsal, "Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinin Arşiv Kaynakları 6: 909/1503 Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb," esp. 212–14.
100. Eckmann, "Tschaghataische Literatur," 349–50. Eckmann points out that even the ten percent of the poets who wrote in Turkish at the same time also composed poetry in Persian.
101. On Sakkaki, see *ibid.*, 306–8.
102. On Ata'î, see *ibid.*, 314–15.
103. On Yusuf Amiri, see *ibid.*, 319–21.
104. Lutfi is represented in Bayezid's inventory with a total of four copies of his diwan (261 {18}, 262 {11–13}), and Navā'î with a total of five copies (262 {6–7}). On the Chaghatay Turkish Literature of the time and the early Ottoman reception of 'Ali Shir Navā'î, see Eckmann ("Tschaghataische Literatur," 352), who discusses a copy of one of Navā'î's works found in Mehmed II's library, though the reference here is to an unidentified "catalogue" in the "Library of the Hungarian Academy of the Sciences." This most probably refers to Bayezid II's inventory, as no specific call number is mentioned. See also E. Birnbaum, who refers to the same manuscript (also without a call number, based on Eckmann), "The Ottomans and Chaghatay Literature," *Central Asiatic Journal* 20 (1976): 157–90, at 165; Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, "Kanunî Devrinin Sonuna Kadar Anadolu'da Nevâyî Tesiri Üzerine Notlar," in *Atsız Armağanı* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 1976), 75–90; Siegrid Kleinmichel, "Mîr 'Alî Şer Navā'î und Ahmed Paşa," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 17 (1999): 77–211; on Navā'î in particular, see Erünsal, "Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinin Arşiv Kaynakları 6: 909/1503 Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb," 213–14.
105. On Muhammad Parsa's (d. 1420) even earlier (endowed, and yet dispersed) library in Herat, see Ashirbek Muminov and Shevasil Ziyadov, "L'horizon intellectuel d'un érudit du xve siècle: Nouvelles découvertes sur la bibliothèque de Muhammad Pârsâ," in *Patrimoine manuscrit et vie intellectuelle de l'Asie centrale islamique*, ed. Ashirbek Muminov, Francis Richard, and Maria Szuppe (Aix-en-Provence: Editions), 1999, 77–98.
106. Eckmann, "Tschaghataische Literatur," 327.
107. Hasan Shah Harawi lived during the reigns of the Timurid rulers Shahrukh and Husayn Bayqara (Şafâ, *Tārîkh-i adabiyât dar Irân*, 4:378–82).
108. Müeyyedzade's library held three copies of the *Dîwân Ḥasan* (one *a'lâ*), I/2a; II/6b; II/8a. Alternatively, this may refer to the diwan of Amir Najm al-Din Hasan Sanjari, or Sizjî, better known as Ḥasan Dihlavî (d. 738/1338).
109. Şafâ, *Tārîkh-i adabiyât dar Irân*, 4:310–14, at 311.
110. *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Hâtefi," by Michele Bernardini.
111. 'Ali Shîr Navā'î, *Dîwân of the Aq Qoyunlu Admirers* (1471), ed. Aftandil Erkinov (Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 2015), 11–26.
112. Maria Szuppe has pointed out that Mutribi Samarqandi (fl. 1627) reports in his *Nuskhā-yi zibā-yi Jahāngir* (The Beautiful Copy of Jahangir) that by the end of the fifteenth century, copyists were installed in a part of the Bukharan bazaar that was known as the "Bâzâr-i Shîrâzî." This included a certain "Ma'sûmî Bukhârî, fils de Sharaf al-Dîn 'Alî Vazîr, qui travaillait dans le «bâzâr-i Shîrâzî» à Boukhara *intra-muros*" (Maria Szuppe, "Lettres, patrons, libraires. L'apport des recueils biographiques sur le rôle du livre en Asie centrale aux xvi^e et xvii^e siècles," in *Patrimoine manuscrit et vie intellectuelle de l'Asie centrale islamique*, 99–115, at 109). This most probably refers to Sharaf al-Din 'Ali, who is listed among the Tajik scribes (*nivisandagān-i tâzîk*) of the Timurid Sultan Maḥmūd b. Abū Sa'îd (d. 1495) in the *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, facsimile ed. *Istoriū Kazakhstana v persidskikh istochnikakh* / [otvetstvennyi redaktor, A.K. Muminov], Almaty: "Daik-Press," 2006, fol. 158a. In other words, he was active in the Shîrâzî Bazaar of Bukhara as a scribe precisely during the period when Müeyyedzade and Bayezid II were actively acquiring books from the East.
113. On the popularity of Navā'î's diwan among Ottoman readers at this time, see Erünsal, "Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinin Arşiv Kaynakları 6: 909/1503 Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb," 213–14, who gives the example of a 940/1533 sale of two copies of Navā'î's diwan in the market.
114. On this circle of poets, which additionally included Khwaja Rustam Khuryani and Tahir Abiwardi, see Dawlatshah Samarqandi, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, 361.

115. For other contenders for this name, please see the notes attached to Table 1 below.
116. In at least one case, such a literary work was also illustrated (*Khamsa-yi Hâtîfî, muşavvar, a'lâ*, I/1b). The artistic quality of the illuminations, calligraphy, and bindings of copies once owned by Müeyyedzade is something that historians of material culture will have to judge once such copies have been identified.
117. However, as far as I have been able to see, the palace library inventory does not appear to hold a copy of this work.
118. It is striking that the first fifteen times that Rumi's name is mentioned, it is followed by the prayer formula, whereas in the last few cases (in places that appear to be later additions), the prayer formula is absent. As suggested by Hatice Aynur's systematic survey of diwan anthologies produced in the Turkish Republic from Köprülü 1931 to Şentürk 1999, in placing Rumi (and Sultan Veled) at the beginning of the diwan section, several modern authors of Ottoman diwan poetry anthologies have followed a similar pattern as Bayezid's inventory. These include Fuad Köprülü's (d. 1966) *Eski Şairlerimiz: Divan Edebiyatı Antolojisi* (1931) and Sadık Deniz's *Bugünün Dilîyle Dîvân Şiiri* (1972), which begin with Rumi; as well as Necmettin Halil Onan (1940; 1989; 1998) and İsmet Zeki Eyüboğlu (1994), whose works start with Sultan Veled. See Hatice Aynur, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Divan Şiiri Antolojileri," in *Eski Türk Edebiyatına Modern Yaklaşımlar II*, ed. Hatice Aynur et al. (Istanbul: Turkuaz, 2008), 57–109.
119. *Mathnavî, jild* (II/8a). In addition, the inventory lists a *Ḥaṣhiya-yi 'Aṭṭār, Mathnavî bar-kinār, a'lâ* (I/2a), a *Sharḥ Mathnavî* (II/4b), and a *jild khāmis Mathnavî* (II/10a).
120. The only work by Sultan Veled that is recorded in Müeyyedzade's inventory is his *Vaṣīyat-nāma-yi Sultān Valad* (II/6b).
121. "Sufi works appear to have been of central importance in the library. They are represented by 48 pages as opposed to the 24 pages devoted to the holy tradition" (Maróth, "Library of Sultan Bayezid II," 114–15). As for diwan literature, we must take into account that here the division by disciplines does not apply. As 'Atufi specifies in his introductory statement on the rules of the inventory's organization, any discipline could be found in the section on diwans, as long as a work was written in rhyme rather than prose (8 {7–18}).
122. Not coincidentally the compiler 'Atufi, who was appointed to the task of preparing the present inventory, was a specialist in medicine whose own works also feature in the inventory. See the relevant contributions to this volume.
123. The pagination above follows Maróth, "Library of Sultan Bayezid II." To complete the picture, it should be pointed out that the entirety of the Qur'an commentaries and *qirā'āt* covers 11 pages (18–28).
124. While Bayezid inherited a significant portion of these books from earlier Ottoman rulers, particularly his father, he also made the deliberate choice to maintain and expand the royal library.
125. H. F. Hofman on the common perception among twentieth-century scholars on Ottoman poetry before Ahmed Paşa Bursalı (d. 1496) in comparison to the state of contemporaneous Chaghatay Turkish literature (H. F. Hofman, *Turkish Literature*, 2:58). Bursalı and the poems he wrote (for Bayezid) in the style of the Herat circle have been perceived as a turning point after which Ottoman literature came into its own, taking inspiration from literati from the East, notably Navā'ī. Hofman possibly quotes either Köprülü or Gibb, though I have not been able to ascertain the exact reference. On Bursalı, see *TDVİA*, s.v. "Ahmed Paşa, Bursalı," by Günay Kut.
126. The biographical dictionaries of poets include, but are not restricted to, the *Tezkires* of Sehi Beg (d. 1548–49), 'Aşık Çelebi (d. 1572), Latifi (d. 1582), Beyani (d. 1597), and Kınalızade Hasan Çelebi (d. 1604), which were consulted for this article; see above, note 52.
127. Müeyyedzade's *fatwās* remain unpublished to date, despite their arguably massive impact, as attested by the more than 100 copies in various libraries worldwide, many of which are heavily annotated.
128. On Abiwardi, see C. Hillenbrand, "al-Abīwardī," *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature* (henceforth *EAL*), 2 vols. (London: Routledge, 1998), 1:22. Bayezid's inventory lists Abiwardi under the name "Abū Muẓaffar," whereas Müeyyedzade's catalogue lists him, without exception, under the name "Abīwardī" (which is often spelled across two lines, or with the *yā* of *Abī* written separately from the next word: *Abī Wardī*).
129. J. S. Meisami, "Abū Tammām," *EAL*, 1:47–49.
130. *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Hafez (Ḥāfeẓ), Šams-al-Din Moḥammad, of Shiraz," by Ehsan Yarshater, Baha'-al-Din Khorramshahi, J. T. P. de Bruijn, et al. Intended here could also be the so-called "Ḥāfiz-ī 'Acem" (d. 1551), though this would probably have been specified, and his death date is rather late for his diwan to be included in the inventory; see *TDVİA*, s.v. "Ḥāfiz-ī Acem (ö. 958/1551)," by Ömer Faruk Akün.
131. This could be the diwan of anyone with the name or *makhlāṣ* "Ḥasan," and is difficult to identify candidates and then consider these in relation to the "Ḥasan"s listed in Bayezid's inventory. One of the most promising candidates appears to be Ḥasan Dihlawī (d. ca. 1326), which is supported by Bayezid's inventory, where the title *Dīwān Ḥasan* is found in the immediate vicinity of two copies of the *Dīwān Amīr Ḥasan Dihlavī* (239 {16–17}). On Amir Hasan Dihlawī, see Browne, *LHP*, 3:108; Dawlatshah Samarqandī, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, 347–49. A further possible candidate is Ḥasan Shāh Haravī, who is said to have lived for 105 years and to have died in 1499. He lived during the reigns of the Timurid rulers Shahrukh and Husayn Bayqara and was part of the same circles as some of the other poets listed here, in particular the circle of Mir 'Alī Shir Navā'ī (Şafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyāt dar Īrān*, 4:378–82). A copy of a *Dīwān Ḥasan* is also found in List I (see below).

132. *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Kamāl-al-Dīn Eṣfahānī," by David Durand-Guédy; *EL2*, s.v. "Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā'īl," by A. H. Zarrinkoob; Browne, *LHP*, 2:540–42. Dawlatshah Samarqandi, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, 148–54; Michael Glünz, *Die panegyrische Qasida bei Kamāl ud-dīn Ismā'īl aus Isfahan: eine Studie zur persischen Lobdichtung um den Beginn des 7./13. Jahrhunderts* (Beirut: Steiner, 1993).
133. In the Persian section of MS Török F. 59 there are several entries listed as *Dīwān Kamāl* (236 {19}–237 {1}; 238 {3 (2x), 4 (1x), 5 (3x), 6 (2x), 7 (2x: *Dīwān Kamāl* and *Dīwān Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā'īl*), 17 (1x), 18 (1x)}; 239 {1 (1x)}), i.e., there are altogether 14 copies of Persian diwans ascribed to "Kamāl."
134. *TDVİA*, s.v. "Hâkânî-i Şîrvânî, Efdalüddîn Bedîl (İbrâhîm) b. Alî," by Tahsin Yazıcı; Dawlatshah Samarqandi, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, 78–83; Browne, *LHP*, 2:391–99; *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Kāqānî Şervānî ii. Works," by Anna Livia Beelaert.
135. *Dīwān Khayāl* (I/2a): the author's name clearly reads "Khayāl" (not "Khayālī"). Meant here is most probably Khayālī Bukhārī (Şafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyāt dar Īrān*, 4:456–57; Browne, *LHP*, 3:352). For his diwan, see *Dīwān-i Khayālī Bukhārī* (wr. approximately 1446), ed. Aḥmad Karamī (Tehran: Mā, 1380 [2001 or 2002]). An identification of these entries with the Ottoman poet Khayālī (d. 1557) is only possible if we assume that these were later additions to Bayezid's and Müeyyedzade's inventories, which is unlikely. As for another possible candidate, the Ottoman poet Ḥayālī-i Evvel (d. 1524), no diwan of his is known to have survived. See *TDVİA*, s.v. "Hayālī-i Evvel (ö. 931/1524)," by Sabahattin Küçük; *TDVİA*, s.v. "Hayālī Bey (ö. 964/1556–57)," by Cemal Kurnaz. A third possibility is the person who translated Khwājū Kirmānī's *Rawḍat al-anwār* (wr. 743/beg. June 6, 1342) into Ottoman Turkish, who completed this translation in 853 (ca. February 24, 1449) under the *makhlaṣ* "Khayālī." As the editor Fatih Köksal has established, this third Khayālī cannot be identical with Ḥayālī-i Evvel for several reasons, and must be considered a hitherto unknown poet of the fifteenth century who also used the *makhlaṣ* "Khayālī" and became the first poet in an entire tradition of *Makhzan al-asrār* interpretations ("Mahzenu'l-esrār geleneği"), as Kirmani's *Rawḍat al-anwār*, in turn, was a *naẓīra* of Nizami Ganjawi's (d. 1214?) *Makhzan al-asrār* (Derviş Hayālī, *Ravzatü'l-envār*, ed. M. Fatih Köksal [Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2003], vii–ix, 3–13. Since Müeyyedzade also owned two copies of Khwaju's *dīwān* and a full copy of Nizami's *Khamṣa* (of which the *Makhzan al-asrār* is the first part), a diwan by this Khayālī would have fit the profile of Müeyyedzade's library. Given the state of our knowledge about the poetry of this period, it is possible that such a diwan will be identified in the future; however, at this point no such diwan is known. The most likely candidate appears thus to be the fifteenth-century Khayālī-yi Bukhārī, who indeed has a diwan to his name. Only the study of copies with actual owner's marks, as far as they are available, and copying dates (which are rarely given for diwans unless they were copied by a known calligrapher) will permit a conclusive identification of this author.
136. *EL2*, s.v. "Khwādju, Kamāl al-Dīn Abū al-'Aṭā' Maḥmūd b. 'Alī," by Iraj Dehghan; *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, 249–53.
137. J. S. Meisami, "al-Mutanabbī," *EAL*, 2:558–60.
138. The exact phrasing of the entries is *Dīwān-i Sayyid Qāsim wa dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ bar kinār, a'lā* (I/2a) and *Dīwān Qāsim Anwarī* [sic] (II/8a). "Qāsim" is the *takhalluṣ* sometimes used by Qasim-i Anwar. On the latter, see *EL*, s.v. "Kāsim-i Anwār," by V. F. Büchner; *EL*, s.v. "Kāsim-i Anwār," by R. M. Savory; Dawlatshah Samarqandi, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, ed. Browne, 346–52; Browne, *LHP*, 3:352, 438 (death date 1431–32); Şafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyāt dar Īrān*, 252–64; Hofman, *Turkish Literature*, 5:41–48. For a full range of possible poets with the *makhlaṣ* "Qāsim" writing in Chaghatay Turkish, see Hofman, *Turkish Literature*, 5:35–36, who faced the problem of having too many Qasims to choose from (calling them "tantalizing tempters" of identification). Another possible poet who may be identified with this *makhlaṣ* is described in *İstanbul Kitaplıkları Türkçe Yazma Divanlar Kataloğu*, Kütüphaneler Müdürlüğü, Tasnif Komisyonu, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi: 1947), 67, entry "Kasım." Only one copy of his diwan is listed as İstanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi T. MS 759/4, ff. 116–35. Nothing is known about the poet's exact birth and death dates, but from two lines in one of his *qasidas* (in Turkish), it can be inferred that he must have lived during the reigns of Murad II and Mehmed II, i.e., that he was alive during the fifteenth century, though it seems overall far more likely that the Qasim in question is Qasim-i Anwar.
139. This is probably Salman Sawajī (d. 1376); Dawlatshah Samarqandi, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, ed. Browne, 82–83.
140. Without further information, it would be misleading to identify the name listed in Müeyyedzade's inventory with specific authors. In neither of its occurrences in this document is this name vocalized. It could thus be read either Ṣāḥir or Ṣuhayr, and it may refer to several poets called Ṣuhayr, including the famous Ṣuhayr b. Abī Sulmā al-Muzanī (fl. sixth century, d. 696), of whose diwan copies are listed in Bayezid's inventory (205 {11–12, 19}). Alternatively, if read as Ṣāḥir, this author could be identified as Ṣāḥir al-Dīn Faryābī, whose diwan "was collected shortly after his death by Ṣhams-i Sudjasi (d. 1205–6)" (*EL2*, s.v., "Ṣāḥir-i Faryābī," by Cl. Huart-[J.T.P. de Bruijn]). See also Dawlatshah Samarqandi, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, 109–13.
141. On the diwan ascribed to 'Alī b. Abi Talib, which C. E. Bosworth has described as "a *dīwān* of mediocre poetry, whose authenticity is very suspect," see C. E. Bosworth, "'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib," *EAL* 1:78. There is possibly a second copy of this diwan in a collective volume that is recorded in List II, *Dīwān Khayāl* [sic] *wa Dīwān 'Alī wa Dīwān Shāhī* (I/2a).
142. This may equally refer to the poet Alī, i.e., Muẓaffar al-Dīn 'Alī (d. 1516), one of the students of Dawānī's in Shiraz at the time of Müeyyedzade who relocated to Istanbul after 1500 and was appointed to various high teaching positions there

- thanks to Müeyyedzade's intervention. He was both known as a poet and a scholar in the areas of geometry, astronomy, and logic (Cemâl Kurnaz, *Anadolu'da Orta Asyalı Şairler* [Ankara: Yargıcı Matbaası, 1997], 62).
143. Şafâ, *Tārīkh-i adabiyât dar Īrân*, 4:456; Dawlatshah Samarqandī, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arâ*, 352–56. Together with Katibi, whose *Kulliyât* are also listed in Müeyyedzade's inventory (*Kulliyât Kâtibî, a'lâ*, 1/2a), Bisati belonged to the circle of poets whom Mir 'Ali Shir Navâ'i enumerated in the first part of his *Majâlis al-naḡā'is*, which is dedicated to poets whose lives overlapped with Navâ'i's youth, but whom he never had a chance to meet. See Browne, *LHP*, 3:438.
 144. One of these is possibly contained in Ms. Istanbul Ayasofya 3946/12, ff. 191b–195a, a collective volume of diwans that was copied in 26 Dhul-Qa'da 879/April 3, 1475 and bears Bayezid's stamp in the front and back.
 145. *Dīwān-i Sayyid Qāsim wa dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ bar kinār, a'lâ* (1/2a {7}).
 146. Two further copies of this diwan are found in List II: II/6b; II/8a. On possible identifications of this "Ḥasan," see above.
 147. Meant here is probably the poet and maternal nephew of Jami, 'Abd Allah Hatifi of Kharjird (near Jam) in Khurasan (Browne, *LHP*, 3:459; 4:25, 83, 227–29). On the *ta'rīkh* of "*shah-i shā'irān*" for his death date (927), when Hatifi died at the age of ninety-four or even as a centenary, see Şafâ, *Tārīkh-i adabiyât dar Īrân*, 4:438–47, with further references.
 148. On the author see above, Table 1.
 149. Şafâ, *Tārīkh-i adabiyât dar Īrân*, 4:286–93 (who gives the death date of 840 based on the *ta'rīkh "tammāt"*). Dawlatshah Samarqandī gives as his death date 829/November 13, 1425 (*Tadhkirat al-Shu'arâ*, ed. Browne, 357–66, at 361 {19–20}) and is followed by Browne, *LHP*, 3:352. Dawlatshah also states that 'Ismat was from a family of illustrious scholars whose lineage went back to Ja'far b. Abi Talib, and that he attended the same poetry sessions as Bisāṭī Samarqandī, Khayālī Bukhārī, Pīr Barandaq (?), Khwāja Rustam Khūryānī, and Ṭāhir Abiwardī. For several copies of this diwan, see the *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts* (Hyderabad: Salar Jung Museum and Library, 1967), vol. 4, nos. 1535–37, pp. 242–43, where 'Ismat's death date is given as 840/1437.
 150. It is difficult to disambiguate this name. Bayezid's catalogue lists three types of diwan by a Nāṣir: *Nāṣir-i Khusraw* (246 {5–6}, 247 {4}), *Nāṣir-i Bukhārī* (247 {6}, 248 {4}), and simply *Dīwān Nāṣir* (240 {19}, 247 {15}). On *Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, see Browne, *LHP*, 2:218–46; Dawlatshah Samarqandī, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arâ*, ed. Browne, 61–64. On Nāṣir-i Bukhārī, see Dawlatshah Samarqandī, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arâ*, ed. Browne, 270–72.
 151. Since the author is referred to as Sayyid Qāsim (*Dīwān-i Sayyid Qāsim wa dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ bar kinār, a'lâ* [II/Ila {7}]), we may identify the author as Qasim al-Anwar. A further copy of this diwan is found in List II (II/2b {8}).
 152. On the author see above, Table 1.
 153. Browne, *LHP*, 3:498, 552; Şafâ, *Tārīkh-i adabiyât dar Īrân*, 4:310–14. A copy of this diwan is also found in the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn, So 192. Seven copies alone are held in the Salar Jung Library in Hyderabad; *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, Hyderabad: Salar Jung Museum and Library, 1967, vol. 4, nos. 1545–51, pp. 247–51. Alternatively, this may refer to Amīr Shāhī.
 154. On the author see above, Table 1. A record of a third copy is found at II/9a.

BOOKS ON EXEGESIS (*TAFSĪR*) AND QUR'ANIC READINGS (*QIRĀ'ĀT*): INSPIRATION, INTELLECT, AND THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE IN POST-CLASSICAL ISLAM

Al-Husayn b. 'Abdallah al-Tibi (d. 1342), a scholar of great learning and a man of mystical inclination, entered a highly exclusive club of Muslims on the night that he saw the Prophet Muhammad in a dream. According to al-Tibi's terse account, the Prophet offered him a bowl of milk and pointed at him. Realizing the Prophet's silent command, al-Tibi dutifully drank from the bowl and handed it back to the Prophet. Then, in a rather unexpected reversal, the Prophet himself proceeded to drink from the bowl. The meaning of this dream was clear to al-Tibi: He was going to receive divine support for the project he had underway, which was to write a monumental exposition of Jar Allah al-Zamakhshari's (d. 1144) celebrated Qur'an commentary, *al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq ghawāmiḍ al-tanzīl wa-'uyūn al-aqāwīl fī wujūh al-ta'wīl* (Unveiler of the Truth of the Intricate Parts of Revelation and the Prominent Opinions concerning Aspects of Interpretation). To al-Tibi, the milk provided by the Prophet represented nothing short of heavenly inspiration for the exposition he was going to write. Al-Tibi thus daringly named his work "Revelations from the Unseen in Uncovering the Veil of Doubt" (*Futūḥ al-ghayb fī al-kashf 'an qinā' al-rayb*).¹

Al-Tibi's dream sets into sharp relief two intertwined hallmarks of post-classical Islamic history, both of which feature heavily in this essay. The first is the absolute centrality of al-Zamakhshari's *al-Kashshāf* to the field of Qur'anic exegesis. Al-Zamakhshari was a Mu'tazili Hanafi from Khwarazm, famous for his mastery of Arabic rhetoric and linguistics. Deploying his expertise and incisive intellect, al-Zamakhshari produced a Qur'an commentary that became a watershed in the history of the Muslim exegetical tradition. Notwithstanding this work's occasional advocacy of Mu'tazili positions, by the

fifteenth century it had become a chief textbook in madrasas and private study circles across the Islamic world, mediating the divine Word for Muslim scholars and laity alike. Al-Zamakhshari himself had anticipated the significance and success of *al-Kashshāf*, considering it "worthy of being used to invoke heavenly blessings and to pray for rain in a year of drought."² Similarly, to the many who studied and cherished *al-Kashshāf*, its status as the portal to revelation was a sign of its celestial credentials.³ How fitting, then, that al-Zamakhshari's epithet was "God's neighbor" (*jār Allāh*) when his own words served as constant companions to God's Speech.

The emergence of *al-Kashshāf* as a classic leads us to the second hallmark of the post-classical period, which is the predominance of annotations (*ḥawāshī*, *ta'līqāt*) and commentaries (*shurūḥ*) in the literary output of Muslim scholars. Because of their vital pedagogic function, classical texts such as *al-Kashshāf* were in constant need of exposition in various formats and contexts. Moreover, post-classical scholars spent much of their creative energy providing new solutions to the problems identified in the classics, and carrying the discussions of these classics in new directions. As the chief embodiments of the expository and analytical efforts of Muslim scholars, annotations represent "the most important genre of post-classical Islamic scholarship."⁴ In the case of al-Tibi, the task of unpacking and developing al-Zamakhshari's dense Qur'anic discussions was so critical that it warranted divine intervention. Ultimately, and without denying the Qur'an's distinction, revelation was thus an open-ended process, with the Qur'an being made understandable and relevant through successive layers of divinely inspired exposition. This, perhaps, was the symbolic message of the Prophet's consumption of

the milk: he and al-Tibi—and by extension al-Zamakhshari—were in fellowship as conveyors and interpreters of God's message.

The two hallmarks encapsulated in the account of al-Tibi's dream are abundantly on display in the inventory of the palace library of Sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512). In an exceptional and unintended boon to modern scholars of Islamic history, the Ottoman emperor asked his librarian, Khayr al-Din al-ʿAtufi (d. 1541), to draw up a comprehensive register of all the books in the private imperial library. Compiled in 909 (1503–4), ʿAtufi's register provides us with a remarkably wide window onto Ottoman scholarly interests at the turn of the sixteenth century.⁵ This chapter investigates how the imperial library's *tafsīr* (Qur'anic exegesis) and *qirāʾāt* (variant readings) holdings corroborate, challenge, modify, and enrich our understanding of Ottoman scholarship. Specifically, this investigation shows the tenuousness of a widely held assumption in the modern academic study of *tafsīr*, namely, that the Islamic exegetical tradition was a largely conservative enterprise, according a central place to the received exegetical views of early Muslims at the expense of independent interpretation of the Qur'anic text. While such an exegetical approach had been championed by some—such as the controversial Ḥanbali scholar Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328) based in Mamluk Damascus and Cairo—it was for the most part a marginal perspective in the premodern period that experienced a resurgence only in the past two centuries. The modern sway of this approach, often known as tradition-based exegesis (*al-tafsīr bi-l-maʾthūr*), has led many academics to believe that it has always been the dominant strategy in interpreting the Qur'an. However, the following analysis shows that in the Ottoman realm, as well in as the larger Persianate world stretching from the Balkans to the Bay of Bengal, a region “that was home to the absolute demographic majority of Muslims on the planet,”⁶ the prevailing mode of engagement with scripture was analytical, an approach known as *al-tafsīr bi-l-raʾy* (opinion-based exegesis).

The imperial library inventory testifies to the centrality of analytical exegesis to Ottoman scholarship, for it shows the unique importance of al-Zamakhshari's commentary as well as those of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1209)

and Nasir al-Dīn al-Baydāwī (d. ca. 1300), the latter two being followers of the Ashʿari theological school. Like al-Zamakhshari, these two scholars were not primarily concerned with early exegetical traditions in their commentaries on the Qur'an. Indeed, in a strong upset to the conservative conceptualization of *tafsīr* by some academics, it seems that Ottoman scholars dedicated more attention to several of the glosses of al-Zamakhshari's *al-Kashshāf* than to major tradition-based works such as the commentaries of Ibn Jarir al-Tabarī (d. 923) and Ibn Kathīr (d. 1373). Furthermore, the library's holdings suggest that Sufi exegesis had a powerful appeal among Ottoman scholars. In particular, it appears that the early sixteenth-century Ottoman elite generally cherished the ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240) and his prolific disciples and followers, studying as well as writing works that applied these ideas in the field of exegesis (as will be discussed below). In addition to exploring such insights, we shall cross paths with al-Tibi again and examine his previously underappreciated contribution to Qur'anic exegesis.

THE INVENTORY OF THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY

The holdings of the imperial library represent what was preserved, purchased, produced, commissioned, taught, and read in the wider Ottoman realm at the turn of the sixteenth century. Even though these works belonged specifically to the Ottoman court, the close links between the Ottoman learned class and political elite meant that the inventory also provides a snapshot of broader Ottoman scholarly interests and activities at the time. In addition to the contents of the inventory, the structure of this document is useful in gauging how the existing literary landscape was conceptualized. While my aim is to discuss the *tafsīr* works of the library, two broad observations about the entire inventory are in order. First, apart from two short prologues (one in Turkish, one in Arabic; see Appendix IV and V at the end of this volume), the catalogue can be divided into two parts: the first part is dedicated to religious works, and the second, to “secular” and scientific texts.⁷ The precedence of religious writings signals the preferential treatment that was afforded, at least in theory, to the sacred

disciplines. Indeed, according to the Arabic prologue, what motivated Sultan Bayezid II to have this register prepared was his special regard for “the books of the religious sciences.”⁸ In a similar manner, the first part of the inventory begins with the most revered holdings, namely, manuscripts of the Qur'an, followed immediately by writings on *tafsīr* and *qirā'āt*, which are in turn followed by texts on hadith, prayers, and other subjects. Second only to scripture itself, the placement of works on exegesis and Qur'anic variant readings signals their prominence among the various branches of religious learning.

Works on Exegesis and Variant Readings

Broad outline

The section on *tafsīr* and *qirā'āt* contains ninety-four titles in the former subcategory and twenty-five in the latter.⁹ While there is exactly one copy for each of the *qirā'āt* works, many works of *tafsīr* are represented by two or more copies, the inclusion of which brings the total number of *tafsīr* manuscripts to 173.¹⁰ This disparity in favor of exegetical works reflects the concerns and interests of Muslim scholarship at large, which dedicated vastly more resources to scriptural exegesis than to Qur'anic readings.¹¹ Because of the relative primacy of *tafsīr* works in our inventory and in Muslim scholarship more broadly, this paper shall focus on the exegetical holdings of the imperial library and their implications for Ottoman and Islamic intellectual life, while commenting more briefly on works of variant readings.

Exegetical holdings

The inventory of *tafsīr* books can be divided into two parts of almost exactly the same length. The first half, encompassing eighty-six manuscripts, is dominated by only three commentaries:

Fakhr al-Din al-Razi's (d. 1209) enormous *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* (Keys to the Unseen), also known as *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr* (The Grand Commentary);

Al-Zamakhshari's (d. 1144) *al-Kashshāf*, along with several of its commentaries, glosses, and superglosses;

Nasir al-Din al-Baydawi's (d. ca. 1300) *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl* (Lights of Revelation and Secrets of Interpretation), together with a number of glosses.

The prominence of the works of these three authors is consistent with what we know from other sources about Ottoman exegetical interests.¹² The second half of the *tafsīr* subsection has a more complex structure. The beginning contains a number of Sufi commentaries—such as Rashid al-Din al-Maybudi's (d. after 1126) *Kashf al-asrār wa-'uddat al-abrār* (Unveiling of Secrets and Provision for the Righteous)—while exegetical treatises dominate the latter two-thirds. Unlike conventional commentaries that interpret the Qur'an from beginning to end, these treatises focus on a specific subset of the text (sometimes one sura or even a single verse) or discuss a particular set of exegetical questions. In addition to Sufi *tafsīr* and various treatises, the second half of the catalogue is interspersed with some ten commentaries that appear in no strict chronological or thematic order. In particular, some of the oldest *tafsīr* holdings of the collection, such as Abu Bakr al-Maturidi's (d. ca. 944) *Ta'wīlāt ahl al-sunna* (Interpretations of the Adherents of Sunna), belong to this group. The relatively insignificant position of these early works in the catalogue suggests that, unlike modern academics, Ottoman scholars were not particularly fascinated with the earliest phase of the *tafsīr* tradition.

The exegetical works listed in the second half of the *tafsīr* section exhibit the breadth and diversity of Ottoman scholarly interests in the field of exegesis. However, in addition to being arranged rather haphazardly, most of these titles are represented by one copy, or a small number of copies. The contrasts in structure and frequency between the two halves of the *tafsīr* section suggest that the works listed in the first portion were of greater import to Ottoman scholarship. As such, the contents and structure of the first half of the *tafsīr* section deserve special attention. After a detailed examination of the first half, I shall examine the commentaries listed in the second half and make a number of observations about the listed exegetical treatises.

The first half: *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*

The list of *tafsīr* works begins with the commentary of Fakhr al-Din al-Razi and proceeds to the works of al-Zamakhshari and al-Baydawi. One can think of at least two reasons why the cataloguer ignored chronological order by placing al-Razi's (d. 1209) *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* be-

fore al-Zamakhshari's (d. 1144) *al-Kashshāf*. First, the decision might reflect unease with the Mu'tazili leanings of *al-Kashshāf*. Specifically, al-Zamakhshari considered the Qur'an to have been created in time (*ḥādith*), and in fact attempted to demonstrate this theory in the very first lines of *al-Kashshāf*.¹³ Because this idea was anathema to the theological commitments of the Sunni Ottomans, opening the *tafsīr* section with *al-Kashshāf* might have been taken as a slight to orthodox confessional sensibilities.

Second, the placing of *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* at the beginning likely signifies the particular esteem it enjoyed among Ottoman scholars. There was little doubt concerning al-Zamakhshari's brilliance: he was widely recognized for his exceptional mastery of the Arabic language, his penetrating intellect, and his incisive and cogent expositions. But al-Razi had swum much farther and deeper than al-Zamakhshari into the Qur'anic ocean, showing the inexhaustible and all-encompassing character of revelation. In writing *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, al-Razi had planted a massive exegetical tree that bore abundant philological, historical, legal, theological, and philosophical fruit.¹⁴ Thus, notwithstanding his debt to al-Zamakhshari, the commentary of "the pride of religion" (Fakhr al-Din) was much more capacious than that of "the pride of Khwarazm" (Fakhr Khwārazm).¹⁵ Al-Razi had produced a virtual *summa* of Islamic thought and the consummate landmark of classical exegesis, so it was only fitting that his *Grand Commentary* should inaugurate the imperial library's *tafsīr* section.

The first half: *Al-Kashshāf*

For all the symbolic prominence of *The Grand Commentary*, it was al-Zamakhshari's *al-Kashshāf* that directly and indirectly dominated the exegetical assets of the imperial library. The hegemony of *al-Kashshāf* is most conspicuous in the first half of the *tafsīr* section. While there are only seven copies of al-Razi's commentary,¹⁶ *al-Kashshāf* is represented by thirteen copies,¹⁷ its glosses and commentaries taking up an additional thirty-six of the manuscripts.¹⁸ There are also eighteen copies of al-Baydawi's *Anwār al-tanzīl*,¹⁹ followed by nine manuscripts containing its glosses and commentaries.²⁰ However, rather than threatening *al-Kashshāf*'s influence, the proliferation of *Anwār al-tanzīl* is a testament to the

enduring success of *al-Kashshāf*. This is because much of al-Baydawi's exegetical discussions are recapitulations, rewordings, and clarifications of al-Zamakhshari's interpretations in abridged form.²¹ Even though al-Baydawi does not acknowledge this fact in his commentary, scholars of *tafsīr* were fully aware of his debt to al-Zamakhshari. In the introduction to his gloss on *Anwār al-tanzīl*, the late-Mamluk scholar Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti (d. 1505) opens his praise of this work by dubbing it "the most preeminent of [*al-Kashshāf*'s] abridgements" (*sayyid al-mukhtaṣarāt minhu*).²²

The prominence accorded to *al-Kashshāf* reflects its status as the most widely studied Qur'an commentary at the time. Interest in *al-Kashshāf* had been strong since at least the late thirteenth century,²³ and had reached new heights in the fourteenth century.²⁴ By the fifteenth century, the work was a must-read for scholars of *tafsīr* and a primary textbook in private circles and madrasas across the Islamic world,²⁵ a status it retained long thereafter.²⁶ *Al-Kashshāf* had become so integral to the study of *tafsīr* that, even after the Safavid conquest of Iran and mass conversions to Twelver Shi'ism, Iranian scholars continued using al-Zamakhshari's commentary as an essential textbook.²⁷ In the Ottoman context, a measure of the popularity of *al-Kashshāf* around the time of our inventory's preparation can be gleaned from Taşköprüzade's (d. 1561) famous biographical dictionary of Ottoman scholars. It was worthy of mention if a scholar had written *al-Kashshāf* with his own hands.²⁸ Some scholars memorized the work,²⁹ while many wrote annotations on it, or, more frequently, annotations on some of its famous glosses.³⁰ Studying al-Zamakhshari's commentary represented an important milestone in the journey to scholarly perfection.³¹

The inventory of the imperial library not only confirms the importance of *al-Kashshāf* but is also helpful in probing the specific ways in which Ottoman scholars engaged with the work at the turn of the sixteenth century. Because of *al-Kashshāf*'s outsized role in the field of exegesis, it is worth discussing the specifics of this scholarly engagement in some detail. Similar to the *tafsīr* section as a whole, the list of texts pertaining to *al-Kashshāf* begins with many copies of three well-known glosses and concludes with a number of treatises. The first of these glosses, represented in five copies, is

Kashf al-Kashshāf (Unveiling *al-Kashshāf*), written by Siraj al-Din 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Bihbahani al-Farisi (d. 1344). Al-Farisi was not a particularly famous scholar, but his *Kashf al-Kashshāf* was an instant hit, apparently becoming a madrasa textbook soon after its composition, at least in his native province of Fars.³² It was evidently studied by the crown jewel of the Persian poetic tradition, Hafiz of Shiraz (d. ca. 1390), who refers to *Kashf al-Kashshāf* twice in his lyric poems.³³ The other two glosses on *al-Kashshāf* were penned by scholars of much wider renown than al-Farisi. The library catalogue lists six copies of Sa'd al-Din al-Taftazani's (d. 1390) gloss and ten copies of al-Sayyid al-Sharif al-Jurjani's (1413). The latter's annotations are more extensive than al-Taftazani's, whose discussions are in turn more thorough than al-Farisi's. However, the three works are of comparable length because of their progressively shrinking coverage. Al-Farisi discusses the entirety of *al-Kashshāf*; al-Taftazani covers the first ten suras, as well as suras *Ṣād* [38] to *al-Fath* [48];³⁴ while al-Jurjani stops at the twenty-fifth verse of sura *al-Baqara* [2].³⁵

The library's holdings on *al-Kashshāf* are thus dominated by works produced in a seven-decade span, namely from 1342 (when *Kashf al-Kashshāf* was composed) to 1413 (the terminus ante quem for al-Jurjani's gloss). However, the library also owned a partial copy of the earlier work of al-Husayn b. 'Abdallah al-Tibi (d. 1342), whose dream of the Prophet was previously mentioned.³⁶ In spite of, or perhaps because of, its enormous length, al-Tibi's *Futūḥ al-ghayb* was well-known and highly valued in learned circles. To begin with, *Futūḥ al-ghayb* was an important source for the glosses of al-Farisi, al-Taftazani, and al-Jurjani.³⁷ Moreover, it is the only work on *al-Kashshāf* to be mentioned by Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406), who happily reports that al-Tibi skillfully counters al-Zamakhshari's Mu'tazili interpretations.³⁸ Writing shortly before the compilation of the imperial library's inventory, the Egyptian scholar al-Suyuti describes *Futūḥ al-ghayb* as the "most eminent" (*ajall*) of *al-Kashshāf*'s glosses.³⁹ In the Ottoman context, a *firmān* of Sultan Süleyman issued in 1565 enshrined al-Tibi's work as an integral part of the curriculum of advanced imperial madrasas.⁴⁰

In addition to these earlier works, the library contained two glosses on *al-Kashshāf* by more recent Otto-

man scholars, namely, Molla Muhyi al-Din Khatibzade (Hatibzade) (d. 1495) and Molla 'Abd al-Karim (d. ca. 1494–95).⁴¹ The inventory lists several other writings on *al-Kashshāf*. Some are simply described as "Gloss on *al-Kashshāf*," which is impossible to identify, and in fact might represent copies of the works we have already mentioned.⁴² Finally, three manuscripts seem to have dealt with the glosses of *al-Kashshāf*, a literary genre necessitated by the confusing proliferation of works on this commentary.⁴³ Unfortunately, the available bibliographical sources do not allow us to identify any of these writings.

A noteworthy feature of the library's earlier holdings on *al-Kashshāf* is that none were composed in the Islamic West. Walid Saleh has identified an eastern ("Persianate") zone and a western ("Egyptian") zone for the reception of *al-Kashshāf*, at least as presented by al-Suyuti at the end of the fifteenth century.⁴⁴ Using this bifurcation, it is clear that the imperial library's four earlier glosses on *al-Kashshāf* all originated in the eastern sphere. The multiple copies of *Kashf al-Kashshāf*, a work that emerged and circulated in "deep Persia" (Fars) and was apparently unknown to al-Suyuti, indicate that Ottoman scholarship at the time was intimately connected with the Persianate intellectual complex. Conversely, the library had no copies of the famous Egyptian glosses of *al-Kashshāf*—such as the works of Ibn al-Munayyir (d. 1284), Ibn Bint al-'Iraqi (d. 1304), and al-Samin al-Halabi, which further corroborates the eastern affiliation of Ottoman exegetical scholarship.⁴⁵ Of course, there was some interaction between the two zones, as is evident in al-Tibi's repeated quotations from and engagements with the glosses of Ibn al-Munayyir and Ibn Bint al-'Iraqi.⁴⁶ However, it is still telling that this Egyptian influence was apparently mediated to the Ottoman realm through works composed in the East, even though many Ottoman scholars were educated in Mamluk Egypt. The same reliance on eastern works is evident in the *firmān* of Sultan Süleyman, according to which advanced imperial madrasas had to use four glosses of *al-Kashshāf*, all of them composed by Persian(ate) scholars (Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi [d. 1311], al-Tibi, al-Taftazani, and al-Jarbardī [d. 1345–46]).⁴⁷

The catalogue's list of works on *al-Kashshāf* shows that Ottoman scholars approached this classical text

through a number of earlier post-classical writings. Among those who produced authoritative glosses on the earlier classics, al-Taftazani and al-Jurjani have a unique position. Like their patron, Timur (d. 1405), who conquered much of the Islamic world (including parts of the earlier Ottoman empire), al-Taftazani and al-Jurjani came to dominate the Islamic intellectual landscape, especially in the vast region that Shahab Ahmed has named “the Balkans-to-Bengal complex.”⁴⁸ These versatile scholars were expositors par excellence, writing masterful glosses and commentaries on classics from a variety of disciplines. Apart from his celebrated commentary on the creed (*‘aqīda*) of Najm al-Din al-Nasafi (d. 1142), al-Taftazani wrote on foundational texts of logic, jurisprudence, rhetoric, exegesis, and a few other subjects.⁴⁹ Al-Jurjani, a younger contemporary of al-Taftazani’s, was similarly a polymath and wrote on an even broader set of subjects, in some cases responding to and critiquing the works of al-Taftazani.⁵⁰ Owing to a combination of the brilliance and learning of the authors and favorable historical circumstances, the writings of al-Taftazani and al-Jurjani became integral parts of madrasa curricula throughout the Islamic world down to the modern period.⁵¹

Al-Taftazani and al-Jurjani were thus the twin gates to the world of the classics, the bridges that connected the ancients (*mutaqaddimūn*) to the moderns (*muta’akhhirūn*).⁵² However, their writings are not mere echo chambers for the discussions of earlier scholars. Both men had powerful analytical interests, often advancing the discussions of the classics in original ways.⁵³ Thanks to the popularity of their writings and the influence of their students and descendants, many of the issues that they raised became directions for future debate and research. Subsequent generations of scholars carried out such research by writing annotations on the glosses of al-Taftazani and al-Jurjani.⁵⁴ From biographical sources and extant manuscripts, we know of several Ottoman scholars who wrote on the glosses of al-Taftazani and al-Jurjani.⁵⁵ Indeed, both of the inventory’s identifiably Ottoman works on *al-Kashshāf* seem to be annotations on al-Jurjani’s gloss rather than firsthand commentaries on *al-Kashshāf*.⁵⁶ The analytical, if incomplete, glosses of al-Taftazani and al-Jurjani are thus fundamentally different from the

other popular work listed in the catalogue, al-Farisi’s *Kashf al-Kashshāf*, which covers the entire Qur’an and is primarily an expository text (and therefore did not generate annotations of its own).

The list of works on *al-Kashshāf* depicts Ottoman scholars as the third generation (*ṭabaqa*) of the exegetical tradition, contributing to Qur’anic scholarship through engagement with the glosses of *al-Kashshāf*. A similar picture emerges from a few other segments of the catalogue, which also feature the works of al-Taftazani and al-Jurjani. For instance, the section on legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) begins with a classic, ‘Ubaydallah b. Mas‘ūd al-Bukhari’s (d. after 1346) *al-Tawḍīḥ fī ḥall ghawāmiḍ al-Tanqīḥ* (Exposition in Solving the Difficulties of *al-Tanqīḥ*). The cataloguer then lists copies of a commentary on *al-Tawḍīḥ* by al-Taftazani, titled *al-Taṭwīḥ fī sharḥ al-Tawḍīḥ* (Illumination: Commentary on *al-Tawḍīḥ*) before mentioning a number of annotations on this commentary, including some by Ottoman scholars.⁵⁷ In the theology section, we encounter *al-Mawāqif* (Stations), a classic by ‘Adud al-Din al-Ijī (d. 1355). The inventory then lists copies of al-Jurjani’s commentary on *al-Mawāqif*, followed by annotations on this commentary, at least six of which were written by Ottoman scholars.⁵⁸ In some cases the literary cascade is even longer. One of the most widely-read classics of legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) was Ibn al-Hajib’s (d. 1249) *al-Mukhtaṣar* (The Abridgement), based on a more extensive work by the same author.⁵⁹ The catalogue lists *al-Mukhtaṣar*, its commentary by al-Ijī, the glosses of al-Taftazani and al-Jurjani on al-Ijī’s commentary, and finally a number of annotations on these two glosses, including at least two by Ottoman scholars.⁶⁰ The literary hierarchy embedded in the catalogue thus not only highlights the importance of classics but presents al-Taftazani and al-Jurjani as pivotal expositors, masters, and mediators of the classical tradition. The influence of these two giants is also evident in the hierarchy of Ottoman madrasas, some grades of which were named after works of al-Taftazani and al-Jurjani that were foci of study at those grades.⁶¹

The first half: *Anwār al-tanzīl*

If *al-Kashshāf* may be regarded as the sun of the exegetical sky, then *Anwār* was its moon, albeit one that would

come to eclipse its source in time. In the fifteenth century, *Anwār* became the subject of intense scholarly attention and spawned annotations and commentaries of its own.⁶² The inventory of the imperial library, which lists eighteen copies of *Anwār* as well as several of its glosses, testifies to this work's currency in the early sixteenth century. (The very compiler of this document, 'Atufi, wrote glosses on both *al-Kashshāf* and *Anwār*.)⁶³ Indeed, the sixteenth century witnessed "an explosion of glosses and super-commentaries on *Anwār al-tanzīl*" by Ottoman scholars.⁶⁴ While *al-Kashshāf* remained a cornerstone of studying and writing *tafsīr* in Ottoman domains, "al-Baydāwī's *tafsīr* came, by the eighteenth century, to outstrip that of al-Zamakhsharī in circulation and standing."⁶⁵ *Anwār*'s precipitous rise to prominence was likely aided by its concision and conformity with Sunni orthodoxy.⁶⁶

Although the inventory presents *Anwār* as approaching *al-Kashshāf* in significance, the make-up of the listed works on *al-Kashshāf* is radically different from that of glosses on *Anwār*. Not only are there fewer texts on the latter, but also all of its identifiable glosses are penned by Ottoman scholars. In fact, two of the listed works are dedicated to Bayezid II, their authors being Muhammad b. Mustafa b. al-Hajj Hasan ("Hajji Hasan-zade," d. 1505) and Idris al-Bidlisi (d. 1520).⁶⁷ The library contained a third gloss by another Ottoman scholar, namely, Yusuf b. Junayd al-Toqati ("Akhi Çelebi," d. ca. 1496). Finally, the inventory lists a gloss on al-Baydāwī's comments on the second and third suras, which was also likely composed in the Ottoman realm.⁶⁸ Three additional manuscripts are described simply as "Gloss on the Commentary of al-Qadi [al-Baydāwī],"⁶⁹ but it is not clear if these were different from the identifiable glosses listed in the inventory.

The apparent absence of earlier glosses on *Anwār* reflects the fact that, in the first 150 years after its composition, only a handful of scholars had written annotations on the work.⁷⁰ This is perhaps a result of its late adoption as a textbook and its dependency on *al-Kashshāf*. Given that much of *Anwār* consists of abridged reworkings of *al-Kashshāf*, the latter's already available glosses could do double duty as elucidators of *Anwār* as well. However, as mentioned above, *Anwār* was gaining in prestige and popularity in the fifteenth century, and as such gave

birth to its own tradition of commentaries and glosses. This situation presented an opportunity for Ottoman scholars to escape the hegemony of post-formative glosses and engage directly with a classic in the making.⁷¹ Although they could hardly neglect the legacy of *al-Kashshāf*,⁷² *Anwār* was a comparatively clean slate on which they could directly write their annotations. As already noted, two of the catalogue's works on *Anwār* are dedicated to Bayezid II, which suggests that the Ottoman court was interested in the burgeoning industry of *Anwār* marginalia.⁷³ Judging by the number of extant works on *Anwār* from the Ottoman realm, we can safely assume that courtly patronage of such glosses continued beyond Bayezid II. This direct engagement with the classical tradition reflects the increasing self-confidence of Ottoman scholars, whose academic standing in turn reflects the growing might and means of the Ottoman empire. One of the results of direct Ottoman engagement with *Anwār* is apparent in the aforementioned *firmān* of Sultan Süleyman, which stipulates a list of *tafsīr* works to be used in imperial madrasas. This list includes *al-Kashshāf* together with four of its glosses, all of which are written by scholars from the Islamic East. However, for *Anwār* the *firmān* mentions only one gloss, this time from an Anatolian scholar, Hamza b. Mahmud al-Qaramani (d. 1468).⁷⁴ This imperial edict, issued almost half a century after the compilation of 'Atufi's inventory, shows that Ottoman scholars had managed to make a name for themselves in the highly prolific and competitive enterprise of glossing.

The second half: Sufi *tafsīr*

The second half of the *tafsīr* section appears to be less organized than the first. It is therefore more convenient to address its holdings thematically. The strong presence of Sufi works is one of the conspicuous features of this second half. Specifically, the imperial library had at least four complete Sufi *tafsīrs* and two commentaries on sura *al-Fātiha*:

Laṭā'if al-ishārāt (Subtleties of Allusions), by Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri (d. 1072), in one copy (no. 142);⁷⁵

Kashf al-asrār wa-'uddat al-abrār (Unveiling of Secrets and Provision for the Righteous), by Rashid al-Din al-Maybudi (d. after 1126), in three copies (nos. 92–94);

Al-Ta'wīlāt al-Najmīyya (Najmid Interpretations), attributed to Najm al-Dīn al-Kubra (d. 1221), in one copy (no. 171); *Kitāb fī asrār al-Fātiḥa* (On the Secrets of *al-Fātiḥa*), by Sadr al-Dīn al-Qunawi (d. 1274), in three copies (nos. 163–65);

Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān (Interpretations of the Qur'an), by 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Kashani (d. ca. 1329), in four copies (nos. 91, 100, 115, and 170);

Ayn al-a'yān (The Noblest of Nobles), a commentary on *al-Fātiḥa* by Shams al-Dīn al-Fanari (d. 1431), in two copies (nos. 128, 173).

In addition to these works, the library contained Abu Hamid al-Ghazali's (d. 1111) *Jawāhir al-Qur'ān wa-durruhu* (The Jewels and Pearls of the Qur'an), which is not so much an exegesis of the Qur'anic text as the deduction of specific lessons from certain passages. Finally, judging from their descriptions, a number of other, unidentified works in the library may also have been written from a Sufi perspective.⁷⁶

This remarkable collection of Sufi exegetical writings suggests that, notwithstanding objections from certain quarters, Ottoman elites generally valued Sufi modes of engagement with scripture. The six Sufi commentaries listed above are major works written by eminent Sufi masters, which may explain their inclusion in the palace library. The earliest exegete in the list above, al-Qushayri, was a learned scholar who played a crucial role in synthesizing and reorienting the intellectual legacy of earlier Sufi masters.⁷⁷ In his famed *al-Risāla* (The Treatise), which is one of the most widely read handbooks on Sufi terminology and lore, al-Qushayri sought to legitimize Sufism as a distinct yet decidedly law-abiding discourse and way of life.⁷⁸ In a similar vein, his commentary *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt* presents Sufi interpretation as supplementing, not subverting, conventional exegesis.⁷⁹ Perhaps owing to al-Qushayri's erudition and balanced approach, his *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt* left a deep impression on many later Sufi *tafsīrs*, including the two commentaries that follow it on the list above.⁸⁰ The first of these commentaries, al-Maybudi's *Kashf al-asrār*, is "possibly the earliest extant example of a complete Persian Qur'ān commentary with a substantial mystical content."⁸¹ In this voluminous Sufi *tafsīr*, al-Maybudi combines a broad spectrum of exoteric and esoteric interpretive approaches, from a defense of Hanbali traditionalism to a delineation of love mysticism.⁸² The third commentary

on the list also has an eminent pedigree, as it is ascribed to the eponymous founder of the Kubrawi order, Najm al-Dīn al-Kubra (d. 1221).⁸³ Being the only *tafsīr* written by a Kubrawi scholar,⁸⁴ this commentary combines exoteric and esoteric exegesis and appears to have been quite popular in Central Asia, Iran, and Anatolia.⁸⁵

The next three commentaries on the list represent a later Sufi discourse dominated by the ideas of Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 1240), the prolific and consequential mystic known among his followers as *al-shaykh al-akbar* (The Great Master). In the Saljuq era, Anatolia had served as the crucible for the development of a particular formulation of Ibn al-'Arabi's thought that eventually spread far and wide across the Islamic world. The primary force behind this development was Sadr al-Dīn al-Qunawi, the stepson and foremost disciple of Ibn al-'Arabi and the author of the first post-Akbarian commentary on our list. Active in the Anatolian city of Konya (as his *nisba* suggests), al-Qunawi was a philosophically minded systematizer who left an indelible mark on the way in which later Sufis approached the Great Master's legacy.⁸⁶ Al-Qunawi's commentary on *al-Fātiḥa* is his "longest and perhaps most important work."⁸⁷ In the Ottoman realm, he was particularly revered by Sultan Mehmed II, who commissioned four works on al-Qunawi's *Miftāḥ al-ghayb* and a commentary on his *al-Nuṣūṣ*.⁸⁸ The author of the next work on our list,⁸⁹ 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Kashani, was "[a]rguably the most important scholarly figure for the transfer of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's legacy, and thus that of Ibn 'Arabī, from Saljūqīd into Ottoman times."⁹⁰ Al-Kashani himself played a crucial role in the further development of al-Qunawi's theoretically sophisticated approach to the writings and ideas of Ibn al-'Arabi.⁹¹ Al-Kashani's exegetical method in *Ta'wīlāt* consists mainly of "the *application* to the Koran of a coherent metaphysical system" that draws heavily on the works of Ibn al-'Arabi.⁹² It is a sign of the prestige accorded to *Ta'wīlāt* that it was often attributed to Ibn al-'Arabi himself.⁹³ Thanks in large part to the efforts of al-Qunawi and al-Kashani, their approach became the predominant mode of engagement with Ibn al-'Arabi's legacy in the Balkans-to-Bengal complex.⁹⁴ The last commentary from our list, al-Fanari's exegesis of *al-Fātiḥa*, is a key witness to the vitality of this intellectual tradition in Ottoman Anatolia

Table 1

Author	Title	Copies
al-Maturidi (d. 944)	<i>Ta'wīlāt ahl al-sunna</i>	2 (nos. 118–19)
Abu al-Layth al-Samarqandi (d. ca. 983)	<i>Tafsīr al-Qur'ān</i>	1 (no. 121)
al-Wahidi (d. 1076)	<i>al-Wajīz</i>	2 (nos. 96–97)
al-Baghawi (d. 1122)	<i>Ma'ālim al-tanzīl</i>	2 (nos. 60–61)
Najm al-Din al-Nasafi (d. 1142)	<i>al-Taysīr</i>	4 (nos. 89–90, 98–99)
al-'Ukbari (d. 1219)	<i>al-Tibyān fī i'rāb al-Qur'ān</i>	1 (no. 150)
al-Qurtubi (d. 1272)	<i>al-Jāmi' li-ahkām al-Qur'ān</i>	2 (nos. 58–59)
al-Kawashi (d. 1281)	<i>Tabṣīrat al-mutadhakkir</i>	3 (nos. 110–12)
Hafiz al-Din al-Nasafi (d. 1310)	<i>Madārik al-tanzīl</i>	3 (nos. 105–7)
Abu al-Thana' al-Isfahani (d. 1349)	<i>Anwār al-ḥaqā'iq</i>	1 (no. 141)
al-Siwasi (d. 1455)	<i>Uyūn al-tafsīr</i>	2 (nos. 113–14)
al-Gurani (d. 1488)	<i>Ghāyat al-āmānī</i>	2 (nos. 108–9)

and Rumelia. Al-Fanari, who was a highly accomplished scholar and often considered the first Grand Mufti of the Ottoman empire, belonged to the same school of Akbarian thought as al-Qunawi and al-Kashani.⁹⁵ Al-Fanari's commentary on *al-Fātiḥa* bears ample witness to his attachment to this intellectual lineage.⁹⁶ Moreover, al-Fanari and his influential students and descendants played an important role in the preservation and consolidation of this school of thought in the Ottoman empire.⁹⁷ Partly as a result of their efforts, Ibn al-'Arabi came to be "regarded as the patron saint of the [Ottoman] Empire."⁹⁸ Thus, the holdings of the imperial library suggest that the Ottoman establishment viewed Sufi exegesis in general, and Akbarian Sufism (i.e., the school of Ibn al-'Arabi known as Shaykh al-Akbar, the greatest shaykh) in particular, as legitimate and valuable approaches to the study of scripture. To be sure, some scholars challenged and criticized the dominance of Ibn al-'Arabi's school of thought, a discourse that came to the fore after the Ottoman conquest of Mamluk Arab lands.⁹⁹ However, the influence of Ibn al-'Arabi's thought persisted long after the conquests of Sultan Selim I (r. 1512–20). A sign of this persistence is the fact that his son, Sultan Süleyman, decreed al-Kashani's *Ta'wīlāt* to be incorporated as an essential ingredient, and indeed as the only Sufi commentary, in the curriculum of imperial madrasas of the highest level.¹⁰⁰ In so doing, this sultan promoted a vision of Islamic learning in

which the ideas of Ibn al-'Arabi were not only acceptable but indispensable for a full comprehension of the divine Word.¹⁰¹

The second half: Remaining commentaries

Apart from Sufi commentaries and the works of al-Zamakhshari, al-Razi, and al-Baydawi, the palace library contained twelve full Qur'an commentaries, which are listed in the chronologically sorted table 1.

A key feature of this list is the prominence of authors from the Islamic Far East, namely, Transoxiana. Being a bastion of Hanafism and the birthplace of Maturidism, Transoxiana exported many of its intellectual products westward to Anatolia and Rumelia, where Hanafi Maturidi Turkic tribes had settled after emigrating from Central Asia.¹⁰² The author of the earliest Qur'an commentary in the imperial library is none other than Abu Mansur al-Maturidi, whose *nisba* was retrospectively conferred on the school of theology that had emerged within the ranks of Samarqand's Hanafi scholars.¹⁰³ The library contained two partial copies of al-Maturidi's massive *Ta'wīlāt ahl al-sunna* (Interpretations of the Adherents of Sunna), along with a partial copy of the commentary on *Ta'wīlāt* by 'Ala' al-Din al-Samarqandi (d. ca. 1145), another Hanafi Maturidi scholar from Transoxiana.¹⁰⁴ The second-earliest Qur'an commentary in the library was written by Abu al-Layth al-Samarqandi (d. ca. 983), a prominent Hanafi jurist with traditionalist

leanings¹⁰⁵ and a highly revered figure in Anatolia-Rumelia.¹⁰⁶ Al-Samarqandi's commentary appears to have been quite popular in the fifteenth century, when it was translated into Turkish a number of times.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, al-Samarqandi's *tafsīr* is the main source for the imperial library's only Turkish commentary, *Jawāhir al-aṣḍāf* (Pearls within Shells), a work commissioned by the Jandarid ruler Isfendiyar Bey (d. 1439–40) in the early fifteenth century.¹⁰⁸ In addition to the works of al-Maturidi and al-Samarqandi, the inventory refers to four manuscripts titled *al-Taysīr fī al-tafsīr*, which is probably the commentary of Najm al-Din 'Umar al-Nasafi, the eponymous author of the celebrated creed known as *'Aqīdat al-Nasafiyya*. Najm al-Din's *al-Taysīr* was also among the twelve *tafsīr* works that Sultan Süleyman stipulated should be used in advanced imperial madrasas.¹⁰⁹ The last Transoxianan scholar from the above table also hailed from the town of Nasaf. Living in the post-*Kashshāf* era, Hafiz al-Din al-Nasafi wrote *Madārik al-tanzīl* by drawing heavily from *al-Kashshāf* and *Anwār al-tanzīl* as well as al-Maturidi's *Ta'wīlāt* and its commentary by 'Ala' al-Din al-Samarqandi.¹¹⁰ Both al-Nasafis were, needless to say, Hanafi Maturidi scholars. Incidentally, al-Zamakhshari was also a Hanafi scholar from the eastern region of Khwarazm, a fact that may have reinforced his popularity in the Ottoman realm.

Three other scholars on the list came from eastern and central Iran. *Al-Wajīz* was authored by al-Wahidi, a Shafi'i Ash'ari scholar from the city of Nishapur, who studied there under the famed commentator Abu Ishaq al-Tha'labi (d. 1035). The smallest of al-Wahidi's three works, *al-Wajīz*, represents a genre that may be called "pocket commentaries," i.e., texts that provide only the most essential explanatory information on the Qur'an and can therefore fit in a small volume. According to Walid Saleh, *al-Wajīz* "held sway for more than six centuries as the most accessible short commentary on the Qur'an, until the appearance of *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* in the 10th/16th century, which was itself based on *al-Wajīz*."¹¹¹ The imperial library also contained a Persian translation of *al-Wajīz*, a fact that suggests *al-Wajīz* was of interest to a non-scholarly audience without a deep knowledge of classical Arabic. Another commentary on the list, *Ma'ālim al-tanzīl*, was produced by al-Baghawi, also a Shafi'i Ash'ari scholar from Khurasan. Al-Baghawi's

Ma'ālim is primarily a work of tradition-based exegesis, for whose traditions he is largely dependent on al-Tha'labi's *al-Kashf wa-l-bayān*.¹¹² Another Shafi'i Ash'ari author, Abu al-Thana' al-Isfahani, came from the central Iranian city of Isfahan, where he lived most of his life, although he spent his last twenty-four years in Damascus and Cairo.¹¹³ (Incidentally, one of al-Isfahani's students in Cairo was Akmal al-Din al-Babarti,¹¹⁴ who later taught the Ottoman al-Fanari during his stay in Cairo.)¹¹⁵ In his commentary, al-Isfahani draws heavily on *al-Kashshāf* and *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*.¹¹⁶ His commentary is also included in the aforementioned edict of Sultan Süleyman.¹¹⁷

The list also features two Iraqi scholars. The first is al-'Ukbārī, a Hanbali scholar who resided in Baghdad and was famous for his grammatical works, including his *al-Tibyān fī i'rāb al-Qur'ān*. The second Iraqi scholar is Muwaffaq al-Din al-Kawashi, an ascetic who spent most of his life in Mosul.¹¹⁸ Al-Kawashi wrote two commentaries, and it is not clear which one was owned by the palace library. His first commentary is titled *Tabṣīrat al-mutadhakkir wa-tadhkirat al-mutabaṣṣir fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (Elucidation for the Mindful and Reminder for the Watchful: Exegesis of the Qur'an). Based on this extensive commentary, otherwise known as *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr* (The Great Commentary), al-Kawashi wrote a smaller *tafsīr*, which is known as *al-Tafsīr al-ṣaḡīr* (The Short Commentary) or *al-Talkhīṣ fī al-tafsīr* (Abridgment: On Exegesis). Because the library contained three copies of "al-Kawashi's *tafsīr*," perhaps this work can be identified as The Short Commentary. If so, then this work may have been a rival of al-Wahidi's *al-Wajīz* in the class of pocket commentaries. The popularity of The Short Commentary is confirmed by the fact that it was used by Jalal al-Din al-Mahalli (d. 1459) and subsequently by Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti for writing the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, a concise *tafsīr* that came to replace the works of Kawashi and al-Wahidi as the main pocket commentary.¹¹⁹

Of all the Qur'an commentaries in the inventory, only one was authored by a scholar from the Arab lands to the west of Iraq. The scholar in question is Abu 'Abdallah al-Qurtubi (d. 1272), a Maliki jurist from Cordoba who traveled eastward and settled in Egypt. Al-Qurtubi's *tafsīr* is unique among the holdings of the library for its

focus on the legal implications of Qur'anic verses. In his commentary, al-Qurtubi utilizes previous works from the genre of legal exegesis, such as those of the Hanafi Abu Bakr al-Jassas (d. 981) and the Maliki Abu Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabi (d. 1148).¹²⁰ In examining the legal implications of the Qur'anic text, al-Qurtubi addresses diverse textual issues (from variant readings to lexicographical and grammatical analysis) and also occasionally forays into theological and historical discussions.¹²¹ Despite being a Maliki, al-Qurtubi discusses the rulings of other schools evenhandedly, and exhibits his commitment to fair analysis by occasional departures from his own school's opinions.¹²² Al-Qurtubi's commentary was also part of the curriculum of advanced imperial madrasas promulgated by Sultan Süleyman.¹²³

The final two commentaries from the list above were written in Anatolia. The author of the first, Shihab al-Din al-Siwasi, was a Maturidi Hanafi scholar from the city of Sivas who permanently relocated to the city of Selçuk in western Anatolia after joining the Zayniyya Sufi order (*ṭarīqa*).¹²⁴ In addition to composing works on Sufism, al-Siwasi produced a Qur'an commentary titled *ʿUyūn al-tafāsīr li-l-fuḍalā' al-samāsīr* (Finest Interpretations for the Benefit of Astute Scholars). As he makes clear in the introduction, *ʿUyūn al-tafāsīr* is aimed at helping non-specialists in exegesis gain convenient access to the interpretations of an array of influential commentators. In other words, it was conceived as a "madrasa commentary,"¹²⁵ meant to be taught as a *tafsīr* textbook to students. The chief sources of *ʿUyūn al-tafāsīr* are the commentaries of al-Baghawi, Abu al-Layth al-Samarqandi, and al-Zamakhshari; but al-Siwasi also used al-Wahidi's *al-Wajīz*, al-Qurtubi's *al-Jāmiʿ*, and al-Baydawi's *Anwār al-Tanzīl*. *ʿUyūn al-tafāsīr* appears to have enjoyed some popularity, as evidenced by its inclusion in the imperial library as well as its utilization by two prominent Ottoman commentators, the Grand Mufti Abu al-Suʿud Efendi (Ebussuud, d. 1574) and Ismaʿil Haqqi al-Brusawi (Ismail Hakkı Bursevi, d. 1725).

The last commentary on the list belongs to Ahmad b. Ismaʿil al-Gurani (Molla Gürani), the Grand Mufti of the Ottoman empire from 1481 to 1488, that is, early in the reign of Bayezid II.¹²⁶ Al-Gurani was from northern Iraq and spent the first three decades of his life in Iraq, Syria, and Egypt. It was during this time that he studied *al-*

Kashshāf and attended the company of the Cairene Mamluk scholar Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalani.¹²⁷ Originally a Shafiʿite, al-Gurani settled in Anatolia in 1441 and, sometime thereafter, adopted Hanafism.¹²⁸ He finished his Qur'an commentary, titled *Ghāyat al-amānī fī tafsīr al-kalām al-rabbānī* (The Ultimate Aim of Aspirations: Exegesis of Divine Speech), in 1463 and dedicated it to his royal student, Sultan Mehmed II.¹²⁹ According to Taşköprüzade, al-Gurani frequently criticizes al-Zamakhshari and al-Baydawi in his discussions.¹³⁰ While al-Gurani occasionally refers to early exegetical opinions or quotes hadith pertaining to circumstances of revelation (*asbāb al-nuzūl*), his focus is on variant readings and grammatical issues. It does not seem that his commentary was particularly influential or highly regarded by later scholars, even during the later years of Mehmed II's reign.¹³¹ In time, however, Ottoman investment in *tafsīr* brought forth precious fruit in the form of the commentary of the aforementioned Abu al-Suʿud Efendi, *Şeyhülislam*, during the reign of Sultan Süleyman. Abu al-Suʿud produced one of the most influential Qur'an commentaries of the post-formative period, titled *Irshād al-ʿaql al-salīm ilā mazāyā al-Qurʾān al-karīm* (Guiding the Fair-Minded to the Benefits of the Noble Qur'an). This work became the subject of several glosses and annotations.¹³² With a proper measure of exaggeration, Hajji Khalifa (d. 1657) describes the *Irshād* as the most famous and highly regarded *tafsīr* after those of al-Zamakhshari and al-Baydawi.¹³³

Qirāʾāt holdings

Whereas the *tafsīr* section has a clear structure in its first half, the *qirāʾāt* section is generally disorganized. Therefore, the existence and number of various titles (rather than their arrangement) is our only evidence from which to infer the relative importance of specific works and authors. A survey of the *qirāʾāt* holdings shows the particular importance of two scholars: al-Shatibi (Abu al-Qasim al-Qasim b. Firruh al-Ruʿayni, d. 1194) and Ibn al-Jazari (Shams al-Din Abu al-Khayr Muhammad b. Muhammad, d. 1429). Al-Shatibi hailed from the town of Shatiba (Xàtiva) in al-Andalus, but he traveled eastward and eventually took up residence in Cairo. His seminal contribution to the field of *qirāʾāt* is a masterful poem about the seven systems of reading the Qur'an, which

were promoted as especially authoritative by Ibn Mujahid (d. 936) in his *Kitāb al-Sabʿa* (The Book of the Seven).¹³⁴ Al-Shatibi's poem, titled *Ḥirz al-amānī wa-wajh al-tahānī* (Refuge of Aspirations and Abode of Pleasures), features mnemonic devices that facilitate the task of memorizing the seven readings. As a result, this poem, which is also known as *al-Shāṭibiyya*, became the foundational text for the study of these modes of recitation throughout the Islamic world.¹³⁵ The imperial library possessed one copy of *al-Shāṭibiyya* (28 {4}), along with an abridgment (28 {7}), two commentaries (27 {6–8}, 28 {6}), a supercommentary (27 {11}), a Persian translation (27 {5}), and apparently two copies of a treatise that presents *al-Shāṭibiyya*'s data in tree graphs and tables (27 {14}, 28 {2–3}).¹³⁶ Another poem by al-Shatibi, *ʿAqīlat atrāb al-qaṣāʾid fī asnā al-maqāṣid* (The Treasured Ode among Resembling Poems: In [Pursuit of] the Loftiest of Aims), also appears in the listed works, next to one of its commentaries (27 {7–8}). This poem presents information concerning the skeletal text (*rasm*) of the Qur'an.

The imperial library thus testifies to the distinction of al-Shatibi, whose focus on the seven readers selected initially by Ibn Mujahid contributed to the establishment of their canonical status.¹³⁷ However, some scholars of *qirāʾat* were dissatisfied with this state of affairs, as they believed there were other, equally legitimate systems of reading the Qur'an. A key figure in this camp was the above-mentioned Ibn al-Jazari (d. 1429), whose influence is evident in the list of *qirāʾat* works at the imperial library. A native of Damascus, Ibn al-Jazari traveled widely in the Islamic world and, incidentally, spent a few years in Bursa, where he enjoyed the support of Bayezid I (r. 1389–1403).¹³⁸ Ibn al-Jazari played a crucial role in promoting three additional systems of reading as canonical alongside the seven readings chosen by Ibn Mujahid.¹³⁹ The inventory of the imperial library lists several works that were either penned by Ibn al-Jazari or were based on his writings. There is a copy of his *Nashr al-qirāʾat al-ʿashr* (Revival of the Ten Readings);¹⁴⁰ a commentary on his *al-Durra al-muḍīʾa fī qirāʾat al-ʿamma al-thalātha al-marḍiyya* (The Shining Pearl: The Estimable Readings of the Three Imams) (27 {12}); and a commentary (27 {16}–28 {1}) on his poem titled *Nihāyat al-barara fī mā zād ʿalā al-ʿashara* (The Farthest Point for the Pious: On That Which Is beyond the Ten

[Readings]). The inventory also lists “the poem” (*naẓm*) of Ibn al-Jazari (28 {9}), which may be the aforementioned *al-Durra al-muḍīʾa*, as well as a commentary on “the poem” of Ibn al-Jazari (27 {15–16}). Less than a century after his death, then, Ibn al-Jazari appears to have succeeded in his campaign to expand the scope of authoritative readings beyond the seven systems of Ibn Mujahid.

Alongside al-Shatibi and Ibn al-Jazari, the library inventory shows the importance of a third, more recent scholar, namely, the Ottoman Grand Mufti, Molla Gurani. Four of his writings are listed, each of which is a commentary on a previous scholar's work. In fact, three of these commentaries are directly or indirectly dependent on al-Shatibi and Ibn al-Jazari: *Kashf al-asrār ʿan qirāʾat al-ʿimma al-akhyār* (Unveiling the Secrets of the Chosen Imams' Readings) is a commentary on Ibn al-Jazari's aforementioned *Nihāyat al-barara fī mā zād ʿalā al-ʿashara*, a poem of 454 verses that discusses three readings (by Ibn Muhaysin, al-Aʿmash, and al-Hasan al-Basri) in addition to the ten systems discussed in Ibn al-Jazari's *Nashr*. Al-Gurani's *al-ʿAbqarī fī sharḥ al-Jaʿbarī* (The Marvelous [Treatise]: Commentary on al-Jaʿbarī) is an annotation on al-Jaʿbarī's *Kanz al-maʿānī* (Treasure Trove of Meanings), which is a commentary on al-Shatibi's *Ḥirz al-amānī*. Finally, the catalogue lists al-Gurani's *Lawāmiʿ al-ghurar fī sharḥ Farāʾid al-durar* (Flashes of Brightness: Commentary on “Unique Pearls”), which is a commentary on Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Sharʿabī's *Farāʾid al-durar*. This latter text is a poem of 371 verses that owes its form to *al-Shāṭibiyya* and its contents primarily to Ibn al-Jazari's *Tahbīr al-Taysīr*.¹⁴¹ That al-Gurani was especially interested in variant readings and philology is clear not only from these works but also from his commentary on the Qur'an and his early education in the Arab lands to the south of Ottoman domains.¹⁴²

This last point on geography brings us to the following observation: whereas the exegetical texts of the inventory were largely produced in the eastern, Persianate Islamic world, the works of *qirāʾat* were mostly penned by scholars from the western, Arab-speaking domains. It would be imprudent to draw sweeping conclusions based on this fact, especially given the small number of *qirāʾat* works in the library. However, the preponderance of western works in the inventory may reveal more

about *qirā'āt* scholarship in general than Ottoman preferences in particular. Specifically, it seems that from the eleventh century onwards, most of the major contributions to the study of variant readings came from scholars living in the Arab-speaking parts of the Islamic world, including al-Andalus, whence several crucial figures of this discipline (including al-Shatibi) hailed.¹⁴³

Although the sections on *tafsīr* and *qirā'āt* differ in terms of the geographic origins of their works, they are similar from a temporal perspective, insofar as neither section includes a significant number of works from the formative period of each discipline. For instance, the list of *qirā'āt* texts does not include Ibn Mujahid's (d. 936) seminal *Kitāb al-Sab'a*, which established the system of seven readings that are used to this day.¹⁴⁴ Nor do we see any of the works of Abu 'Amr al-Dani (d. 1053), the Andalusian scholar who made signal contributions to the field of *qirā'āt*. Both of the abovementioned poems of al-Shatibi are in fact versifications of al-Dani's works: *Ḥirz al-amānī* is based on *al-Taysīr fī al-qirā'āt al-sab'* (Facilitation: On the Seven Readings), and *Aqīla* presents the material found in *al-Muqni' fī ma'rifat rasm maṣāḥif al-amṣār* (The Sufficer: On the Knowledge of the Skeletal Text of the Codices of the Towns). Of course, the relative absence of earlier works does not mean that Ottoman scholars lacked interest in the contributions of early scholars, which were generally preserved in the writings of the post-formative period. The prominence of later works may be attributed to two factors: first, a particular concern with pedagogy, which necessitated attention to scholastic texts and their commentaries; and second, a conceptualization of Islamic scholarship as a progressive enterprise, whereby older works were frequently rendered obsolete by new ones that incorporated recent synthetic and analytic advancements.

CONCLUSION

In a concise and widely cited examination of the Islamic exegetical tradition, Jane McAuliffe provides an account of the "traditional Muslim view" of the history of *tafsīr*. According to this account, in the early centuries of Islam, exegesis of the Qur'an was mainly a matter of compilation rather than contemplation.¹⁴⁵ That is to say, interpreting a specific Qur'anic passage primarily

entailed searching for pertinent elucidatory information in other parts of the Qur'an as well as in the statements attributed to the Prophet and the following two generations of Muslims. As a result, exegesis involved "little more than a compilation and classification of the relevant explanatory *ḥadīths*."¹⁴⁶ In McAuliffe's view, this dogged deference to received tradition was coupled with, and indeed resulted from, disdain for a commentator's personal understanding of the Qur'anic text, or what is known as *al-tafsīr bi-l-ra'y*. "Not only was *al-tafsīr bi-l-ra'y* proscribed but in the eyes of some Muslims any attempt at all to interpret the Book of God verged on blasphemy."¹⁴⁷ This traditionalist approach culminated, McAuliffe notes, in the voluminous commentary of Muhammad b. Jarir al-Tabari (d. 923), titled *Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl āy al-Qur'ān* (Collection of Statements Concerning Interpretation of the Qur'an's Verses). Although it was perfected in the formative period, McAuliffe claims that tradition-based exegesis "remains the backbone of all subsequent Qur'anic interpretation."¹⁴⁸ She admits that some Muslim commentators did interpret the Qur'an through personal reflection. However, even though such attempts have been "occasionally tolerated," McAuliffe maintains that they were nonetheless "always distrusted as potentially misleading."¹⁴⁹ Similar descriptions of the science of exegesis as an unflinchingly conservative enterprise can be found in the works of other scholars in the field of *tafsīr*.¹⁵⁰

Such portrayals bear little resemblance, however, to the picture that emerges from our examination of Ottoman exegetical interests. For instance, whereas McAuliffe and many others hold al-Tabari to be an inordinately influential commentator, there was not a single copy of his *Jāmi' al-bayān* at the imperial library, even though his history was quite well known in the Ottoman realm.¹⁵¹ Nor is the irrelevance of *Jāmi' al-bayān* peculiar to the Ottoman context. As Walid Saleh has noted, despite the best efforts of Ibn Taymiyya and his students and followers to promote al-Tabari's commentary, Muslim exegetes generally "remained apathetic to this monumental work."¹⁵² This apathy is reflected in the fact that *Jāmi' al-bayān* does not seem to have been available to the Ottoman bibliophiles Taşköprüzade and Hajji Khalifa, whose brief remarks on this commentary simply reproduce the assessments of earlier scholars.¹⁵³ Indeed, "during the nineteenth century [*Jāmi' al-bayān*]

was presumed all but lost.”¹⁵⁴ Similarly absent from the inventory are other major works that are usually placed under the rubric of tradition-based exegesis,¹⁵⁵ such as al-Tha‘labi’s *al-Kashfwa-l-bayān*; Ibn ‘Atiyya al-Andalusi’s (d. ca. 1147) *al-Muḥarrar al-wajīz fī tafsīr al-kitāb al-‘azīz* (The Accurate Compendium: Exegesis of the Sublime Book); Ibn al-Jawzi’s (d. 1200) *Zād al-masīr fī ‘ilm al-tafsīr* (Provision for the Journey in the Science of Exegesis); and Ibn Kathir’s *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-‘āzīm*.¹⁵⁶ Judging from the inventory and the other pieces of evidence discussed in this essay, Ottoman scholars at the turn of the sixteenth century were chiefly interested in the commentaries of al-Zamakhshari, al-Razi, and al-Baydawi, as well as in some of the glosses on these works—none of which are focused primarily on early exegetical traditions. To the extent that exegetical reports were studied, it appears that they were seen as simply one source among many that could be utilized for elucidating the Qur’an. A similar attitude is found in the exegetical works of al-Fanari, al-Siwasi, and al-Gurani. The various sources discussed in this paper suggest that scholars from other parts of the Islamic world were also not particularly preoccupied with the exegetical views of early authorities.

It is not difficult to see why *tafsīr* is often portrayed as a predominantly traditionalist enterprise with little room for the subjective interpretations of the individual commentator. This traditionalist historiography of *tafsīr* reflects the prevailing tendency of modern Muslim scholars themselves, especially those living in Arab-majority countries.¹⁵⁷ The rise of Salafism in the modern Arab world has catapulted traditionalism to unprecedented authority, turning it into the chief yardstick for measuring the legitimacy and orthodoxy of the premodern Islamic heritage. This prevailing attitude in turn influences how modern academics assess the legacy of premodern scholars, because it is easy to extrapolate and conclude that “things have always been this way”—even when one is well aware that things have changed radically. In the case of McAuliffe’s otherwise brilliant exposition, we can see clear indications of this extrapolation. She asserts that *tafsīr* is “a remarkably uninterrupted craft,” that is to say, a craft in which modern practitioners are deeply conversant with their premodern counterparts.¹⁵⁸ It would therefore be uncommon,

she points out, to find a “modern Muslim exegete who were *not* thoroughly familiar with al-Ṭabarī (d. 923), al-Zamakhsharī (d. 1144), and Ibn Kathir (d. 1373).”¹⁵⁹ If *tafsīr* is uninterrupted, and if its modern students and practitioners are steeped in the works of al-Tabari and Ibn Kathir, then it follows that premodern commentators were also heavily reliant on these two scholars.

McAuliffe’s estimation of the centrality of Ibn Kathir is such that her portrayal of “the traditional Muslim view” of *tafsīr* is chiefly based on Ibn Kathir’s prologue to his commentary.¹⁶⁰ In fact, the relevant section of Ibn Kathir’s prologue does not represent Ibn Kathir’s own words but rather those of his teacher Ibn Taymiyya, which Ibn Kathir copied wholesale from Ibn Taymiyya’s *Muqaddima fī uṣūl al-tafsīr*.¹⁶¹ This treatise is not so much an objective description of the early history of *tafsīr* as a *prescription* for how to interpret the Qur’an and evaluate the available exegetical material.¹⁶² True to form, Ibn Taymiyya lays out a hermeneutic strategy that valorizes the views of *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*, the pious forebears, as the proper source for *tafsīr*. According to Ibn Taymiyya, to understand a certain Qur’anic passage one must first search the Qur’an itself for elucidatory information. If this fails to yield a result, the next step is to search the Prophet’s Sunna, and should that also fail, one may rely (with some exceptions) on the views of his companions and those of the next generation, the followers (*al-tābi‘ūn*).¹⁶³ Simultaneously, Ibn Taymiyya strongly criticizes *al-tafsīr bi-l-ra’y*, the analytical mode of exegesis where the commentator interprets the Qur’an by independent reflection on the text. Ibn Taymiyya is so opposed to this approach that he casts aspersions even on correct interpretations resulting from such reflection, citing the following prophetic hadith: “If a person comments on the Qur’an using his opinion and attains the correct interpretation, he has [nevertheless] made a mistake.”¹⁶⁴ In a sign of unease with Ibn Taymiyya’s one-sided discussion, Ibn Kathir makes a crucial insertion in his teacher’s text. He first provides a milder version of this hadith (“If a person comments on the Qur’an using his opinion, he has made a mistake”), and then notes that it has also come down in a variant form, with the citation of which he resumes copying Ibn Taymiyya’s text.¹⁶⁵ However, McAuliffe simply reproduces this radical version from Ibn Kathir’s

prologue and asserts that “such is not an uncommon view even in the later, classical period.”¹⁶⁶ Thus, the controversial approach of Ibn Taymiyya is depicted as representing early commentators and their classical peers alike.

As it happens, even Ibn Taymiyya's view is more nuanced than it seems. He admits that the quoted hadith may be inauthentic—although he thinks it is not (his double invocation of “and God knows best” aside).¹⁶⁷ Ibn Taymiyya also leaves some room for reflection in cases where helpful information cannot be found in the authoritative sources. Specifically, he notes that when the Followers (*al-tābi'ūn*) offer divergent interpretations for a certain passage, then one may refer “to the language of the Qur'an or the Sunna, or the language of the Arabs in general, or the statements of the Companions in this regard.”¹⁶⁸ However, utilizing linguistic indications from the Qur'an and the Sunna or from “the language of the Arabs in general” (*ʿumūm lughat al-ʿarab*) is in reality a conduit for personal reflection, as all such reflection is fundamentally dependent on linguistic analysis. In effect, by recognizing the conditional validity of such an analysis, Ibn Taymiyya makes room for personal reflection on the Qur'anic text. Upon closer inspection, therefore, the object of Ibn Taymiyya's denunciation appears to be not analytical interpretation as such, but rather disregard for transmitted material and arrogant reliance on one's own reflection, what he calls *tafsīr al-Qurʾān bi-mujarrad al-ra'y* (interpreting the Qur'an by opinion alone).¹⁶⁹ The addition of the term *mujarrad* (“alone”) is highly significant and opens up space for the use of personal reflection under certain (although admittedly stringent) circumstances. This reading of the treatise seems to find support in the fact that Ibn Taymiyya himself engages in subjective analysis of the Qur'anic text in order to establish one of his points.¹⁷⁰

While one may debate the details of Ibn Taymiyya's theory, there is no denying the fact that his conservative approach was quite marginal during the premodern period. Here it is worth quoting Walid Saleh's assessment of the influence of Ibn Taymiyya's treatise:

The medieval exegetical tradition simply refused to succumb to such a radical restriction on the authority of the exegete.... Only two medieval authors implemented Ibn Taymiyya's theory in the centuries after his death, namely

his student Ibn Kathir and the later al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). The earlier commentaries he has championed, like those of Baqī b. Makhḷad, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, and Ibn Mardawayh, have now all been lost. The victory of Ibn Taymiyya's theory was only assured in the 20th century, and there is a danger of projecting this state of affairs back onto the medieval period. Since his treatise is one of the few available articulations of what *tafsīr* is about, some scholars have taken it to reflect the status of hermeneutical thinking prevalent in medieval tradition. Ibn Taymiyya's theory was anything but representative.¹⁷¹

While Ibn Kathir does rely heavily on exegetical traditions in writing his commentary, he frequently supplements them with his own evaluations and analyses, thereby disregarding the exhortations of Ibn Taymiyya to the contrary. In any case, Ibn Kathir's commentary does not seem to have been influential in the premodern period. There are only a few dozen extant manuscript copies of this commentary¹⁷² (compared with hundreds of copies of *al-Kashshāf*).¹⁷³ Not surprisingly, therefore, the Ottoman imperial library did not have a single copy of Ibn Kathir's commentary, even though there was a copy of his historical magnum opus, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* (186 {9–11}). As for al-Suyūṭī, his approach is faithful to Ibn Taymiyya's suggested methodology and is free of analytical comments such as those of Ibn Kathir.¹⁷⁴ However, al-Suyūṭī did not share Ibn Taymiyya's disdain for analytical exegesis and in fact indirectly critiqued and undermined the latter's arguments.¹⁷⁵ In al-Suyūṭī's view, tradition-based exegesis does not supplant but rather complements other approaches to exegesis. Placed in its proper confines, tradition-based exegesis was indeed valuable to mainstream exegetical scholarship. Al-Suyūṭī's commentary is thus included in the aforementioned *firmān* of Sultan Süleyman as one of the twelve *tafsīr* texts to be studied in advanced imperial madrasas.¹⁷⁶ Not only was Ibn Taymiyya's influence limited in the premodern period, but modern Muslim scholars have also frequently ignored or downplayed the most radical aspects of his theory. The late Muhammad Husayn al-Dhahabī (d. 1977), Egypt's minister of religious endowments and author of the widely-read *al-Tafsīr wa-l-mufasssīrūn*, goes so far as to say that the disagreement between the proponents and opponents

of *al-tafsīr bi-l-ra'y* is in fact only terminological (*lafẓī lā ḥaqīqī*).¹⁷⁷ In reality, he states, both camps agree that a scholar may interpret the Qur'an as long as he has mastery over the necessary branches of knowledge.¹⁷⁸

Documentary evidence is particularly helpful in envisioning the early modern intellectual landscape apart from the influence of modern trends and idiosyncrasies. In this regard, the inventory of the palace library of Sultan Bayezid II is an exceptionally valuable document, as it affords us an unmediated glance at the literary products that were of value and interest to the Ottoman court and more broadly to the intellectual elite at that time. Focusing on the exegetical works of the palace library, this paper has attempted to map the specific ways in which Ottoman scholars studied and contributed to the Islamic exegetical tradition. In particular, the content and structure of the *tafsīr* section demonstrate that analytical works of exegesis were the backbone of Ottoman exegetical scholarship. In addition, the inventory suggests that Sufi commentaries (including those associated with the school of Ibn al-'Arabi) were fully at home in the Ottoman context. The holdings of the library also show that glosses and commentaries were integral, indeed central, to how Ottoman scholars studied and practiced *tafsīr*. In particular, the works of al-Taftazani and al-Jurjani appear to have been highly valued—not only for the field of *tafsīr*, but for several other disciplines such as logic, rhetoric, and theology; and not only for Ottomans, but for the societies of the Balkans-to-Bengal complex as a whole.

It is therefore a desideratum for the academic study of *tafsīr* to dedicate vastly more attention to the genre of glosses than has hitherto been the case. The initial step has already been taken by scholars such as Walid Saleh who have attempted to make some sense of the staggering mass of material available in this genre.¹⁷⁹ The next step will be to produce critical editions and detailed studies of the extant glosses—starting with those that were of higher import to premodern scholars. A related project is to evaluate the pivotal role played by al-Taftazani and al-Jurjani in premodern Islamic education, with attention to the full spectrum of their scholarship. It is hard to believe that there is no major study of either figure written in any European language. In order to properly study the post-formative period, modern

academics first need to fundamentally reevaluate some basic assumptions about the trajectory of Islamic intellectual history. In particular, the notions of general decline in the post-formative period and the characterization of glosses as devoid of value and creativity need to be abandoned. To this end, we must actively resist the urge to view Islamic history through the prism of the contemporary period. It is only then that we will be able to fully appreciate the continuities, developments, and ruptures that characterized the multifaceted post-formative and early modern periods.

NOTES

Author's note: The present chapter was slated to be written by my former mentor, the late Shahab Ahmed. After his sudden and sorrowful passing, Gülru Necipoğlu and Cemal Kafadar asked me to step in and write it instead. I dedicate this essay to Shahab's memory with affection and gratitude. I also wish to thank Walid Saleh, who provided valuable feedback on an earlier draft.

1. Sharaf al-Dīn Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ṭībī (d. 1342), *Futūḥ al-ghayb fī al-kashf 'an qinā' al-rayb*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥīm Sulṭān al-'Ulamā' et al., 17 vols. (Dubai, 2013), 1:612.
2. Andrew Lane, *A Traditional Mu'tazilite Qur'ān Commentary: The Kashshāf of Jār Allāh al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144)* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), xiii.
3. See, for instance, the praise that al-Tibi heaps on *al-Kashshāf* in the prologue of *Futūḥ al-ghayb* (1:610–11).
4. Asad Q. Ahmed and Margaret Larkin, "The *Ḥāshiya* and Islamic Intellectual History," *Oriens* 41 (2013): 213–16, at 216.
5. The inventory is preserved in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MS Török F. 59).
6. Shahab Ahmed, *What Is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 32.
7. Apart from manuscripts of the Qur'an and exegetical works, the first section comprises works on Prophetic traditions (*aḥādīth*), prayer, theology, legal theory, positive law, and mystical writings, among other subjects. This section ends on page 151. The second section contains, inter alia, works on medicine, history, politics, warfare, collections of poetry, rhetoric, grammar, lexicography, dream interpretation, alchemy, astronomy, music, chess, and finally logic and Islamic philosophy (*al-ḥikma al-islāmiyya*). See the section titles (*tafṣīl*) discussed in Gülru Necipoğlu's essay in this volume.
8. MS Török F. 59, 12 {5–6}.
9. There is a slight uncertainty about the first number because on a few occasions two or more manuscripts on *tafsīr* are described in the same way, but it is not clear if their contents are identical. For instance, the inventory refers to

- Hāshiyat al-Kashshāf* three times without specifying an author (20 {19}–21 {1–2}). Given that many scholars wrote *hāshiyas* on *al-Kashshāf*, it is not clear whether the three listed manuscripts are the same work or represent different glosses.
10. If we were to count the volumes, the disparity between the two subcategories would increase even further, because a number of *tafsīr* works take up multiple volumes whereas none of the *qirā'āt* works goes beyond a single volume—and in a few cases, several *qirā'āt* works are bound together in the same volume.
 11. Thus, a recent comprehensive catalogue of all Arabic manuscripts pertaining to *tafsīr* takes up nearly 1,000 pages in two volumes: *Al-Fihris al-shāmil li-l-turāth al-'arabī al-Islāmī al-makhtūṭ. 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān: makhtūṭāt al-tafsīr wa-'ulūmuh*, 2 vols. (Ammān: Mu'assasat Āl al-Bayt, 1989); henceforth, *FSQT*. By contrast, the parallel catalogue for the works of *qirā'āt* (*Al-Fihris al-shāmil li-l-turāth al-'arabī al-Islāmī al-makhtūṭ. 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān: makhtūṭāt al-qirā'āt*, 2nd ed. [Ammān: Mu'assasat Āl al-Bayt, 1994]; henceforth, *FSQQ*) fills about 200 pages. The enormous exegetical output of Muslim scholars reflects the centrality of the Qur'an to the theological, legal, literary, and aesthetic pursuits of Muslims throughout their history.
 12. Susan Gunasti, "Political Patronage and the Writing of Qur'an Commentaries among the Ottoman Turks," *Journal of Islamic Thought* 24, no. 3 (2013): 335–57, at 336.
 13. Al-Zamakhshari opens his prologue by highlighting the Qur'an's composite character (on both thematic and formal levels), noting that such composition points to the Qur'an's origination in time (*muṭtada' muṭtada'*) (*Al-Qur'ān ma'a tafsīruh al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq al-tanzīl*, ed. William Nassau Lees et al., 2 vols. [Calcutta: Maṭba'at al-Laysī, 1856–59], 1:2). To make matters worse, it was widely believed that the very first sentence of *al-Kashshāf* had been "Praise belongs to God, Who created the Qur'an," and that al-Zamakhshari later toned down this provocative formulation for fear of strong backlash from Sunni scholars. Andrew Lane rejects this story in a detailed and persuasive analysis (*A Traditional Mu'tazilite Qur'an Commentary*, 76–85). However, leaving aside such anecdotes, *al-Kashshāf* is not a polemical work oriented toward establishing principles of Mu'tazili theology (Lane, *A Traditional Mu'tazilite Qur'an Commentary*, 147).
 14. The printed edition of this commentary exceeds 8,000 pages over thirty-two volumes, a number that is even more impressive in light of the fact that there are no footnotes to this edition (*Al-Tafsīr al-kabīr aw Maṭālib al-ghayb*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abdalḥamīd, 32 vols. [Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Bahīyya al-Miṣriyya, 1934–64]).
 15. The title "Fakhr-i Khwārizm" was given to al-Zamakhshari by the littérateur and court-poet Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāt (d. 1182) (*Ḥadā'iq al-sihr fī daqā'iq al-shi'r*, ed. 'Abbās Iqbāl Āshtiyānī [Tehran: Maṭba'a-yi Majlis, 1930], 79, 84).
 16. MS Török F. 59, 18 {2}–19 {5}.
 17. MS Török F. 59, 19 {5}–19 {12}, 19 {15}.
 18. MS Török F. 59, 19 {12}–21 {6}, 24 {2}.
 19. MS Török F. 59, 21 {13}–22 {6}.
 20. MS Török F. 59, 22 {6}–22 {13}.
 21. Of course, al-Baydawi draws on other sources (such as al-Razi's commentary) and adds insights of his own (Muḥammad Ibn 'Ashūr, *al-Tafsīr wa-rijāluh* [Tunis: Dār al-Kutub al-Sharqiyya, 1966], 97). However, *Anwār al-tanzīl* is primarily derivative of *al-Kashshāf*.
 22. Aḥmad Ḥājj Muḥammad 'Uthmān, "Nawāhid al-abkār wa-shawārid al-afkār: min awwal al-kitāb ilā al-āya 20 min sūrat al-Baqara," (PhD diss., Umm al-Qurā University, 2003), 13. This is not to deny al-Baydawi's intellectual independence, which is evident both in his linguistic analyses and his theological and legal divergences from al-Zamakhshari. Some of these divergences have been explored by Luṭṭī Ibrahim in a series of short essays (e.g., "The Problem of the Vision of God in the Theology of al-Zamakhshari and al-Baidāwī," *Studies in Islam* 17 [1980]: 123–30; "The Questions of the Superiority of Angels and Prophets between al-Zamakhshari and al-Baydāwī," *Arabica* 28 [1981]: 65–75; "A Comparative Study of the Views of al-Zamakhshari and al-Baydāwī about the Position of the Grave Sinner," *Islamic Studies* 21, no. 1 [1982]: 55–73).
 23. This is clear, inter alia, from its use by al-Baydawi, its critique by Ibn al-Munayyir (d. 1284), and the response to this critique by Ibn Bint al-'Iraqi (d. 1304) (Walid A. Saleh, "Gloss as Intellectual History: The *Hāshiyas* on *al-Kashshāf*," *Oriens* 41 [2013]: 217–259, at 222). By the turn of the fourteenth century, *al-Kashshāf* had become "the staple in the curriculum of the Sunnite *tafsīr* higher education" (ibid.).
 24. This fact is seen not only in the number of commentaries and glosses written on *al-Kashshāf* but also in the number of extant manuscripts mentioned in *FSQT*, the temporal curve of which "peaks in the 8th/14th century" (Lane, *A Traditional Mu'tazilite Qur'an Commentary*, 60).
 25. In the Mamluk domains, "[a]t the mosque of al-Ashraf Barsbāy ... it was required that the man hired as professor of Ḥanafī law be able to deliver lectures on al-Zamakhshari's work" (Jonathan P. Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014], 185–86). In two documents from early fifteenth-century Khurasan, one a license for transmission (*ijāza*) and the other a request for such a license (*istijāza*), *al-Kashshāf* is the only *tafsīr* text to be named (Maria Subtelny and Anas Khalidov, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning in Timurid Iran in the Light of the Sunni Revival under Shāh-Rukh," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115, no. 2 [1995]: 210–36, at 227, 230).
 26. Thus, a 1565 *fīrmān* of Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520–66) prescribes the use of twelve books of *tafsīr* in advanced imperial madrasas, the first book being *al-Kashshāf*, followed by four of its glosses (Shahab Ahmed and Nenad Filipović, "The Sultan's Syllabus: A Curriculum for the Ottoman Imperial *medreses* Prescribed in a *fīrmān* of Qānūnī I Süleymān, Dated 973 [1565]," *Studia Islamica* 98/99

- [2004]: 183–218, at 196–98). In the famous poem of ‘Ali b. ‘Abdallah al-‘Ushshaqī (“Nebī Efendizade,” d. 1785–86) about the popular books of various disciplines, *al-Kashshāf* appears (along with *Anwār*) as one of the two texts pertaining to Qur’anic exegesis (Şükran Fazlıoğlu, “Nebī Efendizade’nin ‘Kaşide fi el-kutub el-meşhûre fi el-‘ulûm’una göre bir medrese talebesinin ders ve kitab haritası,” *Kutadgubilig: Felsefe Bilim Araştırmaları* 3 [2003]: 191–221, at 197, 211). According to Ebrahim Moosa, in some South Asian madrasas, *al-Kashshāf* “remains a crucial reference work” (Ebrahim Moosa, *What Is a Madrasa?* [Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015], 113).
27. This can be seen in an *ijāza* issued by the influential scholar Mir Damad (d. 1631) to his son-in-law, where the only *tafsīr* works to appear are *al-Kashshāf* and its gloss by al-Jurjani (*hāshiyatuh al-sharīfa al-sharīfiyya*) (Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār al-jāmi‘a li-durar akhbār al-a‘immat al-aṭhār*, 110 vols. [Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyya, 1957], 106:153; discussed in Maryam Moazzen, “Shi‘ite Higher Learning and the Role of the Madrasa-yi Sulṭānī in Late Safavid Iran” [PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2011], 160). A later Safavid scholar, Sayyid Ni‘matallah Jaza‘iri (d. 1701), recommended four exegetical works to be taught to students, the first one being *al-Kashshāf* (Moazzen, “Shi‘ite Higher Learning,” 173).
 28. ‘Iṣām al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Al-Shaqā‘iq al-nu‘māniyya fi ‘ulamā‘ al-dawla al-‘Uthmāniyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Arabī, n.d.), 62.
 29. *Ibid.*, 202, 269.
 30. *Ibid.*, 15, 37, 61, 91, 99, 101, 202, 227, 272, 310.
 31. For further evidence concerning the centrality of *al-Kashshāf* to Ottoman education, see Gunasti, “Political Patronage and the Writing of Qur’ān,” 344.
 32. According to a local history of Shiraz, al-Farisi studied *al-Kashshāf* there with Qiwām al-Dīn Abu al-Baqā’ ‘Abdallah b. Mahmud b. Hasan al-Shirazi (d. 1370) for four months, relying heavily on the latter’s explanations and annotations to write his *Kashf al-Kashshāf* (Mu‘īn al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim Junayd b. Maḥmūd al-Shīrāzī, *Shadd al-izār fi ḥaṭṭ al-awzār ‘an zuwwār al-mazār* [Girding up the Loins in Lightening the Load of the Visitors of the Tombs], ed. Muḥammad Qazwīnī et al. [Tehran: Chāpkhāna-yi Majlis, 1950], 86).
 33. 1) *Bekhāh daftar-e ash‘ār o rāh-e ṣaḥrā gūr, che waqt-e madrasa o baḥth-e Kashf-e Kashshāf ast!* (“Ask for the book of poems and hit the road to the field; this is no time for school and discussion of *Kashf al-Kashshāf*!”); 2) *ze muṣḥaf-e rokh-e deldār āyat-i bar khwān, ke in bayān-e maqālāt-e Kashf-e Kashshāf ast* (“Read a verse from the [Qur’anic] codex of the beloved’s countenance, for this [command] is the explanation of the statements of *Kashf al-Kashshāf*”). See Mas‘ūd Farzād, *Jāmi‘-i Nusakh-i Ḥāfiẓ* (Shiraz: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Pahlawī, 1968), 47, 48.
 34. Aḥmad Farāmarz Qarāmalikī and Yaḥyā Rahā‘ī, “Taftāzānī, Sa‘d al-Dīn Mas‘ūd b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abdallāh Harawī Khurāsānī,” in *Dānishnāma-yi Jahān-i Islām* (Tehran: Bunyād-i Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif-i Islāmī), 7:608.
 35. *Al-Hāshiya ‘alā al-Kashshāf li-l-Zamakhsharī. Taṣnīf Abī al-Ḥasan al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī*, ed. Rashīd b. ‘Umar A‘raḍī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2016).
 36. Somewhat surprisingly, al-Tibi’s commentary on *al-Kashshāf* is not listed together with other glosses of the work; instead, it appears in the second half of the *tafsīr* section (immediately before the list of exegetical treatises that concludes the *tafsīr* texts, MS Török F. 59, 24 {2}). Perhaps this is because *Futūḥ al-ghayb* is so extensive that it was considered a full-fledged and independent *tafsīr* in its own right.
 37. Al-Farisi was in fact a student of al-Tibi’s, his *Kashf al-Kashshāf* drawing frequently on al-Tibi’s *Futūḥ al-ghayb* (see the examples adduced in the introduction to al-Tibi’s commentary [*Futūḥ al-ghayb*, 1:292–96]). Al-Taftazani’s gloss on *al-Kashshāf* is similarly indebted to al-Tibi’s work, as a result of which Jalal al-Dīn al-Suyuti describes al-Taftazani’s work as an abridgement of *Futūḥ al-ghayb* (“*Nawāhid al-abkār*,” 12). While al-Suyuti’s characterization downplays al-Taftazani’s original contributions, there is no denying al-Tibi’s influence on al-Taftazani, many of whose comments are made in relation to al-Tibi’s expositions. For instance, commenting on the very first sentence of *al-Kashshāf* (*al-ḥamd li-llāh alladhī anzala al-Qur’ān kalām^{an} mu‘allaḥ^{an} munazzam^{an}*), al-Tibi entertains the possibility that the term *kalām* might be either a *ḥāl muwaṭṭi‘a* (preparatory condition) for the following adjective (i.e., *mu‘allaḥ*), a *ḥāl mu‘akkida* (emphatic condition) for the object of the sentence, that is, *al-Qur’ān*, or simply a substitute (*badal*) for *al-Qur’ān* (*Futūḥ al-ghayb*, 1:617–18). In his gloss on *al-Kashshāf*, al-Taftazani does not refer to al-Tibi’s work, but seems to be responding to the latter when he deems *kalām* to be “a preparatory condition ... not an emphatic [one] or a substitute” for *al-Qur’ān* (University Library of Leipzig, MS. Cod. Arab. 067, p. 7; available online at http://www.islamic-manuscripts.net/receive/IslamHSBook_islamhs_00009678). For other instances of al-Tibi’s influence on al-Taftazani’s gloss, see *Futūḥ al-ghayb*, 1:304–7. Finally, the gloss of al-Jurjani also reflects the discussions of al-Tibi, even though al-Jurjani also relied on *Kashf al-Kashshāf* and, above all, engaged closely with al-Taftazani’s annotations on *al-Kashshāf* (*Kashf al-zunūn*, 1479; Joseph van Ess, *Die Träume der Schulweisheit: Leben und Werk des ‘Ali b. Muhammad al-Ġurġani (gest. 816/1413)* [Harrasowitz Verlag, 2013], 52). Incidentally, al-Jurjani wrote a gloss on another of al-Tibi’s works, namely, *al-Khulāṣa fi uṣūl al-ḥadīth* (*Kashf al-zunūn*, 720).
 38. Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, 3 vols., 2nd ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), 2:447. My own impression is that al-Tibi was not particularly concerned with rejecting al-Zamakhshari’s occasional advocacy of Mu‘tazili principles.

39. "Nawāhid al-abkār wa-shawārid al-afkār," 2, 11. Al-Suyuti wrote the *Nawāhid* from 1475 to 1494 (Saleh, "Gloss as Intellectual History," 229).
40. Ahmed and Filipović, "The Sultan's Syllabus," 198.
41. The library also had a gloss by a certain *Mawlānā Qutb al-Dīn*, who may be Qutb al-Dīn Mahmud b. Mas'ud al-Shirazi (d. 1311) or Qutb al-Dīn Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Tahtani (d. 1364–65) (Lane, *A Traditional Mu'tazilite Qur'an Commentary*, 301, 304). A third candidate would be Qutb al-Dīn al-Iznīqī (d. 1480), who appears in a later section of the catalogue as *Mawlānā Qutb al-Dīn al-Iznīqī* (127 {11}). By contrast, Qutb al-Dīn al-Shirazi is called *al-Qutb al-Shīrāzī* in a later portion of the inventory (271 {5–8}).
42. MS Török F. 59, 20 {19}–21 {2}, 21 {6}.
43. As Saleh points out, "foundational texts were glossed extensively and these accumulated glosses needed periodical indexing and a simplified tool to access them" ("Gloss as Intellectual History," 235).
44. Ibid., 232.
45. On these glosses, see *ibid.*, 232–33.
46. For a few examples, see *Futūḥ al-ghayb*, 1:277–82.
47. Ahmed and Filipović, "The Sultan's Syllabus," 196–98. Note that al-Farisi's *Kashf al-Kashshāf* and al-Jurjani's gloss are absent from this list. The last author in the list, al-Jarbardī (an Arabicized form of *Chārpardī*), is Ahmad b. Hasan, a Shafi'i scholar who spent much of his life in Tabriz, where he studied with al-Baydawi (Muḥammad Ra'īs zāda, "Jārbardī, Aḥmad b. Ḥasan," in *Dānishnāma-yi Jahān-i Islām* [Tehran: Bunyād Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif Islāmī], 9:233–34). Incidentally, al-Jarbardī exchanged letters with 'Adud al-Dīn al-Ijī on al-Zamakhshari's interpretation of *fa'tū bi-sūratin min mithlihi* ("so bring a sura like it"), a phrase that appears in Qur'an 2:23 and 10:38 (Ḥajjī Khalifa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, 222–23).
48. Ahmed, *What Is Islam?*, 32, 73–85. Linda Darling has described the reign of Sultan Bayezid II as witnessing "the peak of Timurid influence" on Ottoman cultural and intellectual life; see her "Political Literature and the Development of an Ottoman Imperial Culture in the Fifteenth Century," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 1/1–2 (2014): 57–69, at 65.
49. Qarāmalikī and Yaḥyā Rahā'ī, "Taftāzānī," 607–8.
50. For a helpful annotated summary of al-Jurjani's oeuvre, see Joseph van Ess, *Die Träume der Schulweisheit: Leben und Werk des 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ġurġānī* (gest. 816/1413) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 50–88.
51. Some of their works are still studied in India and Pakistan among other places (Moosa, *What Is a Madrasa?*, 113–14).
52. An expression used of al-Taftazani (Qarāmalikī and Rahā'ī, "Taftāzānī, Sa'd al-Dīn," 7:608).
53. For their contributions to the discipline of rhetoric, for instance, see William Smyth, "Controversy in a Tradition of Commentary: The Academic Legacy of al-Sakkākī's *Miftāḥ al-Ulūm*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 112, no. 4 (1992): 589–97, at 591. Of course, the analytical approach is not limited to al-Taftazani and al-Jurjani, but characterizes much of the gloss literature in various fields.
54. In the field of rhetoric, the works of 'Abd al-Qahir al-Jurjani (d. 1078), Muhammad al-Sakkaki (d. 1229), and al-Khatib al-Qazwini (d. 1338) are the focus of commentaries and glosses until the end of the fourteenth century. However, when al-Taftazani and al-Jurjani composed commentaries on the writings of al-Sakkaki and al-Qazwini, these commentaries almost immediately displaced the earlier works as subjects of future scholarly interest: "While there were forty super-commentaries written on al-Taftāzānī and al-Jurjānī's works in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there were only nine written on those of al-Sakkākī and al-Qazwīnī. After 1600 the disparity is even more pronounced" (Smyth, "Controversy in a Tradition of Commentary," 596).
55. *Al-Shaqā'iq al-nu'māniyya*, 37, 61, 99; Lane, *A Traditional Mu'tazilite Qur'an Commentary*, 312. The esteem accorded to al-Taftazani's gloss is captured in the following poem by Qinalizade (d. 1572), a famous Ottoman scholar who himself composed a work on *al-Kashshāf*:

I said, when I came to possess a copy of the gloss of *al-Kashshāf* by the learned man of Taftāzān:
 May God's peace be upon you, O Sa'd! For, indeed we use
 your curative gloss to treat the patient of ignorance.

This poem appears on the front page of a copy of al-Taftazani's gloss in Princeton University's Garrett collection (Yahuda section, no. 333), available online at <http://puddl.princeton.edu/viewer.php?obj=08612r145#page/5/mode/1up> (see also Rudolf Mach, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts (Yahuda Section) in the Garrett Collection* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977], 31). The prologue of Qinalizade's work on *al-Kashshāf* has been edited and discussed by Saleh ("Gloss as Intellectual History," 253–57).
56. In enumerating the glosses of *al-Kashshāf*, Hajjī Khalifa mentions Khatibzade's annotations on the gloss of al-Jurjani, adding that Khatibzade dedicated his work to Sultan Bayezid II (*Kashf al-zunūn*, 1479). Hajjī Khalifa does not attribute a direct gloss on *al-Kashshāf* to Khatibzade, so the work listed in our catalogue as a "Gloss on *al-Kashshāf*" may in fact be Khatibzade's notes on al-Jurjani's gloss. (Incidentally, Khatibzade also wrote annotations to al-Jurjani's gloss on al-Isfahani's commentary on *Tajrid al-'aqa'id* [*al-Shaqā'iq*, 91]). Immediately after mentioning Khatibzade's annotations, Hajjī Khalifa adds, "*wa-l-mawlā 'Abd al-Karīm ayḍan*," suggesting that Molla 'Abd al-Karīm also wrote annotations on al-Jurjani's gloss. It is interesting that, just like in our catalogue, *Kashf al-zunūn* cites the work of Molla 'Abd al-Karīm right after that of Khatibzade.
57. MS Török F. 59, 73–74. Incidentally, one of the people who wrote annotations on al-Taftazani's *al-Talwīḥ* was Burhan al-Dīn Ahmad b. Muhammad (d. ca. 1398), the sultan of Sivas (r. 1381–ca. 1398), who attempted to "prove that most of al-Taftāzānī's objections and criticisms [of *al-Tanqīḥ*] are groundless" (William Chittick, "Sultan Burhān al-Dīn's Sufi Correspondence," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 73 [1981]: 33–45, at 36).
58. MS Török F. 59, 56–58.

59. Namely, *Muntahā al-su'l wa-l-amal fī 'ilmay al-uṣūl wa-l-jadal*.
60. MS Török F. 59, 75–77. Al-Taftazani and al-Jurjani also have a strong presence in the list of books on rhetoric, where their works are similarly accompanied by annotations from Ottoman scholars (MS Török F. 59, 268–77).
61. The lowest-ranking madrasas in the educational hierarchy laid out by Mehmed II “were called *Hāṣiye-i Tecrid medreses* after the commentary by al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1414) on the theology primer entitled *Tajrid al-kalām* ... while the intermediate ... *medreses* were known as *Telviḥ medreses* after the work on jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) by Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 791/1389), entitled *al-Talwiḥ fī kashfḥaqā'iq al-Tanqīḥ*” (Ahmed and Filipović, “The Sultan’s Syllabus,” 191–92).
62. *FSQT*, 320.
63. *Al-Shaqā'iq*, 202, 272, 310. Saleh, “Gloss as Intellectual History,” 237–38, 248. For ‘Atufi, see Gülrü Necipoğlu’s essay in this volume. Cf. Lane, *A Traditional Mu'tazilite Qur'an Commentary*, 316.
64. Gunasti, “Political Patronage and the Writing of the Qur'an,” 345. “In the seventeenth century, glosses and super-commentaries on the *Kashshāf* peter out: only two are produced; in the eighteenth century there is just one. In contrast, 20 glosses and super-commentaries on *Anwār al-tanzīl* were written in the seventeenth century and 33 in the eighteenth” (ibid.).
65. Ahmed and Filipović, “The Sultan’s Syllabus,” 209. A similar trend may have existed in the Mughal empire, where a curriculum from the early eighteenth century contained *Anwār* (and the brief *Jalālayn*) but not *al-Kashshāf* (Francis Robinson, “Ottomans-Safavids-Mughals: Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 8, no. 2 [1997]: 151–84, at 182–83).
66. The doctrinal factor should not be overstated, because although the *Anwār*’s interpretations frequently diverge from those of *al-Kashshāf* on theologically sensitive issues, al-Baydawi did not conduct a thorough purge of *al-Kashshāf*’s Mu'tazilite leanings (Lane, *A Traditional Mu'tazilite Qur'an Commentary*, 90). Walid Saleh notes that al-Suyuti’s decision to teach the *Anwār* instead of *al-Kashshāf* may have also contributed to the former’s overtaking of the latter (“Gloss as Intellectual History,” 228).
67. For Hajj Hasan-zade’s work, see *İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: Arapça yazmalar kataloğu*, 223, no. 524. Bidlisi was a scholar-diplomat of Kurdish stock who was originally active in the Akkoyunlu court but, as the Safavid Shah Isma'il’s military campaigns unfolded, moved to the service of Bayezid II (and later Selim I [r. 1512–20]). Bidlisi is mainly famous for his *Hasht Biḥisht* (Eight Paradises), a Persian history of the Ottoman dynasty commissioned by Bayezid II (*Kashf al-zunūn*, 283).
68. *Kashf al-zunūn* (190–93) mentions two glosses with the same exact scope, one attributed to Nur al-Din Hamza b. Mahmud al-Qaramani (d. 1466–67) and the other to Muhyi al-Din Muhammad b. al-Qasim (d. 1498–99).
69. MS Török F. 59, 22 {7–8}, 22 {13}.
70. See the chronologically sorted list in *FSQT*, 320.
71. Some biographical sources (such as al-Sakhāwī’s *al-Daw' al-lāmi' fī a'yān al-qarn al-tāsi'* [Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāh, n.d.], 5:329) attribute a gloss on *Anwār al-tanzīl* to al-Jurjani. This is rather unlikely, however, because no manuscript of such a gloss exists (Joseph van Ess, *Die Träume der Schulweisheit*, 52–53). If al-Jurjani had commented on the *Anwār*, his commentary would have likely been well known and popular. The absence of any manuscripts suggests that the attribution of such a gloss to al-Jurjani may be a mistake, perhaps a result of conflating his gloss on *al-Kashshāf* with a work on *Anwār al-tanzīl*.
72. For instance, Akhi Çelebi’s annotations on *Anwār*’s discussion of suras *Hūd* and *Yūsuf* engages with *Kashf al-Kashshāf* (manuscript no. 2882 in the library of Iran’s Majlis, p. 690, available online at <http://94.232.175.44/index.aspx?pid=6&ID=43028>; accessed July 26, 2016). Similarly, according to Taşköprüzade, Muslid al-Din Ibn al-Tamjid (d. ca. 1475) wrote his annotations on *Anwār al-tanzīl* based on the glosses of *al-Kashshāf* (*al-Shaqā'iq al-nu'māniyya*, 62). See also Ibn ‘Ashūr, *al-Tafsīr wa-rījāluḥ*, 104–5; Saleh, “Gloss as Intellectual History,” 229.
73. Another gloss on the *Anwār* dedicated to Bayezid II is found at the beginning of a manuscript at the library of Iran’s Majlis (no. 2882). The gloss in question is limited to sura *al-Qadr* (pp. 1–42). A digitized version of this manuscript is available at <http://94.232.175.44/index.aspx?pid=13&GID=23058&ID=43028>; accessed July 26, 2016.
74. Ahmed and Filipović, “The Sultan’s Syllabus,” 197–98.
75. The numbers refer to the order of appearance of the titles within the inventory’s *tafsīr* and *qirā'āt* section. For more information about each title, see the bibliography that accompanies this chapter.
76. Examples include a treatise by “*quṭb al-‘arīfīn* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān,” who might be Nur al-Din al-Jami, on Qur'an 2:256 (MS Török F. 59, 25 {15–17}, no. 143); or a commentary on *al-Fāṭiḥa* by “a certain master” (*ba'd al-mashāyikh*) (24 {14–15}, no. 138).
77. Al-Qushayrī’s Sufi teachings combine “the eastwardly migrating Baghdad Sufi tradition as well as the local Khurasani tradition of mysticism and piety” (Martin Nguyen and Matthew Ingalls, “Introduction: Al-Qushayrī and His Legacy,” *Journal of Sufi Studies* 2 [2013]: 1–6, at 2).
78. Jawid Mojaddedi, “Legitimizing Sufism in al-Qushayrī’s ‘Risala’,” *Studia Islamica* 90 (2000): 37–50. For a recent annotated translation of the *Risāla*, see *Al-Qushayrī’s Epistle on Sufism: Al-Risala al-qushayriyya fī 'ilm al-tasawwuf*, trans. Alexander D. Knysh (Reading, UK: Garnet Publishing, 2007).
79. For a comprehensive analysis of al-Qushayrī’s approach to Qur’anic interpretation, see Martin Nguyen, *Sufi Master and Qur'an Scholar: Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī and the Laṭā'if al-ishārāt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
80. Alan Godlas, “Influences of Qushayrī’s *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt* on Sufi Qur’anic Commentaries, Particularly Rūzbihān

- al-Baqlī's *Arā'is al-bayān* and the Kubrawī *al-Ta'wīlāt al-Najmīyya*, *Journal of Sufi Studies* 2 (2013): 78–92. The abiding influence of *Latā'if al-ishārāt* can be seen in the fact that it was used by two later scholars, namely, the Ottoman Isma'īl Haqqī al-Brusawī (d. 1725) and the North African Abu al-'Abbas Ibn 'Ajība (d. 1809) in their commentaries on the Qur'an (Nguyen, *Sufi Master and Qur'an Scholar*, 11).
81. *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Meybodi, Abu'l-Fazl Rašīd-al-Dīn," by Annabel Keeler.
 82. Ibid. For a detailed study of al-Maybudi's methodology in *Kashf al-asrār*, see Annabel Keeler, *Sufi Hermeneutics: The Qur'an Commentary of Rashīd al-Dīn Maybudī* (Oxford University Press, 2006).
 83. On the complicated issue of the authorship of this work, see Jamal Elias, *The Throne Carrier of God: The Life and Thought of 'Ala' al-Dawla al-Simnani* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1995), 203–5.
 84. *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Kobrawiya, i. The Eponym," by Hamid Algar.
 85. For instance, the Turkish Sufi Isma'īl Haqqī al-Brusawī (d. 1725) frequently quotes from *al-Ta'wīlāt al-Najmīyya* in his own commentary on the Qur'an, titled *Rūḥ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (e.g., *Rūḥ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, ed. 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ḥasan 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 10 vols. [Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2003], 1:10, 1:18, 1:22, 1:25).
 86. In addition to elucidating the ideas of his master, al-Qunawī laid institutional foundations for the transmission and growth of the school of Ibn al-'Arabi. For instance, al-Qunawī founded a hospice (including a library) for the instruction of new disciples, the congregation of followers, and the preservation of the ever-growing textual corpus of Ibn al-'Arabi's school (Ahmed Zildzic, "Friend and Foe: The Early Ottoman Reception of Ibn 'Arabi" [PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2012], 62–66).
 87. *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (hereafter *El2*), s.v. "Šadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ishāk b. Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Kūnawī," by William Chittick.
 88. Three commentaries (two in Arabic, one in Persian) along with a Persian translation (Chittick, "Sultan Burhān al-Dīn," 37n14).
 89. The imperial library may have also contained Jamal al-Din Yusuf b. Hilal al-Safadi's (d. 1296) *Kashf al-asrār wa-hatḥ al-astār* (Unveiling of Secrets and Rending of Veils), a work that was "influenced by Ibn 'Arabi's school of thought" (Godlas, "Sūfism," in *The Blackwell Companion to the Qur'an*, ed. Andrew Rippin [Oxford: Blackwell, 2006], 356). See the annotations to no. 95 in the catalogue.
 90. Zildzic, "Friend and Foe," 69.
 91. James Winston Morris, "Ibn 'Arabi and His Interpreters. Part II: Influences and Interpretations," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106, no. 4 (1986): 733–56, at 751. Work no. 155 in the list of *tafsīr* and *qirā'āt* titles should also be counted as part of this same tradition if its author was 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jami, who "could quite justifiably be considered a major figure in the 'school' of Ibn 'Arabi and Qūnawī" (Morris, "Ibn 'Arabi and His Interpreters. Part II [Conclusion]," 110).
 92. Ibid., 102–3; original emphasis.
 93. Osman Yahia, *Histoire et Classification de l'Œuvre d'Ibn 'Arabi: étude critique*, 2 vols. (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1964), 2:483.
 94. Or, in Morris's unpacked description, "the eastern Islamic world (including the Ottoman realms, Central Asia, Muslim India, and other lands where Persian was for many centuries the *lingua franca* of higher culture)" (*Ibn 'Arabi and His Interpreters. Part II*, 752).
 95. This can be seen, inter alia, in the fact that al-Fanari wrote a commentary on al-Qunawī's *Miftāḥ al-ghayb* (Key to the Unseen), titled *Miṣbāḥ al-uns* (Lamp of Intimacy). In fact, al-Fanari's father was said to be a disciple of al-Qunawī (*El2*, s.v. "Fenārī-Zāde," by J. R. Walsh). For some of the potential political ramifications of al-Fanari's mystical bent, see Richard C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul: A Study in the Development of the Ottoman Learned Hierarchy* (London: Ithaca Press, 1986), 86–87. Incidentally, al-Fanari's descendants held important positions in the Ottoman administration. For instance, one of his grandsons ('Ala' al-Din 'Ali b. Yusuf Bali) was appointed Kazasker of Rumelia and then the chief Kazi of Anatolia during the reign of Bayezid II (Walsh, "Fenārī-Zāde").
 96. Throughout *ʿAyn al-aʿyān*, al-Fanari frequently quotes from the writings of Ibn al-'Arabi (108, 164, 376) and al-Qunawī (5, 9, 10, 11, 32, 111, 156, 376), especially from the latter's commentary on *al-Fātiḥa*. Al-Fanari also critically engages with *al-Kashshāf* (e.g., 28, 29, 38, 39, 43, 135) and its glosses (e.g., 4 [Qutb al-Din al-Razi and al-Taftazani], 92 [al-Taftazani]), al-Razi's *Mafātiḥ al-ghayb* (e.g., 125, 136, 148), and al-Baydawi's *Anwār al-tanzīl* (e.g., 125, 146), among many other works. Page references in this footnote are to the following edition: Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Fanārī, *ʿAyn al-aʿyān* (Istanbul: Rifʿat Bey Matbaʿası, 1325 [1907–8]). It also bears mentioning that during his stay in Cairo, al-Fanari studied with Akmal al-Din al-Babarti (d. 1384), one of the glossators of *al-Kashshāf* (Repp, *Müfti of Istanbul*, 77; Saleh, "Gloss as Intellectual History," 236). Al-Fanari himself wrote annotations on *al-Kashshāf*'s beginning section and a gloss on the *Anwār* (FSQT, 456–57).
 97. Zildzic, "Friend and Foe," 78–81.
 98. Ibid., 82.
 99. Ibid., 133–61.
 100. Ahmed and Filipović, "The Sultan's Syllabus," 199, 211–12.
 101. Considering this imperial *firmān*, it seems inaccurate to claim that Sufi exegesis "did not intersect with politics or the *medrese*" (Gunasti, "Political Patronage and the Writing of Qur'an," 355).
 102. On the role of Turkish-speaking peoples in the expansion of Transoxanian Hanafism, see Wilferd Madelung, "The Spread of Māturīdism and the Turks," in *Actas do IV Congresso de Estudos Árabes e Islâmicos, Coimbra-Lisboa 1968* (Leiden, 1971), 109–68. In general, Turkish dynasties favored "Hanafi scholars of eastern origin over the local

- ones,” resulting in “a large-scale migration of eastern Hanafites toward the west” (ibid., 141).
103. Ibid., 123–24.
 104. No. 120, listed immediately after the two copies of *Taʿwīlāt*. ‘Ala’ al-Din al-Samarqandi appears to have lived in Anatolia for a while, since he “is reported to have been asked by «some of the kings of al-Rūm» to give his daughter, the learned Fāṭima ... in marriage to them” (Madelung, “The Spread of Māturīdism and the Turks,” 167). See also *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. “Alā’-al-Dīn Samarqandī: Ḥanafī Jurist and Mātorīdī Theologian,” by Wilferd Madelung.
 105. *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. “Abū al-Layth al-Samarqandī,” by Ahmad Pakatchi and Azar Rabbani.
 106. Madelung, “The Spread of Māturīdism and the Turks,” 168.
 107. Gunasti, “Political Patronage and the Writing of Qurʾān,” 339–41.
 108. Ibid., 341. However, according to Eleazar Birnbaum (*Ottoman Turkish and Çağatay MSS in Canada: A Union Catalogue of the Four Collections* [Leiden: Brill, 2014], 222 [no. 103, T9]), the earliest manuscript of *Jawāhir al-aṣḍāf* “is dated 736/1336,” a fact that is not consistent with Gunasti’s statement.
 109. Ahmed and Filipović, “The Sultan’s Syllabus,” 199.
 110. *Tafsīr al-Nasafī: Madārik al-tanzīl wa-ḥaqāʾiq al-taʿwīl*, ed. Yūsuf ‘Alī Bdaiwī, 3 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib, 1998), 1:13.
 111. Walid Saleh, “The Last of the Nishapuri School of Tafsīr: Al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1076) and His Significance in the History of Qurʾānic Exegesis,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 126, no. 2 (2006): 223–43, at 224.
 112. Al-Dhababī, *al-Tafsīr wa-l-mufasssīrūn*, 3 vols. (Cairo: Maktabat Wahba, n.d.), 1:169–70.
 113. Badr b. Nāṣir al-Badr, *Abū al-Thanā’ al-Isfahānī: ḥayātuh wa-tafsīrūh* (Riyadh: Dār al-Muslim, 2002), 17–21. For his theological and legal views, see ibid., 36–41.
 114. Ibid., 28.
 115. Repp, *Müfti of Istanbul*, 77.
 116. Al-Badr, *Abū al-Thanā’ al-Isfahānī*, 55–63.
 117. Ahmed and Filipović, “The Sultan’s Syllabus,” 199.
 118. Al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrūn*, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1983), 1:100. He also resided for a while in Damascus, where he studied with the famed al-Sakhawī.
 119. Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wiʾāh fī ṭabaqāt al-naḥwiyyīn wa-l-nuḥāh*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 2 vols. (Cairo: ʿIsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1964–65), 1:401.
 120. Al-Dhababī, *al-Tafsīr wa-l-mufasssīrūn*, 2:338.
 121. Ibid., 2:337.
 122. Ibid., 2:338–40.
 123. Ahmed and Filipović, “The Sultan’s Syllabus,” 198.
 124. The information provided for al-Siwasi in this paragraph is based on Fidā’ Ḥassān Muḥammad al-Majdhūb, “*Uyūn al-tafsīr li-l-ḥudalā’ al-samāsīr: dirāsa wa-taḥqīq min awwal sūrat al-Naḥl ilā ākhir sūrat al-Aḥzāb*” (master’s thesis, al-Azhar University, n.d.), 14–19.
 125. For the distinction between “madrasa-style” and “encyclopedic” commentaries, see Saleh, *Formation of the Classical Tafsīr Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 16–22. For a tripartite classification of *tafsīr* works according to length, see Ṭashkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda wa-miṣbāḥ al-siyāda* (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-Nizāmiyya, 1911), 1:430.
 126. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, 173–74.
 127. Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’* (Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāh), 1:241–42. For Ibn Hajar’s rather condescending remarks about al-Gurani, see *Inbā’ al-ghumr bi-abnā’ al-ghumr* (Cairo, 1969), 4:159. Cf. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, 167.
 128. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, 168–69.
 129. Hellmut Ritter, “Ayasofya kütüphânesinde tefsir ilmine âit arapça yazmalar,” *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 7–8 (1945): 1–93, at 64 (no. 52). Like the commentary of al-Kawashī, al-Gurani’s *tafsīr* is not published, nor does there seem to be a study of it in any European language. Its text has been edited piecemeal in several dissertations at al-Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud Islamic University in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, but unfortunately I was not able to access any of these dissertations while writing this essay.
 130. *Al-Shaqāʾiq al-nuʾmāniyya*, 1:53. Hajji Khalifa reproduces the same characterization (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 1190). However, my perusal of the first few pages of al-Gurani’s *tafsīr* did not reveal an explicit reference to any commentary (based on Feyzullah Efendi 14253, available for download at <https://archive.org/download/M-turkiao2/14253.zip>, accessed July 25, 2016).
 131. There are only some twenty extant copies of this commentary (*FSQT*, 507).
 132. *FSQT*, 631.
 133. *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 65–66.
 134. The seven readers whose systems were promoted by Ibn Mujahid are ‘Abdallah b. ‘Amir (d. 736), ‘Abdallah b. Kathir (d. 738), ‘Asim b. Abi l-Najud (d. 745), Abu ‘Amr b. al-‘Ala’ (d. 770), Hamza b. Habib al-Zayyat (d. 773), Nafi’ b. ‘Abd al-Rahman (d. 785), and ‘Ali b. Hamza al-Kisa’i (d. 804). See *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* (Leiden: Brill, 2005–), s.v. “Readings of the Qurʾān,” by Fred Leemhuis.
 135. According to Shady Nasser, *al-Shāṭibīyya* “is still being memorized by hundreds, if not thousands, of professional Qurra’ and it is even being recorded in audio and video formats to make its memorization more accessible” (“The Two-Rāwī Canon before and after ad-Dānī (d. 444/1052–3): The Role of Abū’l-Ṭayyib Ibn Ghalbūn (d. 389/998) and the Qayrawān/Andalus School in Creating the Two-Rāwī Canon,” *Oriens* 41 [2013]: 41–75, at 73).
 136. This would be the *Kitāb al-Mabsūṭ* authored by Shams al-Din Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Samarqandi (fl. fourteenth century). However, an earlier scholar, Ibn Mihran (d. 991), had also produced a work titled *Kitāb al-Mabsūṭ*. The identity of the library’s *Kitāb al-Mabsūṭ* is therefore not clear.
 137. Nasser, “The Two-Rāwī Canon,” 43.

138. Cihan Yüksel Muslu, *The Ottomans and the Mamluks: Imperial Diplomacy and Warfare in the Islamic World* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014), 35.
139. Shady Nasser, *The Transmission of the Variant Readings of the Qur'ān: The Problem of Tawātur and the Emergence of Shawādh* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 36, 61–64. Ibn al-Jazari was not the first to add three readings to Ibn Mujahid's seven systems, but his interventions were arguably more consequential than those of others (Nasser, "The Two-Rāwī Canon," 43).
140. MS Török F. 59, 27 {6}.
141. *Lawāmi' al-ghurar*, 19, 150. Ibn al-Jazari's *Tahbīr* is in turn a supplement to al-Dani's *al-Taysīr* (*Lawāmi' al-ghurar*, 30), which focuses exclusively on the seven readings.
142. Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, 12 vols. (Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāh), 1:241–42.
143. See, for example, the survey of the major "schools" of *qirā'āt* presented in Muhammad al-Mukhtār Wild Abbāh, *Ta'rikh al-qirā'āt fī al-mashriq wa-l-maghrib* (Morocco: ISESCO, 2001). Cf. Ibn Khaldun's comments about the prominence of Andalusian scholars in the field of *qirā'āt* (*The Muqaddima*, 2:441–43).
144. On this work, see Christopher Melchert, "Ibn Mujāhid and the Establishment of Seven Qur'anic Readings," *Studia Islamica* 91 (2000): 5–22.
145. Jane McAuliffe, *Qur'anic Christians: An Analysis of Classical and Modern Exegesis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 16.
146. *Ibid.*, 25.
147. *Ibid.*, 20.
148. *Ibid.*, 25.
149. *Ibid.*, 53; emphasis added.
150. Thus, in an attempt to investigate the issue of decline ("décadence") in various fields of Sunni Muslim learning, Claude Gilliot posits that *tafsīr* was particularly susceptible to "sclerosis," because "un commentaire coranique classique est essentiellement un commentaire «en tradition», c'est-à-dire qu'une grande partie du texte est occupé par des traditions attribuées au Prophète et surtout à d'anciens exégètes, le reste l'étant essentiellement par des questions philologiques, grammaticales ou juridiques" (Claude Gilliot, "Évolution ou sclérose de la tradition," in *États, sociétés et cultures du monde musulman médiéval (X^e-XV^e siècle)*. Tome 3, *Problèmes et perspectives de recherche* [Paris: Presse Universitaires de France, 2000], 189). Bruce Fudge speaks of an "insistence on transmitted materials" among Muslim exegetes, and claims that "in the mainstream works this opinion is unanimous and unambiguous" (Bruce Fudge, "Qur'anic Exegesis in Medieval Islam and Modern Orientalism," *Die Welt des Islams* 46, no. 2 [2006]: 115–47, at 125). Farid Esack asserts that transmitted exegetical lore is "the bedrock of what is viewed as orthodox exegesis and represents the most commonly accepted mode of interpretation" (Farid Esack, *The Qur'an: A User's Guide* [Oxford: Oneworld, 2005], 131). In the same vein, he claims that al-Tabari's commentary is "[u]ndoubtedly the pinnacle of traditional *Tafsīr*" (*ibid.*, 132). However, Esack also recognizes the indispensability of analytical exegesis to the Muslim scholarly tradition (*ibid.*, 133).
151. The only evidence of influence that McAuliffe mentions for *Jāmi' al-bayān* is the fact that the Sāmānid Maṣṣūr b. Nūḥ (d. 976) "commissioned a Persian adaptation of it" soon after al-Tabari's death. As it happens, the imperial library's catalogue mentions a Persian "translation" (*tarjuma*) of al-Tabari's commentary on the second and third suras (no. 127). However, *Tafsīr-i Ṭabarī*, as this Persian work was usually known, is not exactly a translation of *Jāmi' al-bayān*. Rather, it is primarily a reproduction of some of the historical material available in al-Tabari's commentary as well as his *Annals*. The many exquisite manuscripts of *Tafsīr-i Ṭabarī* suggest that it was primarily an *objet d'art*, of interest not to scholars but to courts that could afford precious collectibles. Thus, the commissioning of this work does not show that al-Tabari's commentary was particularly influential in the field of exegesis. For a lucid analysis of the origins and literary character of *Tafsīr-i Ṭabarī*, see Travis Zadeh, *The Vernacular Qur'an: Translation and the Rise of Persian Exegesis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 310–15.
152. Saleh, *The Formation of the Classical Tafsīr Tradition*, 207.
153. Ṭāshkubrīzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, 1:415; Ḥājī Khalifa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 437. See also Walid Saleh, "Marginalia and Peripheries: A Tunisian Historian and the History of Qur'anic Exegesis," *Numen: International Review for the History of Religions* 58, nos. 2–3 (2011): 284–313, at 298.
154. Saleh, *The Formation of the Classical Tafsīr Tradition*, 207. Cf. Saleh, "Marginalia and Peripheries," 298.
155. See, for instance, al-Dhahabī's categorization of these works in *al-Tafsīr wa-l-mufasssīrūn*, 1:163–74.
156. It is noteworthy that while these works have a conservative character, none of them is a mere collection of early exegetical lore. The personal judgment of the author is essential to the selection of material, and there is in fact much independent analysis of the Qur'anic text and the views of previous scholars. It may be possible to develop accurate definitions for *al-tafsīr bi-l-ma'thūr* and *al-tafsīr bi-l-ra'y* as mutually exclusive approaches to exegesis. However, historically speaking, these terms have been used in a variety of ways. For instance, *al-tafsīr bi-l-ra'y* is often used disparagingly to refer to unfounded exegetical speculation, not to analytical exegesis as such. A clear example of this usage appears in Ṭāshkubrīzāda's *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, 1:197. I am thankful to Khaled El-Rouayheb for drawing this passage to my attention.
157. An important exception to this dominant current is the late Ibn 'Ashur (d. 1970), the Grand Mufti of Tunisia, whose brief historical survey of Qur'anic exegesis—*al-Tafsīr wa-rījālūh*—provides a faithful depiction of the field of *tafsīr* as it was practiced in the premodern period. For a helpful introduction to this work and its significance, see Walid Saleh, "Marginalia and Peripheries."
158. McAuliffe, *Qur'anic Christians*, 28.
159. *Ibid.*

160. Ibid., 16–17.
161. McAuliffe discusses the same passage in an earlier study (“Quranic Hermeneutics: The Views of al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr,” in *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qurʾān*, ed. Andrew Rippin [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988], 46–62), which similarly does not mention the source of Ibn Kathīr’s remarks. In subsequent publications, McAuliffe provides a translation of select sections of Ibn Taymiyya’s *Muqaddima* (“Ibn Taymiyya: Treatise on the Principles of Tafsīr,” in *Windows on the House of Islam: Muslim Sources on Spirituality and Religious Life*, ed. John Renard [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998], 35–43) and explicitly notes Ibn Kathīr’s indebtedness to this work (“The Tasks and Traditions of Interpretation,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Qurʾān*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe [Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006], 181–209, esp. 198). On Ibn Taymiyya’s treatise and its influence on Ibn Kathīr, see also Walid Saleh, “Ibn Taymiyya and the Rise of Radical Hermeneutics: An Analysis of *An Introduction to the Foundations of Qurʾānic Exegesis*,” in *Ibn Taymiyya and His Times*, ed. Shahab Ahmed and Yossef Rapoport (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 123–63, at 124.
162. Of course, McAuliffe recognizes that this part of the *Durr*’s prologue is a theoretical discussion of “the principles of Qurʾānic exegesis,” not a historical sketch of early *tafsīr* (McAuliffe, *Qurʾānic Christians*, 17; McAuliffe, “Quranic Hermeneutics,” 56–58). Nevertheless, she claims that “[t]he stages in this progression [of authoritative sources] nicely parallel the traditional Islamic view of the history of *tafsīr*” (McAuliffe, *Qurʾānic Christians*, 17).
163. Ibn Taymiyya, *Muqaddima fī uṣūl al-tafsīr*, ed. ‘Adnān Zarzūr (Kuwait: Dār al-Qurʾān al-Karīm, 1971), 93–104. An exception is when these early authorities are channeling Jewish and Christian lore, or what Ibn Taymiyya calls “the stories of the Israelites” (*al-aḥādīth al-isrāʾīliyya*) (ibid., 100). One should abandon such material, as it contradicts the knowledge available to Muslims (*mā ʿindanā*), by which Ibn Taymiyya presumably means the Qurʾān and the Sunna (ibid.).
164. Ibid., 46.
165. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm*, ed. Sāmī b. Muḥammad al-Salāma, 8 vols. (Riyadh: Dār Tayyiba, 1999), 1:11.
166. McAuliffe, *Qurʾānic Christians*, 20n21.
167. Ibn Taymiyya, *Muqaddima*, 106.
168. Ibid., 105.
169. Ibid.
170. This concerns Qurʾān 18:22, which relates three views from Christians concerning the Sleepers of Ephesus: “They will say [the sleepers] were three, their dog being the fourth of them; and they will say five, their dog being the sixth of them. Guessing at the unseen! And they will say seven, their dog being the eighth of them.” In a clear example of *al-tafsīr bi-l-raʾy*, Ibn Taymiyya argues that the correct view is indeed the third one (i.e., there were seven sleepers). This is because, he notes, the interjection “guessing at the unseen” appears after the first two theories—thereby rejecting them—while no such interjection follows the third theory. Had this theory also been incorrect, Ibn Taymiyya asserts, the Qurʾān would have surely rejected it as well (Ibn Taymiyya, *Muqaddima*, 101).
171. Walid Saleh, “Radical Hermeneutics,” 152–53. Note, however, that the commentary of Ibn Abi Hatim is extant and has been published (*Tafsīr Ibn Abī Ḥatīm al-Rāzī*, ed. Aḥmad Fathī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥijāzī, 7 vols. [Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2006]).
172. *FSQT*, 420–22.
173. *FSQT*, 155–82.
174. For a comprehensive analysis of al-Suyuti’s commentary, see Shabir Ally, “The Culmination of Tradition-Based Tafsīr: The Qurʾān Exegesis *al-Durr al-Manthūr* of al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505)” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2012).
175. Ibid., 7–11.
176. Ahmed and Filipović, “The Sultan’s Syllabus,” 198.
177. Muhammad Husayn al-Dhahabi, *Al-Tafsīr wa-l-mufasssīrūn*, 1:188.
178. Ibid., 1:188–91.
179. Saleh, “Gloss as Intellectual History.”

LIST OF ENTRIES

SECTION ON BOOKS OF EXEGESIS AND THE SCIENCE OF VARIANT READINGS

(Tafṣīlu kutubi al-tafāsīri wa-kutubi 'ilmi al-qirā'ati)

Abbreviations

- FSQT *Al-Fihris al-shāmil li-l-turāth al-'arabī al-islāmī al-makhṭūṭ: 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān. Makhṭūṭāt al-tafsīr wa-'ulūmuh*, 2 vols., Ammān: Mu'assasat Āl al-Bayt, 1989
- FSQQ *Al-Fihris al-shāmil li-l-turāth al-'arabī al-islāmī al-makhṭūṭ: 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān. Makhṭūṭāt al-qirā'āt*, 2nd edition, Ammān: Mu'assasat Āl al-Bayt, 1994
- FANKHA Muṣṭafā Dirāyatī, *Fihristgān-i nuskhahā-yi khattī-yi Irān*, 45 vols., Tehran: Sāzmān-i Asnād wa-Kitābkhāna-yi Millī, 2011
- GAL Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, 2nd edition, 2 vols., Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1943–49
- GAL S Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur. Supplementband*, 3 vols., Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937–42

1. Fakhr al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. al-Ḥusayn al-Rāzī (d. 1209). *Kitāb al-Tafsīr al-kabīr* (The Great Commentary) = *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* (Keys to the Unseen), ca. 1199–1207,¹ Arabic, 18 {19}. EDITION: *Al-Tafsīr al-kabīr aw Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abdalḥamīd, 32 vols. (Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Bahiyya al-Miṣriyya, 1934–64).
2. Same as above, 18 {19}–19 {1}.
3. Same as above, 19 {1–2}.
4. Same as above, 19 {2–3}.
5. Same as above, in more than one volume (all missing except the last one), 19 {3–4}.
6. Same as above, in 2 vols. 19 {4}.
7. Same as above, in 4 vols. 19 {4–5}.
8. Jār Allāh Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī (d. 1144). *Al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq ghawāmiḍ al-tanzīl wa-'uyūn al-aqāwīl fī wujūh al-ta'wīl* (Unveiler of the Truth of the Intricate Parts of Revelation and the Prominent Opinions concerning Aspects of Interpretation),² 1132–34,³ Arabic, 19 {5}. EDITION: *Al-Qur'ān ma'a tafsīruh al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq al-tanzīl*, ed. William Nassau Lees et al., 2 vols. (Calcutta: Maṭba'at al-Laysī, 1856–59).⁴
9. Same as above, 19 {5–6}.
10. Same as above, 19 {6}.
11. Same as above, 19 {6}.
12. Same as above, 19 {7}.
13. Same as above, 19 {7}.
14. Same as above, 19 {8}.
15. Same as above, in 4 vols., 19 {8}.
16. Same as above, in 2 vols., 19 {9}.
17. Same as above, 19 {10}.
18. Same as above, in 3 vols. (first missing), 19 {1–11}.
19. Same as above, 19 {11–12}.

20. Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Umar al-Bihbahānī al-Fārisī (d. 1344).⁵ *Al-Kashf ‘an mushkilāt al-Kashshāf* (Resolving the Difficulties of *al-Kashshāf*),⁶ 1342, Arabic, 19 {12}. Most of this work has been edited in dissertations at al-Azhar University: Muḥammad Maḥmūd ‘Abdallāh al-Salmān (suras 1–2?, 1980), Aḥmad Ramaḍān Muṣṭafā Diyāb (suras 3–10, 2003); Maḥmūd Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Mun‘im Ḥasan (suras 11–16, 2008); Maḥmūd ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Sibā’ī Muḥammad (suras 25–45, 2006); Yaḥyā ‘Abd al-Ḥayy ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ‘Afīfī (suras 46–114, 2006).
21. Same as above, 19 {13}.
22. Same as above, 19 {13–14}.
23. Same as above, 19 {14}.
24. Same as no. 8, the first half missing, 19 {15}.
25. Same as no. 20, 19 {16–17}.
26. “*Ḥāshiyat Sharḥ al-Kashshāf*,” 19 {17}. A gloss on a commentary on *al-Kashshāf*.
27. Sa’d al-Dīn Mas‘ūd b. ‘Umar al-Taftāzānī (d. 1390). *Ḥāshiyat al-Kashshāf* (Gloss on *al-Kashshāf*), ca. 1390,⁷ Arabic, 19 {17–18}.
28. Same as above, 19 {18–19}.
29. Same as above, 19 {19}.
30. Same as above, 20 {1–2}. From sura *al-Nisā’* [4] to the middle of sura *Yūnus* [10].
31. “*Kitāb ḥāshiyat ḥāshiyat Sa’d al-Dīn li-l-Kashshāf*,” 20 {2–3}. A gloss on no. 27, that is, a supergloss on *al-Kashshāf*.⁸
32. Same as no. 27, 20 {3–4}.
33. Same as above, partial, 20 {4–5}. From sura *Ṣād* [38] to sura *al-Fath* [48].
34. Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥanafī al-Jurjānī (al-Sayyid al-Sharīf) (d. 1413). *Ḥāshiyat al-Kashshāf* (Gloss on *al-Kashshāf*), Arabic, 20 {5–6}. EDITION: Abū al-Ḥasan al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, *al-Ḥāshiya ‘alā al-Kashshāf li-l-Zamakhsharī*, ed. Rashīd b. ‘Umar A’raḍī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2016).
35. Same as above, 20 {6}.
36. Same as above, 20 {6–7}.
37. Same as above, 20 {7}.
38. Same as above,⁹ 20 {8–9}.
39. Same as above, 20 {9–10}.
40. Same as above, 20 {10–11}.
41. Same as above, 20 {11–12}.
42. Same as above, 20 {12}.
43. Same as no. 38, 20 {13–14}.
44. “*Risālat al-I’tirāḍāt ‘alā ḥāshiyat al-Sayyid al-Sharīf ‘alā al-Kashshāf*,” 20 {15–16}. An examination of criticisms leveled against al-Jurjānī’s gloss on *al-Kashshāf*.
45. Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Khaṭīb al-Rūmī (Khaṭīb-zāde) (d. 1495). *Ḥāshiyat al-Kashshāf* (Gloss on *al-Kashshāf*),¹⁰ Arabic, 20 {16–17}.
46. ‘Abdalkarīm b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥanafī (Abdülkerim Efendi) (d. ca. 1494–95),¹¹ *Ḥāshiyat al-Kashshāf fī al-zahrāwayn* (Gloss on *al-Kashshāf* Concerning the Two Brilliant Suras [*al-Baqarah* and *Āl-i ‘Imrān*]),¹² Arabic, 20 {17–18}.
47. “*Kitāb Tawḍīḥ mushkilāt al-Kashshāf*” (Treatise on Elucidating the Problems of *al-Kashshāf*),¹³ 20 {18}.
48. “*Miftāḥ al-kunūz al-muntakhab min al-Kashshāf*” (Key to Treasures Selected from *al-Kashshāf*). The first volume extant (not clear how many in total), 20 {19}.
49. “*Kitāb Ḥāshiyat al-Kashshāf*” (Gloss on *al-Kashshāf*). 20 {19}–21 {1}.

50. Same as above, 21 {1}.
51. "*Ḥāshiyat Kashshāf*" (Gloss on *al-Kashshāf*), 21 {1–2}. A work containing annotations on *al-Kashshāf* from sura *Maryam* [19] to sura *al-Shu'arā'* [26]. Not clear how many volumes in total.
52. "*Kitāb al-abḥāth fī al-Kashshāf wa-ḥawāshih*" (Investigations Concerning *al-Kashshāf* and Its Glosses), 21 {2–3}.
53. "*Risālat ḥāshiya li-ḥawāshī al-Kashshāf*" (A Gloss on the Glosses of *al-Kashshāf*), 21 {3–4}.
54. "*Risālat ḥāshiya li-l-Kashshāf wa-li-ḥawāshih*" (Gloss on *al-Kashshāf* and Its Glosses), 21 {4}.
55. "*Kitāb ḥāshiyat mawlānā Quṭb al-Dīn 'alā al-Kashshāf*" (Gloss on *al-Kashshāf*), 21 {5}. The author of this gloss may be Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī (Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, d. 1364),¹⁴ or perhaps the later Quṭb al-Dīn al-Iznīqī (Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, d. 1480), who is cited elsewhere in the inventory as "*mawlānā Quṭb al-Dīn al-Iznīqī*" (127 {11}).¹⁵
56. "*Ḥāshiyat al-Kashshāf*" (Gloss on *al-Kashshāf*), 21 {6}.
57. Attributed to Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-'Arabī (Ibn al-'Arabī, d. 1240). *Al-Taḥsīr* (Exegesis [of the Qur'an]), 3 vols., 21 {6–7}. According to the inventory, "it is written" (*marqūm*) that this commentary belongs to Ibn al-'Arabī. Such a turn of phrase suggests the cataloguer was skeptical about this attribution. Indeed, in the premodern period (and even until the present day) the Qur'an commentary of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Kāshānī (d. 1330) was often attributed mistakenly to Ibn al-'Arabī, so perhaps the volume in question contained al-Kāshānī's commentary.¹⁶ Nevertheless, it appears that Ibn al-'Arabī did write exegetical works on the Qur'an, even though none seems to have survived.¹⁷
58. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Qurṭubī (d. 1272). *Al-Jāmi' li-aḥkām al-Qur'ān wa-al-mubayyin li-mā taḍammanahu min al-sunna wa-āy al-Furqān* (The Compendium of the Legal Rulings of the Qur'an, and the Elucidator of What Pertains to It [the Compendium] from the Sunna and the Verses of the Furqān),¹⁸ Arabic, 3 vols., 21 {7–9}. EDITION: *Al-Jāmi' li-aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, ed. Aḥmad 'Abd al-'Alīm al-Bardūnī et al., 20 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Kātib al-'Arabī, 1967).
59. Same as above, in 4 vols., 21 {9–10}.
60. Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn b. Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad al-Baghawī (d. 1122).¹⁹ *Ma'ālim al-tanzīl* (Guideposts of Revelation), Arabic, 21 {11}. EDITION: *Ma'ālim al-tanzīl*, Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1987.
61. Same as above, in 3 vols., 21 {12}.
62. Nāṣir al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 1300).²⁰ *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl* (Lights of Revelation and Secrets of Interpretation), before 685 H, Arabic, 21 {13}. EDITION: *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl, al-ma'rūf bi-tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mar'ashlī, 5 vols. (Beirut, Dār Iḥya' Turāth al-'Arabī, 1998).
63. Same as above, 21 {13–14}.
64. Same as above, 21 {14–15}.
65. Same as above, 21 {15}.
66. Same as above, 21 {16}.
67. Same as above, 21 {16–17}.
68. Same as above, 21 {17–18}.
69. Same as above, 21 {18}.
70. Same as above, 21 {18.5}.
71. Same as above, 21 {19}.
72. Same as above, 21 {19}–22 {1}.
73. Same as above, 22 {1–2}.
74. Same as above, 22 {2}.

75. Same as above, 22 {3}.
76. Same as above, 22 {3–4}.
77. Same as above, 22 {4}.
78. Same as above, 22 {5}.
79. Same as above, 22 {5–6}.
80. “*Hāshiyat Tafṣīr al-Qāḍī li-l-zahrāwayn*,” 22 {6}. Based on the information provided in *Kashf al-ẓunūn* (Istanbul: 1941–43), 190–93, on the works written on *Anwār al-tanzīl*, this gloss may belong to Nūr al-Dīn Ḥamza b. Maḥmūd al-Qarāmānī (d. 1466–67) or Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim (d. 1498–99).
81. Same as above, 22 {7}.
82. “*Hāshiyat Tafṣīr al-Qāḍī*,” 22 {7}. A gloss on no. 62 (al-Bayḍāwī’s *Anwār al-tanzīl*).
83. Same as above, the first half missing, 22 {8}.
84. Yūsuf b. Junayd al-Tūqātī Akhī Ḥelebi (d. ca. 1496).²¹ *Mushāhadat anwār al-tanzīl fi mujāhadat asrār al-ta’wīl* (Witnessing the Lights of Revelation in Striving for the Secrets of Interpretation), Arabic, 22 {9–10}. A gloss on the commentary of al-Bayḍāwī on suras *Hūd* [11] and *Yūsuf* [12].²²
85. Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā b. al-Ḥājj Ḥasan (Ḥājj Ḥasan-zāde) (d. 1505).²³ *Al-Risāla al-sultāniyya fi ḥawāshī tafṣīr al-Qāḍī al-Bayḍāwī li-sūrat al-An’ām* (A Treatise for the Sultan concerning Glosses on the Commentary of the Judge al-Bayḍāwī on Sura *al-An’ām*), ca. 900,²⁴ Arabic, 22 {10–11}. Dedicated to Sultan Bayezid II.²⁵
86. “*Risāla fi āyat Hārūt wa-Mārūt ‘alā mā fi tafṣīr al-Qāḍī*” (A Treatise concerning the Verse of Hārūt and Mārūt [Q 2:102] Based on the Commentary of al-Qāḍī [al-Bayḍāwī]), 22 {11–12}.
87. Ḥakīm al-Dīn Idrīs b. Ḥusām al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Bidlīsī (d. 1520). *Hāshiyat Tafṣīr al-Qāḍī* (Gloss on the Commentary of al-Qāḍī [al-Bayḍāwī]),²⁶ Arabic, 22 {12–13}.
88. “*Hāshiyat Tafṣīr al-Qāḍī*” (Gloss on the Commentary of al-Qāḍī), Arabic, 22 {13}.
89. “*Kitāb al-Taysīr fi al-tafṣīr*,” Arabic 22 {13–14}. This work, of which the inventory lists three more copies (nos. 90, 98, 99), is most likely the popular commentary by Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī (d. 1142), the eponymous author of the celebrated *‘Aqīdat al-nasafiyya*.²⁷ Al-Nasafī wrote this commentary in two years (January 1127 to February 1129).²⁸
90. Same as above, Arabic, 22 {14–15}.
91. Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Kāshānī (d. ca. 1329).²⁹ *Ta’wīlāt al-Qur’ān* (Interpretations of the Qur’an) = *Ḥaqā’iq al-ta’wīl fi daqā’iq al-tanzīl* (True Interpretations concerning the Subtleties of Revelation),³⁰ Arabic, 22 {15}. EDITION: *Tafṣīr al-Qur’ān al-karīm* (Beirut: Dār al-Yaqza al-‘Arabiyya, 1968).
92. Rashīd al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Abī Sa’d al-Maybudī (d. after 1126). *Kashf al-asrār wa-‘uddat al-abrār*³¹ (Unveiling of Secrets and Provision for the Righteous), begun in 520/1126,³² Persian-Arabic,³³ 22 {16–17}. EDITION: *Kashf al-asrār wa-‘uddat al-abrār, ma’rūf be Tafṣīr-e Khwāja ‘Abdallāh Anṣārī*, ed. Ali Asghar Hekmat, 10 vols. (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tihirān, 1953–61).
93. Same as above, 22 {17–18}.
94. Same as above, 22 {18–19}.
95. “*Kashf al-asrār*” (Unveiling of Secrets), 2 vols., Arabic, 22 {19}. This may be the work of Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍā’il Yūsuf b. Hilāl al-Ṣafādī (d. 1296), who wrote a commentary titled *Kashf al-asrār wa-hatḥ al-astār*.³⁴
96. Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Naysābūrī al-Wāḥidī (d. 1076). *Al-Wajīz fi tafṣīr al-Qur’ān al-‘azīz* (The Compendium: Exegesis of the Sublime Qur’ān) = *al-Tafṣīr al-wajīz* (The

- Compendious Commentary),³⁵ written before 446/1054,³⁶ Arabic, 23 {1}. EDITION: *al-Wajīz*, ed. Ṣafwān 'Adnān Dāwūdī (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1995).
97. Same as above, 23 {1–2}.
 98. Same as no. 89, 4 vols., 23 {2}.
 99. Same as no. 89, 23 {3}.
 100. Same as no. 91, in 3 vols. (2nd volume missing), 23 {3}.
 101. Ḥujjat al-Islām Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Jawāhir al-Qur'ān wa-duraruh* (The Jewels and Pearls of the Qur'an), ca. 495/1102,³⁷ Arabic, 23 {4}. EDITION: *Jawāhir al-Qur'ān wa-dururuhu*, ed. Riḍwān Jāmi' Riḍwān (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥaram li-l-Turāth, 2004).
 102. Same as above, 23 {4–5}.
 103. "*Risāla fī Tafsīr al-Fakhr al-Rāzī fī sūrat al-'Aṣr*" (A Treatise on the Commentary of al-Fakhr al-Rāzī on Sura *al-'Aṣr*), 23 {5–6}.
 104. "*Tarjamat al-Tafsīr al-wajīz bi-al-fārisiyya*" (Persian Translation of *al-Tafsīr al-wajīz*), Persian, 23 {6}.³⁸ A translation of no. 96, above.
 105. Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Abū al-Barakāt 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī (d. 1310). *Madārik al-tanzīl wa-ḥaqā'iq al-ta'wīl* (Insights of Revelation and Truths of Interpretation), Arabic, 23 {7}. EDITION: *Tafsīr al-Nasafī: Madārik al-tanzīl wa-ḥaqā'iq al-ta'wīl*, ed. Yūsuf 'Alī Bdaiwī, 3 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib, 1998).
 106. Same as above, 23 {7–8}.
 107. Same as above, 2 vols., 23 {8}.
 108. Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl Mullā al-Gūrānī (d. 1488). *Ghāyat al-amānī fī tafsīr al-kalām al-rabbānī* (The Ultimate Aim of Aspirations: Exegesis of Divine Speech) = *Ghāyat al-amānī fī tafsīr al-sab' al-mathānī* (The Ultimate Aim of Aspirations: Exegesis of the Seven Oft-Repeated Texts),³⁹ 860/1456–867/1463,⁴⁰ Arabic, 23 {9}. Edited in seven dissertations at Al-Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud Islamic University in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: Ḥamid b. Ya'qūb al-Furayh (suras 1–3), Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Shibil (suras 4–7), Muḥammad b. Sarī' al-Sarī' (suras 8–14), al-'Abbās b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥāzimī (suras 15–22), Hādī b. 'Alī al-Radīnī (suras 23–35), 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī al-Mujhidī (suras 36–52), al-Jawhara Muḥammad al-'Anqarī (suras 53–114).
 109. Same as above, 23 {9–10}.
 110. Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Shaybānī al-Kawāshī (d. 1281),⁴¹ Arabic, 23 {10}. Al-Kawāshī wrote an extensive commentary, on the basis of which he then produced a shorter commentary. The former work is known as *Tabṣīrat al-mutadhakkir wa-tadhkirat al-mutabaṣṣir fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (Elucidation for the Mindful and Reminder for the Watchful: Exegesis of the Qur'an), as well as *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr* (The Great Commentary).⁴² The latter is known as *al-Talkhīṣ fī al-tafsīr* (Abridgment: On Exegesis), as well as *al-Tafsīr al-ṣaghīr* (The Short Commentary).⁴³ He finished The Short Commentary in 649/1251.⁴⁴ Various overlapping parts of the larger text have been edited in dissertations at the Islamic University in Medina and al-Azhar University in Cairo.⁴⁵
 111. Same as above, 23 {11}.
 112. Same as above, the second half missing, 23 {11–12}.
 113. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Sīwāsī (d. 1455).⁴⁶ *Uyūn al-tafāsīr li-l-fuḍalā' al-samāsīr* (Finest Interpretations for the Benefit of Astute Scholars)⁴⁷ = *Tafsīr al-Shaykh* (The Master's Commentary), Arabic, 23 {12–13}. EDITION: *Uyūn al-tafāsīr li-l-fuḍalā' al-samāsīr al-mashhūr bi-Tafsīr al-Shaykh*, ed. Bahattin Dartma, 4 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 2006).
 114. Same as above, 2 vols., 23 {13–14}.
 115. Same as no. 91, 23 {14}.

116. “*As’īlat al-Qur’ān*” (Questions about the Qur’an), 23 {15}. Perhaps the same as no. 125, below.⁴⁸
117. “*Asbāb nuzūl al-Qur’ān al-karīm*” (Occasions of the Noble Qur’an’s Revelation),⁴⁹ 23 {15–16}.
118. Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Māturīdī (d. ca. 944).⁵⁰ *Ta’wīlāt ahl al-sunna* (Interpretations of the Adherents of Sunna) = *Ta’wīlāt al-Qur’ān* (Interpretations of the Qur’an), Arabic, 3 vols. extant (from beginning until end of sura *al-Ra’d* [13]), 23 {16–17}. EDITION: *Ta’wīlāt al-Qur’ān*, ed. Ahmet Vanhoğlu et al., 18 vols. (Istanbul: Dār al-Mizān, 2005–11).
119. Same as above, 3 vols. extant, 23 {17–18}.
120. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Māturīdī al-Samarqandī (d. ca. 1145).⁵¹ *Sharḥ Ta’wīlāt al-Māturīdī* (Commentary on the *Ta’wīlāt* of al-Māturīdī), Arabic, 23 {19}–24 {1}. MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye, Hamidiye 176, 1765–67 (commissioned by Sultan Mustafa III, stamp of Sultan Abdulhamid I).⁵²
121. Abū al-Layth Naṣr b. Muḥammad al-Samarqandī (d. ca. 983).⁵³ *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān* (Commentary on the Qur’an), Arabic, 24 {1}. EDITION: *Tafsīr al-Samarqandī al-musammā Baḥr al-‘ulūm*, ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad Mu‘awwaḍ et al. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1993).⁵⁴
122. Sharaf al-Dīn Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ṭībī (d. 1342).⁵⁵ *Futūḥ al-ghayb fī al-kashf ‘an qinā’ al-rayb* (Revelations from the Unseen in Uncovering the Veil of Doubt), Arabic, 24 {2}. EDITION: *Futūḥ al-ghayb fī al-kashf ‘an qinā’ al-rayb wa-huwa ḥāshiyat al-Ṭībī ‘alā al-Kashshāf*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Sulṭān al-‘Ulamā’ et al., 17 vols. (Dubai: Jā’izāt Dubayy al-Duwaliyya li-l-Qur’ān al-karīm, 2013).
123. “*Risāla fī tafsīr ba’ḍ āyāt al-Ḥajj*” (A Treatise on the Exegesis of Some Verses of al-Ḥajj),⁵⁶ 24 {3}.
124. “*Al-Tafsīr al-Fārisī*,” second half missing, 24 {3–4}. Either a Persian commentary or a commentary by a scholar named al-Fārisī.⁵⁷
125. Zayn al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Rāzī (d. after 1268).⁵⁸ *Unmūdhaj Jalīl fī as’īla wa-ajwiba min gharā’ib āy al-tanzīl* (A Noble Exemplar: Questions and Answers for Recondite Issues in the Verses of Revelation) = *As’īlat al-Qur’ān wa-ajwibatuhā* (Questions about the Qur’an and Their Answers).⁵⁹ EDITION: *Tafsīr al-Rāzī al-musammā bi-Unmūdhaj Jalīl fī as’īla wa-ajwiba min gharā’ib āy al-tanzīl*, ed. Muḥammad Riḍwān al-Dāya (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Mu‘āṣir, 1990).
126. “*Kitāb al-Tafsīr min sūrat al-Mulk ilā ākhir al-Qur’ān*” (Commentary from Sura *al-Mulk* [67] to the End of the Qur’an), 24 {5}.
127. “*Kitāb Tarjamat Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī bi-al-fārisiyya li-l-zahrāwayn*,” Persian, 24 {6}. Persian Translation of Ṭabarī’s *Tafsīr* on the Two Luminaries (al-Baqarah [Qur’an 2] and Āl-i ‘Imrān [Qur’an 3]). EDITION: *Tarjama-yi Tafsīr-i Ṭabarī: Farāham āmada dar zamān-i saltanat-i Maṣṣūr b. Nūḥ Sāmānī, 350 tā 366 hījri*, ed. Ḥabīb Yaghmā’ī, 7 vols. (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tihirān, 1961–88).
128. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Fanārī (d. 1431). *Tafsīr sūrat al-Fātiḥa* (Commentary on Sura *al-Fātiḥa* [1]) = ‘*Ayn al-a’yān*’ (The Noblest of Nobles), ca. 1402,⁶⁰ Arabic, 24 {6–7}. EDITION: ‘*Ayn al-a’yān*’, Istanbul: Rıfat Bey Matbaası, 1325 [1907–8].
129. “*As’īla wa-ajwiba ‘alā kutub al-tafāsīr*” (Questions and Answers Pertaining to Books of [Qur’anic] Exegesis), 24 {7}.
130. Ḥamid al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Afḍal al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī (Efdalzade) (d. 1502–3). “*Kitāb fī tafsīr al-āyāt wa-tabyīn ṣifāt Allāh ta’ālā*” (A Book concerning Exegesis of [Qur’anic] Verses and Elucidation of the Attributes of God), 24 {8–9}.
131. Same as no. 125, 24 {9}.
132. “*Khulāṣat al-Fātiḥa*” (Core [Teachings] of al-Fātiḥa [1]), 24 {10}.

133. "*Nāsikha wa-mansūkha*" (Abrogating and Abrogated [Verses]),⁶¹ 24 {10–11}.
134. "*Risāla fī tafsīr sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ wa-al-Mu'awwidhatayn wa-risāla fī ba'd al-asrār fī al-suwar fī mujallad wāḥid*," 24 {11–12}. A treatise on the last three suras of the Qur'an,⁶² and a treatise on "some secrets in the suras."
135. "*Tafsīr sūrat al-Dukhān*," 24 {12}. A commentary on sura *al-Dukhān* [44].⁶³
136. "*As'ūlat al-Qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth*" (Questions on the Qur'an and Hadith), 24 {13}. The author may be Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Āqsarā'ī (d. 1512), a contemporary of Sultan Bayezid II.⁶⁴ A later section of the inventory (96 {17–18}, on *fiqh*) refers to *As'ila li-Āqsarā'ī bi-al-fārisiyya*, which may be the same work.
137. "*Kitāb fī daqā'iq ba'd al-suwar*," 24 {13–14}.
138. "*Kitāb tafsīr al-Fātiḥa*," 24 {14–15}. A commentary on sura *al-Fātiḥa* [1].⁶⁵
139. "*Risālat tarjamāt tafsīr sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ bi-al-fārisiyya wa-Risālat tafsīr sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ bi-al-'arabiyya fī mujallad*," 24 {15–16}. An Arabic commentary on sura *al-Ikhlāṣ* [112], and a Persian translation of the (same?) commentary on sura *al-Ikhlāṣ* [112], in one volume.
140. "*Tafsīr sūrat Yūsuf 'alayhi al-salām ma'a qisṣat Yūsuf 'alayhi al-salām wa-tafsīr sūrat al-Ra'd bi-al-fārisiyya*," Persian, 24 {16–18}. A commentary on sura *Yūsuf* [12], the story of Joseph, and a commentary on sura *al-Ra'd* [13].
141. Shams al-Dīn Abū al-Thanā' Maḥmūd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1349). *Anwār al-ḥaqā'iq al-rabbāniyya fī tafsīr al-Laṭā'if al-qur'āniyya*⁶⁶ (Lights of Divine Truths in Exegesis of the Qur'an's Subtleties), ca. 1345,⁶⁷ Arabic, 24 {18–19}. Walid Saleh ("Gloss as Intellectual History: The *Ḥāshiyas* on *al-Kashshāf*," *Oriens* 41 (2013), 230n36) describes this work as "one of the most popular glosses on *al-Kashshāf*," though this is not borne out by the number of copies recorded in *FSQT* (405–6). According to *Kashf al-zunūn* (1482), this work brings together the insights of *al-Kashshāf* and *Maḥfātīḥ al-ghayb*. Edited piecemeal in the following dissertations at Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud Islamic University at Riyadh: Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān b. Qumaysh al-Huwaymil (suras 1–2), 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nāṣir b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Yūsuf (suras 4–5), Badr b. Nāṣir al-Badr (suras 6–7), 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ḥikma Āl Ḥusayn (suras 8–10), Riyāḍ Muḥammad al-Musaymīrī (suras 11–16), Jamāl al-Dīn b. Aḥmad al-Qādirī (suras 17–22), Wafā' bt. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Hādī al-'Assāf (suras 23–29), Al-Zahrā' bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Tuwayjirī (suras 30–38), Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Zaytara (suras 39–53), 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Ḥawās b. Muḥammad al-Ḥawās (suras 54–114).
142. Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin al-Qushayrī (d. 1072). *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt* (Subtleties of Allusions), begun in 437/1045–46,⁶⁸ Arabic, 24 {19}–25 {1}. EDITION: *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt: Tafsīr ṣūfi kāmīl li-l-Qur'ān al-karīm*, ed. Ibrāhīm Basyūnī (Cairo: Dār al-Kātib al-'Arabī, 1968).
143. Muḥammad b. Farāmarz al-Rūmī al-Ḥanafī (Mullā Khusraw) (d. 1480).⁶⁹ *Naqd al-afkār fī radd al-anzār* (Examination of Ideas in Refutation of Speculations), Arabic, 25 {2–3}.⁷⁰
144. "*Bayān al-isti'ādha wa-al-basmala*," 25 {3–5}. A treatise on the two speech acts that precede recitation of the Qur'an, namely, seeking refuge in God from Satan (*isti'ādha*) and invoking God's name (*basmala*).⁷¹
145. "*Risāla fī khawāṣṣ al-isti'ādha wa-al-tasmiya wa-āyat al-kursī*," 25 {5–6}. A treatise on the two just-mentioned speech acts (*isti'ādha* and *basmala/tasmiya*) as well as the "Throne Verse" (i.e., Q 2:255).
146. "*Risāla fī qawlihi ta'ālā 'inna Allāh ishtarā min al-mu'minīn anfusahum wa-amwālahum' al-āya*," 25 {6–7}. A treatise on Q 9:111, which is the only verse that mentions the Torah, the Gospel, and the Qur'an.

147. "*Kitāb al-Madārik fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿazīm*,"⁷² 25 {7–8}.
148. "*Kitāb al-Asʿila al-mutaʿalliqa bi-al-Qurʾān*," 25 {8–9}. A treatise containing questions about the Qurʾan.
149. Nūr al-Dīn Abū Ḥanīfa ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad al-Būnī (d. fifth century).⁷³ *Al-Fuṣūl* (The Divisions), Arabic, 25 {9–10}.
150. Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū al-Baqāʾ ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿUkbarī (d. 1219). *Al-Tibyān fī iʿrāb al-Qurʾān* (The Exposition: On the Qurʾan's Grammar), Arabic, 25 {10}. EDITION: *Al-Tibyān fī iʿrāb al-Qurʾān*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī (Cairo: ʿIsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1976).
151. "*Mukhtaṣar fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān*," 25 {11}. This might be the same work as no. 96, above.⁷⁴
152. Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Khalīl al-Khuṭī (d. 1240).⁷⁵ *Aqālīm al-taʿālīm fī al-funūn al-sabʿa* (Climes of Learning: On the Seven Disciplines) = *Yanābīʿ al-ʿulūm* (Wellsprings of Sciences), 630/1232,⁷⁶ Arabic, 25 {11–12}.
153. "*Ijāz al-bayān*,"⁷⁷ 25 {12–13}.
154. Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kāfiyājī (d. 1474). *Nuzhat al-ikhwān fī tafsīr qawlihi taʿālā* "*qālū yā Lūṭ innā rusul rabbik*" *ilā ākhirih* (Delight of the Brethren: On the Exegesis of God's Statement, "They said: 'O Lot, we are the messengers of your Lord' [Q 11:81], etc."), Arabic, 25 {13–14}.
155. "*Risāla fī kashf... ʿan qawlihi taʿālā* ʿAllāh waliyy alladhīna āmanū yukhrijuhum min al-ẓulumāt ilā al-nūr," 25 {15–17}. A treatise on Q 2:256, or perhaps on a certain scholar's commentary on Q 2:256. The author (of the treatise or of the commentary discussed in the treatise) is described as *quṭb al-ʿarifīn* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān quddisa sirruh. Perhaps this is the famed poet ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī (d. 1492), who began writing a commentary on the Qurʾan,⁷⁸ and whose name appears elsewhere in the inventory in a similarly reverent fashion (although never with the epithet *quṭb al-ʿarifīn*).⁷⁹
156. "*Risāla fī qawlihi taʿālā* ʿAllāh waliyy alladhīna āmanū yukhrijuhum min al-ẓulumāt ilā al-nūr" *al-āya*,"⁸⁰ 25 {17–18}. A treatise on Q 2:256.
157. "*Risāla fī tafsīr sūrat al-ʿAṣr wa-Risālat tafsīr qawlihi taʿālā* ʿyā ayyuhā alladhīna āmanū iṣbirū wa-ṣābirū" *al-āya*," 25 {18}–26 {1}. A treatise on sura *al-ʿAṣr* [103], and another on Q 3:200.⁸¹
158. "*Nuzhat al-aṣḥāb fī tafsīr qawlihi taʿālā* ʿwa-law yuʾakhid Allāh al-nās bi-mā kasabū mā taraka ʿalā ẓahrihā min dābbaʾ," 26 {1–3}. A commentary, named "Delight of the Companions," on Q 35:45.
159. Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. al-Ḥusayn al-Rāzī (d. 1210). *Risāla fī al-tanbīh ʿalā baʿḍ al-asrār al-mūdaʿa fī baʿḍ suwar al-Qurʾān al-ʿazīm wa-al-Furqān al-karīm* (A Treatise Calling Attention to Some of the Secrets Deposited in Some of the Suras of the Great Qurʾan and the Noble Furqān), Arabic, 26 {3–5}. A work discussing various aspects of the four suras of *al-Ikhḷāṣ* [112], *al-Aʿlā* [87], *al-Tīn* [95], and *al-ʿAṣr* [103]. EDITION: *Risāla fī al-tanbīh ʿalā baʿḍ al-asrār al-mūdaʿa fī baʿḍ suwar al-Qurʾān al-ʿazīm*, ed. Bahattin Dartma (Amman, Jordan: Dār Ibn al-Jawzī, 2004).
160. "*Risāla fī bayān al-Fātiḥa*," 26 {5}. A commentary on sura *al-Fātiḥa* [1].
161. "*Risālat al-asʿila wa-al-ajwiba al-wāqiʿa fī ʿurs al-Sulṭān*," 26 {5–6}. Apparently the account of a discussion session pertaining to Qurʾanic exegesis held in the Sultan's presence during a feast.⁸²
162. "*Al-Rawḍa al-fāʾiḥa fī tafsīr al-Fātiḥa*" (The Verdant Garden: Exegesis of *al-Fātiḥa* [1]), 26 {7}.
163. "*Kitāb fī asrār al-Fātiḥa*,"⁸³ 26 {7–12}. A commentary on sura *al-Fātiḥa* [1]. Considering the next two items in the catalogue, this work may belong to Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī.
164. Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū al-Maʿālī Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Qūnawī (d. 1274). *Kitāb fī asrār al-Fātiḥa* (On the Secrets of *al-Fātiḥa* [1]) = *Ijāz al-bayān fī kashf baʿḍ asrār Umm al-Qurʾān* (Unmatched Explanation: Unveiling Some of the Secrets of the Mother of the Qurʾan),⁸⁴ before 669/1271,⁸⁵ Ara-

- bic, 26 {12–14}. EDITION: *I'jāz al-bayān fi ta'wīl Umm al-Qur'ān*, ed. 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-'Alawī al-Ḥaḍramī (Hyderabad: Osmania Oriental Publications Bureau, 1949).
165. Same as above, 26 {14–15}.
166. "*Kitāb fi dhikr āyāt al-Qur'ān al-muttafaq 'alayhā wa-al-mukhtalaf fihā*," 26 {15–16}.
167. "*Kitāb as'ilat al-Qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth*," 26 {16–17}. See no. 136, above.
168. "*Kitāb 'adad āyāt nāsikha wa-mansūkha*," 26 {17–18}. A book on the number of abrogating and abrogated verses in the Qur'an.
169. "*Jawāhir al-aṣḍāf*" (Pearls within Shells), 2 vols., ca. early 14th century,⁸⁶ Turkish, 26 {18–19}.
170. Same as no. 91 above, 26 {19}–27 {1}.
171. Attributed to Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (d. 1221). *Al-Ta'wīlāt al-najmiyya* (Najmid Interpretations) = *Baḥr al-ḥaqā'iq wa-al-ma'ānī fi tafsīr al-Sab' al-Mathānī* (Sea of Truths and Meanings Concerning Exegesis of the Seven Oft-Repeated Texts) = *Ayn al-ḥayāt* (Wellspring of Life), Arabic, 27 {1}.⁸⁷ EDITION: *Al-Ta'wīlāt al-najmiyya fi al-tafsīr al-ishārī al-ṣūfī*, ed. Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2009).
172. "*Risāla fi al-tafsīr*," 27 {1–3}. A treatise on Qur'anic exegesis, bound with two other non-exegetical works in the same volume.
173. Same as no. 128, above, 27 {4}.
174. "*Tarjamat qaṣīdat al-Shāṭibī bi-al-fārisiyya al-manẓūma*," 27 {8}. A versified Persian translation of *Ḥirz al-amānī wa-wajh al-tahānī* (also known as "al-Shāṭibiyya," no. 187 below).⁸⁸
175. Shams al-Dīn Abū al-Khayr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Jazarī (d. 1429). *Nashr al-qirā'āt al-'ashr* (Revival of the Ten Readings) = *al-Nashr fi al-qirā'āt al-'ashr* (The Revival: On the Ten Readings), 1396–97.⁸⁹ Arabic, 27 {9}. EDITION: *Al-Nashr fi al-qirā'āt al-'ashr*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Ḍabbā', 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, n.d.).
176. Burhān al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar al-Ja'barī (d. 1333).⁹⁰ Arabic, 27 {9–10}.
- 176a. *Kanz al-ma'ānī fi sharḥ Ḥirz al-amānī wa-wajh al-tahānī* (Treasure Trove of Meanings: Commentary on "Refuge of Aspirations and Abode of Pleasures"), 691/1292,⁹¹ Arabic, 2 volumes. A commentary on the above mentioned *lāmiyya* of al-Shāṭibī (no. 174), which pertains to the science of Qur'anic readings (*qirā'āt*).
- 176b. *Jamīlat arbāb al-marāṣid fi sharḥ 'Aqīlat atrāb al-qaṣā'id* (Fine Companion to Wayfarers: Commentary on "The Treasured Ode among Resembling Poems") = *al-Abḥāth al-jamīla fi sharḥ al-'Aqīla* (Fine Investigations: Commentary on "The Treasured Ode"),⁹² Arabic, 1 volume. A commentary on a different poem of al-Shāṭibī, a *rā'īyya* titled '*Aqīlat atrāb al-qaṣā'id fi asnā al-maqāṣid*, which is a versification of al-Dānī's *al-Muqni' fi rasm maṣāḥif al-amṣār* that discusses the skeletal text (*rasm*) of the 'Uthmānic codices.⁹³ Al-Ja'barī wrote this work after *Kanz al-ma'ānī*.⁹⁴ EDITION: *Jamīlat arbāb al-marāṣid: fi sharḥ 'Aqīlat atrāb al-qaṣā'id*, ed. Muḥammad Khudāyir al-Zawba'ī (Damascus: Dār al-Ghawthānī, 2010).
177. Volume containing (Arabic, 27 {11–13}):
- 177a. Abū al-Qāsim al-Qāsim b. Firruḥ al-Ru'aynī al-Shāṭibī (d. 1194). '*Aqīlat atrāb al-qaṣā'id fi asnā al-maqāṣid* (The Treasured Ode among Resembling Poems: In [Pursuit of] the Loftiest of Aims) = *al-Qaṣīda al-rā'īyya* (The Ode in *rā'*). A versification of Abū 'Amr al-Dānī's *al-Muqni' fi rasm maṣāḥif al-amṣār*. EDITION: *Manẓūmat 'Aqīlat atrāb al-qaṣā'id fi asnā al-maqāṣid: fi 'ilm rasm al-maṣāḥif*, ed. Ayman Rushdī Suwayd (Jiddah: Dār Nūr al-Maktabāt, 2001).
- 177b. Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl Mullā al-Gūrānī (d. 1488). *Raḳ' al-khitām fi waqf Ḥamza wa-Hishām* (Lifting the Seal: On the Pausal Stops of Ḥamza and Hishām).⁹⁵ A commentary on al-Ja'barī's *Farā'id al-asrār min waqf Ḥamza wa-Hishām*.

178. Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Ismā‘īl Mullā al-Gūrānī (d. 1488). *Al-‘Abqarī fī sharḥ al-Ja‘barī* (The Marvelous [Treatise]: Commentary on al-Ja‘barī), Arabic, 27 {14}. A commentary on al-Ja‘barī’s *Kanz al-ma‘ānī* (no. 176a, above).
179. “*‘Iqd al-durar al-muḍī‘a fī sharḥ al-qirā’āt al-thalāth al-marwiyya*” (A Necklace of Shining Pearls: Commentary on the Three Reported Readings), Arabic, 27 {15}. A commentary on Ibn al-Jazarī’s *al-Durra al-muḍī‘a fī qirā’āt al-a’imma al-thalātha al-marḍiyya*, a poem of 241 verses that discusses the three readers who are next in prestige to the widely-known Seven Readers. According to *Kashf al-zunūn* (743), which does not name the author of *‘Iqd al-durar* (instead referring to him as *ba‘ḍ al-‘ulamā’*, “a certain scholar”), this work was dedicated to Sultan Mehmed II.⁹⁶
180. “*Kitāb sharḥ fī ṭabaqāt al-qurrā’ al-sab‘a*,” 27 {16}. This may be the work by Amīn al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. al-Sallār al-Dimashqī al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 1380), a teacher of Ibn al-Jazarī’s. EDITION: *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-qurrā’ al-sab‘a wa-dhikr manāqibihim wa-qirā’ātihim*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad ‘Azzūz (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-‘Aṣriyya, 2003).⁹⁷
181. “*Kitāb al-mabsūt*,” 27 {17}. Perhaps to be identified with *al-Mabsūt fī al-qirā’āt al-sab‘ wa-al-maḍbūṭ min idā’āt al-ṭab’*, attributed to one Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Samarqandī (d. 1378–79).⁹⁸ This is a tripartite work that aims to elucidate al-Shāṭibī’s famous poem for students of Qur’anic readings. After a basic Persian introduction, the second and third parts respectively utilize tree graphs and tables to organize and present the data of *al-Shāṭibīyya* in a convenient manner. Having thus covered the *uṣūl* (general rules of recitation), the work ends with a supplement on *farsh al-ḥurūf* (idiosyncratic variants). Except for the introduction, the text is in Arabic.⁹⁹ See also no. 185b, below. Alternatively, this work could be *al-Mabsūt fī al-qirā’āt al-‘ashr*, written by Ibn Mihrān (Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mihrān al-Iṣfahānī, d. 991) and published as *al-Mabsūt fī al-qirā’āt al-‘ashr*, ed. Sabī‘ Ḥamza Ḥākīmī (Damascus: Majma‘ al-Lughā al-‘Arabiyya, 1986). Ibn Mihrān’s *al-Mabsūt* is an extensive commentary on another work of his, namely, *al-Shāmīl*.
182. “*Ḥilyat al-‘adani*” (The Precious Garment’s Ornament), 27 {18}.
183. “*Maslak al-qurrā’*” (The Path of Readers), 27 {18–19}. According to the inventory, a commentary on a poem of Ibn al-Jazarī (for which see no. 192a, below).
184. Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Ismā‘īl Mullā al-Gūrānī (d. 1488), 27 {19}–28 {1}.
 - 184a. *Lawāmi‘ al-ghurar fī sharḥ Farā’id al-durar* (Flashes of Brightness: Commentary on “Unique Pearls”),¹⁰⁰ before 884/1479,¹⁰¹ Arabic. Dedicated to Sultan Bayezid II,¹⁰² this is a commentary on *Farā’id al-durar*, which is a poem by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Shar‘abī (d. ca. 1434).¹⁰³ EDITION: *Lawāmi‘ al-ghurar: sharḥ Farā’id al-durar (fī al-qirā’āt al-thalāth)*, 2 vols., ed. Nāṣir b. Sa‘ūd al-Qathāmī (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 2009).
 - 184b. *Kashf al-asrār ‘an qirā’at al-a’immat al-akhyār* (Unveiling the Secrets of the Chosen Imams’ Readings), 890/1485,¹⁰⁴ Arabic. A commentary on Ibn al-Jazarī’s *Nihāyat al-barara fī mā zād ‘alā al-‘ashara*, a poem of 454 verses that discusses three readers (Ibn Muḥayṣin, al-A‘mash, and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī) in addition to the ten canonical readers.¹⁰⁵ Edited in a 2007 dissertation at Mecca’s Umm al-Qurā University, by ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥammād al-Qurashī.
185. Volume containing (28 {1–3}):
 - 185a. “*Kitāb fārisī fī ‘ilm al-qirā’a*.” A Persian treatise on the science of Qur’anic readings.
 - 185b. “*Al-Mabsūt*.” The latter two parts of *al-Mabsūt*, which may refer to Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Samarqandī’s treatise on al-Shāṭibīyya (see no. 181, above).
186. “*Al-Sirr al-maktūm*,” 28 {3}. Attributed to “al-Tirawī,” who may be Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Tirawī (known as Ibn al-Qaṣṣā’, d. after 1475).¹⁰⁶

187. Abū al-Qāsim al-Qāsim b. Firruḥ al-Ru'aynī al-Shāṭibī (d. 1194). *Ḥirz al-amānī wa-wajh al-tahānī* (Refuge of Aspirations and Abode of Pleasures) = *al-Shāṭibīyya* (al-Shāṭibī's Poem), Arabic, 28 {4}. One of the most widely-studied works on the seven famous Qur'anic readings (*al-qirā'āt al-sab'*), this is a *lāmīyya* poem of 1173 verses based on Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd al-Dānī's (d. 1053) *al-Taysīr fī al-qirā'āt al-sab'*. EDITION: *Manẓūmat Ḥirz al-amānī wa-wajh al-tahānī fī al-qirā'āt al-sab'*, ed. Ayman Rushdī Suwayd (Jiddah: Dār Nūr al-Maktabāt, 2008).
188. Same as no. 150, above.
189. 'Alī b. Nāṣir al-Makkī al-Ḥijāzī (d. after 1510–11). *Al-Durar al-muḍī'a fī ḥall rumūz al-Shāṭibīyya* (Shining Pearls: Solving the Mysteries of *al-Shāṭibīyya*),¹⁰⁷ Arabic, 28 {6}.
190. "*Ḥizb al-qirā'a li-l-ikhwān wa-al-khullān*" (A Selection of Readings for Brethren and Friends), Arabic, 28 {7}. A poetical abridgment of *al-Shāṭibīyya* in 673 verses.¹⁰⁸ The manuscript at the imperial library seems to have ended up at Princeton, because the Garrett collection contains an exquisite copy dedicated to Sultan Bayezid II with the exact same description given in our inventory: *Ḥizb al-qirā'a fī 'ilm al-qirā'a*.¹⁰⁹ MANUSCRIPTS: Princeton, Garrett 202L.
191. "*Risāla turkiyya fī 'ilm al-qirā'a wa-risālat tafsīr ba'd al-suwar bi-al-turkiyya*," 28 {7–8}. Two works in Turkish, one on Qur'anic readings, the other on exegesis of a sura.
192. Volume containing (28 {8–11}):
 - 192a. "*Naẓm al-shaykh al-Jazarī*." This may be Ibn al-Jazarī's *al-Durra al-muḍī'a* (241 verses; see nos. 179, 183), his *Muqaddima* (107 verses), or perhaps his more extensive *Ṭayyibāt al-nashr fī al-qirā'āt al-'ashr* (1,000 verses).¹¹⁰
 - 192b. "*Al-Naẓm al-turkī fī 'ilm al-qirā'a*." A Turkish poem on Qur'anic readings.
 - 192c. "*Zīnat al-qārī*" (Adornment for the Reader).¹¹¹
 - 192d. "*Qawā'id al-Qur'ān*" (Rules Pertaining to the Qur'an).

NOTES

1. There are uncertainties about this date range, primarily because al-Rāzī provides the date of completion for his exegesis of some suras but not for others. The earliest of these dates—given for sura *Āl-i Imrān*—is 1 Rabi' al-Ākhir 595 (January 31, 1199), while the latest given dates fall in Dhū al-Ḥijja of 603 (July 1207) (Jacques Jomier, "Les Mafatih al-ghayb de l'imam Fakhr al-Din al-Razi: quelques dates, lieux, manuscrits," *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire* 13 [1977]: 255, 261; Frank Griffel, "On Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzī's Life and the Patronage He Received," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 18, no. 3 [2007]: 325). However, considering the many undated chapters, it is possible that al-Rāzī was writing before and/or after the 1199–1207 interval. In fact, according to several pre-modern biographers and a number of modern academics, al-Rāzī did not manage to finish his commentary, with the result that some parts of the extant work—written by his students—date after 1210 (Richard Gramlich, "Faḥr ad-dīn ar-Rāzī's Kommentar zu sure 18, 9–12," *Asiatische Studien* 33 [1979]: 99–152; Jacques Jomier, "Qui a commenté l'ensemble des sourates al-'Ankabūt a Yāsīn (29–36) dans '*Le Tafsīr al-Kabīr*' de l'imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī?," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 11, no. 4 [1980]: 467–85). However, Tariq Jaffer claims that recent scholarship has shifted in favor of considering al-Rāzī the sole author of *Mafāṭih al-ghayb*, although he does not provide any references in support of this assertion (*Rāzī: Master of Quranic Interpretation and Theological Reasoning* [New York, 2015], 5).
2. A common variant of this title lacks the term *ghawāmiḍ* (Andrew Lane, *A Traditional Mu'tazilite Commentary on the Qur'ān: The Kashshāf of Jār Allāh al-Zamakhsharī* (d. 538/1144) [Leiden, 2006], 92). Another variant is *al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq al-tanzīl al-nāṭiq 'an daqā'iq al-ta'wīl* (ibid., n. 88).
3. During these two years, al-Zamakhsharī resided in Mecca, hence his title Jār Allāh ("God's Neighbor"). According to Lane's analysis of the available evidence, al-Zamakhsharī did not begin writing *al-Kashshāf* in 1132 "from scratch" (*A Traditional Mu'tazilite Commentary*, 53): "Rather, at this time he organized his thoughts and his material, and between teaching, studying and spiritual exercises,

put down on paper the final draft of the *Kashshāf* (ibid.). However, this position does not explain why, in the prologue to *al-Kashshāf*, al-Zamakhsharī boasts that he has done in two years what would normally take twenty years. This statement suggests that he had indeed started from scratch.

4. This is in fact the oldest print of *al-Kashshāf* and is also the only one to utilize several manuscripts and thereby approach a critical edition (Lane, *A Traditional Mu'tazilite Commentary*, 97).
5. Some pre-modern sources (perhaps the oldest being *Kashf al-zunūn* [1480]) and most modern studies provide his *nisba* as "al-Qazwīnī." However, this might be the result of conflating our author with another Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar, whose father's name was 'Alī and whose *nisba* was al-Qazwīnī (mentioned in Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaqāt al-qurrā'* [*Das biographische Lexikon der Koranlehrer*, ed. Gotthelf Bergsträsser and Otto Pretzl, 2 vols. (Cairo, Leipzig, 1932–33)], 1:594–95, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina fī a'yān al-mī'a al-thāmina*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mu'īd Khān, 6 vols., 2nd ed. [Hyderabad, 1972], 4:211). For a persuasive argument as to why these are two different people, see Sayyid Muḥammad Maṣṣūr Ṭabāṭabā'ī, "Naẓarī Jadīd darbāra-yi Kitāb-i '*Kashf al-Kashshāf*' wa Mu'allif-i Ān," *Bahār-i Adab* 16 (2012): 493–504.
6. Al-Fārisī's work is known also as *Kashf al-Kashshāf* (thus in our inventory), *al-Kashf 'alā al-Kashshāf*, and *ḥāshiyat al-Kashshāf* (Lane, *A Traditional Mu'tazilite Qur'ān Commentary*, 303; FANKHA, 26: 308). A longer title, not given in the secondary sources, appears on a manuscript at Princeton (available at <http://pudl.princeton.edu/objects/3x816n9op>): *Kashf al-Kashshāf al-mufajjir yanābī' al-ma'ānī al-'udhba al-irtishāf* [The Unveiler of *al-Kashshāf*: The Opener of Founts of Meanings Sweet to Imbibe]).
7. The sources provide contradictory information about the composition date of this work, although all agree that al-Taftāzānī wrote it in his last few years (*Shadharāt al-dhahab*, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir al-ʿArna'ūt, 11 vols. [Damascus, 1986], 8:548; *Kashf al-zunūn*, 1:1479; Lane, *A Traditional Mu'tazilite Qur'ān Commentary*, 306).
8. A few scholars, including al-Taftāzānī's grandson (Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad, d. 877), wrote works on his gloss on al-Kashshāf (*FSQT*, 185, 430; Lane, *A Traditional Mu'tazilite Qur'ān Commentary*, 307n10).
9. This volume also contains a work on jurisprudence, namely, al-Jurjānī's *ḥāshiya* on the commentary of his teacher, 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 1355), on Ibn al-Ḥājjib's (d. 1249) abridgment (*al-Mukhtaṣar*) of his own *Muntahā al-su'l wa-al-amal fī 'ilmay al-uṣūl wa-al-jadal*.
10. According to *Kashf al-zunūn* (1479), Khaṭīb-zāde wrote a gloss on al-Jurjānī's gloss on *al-Kashshāf* and dedicated it to Sultan Bayezid II. The manuscript here described as "gloss on *al-Kashshāf*" might be the same work.
11. Various death dates are given for Molla Abdülkerim, as early as 1469–70 and as late as 1501–2. For a discussion of this issue, see R. C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul: A Study in the Development of the Ottoman Learned Hierarchy* (London, 1986), 154.
12. *Kashf al-zunūn* (1479), which also mentions Mollā 'Abd al-Karīm's gloss immediately after that of Khaṭīb-zāde, seems to suggest that 'Abd al-Karīm's work was also an annotation on al-Jurjānī's gloss.
13. This exact title is not attested in the bibliographical sources. However, *FSQT* (1:188) lists four titles on *al-Kashshāf* that feature the term *mushkilāt*. The first one is the already cited work of al-Fārisī (no. 20), titled *al-Kashf 'an mushkilāt al-Kashshāf*. The other two works are *Sharḥ mushkilāt al-Kashshāf* and *Kitāb fī ḥall mushkilāt al-Kashshāf*, given as anonymous works. In fact, we cannot rule out the possibility that the latter two are identical. Finally, *FSQT* (1:352) and *FANKHA* (12:288) refer to a certain *Sharḥ mushkilāt kitāb al-Kashshāf*, attributing it to al-Quṭb al-Shīrāzī (likely Maḥmūd b. Mas'ūd, d. 1311).
14. His gloss on *al-Kashshāf* is mentioned at the very beginning of al-Fanārī's '*Ayn al-a'yān*, who refers to al-Rāzī as *mawlānā Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī* (4).
15. While the biographical sources do not mention such a gloss by al-Iznīqī, we know of his interest in Qur'anic exegesis because Ḥājji Khalīfa attributes a *tafsīr* to him, describing it as voluminous (*Kashf al-zunūn*, 457).
16. For a brief discussion of this issue, see Osman Yahia, *Histoire et classification de l'œuvre d'Ibn 'Arabī: Étude critique*, 2 vols. (Damascus, 1964), 2:483 (no. 732). Notwithstanding the efforts of pre-modern scholars and modern academics, some publishers continue to print al-Kāshhānī's work under Ibn al-ʿArabī's name—perhaps out of commercial considerations. A relatively recent example is *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-karīm li-l-Shaykh al-Akbar al-ʿarīf bi-l-llāh al-ʿallāma Muḥyi al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī* (Beirut, 1978). The oldest misattribution of al-Kāshhānī's *Ta'wīlāt* in print seems to be that of the Būlāq version of 1867.

17. *Kashf al-zunūn* (438) mentions two commentaries for Ibn al-ʿArabī: a short work of “conventional” exegesis (*ʿalā tariqat al-mufasssīrīn*), and a larger (but incomplete) one “written in the manner of the Sufis (*ahl al-taṣawwuf*).” The latter work’s title appears in Ibn al-ʿArabī’s own works as *al-Jamʿ wa-al-taḥṣīl fī asrār maʿānī al-tanzīl* (Osman Yahia, *Histoire et classification*, 1:266). For a few other exegetical works attributed to Ibn al-ʿArabī, see *ibid.*, 2:480–85. Another work worth mentioning is *Ījāz al-bayān fī al-tarjama ʿan al-Qurʾān*, a recently published commentary on the first two suras of the Qurʾān, attributed to Ibn al-ʿArabī based on a manuscript at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya (Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Muḥammad Sālim, *ʿAjāʾib al-ʿirfān fī tafsīr Ījāz al-bayān fī al-tarjama ʿan al-Qurʾān* [Beirut, 1999]).
18. Shorter variant titles are also attested for al-Qurṭubī’s commentary. For instance, Ḥājjī Khalifa lists it as *Jāmiʿ aḥkām al-Qurʾān wa-al-mubayyin li-mā taḍammāna min al-sunna wa-āy al-Furqān* (*Kashf al-zunūn*, 534).
19. His death date is also given as 1117 (see Robson, “al-Baghawī,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.).
20. Al-Bayḍāwī’s death date is given as early as 641 AH (which is almost certainly incorrect) and as late as 719 AH (Luṭfi Ibrāhīm, “al-Bayḍāwī’s Life and Works,” *Islamic Studies* 18, no. 4 (1979): 315; Morteza Kariminia, “Bayḍāwī,” *Dānishnāma-yi Jahān-i Islām*). In the modern period, many scholars have opted for the year 685 (=1286) as a reasonable compromise (e.g., Brockelmann endorses 685 as the most probable date: *GAL I*, 416). However, based on references to al-Bayḍāwī in contemporaneous sources, some recent studies have argued for the likelihood of the later dates (Etan Kohlberg, “Bayḍāwī, Nāṣer-al-Dīn,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*). According to Kohlberg, who cites these studies and adds further indications, al-Bayḍāwī likely “died in 716” (*ibid.*), which would overlap with the years 1300 CE and 1301 CE.
21. Brockelmann provides al-Tūqāṭī’s death date variously as 1498 (*GAL S II*, 318f.) and 1499 (*GAL S I*, 646), while *FSQT* gives it as 902 *hijrī* (516).
22. Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: Arapça yazmalar kataloğu* (Istanbul, 1951–53), 206f. (no. 483). There is a copy of this work in the library of Iran’s Majlis, within a collection of exegetical treatises (pp. 652–99), some of which are dedicated to Sultan Bayezid II. (<http://94.232.175.44/index.aspx?pid=13&GID=23058&ID=43028>; accessed July 26, 2016). This library’s website (http://Dlib.ical.ir/faces/search/bibliographic/biblioFullView.jspx?_afPfm=-j8wcik9tm, accessed June 2, 2016) provides two dates for the copy: 894 *hijrī* and 943 *hijrī*. No explanation is given for these two dates, but perhaps the first is the date of composition the second that of the copy’s transcription.
23. The inventory does not provide the name of the author, but *FSQT* (520) attributes this title to Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā (known as known as Ḥājjī Ḥasan-Zade). This attribution is corroborated by the data given in *Kashf al-zunūn* (191): of the several glosses mentioned there on al-Bayḍāwī’s commentary on sura *al-Anʿām*, the only one to precede the year 908 *hijrī* seems to be the work of Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā b. al-Ḥājjī Ḥasan.
24. Peter Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in the Netherlands* (Leiden, 1980), 16, lists a copy of this work. At the end of its entry, the following phrase is given: “before H. 902.” I do not know if this means the manuscript predates 902 AH or the work itself.
25. Karatay, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi: Arapça yazmalar kataloğu*, 223, no. 524.
26. According to Charles Rieu (*Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* [London, 1966], 216), al-Bidlīsī “dedicated a *tafsīr* to Sulṭān Bāyazīd.” Rieu does not provide a title, but said *tafsīr* must be the same as the work mentioned here in ʿAṭūfī’s inventory, because this is al-Bidlīsī’s only exegetical work (Mehri Pākzād, “Idrīs-i Bidlīsī, Hasht Bihiṣht wa digar āthār-i ū,” *Pazhūhish-nāma-yi Farhang wa Adab* 6 [2010]: 84–85).
27. *FSQT*, 151–55. Another, less likely candidate would be *The Great Commentary* (*al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*) by the Sufi master al-Qushayrī (Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin, d. 1072), which was also (erroneously) known as *al-Taysīr fī al-tafsīr* (Martin Nguyen, “*Al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*: An Investigation of al-Qushayrī’s Major Qurʾān Commentary,” *Journal of Sufi Studies* 2 [2013]: 22). The fact that *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr* is not extant even in a single full copy suggests that the work titled *al-Taysīr* in the inventory, of which the imperial library had four copies (this entry as well as nos. 90, 98, 99), was likely not al-Qushayrī’s commentary. Yet a third candidate would be the work of a later scholar, ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Damīrī al-Dīrīnī (d. 1297), who wrote an exegetical poem (of about 3,200 verses) titled *al-Taysīr fī al-tafsīr* (*Kitāb al-Taysīr fī ʿulūm al-tafsīr* [Miṣr, 1310 (1892–93)], 142).
28. Based on the short poem at the end of this work (for which see MS Nurosmāniye 255, p. 428, available online at <https://archive.org/stream/M-000p73/NURUOSMANIYE255#page/n441/mode/2up>; accessed

August 8, 2016). However, the five verses that specify the dates when al-Nasafī began and finished writing are missing from the corresponding poem at the end of MS 4867.2 at King Saud University (available at <http://makhtota.ksu.edu.sa/makhtota/5245/507#.V6iRKLgr1I>; accessed August 8, 2016).

29. Also known as “al-Qāshānī” (FSQT, 1:369).
30. According to *Kashf al-ẓunūn* (336), al-Kāshānī’s commentary covers the first thirty-eight suras of the Qur’an. Indeed, some extant manuscripts of *Ta’wīlāt* do not go beyond sura *Ẓād* (Q 38), but others are complete (Yahia, *Histoire et Classification*, 2:483). Perhaps al-Kāshānī had initially commented on the first thirty-eight suras and then either he himself or a later student discussed the remainder of the Qur’an.
31. The inventory uses the term ‘*umda* instead of ‘*udda*. However, this variant is not attested in any of the biographical sources, so the extra *mīm* may be a mistake, perhaps on the part of the scribe who prepared the fair copy based on ‘Atufī’s draft version.
32. Annabel Keeler, “Meybodi, Abu’l-Faḡl Raṣīd-al-Dīn,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.
33. While al-Maybūdī uses Arabic sporadically in his esoteric interpretations of the Qur’anic text, a significant portion of his exoteric discussions are in Arabic. According to Annabel Keeler, “the proportion of Arabic in the exoteric ... sections of the *Kashf al-asrār* steadily increases during the course of the commentary, from an average of 5 percent in the first two volumes to around 80 percent in the last two” (*Sufi Hermeneutics: The Qur’an Commentary of Rashīd al-Dīn Maybūdī* [Oxford, 2006], 19).
34. FSQT, 346; Süleyman Mollaibrahimoğlu, *Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi’nde bulunan yazma tefsirler: metot ve kaynakları* (Istanbul, 2002), 179–84. Another work titled *Kashf al-asrār* is attributed to one Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Qarāmānī (FSQT, 878), whose death date is not known.
35. Our inventory introduces this work as *Kitāb al-Tafsīr al-mukhtaṣar* (The Concise Commentary), adding that it is known as *al-Wajīz*. The term *al-mukhtaṣar* sheds light on a common misunderstanding about al-Wāḥidī’s exegetical writings. In the prologue to his “Medium-Sized Commentary” (*al-Wasīṭ*), al-Wāḥidī classifies his exegetical materials into three groups, called *ma’ānī al-tafsīr*, *musnad al-tafsīr*, and *mukhtaṣar al-tafsīr* (Walid Saleh, “The Last of the Nishapuri School of Tafsīr: Al-Wāḥidī (d. 1076) and His Significance in the History of Qur’anic Exegesis,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 126, no. 2 [2006]: 235). Some scholars have taken these to refer to three works—now lost—other than his well-known commentaries of *al-Basīṭ*, *al-Wasīṭ*, and *al-Wajīz*. However, according to Walid Saleh, *ma’ānī al-tafsīr*, *musnad al-tafsīr*, and *mukhtaṣar al-tafsīr* in fact designate *al-Basīṭ*, *al-Wasīṭ*, and *al-Wajīz*, respectively (ibid.). The fact that our inventory describes *al-Wajīz* as *Kitāb al-Tafsīr al-mukhtaṣar* confirms Saleh’s position.
36. Saleh, “Last of the Nishapuri School of Tafsīr,” 230.
37. Al-Ghazālī wrote *Jawāḥir* after he left the Baghdad Niẓāmiyya (in 1095) but before he resumed teaching in the Nishapur Niẓāmiyya (in 1106). However, the precise date of this work is not known (George F. Hourani, “A Revised Chronology of Ghazālī’s Writings,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 104, no. 2 [1984]: 299).
38. FANKHA (34:269) knows one copy of this work in the Astan Quds library. The author is unknown but the work is dedicated to a certain Mu’īn al-Dīn Mas’ūd b. Maḥmūd.
39. The latter title appears in Taṣkōprüzade’s *al-Shaqā’iq al-nu’māniyya fī ‘ulamā’ al-dawla al-‘Uthmāniyya* (Beirut, n.d.), 1:53. The term *al-sab’ al-mathānī* (“the seven oft-repeated texts”) refers to the entire Qur’an here, but in some contexts it may refer to select suras of the scripture or indeed even to the first sura alone (Uri Rubin, “Oft-Repeated,” *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān*).
40. Hellmut Ritter, “Ayasofya kütüphanesinde tefsir ilmine âit arapça yazmalar,” *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 7–8 (1945): 64 (no. 52).
41. GAL I, 416. In GAL S I, 737, the title mistakenly features *al-mudhakkir* instead of *al-mutadhakkir*.
42. *Kashf al-ẓunūn* (1: 339); FSQT, 275–77.
43. FSQT, 277–79.
44. Ritter, “Ayasofya kütüphanesinde,” 28f. (no. 20), so the original work must have been composed earlier.
45. A list of these dissertations can be found at <http://www.quran-c.com/display/Disptitle.aspx?UID=1220&CID=170>, accessed June 4, 2016.
46. Other death dates are provided for al-Sīwāsī (including 800 *hijrī* by Ḥājji Khalifa [*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 1185]), but in his recent study of al-Sīwāsī, Bahattin Dartma opts for 1455 (*İlk Osmanlı müfessirlerinden Şihâbüddin Es-Sivâsî ve Kur’ân yorumu* [Sivas, 2011], 39–42).

47. As outlined in its prologue, al-Sīwāsī wrote *Uyūn al-tafāsīr* for students of exegesis. His aim was to present a selection of the views expressed in major commentaries so that students of *tafsīr* could access these works in a brief and convenient manner (*Uyūn al-tafāsīr li-l-fuḍalā' al-samāsīr*, 1:19).
48. Apart from the well-known work of Zayn al-Dīn al-Rāzī (no. 125 on this list), several treatises on the Qur'an bear the title *As'ilat al-Qur'ān* or similar names (FSQT, 1093–94).
49. A number of scholars composed works entitled *Asbāb al-nuzūl* (FSQT, 1092). Perhaps the most famous of these belongs to al-Wāḥidī, whose commentary (*al-Wajīz*) appeared earlier in the present inventory.
50. Wilferd Madelung, “al-Māturīdī,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.
51. GAL I, 374; GAL S I 640; Wilferd Madelung, “Alā'-al-Dīn Samarqandī: Ḥanafī Jurist and Māturīdī Theologian,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.
52. Described in Manfred Götz, “Māturīdī und sein Kitāb Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān,” *Der Islam* 41 (1965): 69.
53. Various later death dates are also reported for al-Samarqandī (such as 393 AH, reported by Ibn Qutlubugha, *Tāj al-tarājīm fi ṭabaqāt al-ḥanafīyya*, ed. Muḥammad Khayr Ramaḍān Yūsuf, 3 vols. [Damascus, 1992], 2:118). However, van Ess rejects the later dates on account of “the exact correspondence of day and date” for the earliest date, namely, “Monday night, 10/11 Jomādā II 373/19 November 983” (Joseph van Ess, “Abu'l-Layṭ Samarqandī,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*).
54. There is some confusion about the title of al-Samarqandī's commentary. Some copies have the title *Baḥr al-'ulūm*, but this name does not appear in the biographical dictionaries. Ḥajjī Khalifa attributes a commentary named *Baḥr al-'ulūm* to another al-Samarqandī who lived in the ninth century *hijrī* (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 225).
55. Al-Ṭibī's name appears in the epilogue of his commentary (*Futūḥ al-ghayb*, 16:657). His *kunya* is sometimes given as Abū Muḥammad and his *nisba* as al-Ṭayyibī (Lane, *A Traditional Mu'tazilite Commentary*, 302). Our inventory opts for al-Ṭibī.
56. It is not clear whether the term *al-ḥajj* in the title refers to the sura of *al-Ḥajj* or to the topic of pilgrimage.
57. FSQT names two scholars of this *nisba* who wrote works on the Qur'an: the first (Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, d. 377) composed a work on Qur'anic grammar (*al-Ighfāl fi i'rāb al-Qur'ān*; FSQT, 61), the second (al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd, d. 457) on the abrogating and abrogated verses (*Jāmi' mā fi al-Qur'ān al-karīm min al-āyāt al-karīma al-nāsikha wa-al-mansūkha*; FSQT, 100). But none of these works are commentaries per se, so it is doubtful that either is the referent of the inventory's description.
58. Possibly after 1291 ('Abdallāh Mukhlis, “Kitāb *Rawḍat al-fasāḥa*,” *Majallat al-majma' al-'ilmī al-'arabī* 22:425).
59. *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 1:92; FANKHA, 3:207.
60. In the prologue, al-Fanārī praises the Karamanid bey, Mehmed II, calling him *al-sultān b. al-sultān* ('*Ayn al-ā'yān*, 3). Al-Fanārī's association with the Karamanid ruler is mentioned by Taşköprüzade (*Shaqā'iq*, 1:19) and a number of other sources, although the exact reasons and dates of this association are not certain. Based on a discussion of the available evidence, Repp suggests that al-Fanārī resided in Karaman at least from 1406 to 1417, if not longer (*Müfti of Istanbul*, 83–86). Thus, he must have written his commentary of al-Fātiḥa sometime in the first two decades of the fifteenth century.
61. FSQT (1242f.) lists some three dozen works with similar titles.
62. FSQT (1123) lists three treatises on the last suras of the Qur'an, two by unknown authors (pp. 955, 967), one by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1792).
63. FSQT (1125) lists six works on this sura, one of which is attributed to Khaṭīb-zāde (d. 901), although the relevant listing (515) notes that this work has been also attributed to Faḍl al-Nīksār, who would not fit our timeline.
64. GAL S II, 325 provides the title as *al-As'ila wa-al-ajwiba al-muta'alliqa bi-al-Qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth*. There is an earlier al-Āqsarā'ī, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. after 1378), who also composed works of exegesis (GAL S II, 328; *al-Shaqā'iq al-nu'māniyya*, 1: 14). While GAL attributes *al-As'ila* to the later al-Āqsarā'ī, FANKHA (3: 213) attributes it to the earlier one (see also Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, 76–77). (Incidentally, the inventory (275 {9–10}) attributes a book on Arabic, *Sharḥ Idāḥ al-ma'ānī*, to “*mawlānā* Jamāl al-Dīn al-Āqsarā'ī,” who seems to be the earlier figure.) Jamāl al-Dīn al-Āqsarā'ī was a teacher of Mollā Fenārī (*al-Shaqā'iq al-nu'māniyya*, 14–16). There are several other works that discuss questions pertaining to exegesis and *ḥadīth*, but they are not limited to these fields (see *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 92f.).
65. See FSQT (1126f.) for a number of commentaries on the opening chapter of the Qur'an.
66. FSQT (405) provides a slightly different title, using *al-āyāt* instead of *al-laṭā'if*.

67. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn l-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafayāt*, ed. Aḥmad al-Arna'ūṭ and Turkī Muṣṭafā, 29 vols. (Beirut, 2000), 25:204.
68. Martin Nguyen and Francesco Chiabotti, "The Textual Legacy of Abū l-Qāsim al-Quṣayrī: A Bibliographic Record," *Arabica* 61 (2014): 363. It is not clear when al-Qushayrī finished this work but the terminus ante quem would be 451/1059–60, when a number of his students began reading *Laṭā'if* with him (*ibid.*, 364).
69. 'Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Muḥjam al-mu'allifin* (Damascus, 1957–61), 11:122f., lists his father's name as Farāmūz (فراموز). According to the editor of *Shadharāt al-dhahab* (9: 512, n. 3), other variants such as قراموز and قراموز also appear in the manuscripts. See also the article "Khusrew" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.
70. According to *Kashf al-zunūn* (91), Mullā Khusraw's book consists of two sections. The first part responds to the questions of 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Rūmī (d. 841)—whose work is described in our inventory as *As'ilat 'Alā'*. The second part addresses the answers previously furnished for these questions by Sirāj al-Dīn al-Tawqī'ī (d. 886) (*Kashf al-zunūn*, 91). Ḥājji Khalifa adds that *Naqd al-afkār* is the title of the first section only, but he does not provide a separate title for the second part. Our inventory notes that the beginning of Mullā Khusraw's work concerns Qur'anic exegesis.
71. The author is described as "Fakhr al-mawālī 'Alī b. Mawlānā Yigān, sallamahu Allāh." Perhaps he is 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī al-Yigānī (d. 909), or Molla Yegan, for whom, see *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya* (1:169).
72. This might be al-Nasafī's *Madārik al-tanzil* (no. 105, above).
73. *FSQT* (119).
74. See also the work titled *Mukhtaṣar fī 'ilm al-Qur'ān* (*FSQT*, 9999; author unknown).
75. *GAL* I, 508. *Kashf al-zunūn* lists *Aqālīm al-ta'ālīm* and *Yanābī' al-'ulūm* separately (134, 2051), attributing the latter to Aḥmad b. Khalīl (a judge of Damascus) and the former to his son, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Khalīl (d. 1294, also judge of Damascus). (*GAL* reflects the same confusion by attributing *Aqālīm al-ta'ālīm* to the son in *S* I, 612.) However, the two titles seem to refer to the same work. This is because Ḥājji Khalifa provides the same incipit for the two works, and also describes each as concerned with the seven disciplines of exegesis (*tafsīr*), *ḥadīth*, jurisprudence (*fiqh*), belles-lettres (*adab*), medicine (*ṭibb*), geometry (*handasa*), and arithmetic (*ḥisāb*). The work should be attributed to the father, because an early copy of this work (Raghib Pasha 1223, transcribed in 673 *hijrī*, available at <https://archive.org/download/M-00040/RAGIPPASA1223.pdf>) provides the date of composition as 630, when Muḥammad b. Aḥmad would have been only four years old (al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wi'āt fī ṭabaqāt al-naḥwīyyīn wa-al-nuḥāt*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 2 vols. [Cairo, 1964–65], 1:23). Incidentally, our inventory signals suspicion about the name *Aqālīm al-ta'ālīm*. Instead of using this title directly, the inventory describes the work as "a book about the seven disciplines," and adds that "it is written [that it is] the book *Aqālīm al-ta'ālīm*." Perhaps 'Atufi considered the existing manuscript to be *Yanābī' al-'ulūm*, while viewing *Aqālīm al-ta'ālīm* as a different work. For another use of the formula "it is written" as a marker of skepticism, see no. 57, above.
76. *GAL* I, 508.
77. At least two works on the Qur'an feature the phrase *ījāz al-bayān* in their titles: (a) *Ījāz al-bayān li-ma'ānī al-Qur'ān* (*FSQT*, 203), by Najm al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Naysābūrī (d. after 1158); and (b) *Ījāz al-bayān 'an ma'ānī al-Qur'ān* (*FSQT*, 250), by Muntajab al-Dīn Abū Yūsuf al-Muntajab b. Abī al-'Izz (d. 643). Only the first work appears in *Kashf al-zunūn* (205), which uses *fī ma'ānī* instead of *li-ma'ānī* in the title.
78. Paul Losensky, "Jāmī. i. Life and Works," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.
79. E.g., 114 {11–13}, 126 {9–10}, and 222 {3–4}.
80. *FSQT* (1139) lists one work concerned with the same verse, attributing it to Abū al-Ma'ālī Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sharīf al-Maqdisī (d. 1499–1500).
81. There are several commentaries on sura *al-Aṣr* (*FSQT*, 150, 810, 924, 925, 940, 967).
82. Perhaps an account of the exegetical debate held in the circumcision feast of Sultan Mehmed II's sons (Bayezid and Mustafa Çelebi) or a similar such festivity (see Repp, *Müfti of Istanbul*, 109–10).
83. This book is part of a volume that contains nine other treatises on various subjects (theology, ethics, pilgrimage, etc.).
84. William Chittick, "Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Kūnawī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.; *GAL* I, 449.
85. An extant copy of this work was finished in 669/1271, so the work must precede this date (Richard Todd, *The Sufi Doctrine of Man*, 183).

86. Eleazar Birnbaum, *Ottoman Turkish and Çağatay MSS in Canada: A Union Catalogue of the Four Collections* (Leiden, 2014), 222–25 (no. 103, T9).
87. For the various titles, see Moḥammad-Amīn Riāḥī, “Dāya, Najm al-Dīn Abū Bakr ‘Abd-Allāh,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. This commentary, which ends at Q 51:19, has also been attributed to Najm al-Dīn Dāya al-Rāzī (d. 1256), who was a disciple of Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (e.g., in *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 224). Although both scholars seem to have played a role in its composition, their respective contributions are not entirely clear (Jamal Elias, *The Throne Carrier of God: The Life and Thought of ‘Ala’ al-Dawla al-Simnāni* [Albany, 1995], 203–5). Al-Rāzī began working on this commentary in 635/1237–38 and probably continued to do so until his death in 1256 (William Shpall, “A Note on Najm al-Dīn al-Rāzī and the *Baḥr al-Haqā’iq*,” *Folia Orientalia* 22 (1981–84): 76f.). ‘Alā’ al-Dawla al-Simnānī (d. 1336) finished this work by writing a commentary on suras 52–114. According to Jamal Elias, even though al-Simnānī continued *al-Ta’wīlāt* in terms of scope, his commentary “is an independent work differing from the earlier commentary both in style and content” (*Throne Carrier of God*, 205). On the fraught issue of the authorship of *al-Ta’wīlāt al-Najmiyya*, see also Alan Godlas, “Influences of Qushayrī’s *Laṭā’if al-ishārāt* on Sufi Qur’anic Commentaries, Particularly Rūzbihān al-Baqlī’s *Arā’is al-bayān* and the Kubrawi *al-Ta’wīlāt al-Najmiyya*,” *Journal of Sufi Studies* 2 (2013): 87–91.
88. The Caro Minasian Collection of Persian and Arabic Manuscripts at UCLA has a manuscript (no. 617) that contains a Persian versification of al-Shāṭibiyya. However, this poem is dedicated to “Sultan Safi Shah”—who is either Shah Safi I (r. 1629–42) or Shah Safi II (“Suleiman I,” r. 1666–94)—which means the poem was authored long after our inventory was created. I thank David Hirsch for generously taking images of this manuscript and sharing them with me.
89. At the end of his book (2:496), Ibn al-Jazarī informs us that he began writing in Bursa in Rabī’ al-Awwal of 799 (December 1396–January 1397) and finished the work in Dhū al-Hijja of the same year (August–September 1397).
90. *GAL S II*, 134.
91. *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 646.
92. *Jamīlat arbāb al-marāṣid*, 27.
93. Sometimes this poem is named *al-Shāṭibiyya fī al-rasm*, while *Ḥirz al-amānī* is called *al-Shāṭibiyya fī al-qirā’āt* (see *Jamīlat arbāb al-marāṣid*, 10). For other titles of al-Dānī’s work, see Theodore Nöldeke et al., *The History of the Qur’ān*, ed. and trans. Wolfgang H. Behn (Leiden, 2013), 405.
94. *Jamīlat*, 37.
95. *Daf’* (instead of *Raf’*), according to *GAL S II*, 320 (lists one copy, “Lālelī 57”).
96. *FSQQ* (137) provides the author’s name as Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Samarqandī, adding that he died circa 780 *hijrī*. This death date is problematic because Ibn al-Jazarī wrote *al-Durra al-muḍī’a* decades later (in 823 *hijrī*, as he tells us in verse 235 in abjad letters). Either the given death date for al-Samarqandī is a mistake or the author is someone else. Another person to whom this work has been attributed is a certain Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad “al-Ḥāfiẓ-chirāgh” (d. 884). See the introduction to al-Gūrānī’s *Lawāmi’ al-ghurar: Sharḥ Farā’id al-durar*, 44. There is also a commentary on *al-Durra* that is known as *Aqd* (*‘Iqd?*) *al-Durra* and attributed to a student of Ibn al-Jazarī, namely, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Nuwayrī (d. 1453). Given the similarity of its title to *Iqd al-durar*, there is a possibility that it is the same work mentioned in our inventory. There are two copies of this manuscript, one in the Al-Aqsa Mosque Library (digitized by the British Library [no. EAP521/1/4], accessible here: http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_item.aqd?catId=55828) and the other copy housed at the manuscript collection at King Saud University (no. 6643, available at <https://ia600700.us.archive.org/23/items/MakhtoutChar7AddoorahNouwairiz/MakhtoutChar7AddoorahNouwairiz.pdf>). This commentary was finished in 872 *hijrī* (see p. 278 in the Al-Aqsa copy). However, its text does not mention a title or the name of its author, and the colophon pages are either missing or illegible, so it is not clear why the catalogues attribute this work to Muḥammad al-Nuwayrī or why the Al-Aqsa version names it *Aqd al-Durra*. Al-Sakhāwī mentions several of al-Nuwayrī’s works, but makes no reference to him having commented on *al-Durra al-muḍī’a* (*al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi’*, 12 vols. [Cairo, 1353–55 A.H.], 9:246–48).
97. This edition is based on a manuscript of *Ṭabaqāt al-qurrā’ al-sab’a* that bears the seal of an Ottoman Sultan (apparently Sultan Maḥmūd) on the first page (13). Furthermore, the first page of this manuscript contains the following description of the work: *Kitāb sharīf fī ṭabaqāt al-qurrā’ al-sab’a min qibal al-tafsīr*. This phrase is nearly identical to the description found in our inventory. Unfortunately, the editor does not provide any information about the location of this manuscript. However, he notes

that it was produced during the lifetime of al-Sallār (8), so there is a possibility that it is the same manuscript that existed in the imperial library.

98. The description in this paragraph is based on a manuscript of this work at King Saud University (no. 2810), which is available online at <http://makhtota.ksu.edu.sa/makhtota/3073/172> (accessed June 25, 2016). For al-Samarqandī, see Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya*, 2:260. The death date is not provided by Ibn al-Jazarī but given by the editor of *Lawāmiʿ al-ghurar* in his introduction (p. 44, n. 4). This death date is consistent with al-Samarqandī's list of teachers (which includes, e.g., Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Baghdādī (d. after 1339–40); see Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya*, 2:186). Hence, Brockelmann's date, "um 600/1203" (*GAL* S I, 727), is incorrect.
99. The descriptions of this work in the bio-bibliographical literature are not entirely accurate. For instance, *Kashf al-zunūn* (1582) suggests that it is wholly in Persian. On the other hand, Brockelmann describes *al-Mabsūt* as a bipartite commentary on al-Shāṭibī's *Ḥirz al-amānī*, the first part in Persian and the second part in Arabic (*GAL* S I, 725). This is not exactly correct, unless we lump the second and third parts together. Brockelmann provides al-Samarqandī's death date as ca. 1203, whereas al-Ziriklī opts for ca. 1378 (*al-Aʿlām* [Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm li-l-Malāyīn, 2002], 7:87).
100. Our inventory (and some other bibliographic works, such as *GAL* S II, 320) uses the term *fawāʿid* instead of *farāʿid*.
101. There is a manuscript of this work (Süleymaniye 47/2) that is dated 17 Muḥarram 884 (April 10, 1479) (*Lawāmiʿ*, 1:185). In fact, given the absence of a scribal name for this copy and the fact that al-Gūrānī was alive when it was copied, this manuscript might be an autograph, in which case 884/1479 may be when al-Gūrānī finished writing *Lawāmiʿ al-ghurar*. The editor of *Lawāmiʿ al-ghurar* (1:88) describes another manuscript (Maktabat ʿĀrif Hikmat, no. 68) that was written by a student of al-Gūrānī—one Muḥammad ʿAlī—and contains a certificate in the hand of al-Gūrānī at the end, dated early Shaʿbān 892 *hijrī* (1487), where the latter verifies that his student read the work with him. Both of these manuscripts also contain al-Gūrānī's *Kashf al-asrār*, which also accompanied *Lawāmiʿ* in the present volume at the Imperial Library.
102. *Lawāmiʿ al-ghurar*, 1:218.
103. It was al-Gūrānī who dubbed this poem *Farāʿid al-durar* (*Lawāmiʿ*, 1:217). Ḥājji Khalifa knows it as *Takmila fī al-qirāʾāt al-thalāth* (649), and other names are attested for it in its manuscripts, including *Tatimmat al-maʿānī fī takmilat al-Mathānī* and *al-Durra al-Yamāniyya* (*Lawāmiʿ*, 1:133f.). For the scant available biographical information on al-Sharʿabī (including his death date), see *Lawāmiʿ*, 1:125f. Modeled on al-Shāṭibī's *Ḥirz al-amānī* concerning the Seven Readers, al-Sharʿabī's poem discusses the three readers "after the seven," namely, Abū Jaʿfar, Yaʿqūb, and Khalaf. Hence, it is similar in form and subject matter to Ibn al-Jazarī's *al-Durra al-muḍīʿa* (see no. 179, above).
104. *Kashf al-zunūn*, 1486.
105. Finished in Bursa in 798/1396, Ibn al-Jazarī's poem has been published as part of the following anthology: Jamāl al-Sayyid Rifāʿī, *Majmūʿa muhimma fī al-tajwīd wa-al-qirāʾāt wa-al-rasm wa-add al-āy* (Cairo, 2006), 126–56. There, its title is given as *al-Nihāya fī al-qirāʾāt al-thalāth al-zāʿida ʿan al-ʿashara*.
106. Al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, 7:240.
107. *FSQQ*, 86; *al-Ikhtiyār ʿind al-qurrāʾ*, 545. None of these sources list manuscripts for this work.
108. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Garrett Collection*, 383; *Fihris al-kutub al-mawjūda bi-al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya*, 1:63.
109. Philip Hitti et al., *Descriptive Catalogue of the Garrett Collection of Arabic Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library* (Princeton, 1938), 383. See also *FSQQ*, 87.
110. For other poetical works of Ibn al-Jazarī, see M. Ben Cheneb, "Ibn al-Djazarī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.
111. Mentioned in *Kashf al-zunūn* (972), which does not name an author.

ON THE HADITH COLLECTION OF BAYEZID II'S PALACE LIBRARY

The manuscript Török F. 59, preserved in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, contains an inventory of books found in the palace library of Sultan Bayezid II. The inventory was prepared in 908 (1502–3) and was recorded in a clean copy in 909 (1503–4) by the court librarian Hayreddin Hızır b. Mahmud el-‘Atufi¹ (d. 1541) at the behest of the sultan himself.² According to one count, the library holds about 5,700 volumes and 7,200 titles.³ This is clearly an amazing number for its time, when the library of a member of the cultured elite rarely held more than several hundred books.

One wonders how these thousands of books were accumulated in the imperial library. Why did Bayezid have this particular set of books and not others? What might have determined the nature and variety of the holdings? The present essay offers an assessment of the hadith collection in the library and attempts to answer these questions as far as hadith works are concerned.

Bayezid's interest in books in general is very well attested in the primary sources and has been discussed in previous studies,⁴ but his interest in hadith has yet to be investigated. One can guess that he must have read at least several popular hadith collections under a teacher or by himself. He must have familiarized himself not only with specific hadiths but also with major examples of hadith literature. In fact, a copy of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* includes a note saying that Bayezid perused it (*muṭā-la'a*).⁵ Notes and records on books also show that some hadith-related works were either composed or copied for Bayezid.⁶ Several others were presented to him.⁷

I have counted 338 volumes of books⁸ listed in the section on hadith, hadith transmitters, and the Prophet's character (*shamā'il*).⁹ If we take into consideration the multi-volume sets, duplicate titles, and compendia

(*majmū'as*) in which various works are bound together, we can say that there are approximately 180 separate works in the section, about 150 to 160 of which are related to hadith. *Majmū'as* include several other books, the titles of which are not provided by the cataloguer.¹⁰ In addition to these, there are also hadith-related works in other sections. For example, several works on rare vocabulary found in hadith texts (*gharīb al-ḥadīth*) are quite understandably listed in the section on dictionaries.¹¹ There are other works in the sections on prayers and devotions, law, and Sufism that could have been incorporated in the hadith section.¹² All these considerations make it very difficult to determine the exact number of hadith works in the sultan's library.

It only makes sense that 'Atufi began his list with al-Bukhari's (d. 870) *Ṣaḥīḥ* (The Sound One) and its commentaries, for this is traditionally the most respected and authoritative of all hadith books. The second book in the list is Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (The Sound One), which comes right below al-Bukhari's in the hierarchy of hadith books. It seems that the cataloguer had the hierarchy of books in mind while making the list. In fact, one observes that the first half of the hadith section, where the most authoritative books were placed, was prepared with more care. Here the cataloguer lists the copies of the same title one after another, whereas in the following part, copies of the same book are sometimes separated from each other,¹³ and it seems that subsequent books are often listed randomly.

One wonders who sorted the books according to subject matter. Who decided which books were to be placed in the hadith section? Was 'Atufi classifying the books as he was preparing the inventory, or was he making a handlist of sections that had already been sorted out?

While some works evidently had been classified earlier by previous librarians, not all of them had been classified, as his Turkish introduction and physical examination of extant volumes clearly indicate.¹⁴ Whatever 'Atufi's role was in sorting the material, he expended considerable effort in placing copies of the same book together in the inventory, especially those books that were highly regarded by the Ottomans. Yet when it came to books of lesser renown, he did not seem to have shown the same organizational concern. The existence of blank lines in the hadith section could be related to the special attention given to certain titles. After listing all the copies of the esteemed books such as *Bukhārī*, *Muslim*, and *Maṣābīḥ*, 'Atufi almost always leaves one or more lines blank, as if he was expecting new copies of these popular books to arrive. However, with one exception, he does not leave empty lines between titles in the last few pages of the section. Instead, he leaves ample space at the end of the section for the likely addition of other new titles.

As mentioned above, not all the works listed in the hadith section are about hadith per se, and the relation of several other works to hadith is superficial at best. Some of the non-hadith works, including those of Ibn Sina (d. 1037), al-Ghazali (d. 1111), Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 1240), and al-Tusi (d. 1274) in *majmū'as*, are listed here mainly because the first work in a *majmū'a* is a hadith work. The *as'ila* (questions) of 'Ala'eddin Rumi (d. 1438) and responses (*ajwiba*) to these questions by Molla Siraceddin (d. ca. 1446) and Molla Hüsrev (d. 1480) are included because one of the questions discussed concerns hadith. Some works listed in this section can be considered hadith books only if we use the term loosely. Books such as *Shir'at al-Islām* (Laws of Islam) of Imamzada (d. 1177) and *al-Shifā'* (The Healing) of al-Qadi 'Iyad (d. 1149) are counted among the hadith books not because they are devoted specifically to this discipline but because *aḥādīth* constitute their primary source. Ottoman scholars usually considered them to belong to the hadith category for the same reason. A collection of daily prayers, which includes many prophetic ones, is also on the borderline. That is why a book like *al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn* (The Strong Fortress) is listed in both the hadith and *ad'iya* (prayers and devotions) sections. Contemporary librarians face similar questions: for example, should a

long Sufi commentary on a single hadith be classified as a Sufi work or a hadith work? The cataloguing challenges of the past continue to exist today.

Several works have titles that cannot easily be traced in bio-bibliographical sources and library catalogues. Often they are too vague to be ascribed to a certain author. For example, a book called *Arba'ūn ḥadīthan* (Forty Hadith) is almost impossible to pinpoint, as there are literally hundreds of books prepared in this genre. Or a book simply called *Sharḥ al-Maṣābīḥ* (Commentary on the Lamps) is not easy to identify because there are multiple commentaries on this book, all of which are very commonly used in Ottoman scholarly circles.

Often the compiler of the inventory gives neither the title nor the author of a work and only describes its content briefly with a claim that it is related to hadith. He usually does so by adding the words *fī al-ḥadīth*¹⁵ ("on hadith") or a rather awkward phrase *min qibal al-ḥadīth* ("pertaining to hadith") after the title or description of the book. It is as if he were giving general subject headings as in modern library catalogues. Sometimes the description literally does not tell us anything. A good illustration of this is a book described as: *Kitābun mukhtaṣarun mushtamilun 'alā muqaddimatin wa-taqṣīmīn wa-khātimatin fī 'ilmi al-ḥadīthi* ("A concise book comprising an introduction, divisions, and a conclusion in the science of hadith") (40 {16–17}). It seems that if the title and the author are not easily identifiable from a given book, and if it is not a book 'Atufi was already familiar with, he did not feel compelled to identify the book, or perhaps he attempted to identify it but could not. In the inventory, a book may simply be called *Risāla fī al-ḥadīth* (Treatise on Hadith) (40 {1}) or *Kitāb fī al-ḥadīth* (Book on Hadith) (40 {3}). We may never learn which book the cataloguer was referring to from these generic descriptions.¹⁶

Many but not all of the hadith manuscripts seem to have been preserved in the Library of the Topkapı Palace Museum. However, it is not always easy to match the books in the Török F. 59 manuscript with those in the current catalogues of the palace library, partly because of the problems I mentioned above and partly because we do not have physical descriptions by 'Atufi of the books whose titles and authors are known. How can one match a copy of al-Bukhari's *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*

(The Sound Collector) in the inventory with any one of several manuscripts in the Topkapı Palace Library—or any other library for that matter—without knowing its physical description, number of leaves, the date of copying, and so on? Even if the book carries the seal of Bayezid II, that particular copy could have been acquired after the list was prepared, or it may have been overlooked during cataloguing for one reason or another.

The majority of the books in the inventory's hadith section are in Arabic; only eight books (in ten copies)¹⁷ are said to be in Persian, in addition to a few non-hadith books found in *majmū'as*. Most of the Persian books are translations from Arabic. Although it is possible that some of the shorter books and treatises were written in Turkish, they are not identified as such. The first eight pages of the hadith section include well-known collections and their commentaries, whereas the remaining pages comprise a variety of books, most of which are smaller works on specific topics, and some of which are hard to identify. In this first section, many of the books are represented in multiple copies, which shows their popularity. Below I will list works that are represented by more than three copies, together with the books that are based on these (translations, commentaries, abridgments, etc.). Note that the commentaries often include the entire text that is being commented upon. Some copies appear as "incomplete"¹⁸ in the inventory.

- *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* (The Sound Collector) by al-Bukhari (d. 870), twenty-eight copies; with six different commentaries in sixteen copies.
- *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* (The Sound Collector) by Muslim (d. 875), eight copies; with two or three different commentaries in six copies; also two different *al-Jam' bayn al-ṣaḥīḥayn*¹⁹ books in three copies.
- *Maṣābiḥ al-sunna* (The Lamps of Sunna) by al-Baghawi (d. 1122), twenty-three copies; one Persian translation; one reworking called *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ* (The Niche of the Lamps) by al-Tibrizi (d. 1340); one *takhrīj*²⁰ work on *Maṣābiḥ* and *Mishkāt*; six different commentaries on *Maṣābiḥ* in seven copies; and two commentaries on *Mishkāt*.

- *Mashāriq al-anwār* (Rising Places of Lights)²¹ by al-Saghani (d. 1252), seven or eight copies; with five to seven different commentaries in fourteen copies.
- *Jāmi' al-uṣūl* (The Collector of the Roots) by Ibn al-Athir (d. 1210), six copies; also two different abridgments (*mukhtaṣar*).
- *al-Shifā'* (The Healing) by al-Qadi 'Iyad (d. 1149), fourteen copies.
- *Shir'at al-Islām* (Laws of Islam) by Imamzada (d. 1177), eight copies; also two or three copies of the commentary of Seyyid 'Alizade (d. 1524–25).
- *Shihāb al-akhbār* (Shooting Stars of Reports) by al-Quda'i (d. 1062), five copies.
- *Shamā'il al-nabī* (High Character of the Prophet) by al-Tirmidhi (d. 892), possibly four copies; also one Persian translation.
- *al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn* (The Strong Fortress) by Ibn al-Jazari (d. 1429), two copies (at least one additional copy is in the *ad'īya* section); with two copies of its *mukhtaṣar* by the author himself; and three Persian translations of *al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn*, or possibly of its *mukhtaṣar*.

According to 'Atufi's list, the palace library at the time held more than a hundred copies of these ten books in addition to more than thirty different works based on them, represented by about sixty copies. When we take into account the multi-volume sets, it turns out that, of the 338 volumes in the hadith section, roughly 215 (i.e., 64 percent) are directly related to these ten titles.

The popularity of the above-mentioned books in the Ottoman world can also be shown by the number of manuscript copies in other Turkish libraries. (One might simply check the catalogue of any manuscript library or refer to yazmalar.gov.tr.) For example, the famous library of the scholar Veliyyüddin Carullah (d. 1738) holds all ten of the titles mentioned here and many of the works that are based on them.²² Especially the first five books, namely al-Bukhari's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, al-Baghawi's *Maṣābiḥ*, al-Saghani's *Mashāriq*, and Ibn al-Athir's *Jāmi' al-uṣūl*,²³ seem to have been studied in Ottoman madrasas and hadith colleges (*dār al-ḥadīths*) before, during, and after Bayezid's time. These books are among those listed in the endowment deed (*waqfiyya*) of the *dār al-ḥadīth* established by the Ottoman sultan Murad II (r. 1421–44; 1446–51) in Edirne.²⁴ The same

titles also appear in the book list at the end of the *waqfiyya* of the Dar al-Hadith of the Süleymaniye complex in Istanbul, some in multiple copies and with various commentaries.²⁵ The Ottoman scholar Taşköprizade (d. 1561) reveals in his autobiographical account that he taught *Şaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, *Maṣābīḥ*, and *Mashāriq* at various times and places in his long teaching career.²⁶ Later references to hadith textbooks highlight the same titles.²⁷

The popularity of *al-Shifā'*,²⁸ *al-Shamā'il*,²⁹ and *al-Ḥiṣn al-Ḥaṣīn* stems from their subject matter. The first two deal with the person and character of the Prophet, while the last one includes examples of prophetic prayers. Over time, their popularity increased to such an extent that many more commentaries were written on them after Bayezid II's reign. Research has shown that *Shihāb al-akhbār* (897 hadiths), with its short and memorable hadiths, had a remarkable influence on Anatolian and Rumelian Muslims and was the primary source of the hadiths used in the arts and inscribed on buildings since the time of the Seljuqs.³⁰ Although it contained some dubious traditions and was not accepted as a standard textbook, the popularity of *Shihāb al-akhbār* extended beyond scholarly circles.

It should be noted that several of the commentaries on the books listed above were written by Ottoman scholars or by pre-Ottoman Anatolian scholars. These observations attest to the enduring popularity of these works in Ottoman hadith education over the course of centuries. It can also be deduced that these books were not just read but were extensively studied by the Ottomans. Their popularity in teaching circles before the era of Bayezid partially explains why so many copies of these books are listed in 'Atufi's inventory of the palace library. The works were so highly regarded and copies of them were so abundant in Istanbul as well as in the provinces³¹ that it is only natural that they are strongly represented in Bayezid's library.

Now we turn to consider the question as to why these books and not others stood at the center of Ottoman hadith education. From the time they were written, the books of al-Bukhari and Muslim were considered by many to represent the highest achievements in hadith scholarship. By the thirteenth century, their authority was so firmly established that Sunni scholars agreed

upon the soundness of almost all the hadiths in them.³² Together, they were dubbed *Şaḥīḥayn* (The Two Sound Ones) and acquired a special status and utmost respect, al-Bukhari's book being one step ahead of Muslim's. Thus we can understand why these works were studied in madrasas and hadith colleges, despite the fact that, pedagogically speaking, they are not the best hadith books for Ottoman scholars, as we will explain below. These books were not always studied in madrasas from beginning to end, however; sometimes only selected passages of them were read for the purpose of obtaining blessings.³³

Secondary collections such as *Maṣābīḥ*, *Mashāriq*, and *Jāmi' al-uṣūl* had some advantages over the primary collections they were based on. The primary collections contained *isnāds*, repetitions, and other technical characteristics that made their use difficult for scholars who were not hadith experts. After all, Ottoman scholars—and most other scholars in the Islamic world, for that matter—ordinarily were not equipped to deal with all of the technical issues of hadith. Hadith scholars offered them some assistance by compiling hadith collections in manageable sizes, including reasonably sound traditions that were devoid of many technical problems of hadith and were thus easier for jurists and theologians to use. *Maṣābīḥ* (4931 hadiths),³⁴ *Mishkāt* (6442 hadiths), and *Mashāriq* (2267 hadiths) are works of this kind. *Jāmi' al-uṣūl* (9523 hadiths) is a larger collection that aims to bring together all the different traditions found in a number of primary collections. Although there are indications that *Jāmi' al-uṣūl* was used at the madrasas, it seems that the work mostly functioned as a reference book.³⁵ Instead of keeping six or ten books in one's library and searching a single hadith in several different books, one could simply refer to *Jāmi' al-uṣūl*, as it contained nearly all the important hadiths that one might wish to employ.

Among hadith commentaries, Ottoman scholars seem to have been interested in the ones focusing primarily on the textual content of the hadith. The most popular hadith commentaries in 'Atufi's inventory are al-Kirmani's (d. 1384) commentary on *Şaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (ten copies), Ibn Malak's (d. after 1418) commentary³⁶ on *Mashāriq* (seven copies), and al-Nawawi's (d. 1277) commentary on *Şaḥīḥ Muslim* (five copies). There are

also several other commentaries on *Mashāriq* and *Maṣābīḥ*, which seem to have been very popular among Ottoman scholars. Many of these commentaries are represented in one or more copies in Bayezid's library collection. These relatively short commentaries on both works aim primarily to teach readers what they should know about the text of a hadith at a quick glance. Just as it is practical to have a handy selection of important hadiths drawn from the primary collections, so too is studying all these hadiths from one commentary.

In addition to their desirable qualities of accessibility and manageability, these commentaries also appealed to Ottoman scholars because they seem to have been written by scholars of the Eastern tradition, with whom the Ottomans felt an affinity. This style of commentary is quite different from that of the "classical commentaries" on hadith that originated in Arab lands, primarily in Syria and Egypt, and that culminated in the works of Ibn Hajar (d. 1449) and al-ʿAyni (d. 1451).³⁷ Written from the hadith scholars' perspective, the latter works often paid too much attention to the "boring" technical aspects of hadith such as *rijāl* criticism (evaluation of hadith transmitters), *isnād* (chain of hadith transmitters), and comparative study of variants and versions of a hadith. Besides, these works are usually much longer than the commentaries from the Eastern tradition, and the size of books was extremely important in the manuscript age. This helps to explain why Ottoman scholars preferred al-Kirmani's commentary on al-Bukhari over those of others, even ones that are considered far superior by most hadith scholars.³⁸ Not only was al-Kirmani's commentary shorter, but also as a student of ʿAdud al-Din al-Ijī (d. 1355), a famous Iranian scholar whose several works were highly regarded in the Turco-Iranian scholarly circles, al-Kirmani clearly spoke the language of the Ottoman scholars more fluently than his Egyptian/Syrian counterparts. To put it differently, Iranian/Central Asian theology had merged with philosophy culminating in the works of al-Taftazani (d. 1389) and al-Jurjani (d. 1413) in the fourteenth century, which constituted the basis of the Ottoman tradition, whereas contemporary Mamluk theological thought was more hadith-centered.

The size of works should be taken into account when considering the reasons for the popularity of books as

well as the selection of textbooks. It would be possible to read *Mashāriq* with students following Ibn Malak's concise commentary on it in a relatively short period of time. But the same cannot be done with Ibn Hajar's colossal commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. So, one copy of Ibn Hajar's book in a library would suffice as a reference work, since its overwhelming size would have prevented it from being easily circulated in multiple copies as a textbook.

In general, Ottoman scholars of Anatolia and Rumeia seem to have had an aversion to technical aspects of hadith scholarship.³⁹ Or at least we can say that they simply were not extremely interested in the *rijāl* and *isnād* studies.⁴⁰ We rarely see them dealing with such matters except when they quote from earlier discussions.⁴¹ According to one count, Ottoman scholars produced about 700 works in the field of hadith over the centuries,⁴² and more than 200 of these are "forty-hadith" or *arbāʿīn* collections. Quite a number of them are selections made from earlier collections and commentaries on those.⁴³ Some of these commentaries belong to the genre of *ḥāshiya* (supercommentaries, annotations) and *taʿlīqāt* (glosses) on large hadith collections, especially on those popular textbooks mentioned above. Only a handful of hadith works written by Ottoman scholars deal with the technical and terminological issues of the science of hadith. *Uṣūl al-ḥadīth* works written by Ottoman scholars are few and far between. Judging from their format, it appears that these works do not intend to contribute to universal hadith studies; rather, they take the form of textbooks or educational aids for students.⁴⁴ In addition, Ottoman scholars produced only a few insignificant *rijāl* books of dubious quality. In their studies on hadith, they mostly focus on understanding and interpreting the hadiths, to the exclusion of the technical problems these hadiths may generate. Ottoman scholars pondered what they might derive from these hadiths (assuming that they were "authentic") from various perspectives, especially in relation to actual problems they had to confront.

Only a few different *uṣūl al-ḥadīth* works are mentioned in the inventory, none of which was written by an Ottoman scholar. These works are Ibn al-Salah's (d. 1245) *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth*, al-Tibī's (d. 1342) *Khulāṣa*, al-ʿIrāqī's (d. 1402) *Alfiyya* with his own commentary, and

Ibn Hajar's *Nukhbat al-fikar* (seven copies in total).⁴⁵ These are the books commonly listed as the *uṣūl* books studied at *dār al-hadīth*s and madrasas in the Ottoman world. So it should come as no surprise that we find several copies of them in the palace library. As for *rijāl* works, Bayezid's library is not so rich.⁴⁶ In addition to two famous books, one by Ibn Hajar and one by al-Dhahabi (d. 1348), there are three other volumes listed as *Kitāb asmā' al-rijāl* (Book of Names of Transmitters), which are not conclusively identifiable. It is also unclear whether they are volumes or different copies of the same work or three separate *rijāl* works, which the cataloguer could not identify and to which he assigned the same descriptive title.⁴⁷ There are only a couple other books that deal with biographies, one on the companions of the Prophet and the other on ascetics, most of whom were also hadith transmitters.

While hadith books that deal with technical aspects of hadith scholarship are underrepresented in the palace library, most of the books listed in the last few pages of the inventory contain hadith selections, sometimes with commentaries. There are about forty different titles that contain selections of various sizes, and about forty books designed to be commentaries on either a single hadith or a selected number of hadiths, or an entire book. Selecting hadiths on particular topics and commenting on them is quite typical of Ottoman hadith studies. Jihad, prayers, and devotion are the most popular topics. Several books have been compiled to encourage people to do good or develop a positive character. There are at least seventeen forty-hadith collections, which is by far the most popular hadith genre of Ottoman scholars, as noted above. Several of these *arba'īn* collections cannot be definitively identified, given the paucity of information provided in their generic titles.

The palace library contains other secondary hadith collections, which were very popular in the Ottoman lands, and which quite expectedly made their way into the library collection in multiple copies: al-Mundhiri's (d. 1258) *al-Targhib wa-l-tarhīb* (The Book of Enjoining and Warning); al-Nawawi's *Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn* (Gardens of the Righteous), *al-Adhkār* (Remembrances), and *al-Arba'ūn* (Forty Hadith); al-Uqlishi's (d. 1155) *al-Kawkab* (The Planet); al-Kalabadhi's (d. 990) *Baḥr al-fawā'id* (Ocean of Benefits); and Sadr al-Din al-Qunawi's

(d. 1274) *Sharḥ al-arba'īn ḥadīthan* (Commentary on Forty Hadiths).⁴⁸ The last two works and several others in the library, such as Ibn Abi Jamra's (d. 1300) *Bahjat al-nufūs* (Delight of Souls), are Sufi commentaries on selected hadiths, which highlights the interaction between Sufism and hadith in the Ottoman world.

Several works in the inventory were written by contemporary scholars (Molla Gurani's commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* comes to mind), but most are copies of works produced in earlier centuries. Aside from the classical hadith compilations, the majority of the books in the collection are by authors who lived after the 1200s—that is, closer to the time of Bayezid. This is in line with the general tendency of the Ottoman ulema, who focused primarily on studying late medieval works written a few generations earlier, as can be seen in the curricula of Ottoman madrasas. With few exceptions, all the works taught at madrasas were written in or after the thirteenth century.⁴⁹

A striking lacuna in the palace library is a collection of early hadith sources. It seems that Bayezid II, his father Mehmed II, and their librarians were not particularly interested in collecting the earliest and rarest works of hadith. With only a few exceptions, the hadith collection as it appears in the inventory includes mostly well-known and common works that could have been easily gathered from those available in Istanbul, Anatolia, or Rumelia at the time. Going one step further, one might even claim that the hadith collection in the palace library was gathered somewhat randomly without any serious effort to curate a coherent collection.⁵⁰

The librarians were also evidently not interested in collecting some of the most celebrated hadith works such as al-Tirmidhi's (d. 892) *al-Jāmi'*, one of the famous six books (*al-kutub al-sitta*).⁵¹ Shockingly, not a single copy of this book is found in the imperial library despite its tremendous authority. On the other hand, it is a nice surprise to see Ahmad b. Hanbal's (d. 855) colossal and rather rare *al-Musnad* in the collection, which I suppose made its way to the collection by mere chance. Many of the major collections of the ninth and tenth centuries, and also quite a few pre-twelfth-century technical works are likewise nowhere to be found in the palace library.⁵²

I do not mean to suggest, of course, that the hadith collection of Bayezid's library would not have been

valuable. Some of these books were probably priceless autograph copies and unica. They might have been exceptional exemplars of book arts: superb in terms of calligraphy, binding, and illuminations—although only one book in the hadith list, a work on the *Mi'rāj* (Ascension of the Prophet), is identified as being illustrated (*muṣawwar*) (39 {15}). Some of the books clearly had sentimental value for the royal family, since the books originally belonged to their ancestors.⁵³ Some of these books had been copied at the request of the sultans themselves. Others were presented or dedicated to them, having been sent from outside the Ottoman realm.⁵⁴ At least two books in the inventory were written for the kings of previous dynasties,⁵⁵ and the actual copies held by Bayezid's library might have originated from the libraries of these rulers. Unfortunately, these are issues that extend beyond the purview of the present essay.

In conclusion, a person seeking old and rare hadith books might be somewhat disappointed by the holdings of Bayezid's library. On the other hand, it is my opinion that the imperial character of the library should not be sought in its holdings of famous hadith collections and commentaries, but rather in its shorter and lesser-known works, as listed in the second half of the section on hadith. Some of these works were compiled by Ottoman scholars and dedicated to the sultans, although they cannot be identified as such from the scant entries of 'Atufi's inventory. The topics of these works and how those topics were treated might yield insights on their owners as well as their authors. For example, there are at least six books on jihad (38 {3}; 39 {16–17}; 40 {8–9}; 55 {9–10}; 55 {10–11}; 55 {13–14}) and two on kings and kingship (40 {9}; 41 {7}). Other sections of the inventory comprise more titles on these topics. It is only natural for a ghazi sultan to have hadith works on jihad and kingship. It would be interesting to examine how such topics are treated in these highly neglected works. Not only can these books (which are mostly selections of hadiths interspersed with commentary) give us a sense of Ottoman scholars' knowledge of hadith, but also, and more importantly, they show how scholars used and interpreted hadith in their own particular social, political, and cultural contexts.⁵⁶ This is where the originality of Ottoman works on hadith should perhaps be sought, rather than in their contribution to the technical aspects

of universal hadith studies. An approach from such a regional perspective may accelerate Ottoman hadith studies, which are still in their infancy. If we can learn to appreciate these works, we will be better equipped to evaluate Bayezid's world, including his palace library.

NOTES

Author's note: I would like to thank my friends Muhammet Emin Eren and Mehmet Kalaycı for reading an earlier version of this essay and providing me with useful feedback. I learned a lot, as everybody does, from the conversations I had with Himmet Taşkömür. Finally, I am grateful for the editors of this volume for their corrections and suggestions.

1. On Hayreddin Hızır b. Mahmud el-'Atufi see Taşköprizâde, *al-Shaqā'iq al-nu'māniyya fī 'ulamā' al-dawla al-'uthmāniyya*, ed. Ahmed Subhi Furat (Istanbul, 1985), 416–17; Hızır Yağcı, *Hayreddin Atûfî'nin Hadis Şerhçiliği* (Istanbul, 2017); Sadık Cihan, "Hayreddin Hızır b. Mahmud b. Ömer el-'Atufi 'Kastamoni' ve Hadis Eserleri," *Atatürk Üniversitesi İslâmî İlimler Fakültesi Dergisi* 3 (1979): 65–75. Cihan introduces five hadith-related works by 'Atufi, all of which are commentaries, one of them on al-Saghani's *Mashāriq al-anwār*. None of these commentaries appears in the inventory 'Atufi prepared, although some of them were presented to Bayezid. They seem to have been written after the inventory was prepared. One wonders whether 'Atufi ever used the palace library for his own research and writing. It is more likely that his books on medicine rather than hadith will supply us with clues regarding this question.
2. MS Török F. 59, 12.
3. Miklós Maróth, "The Library of Sultan Bayazıt II," in *Irano-Turkic Cultural Contacts in the 11th–17th Centuries*, ed. Éva M. Jeremiás (Piliscsaba, 2003), 112.
4. Numerous anecdotes found in Taşköprizâde's *al-Shaqā'iq al-nu'māniyya fī 'ulamā' al-dawla al-'uthmāniyya* and other sources show Bayezid's interest in books. In one of them, he is said to have practically forced the bedridden Hocaşade (d. 1488) to write a *ḥāshiya* on *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* (Commentary on the Stations) (Taşköprizâde, *Shaqā'iq*, 137–38). Bayezid was very fond of Seyyid 'Alizade's (d. 1524–25) commentary on *Shir'at al-Islām* and because of that, gave him the nickname *Shāriḥ al-Shir'a* (The Commentator of *al-Shir'a*) (Taşköprizâde, *Shaqā'iq*, 315). Also see Süheyl Ünver, "İkinci Sultan Bâyezid'in Edirne'deki Vakıf Kitaplarına Dair," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 4 (1958): 105–6; İsmail Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Kütüphaneler ve Kütüphanecilik: Tarihî Gelişimi ve Organizasyonu* (İstanbul, 2015), 115–18; Feridun Emecen, "II. Bâyezid'in Tarih Merakı Üzerine Bir Not: Fenarîzâde Alâeddin Alî'nin Anonim Osmanlı Tarihî Derlemesi," in *Kitaplara Vakfedilen Bir Ömre Tuhfe: İsmail E. Erünsal'a Armağan*, ed. H. Aynur, B. Aydın, and M. B. Ülker, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 2014), 1:331–44.

5. Manisa İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 45 Hk 183.
6. The famous Ottoman calligrapher Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi (d. 1520) copied *Mashāriq al-anwār* during Bayezid II's reign and most probably for him (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya, 898). A hadith work dedicated to Bayezid II is Muhyiddin Seydi Çelebi's (d. 1525) *al-Mustakhrāj min al-Bukhārī* (An Extract from al-Bukhari's *Şaḥīḥ*), a work that includes hadith commentaries on how to be a good ruler. See *Buhārī'de Yönetim Esasları: Müstahrec mine'l-Buhārī*, ed. and trans. Mehmet Erdoğan (Istanbul, 2000). Seydi Çelebi's book is unfortunately not found in the inventory, perhaps because it was written after the inventory was prepared. At least two books in the inventory appear to have been copied for Bayezid according to library catalogues: *Kitāb al-fawā'id wa-al-farā'id* (Book of Benefits and Precious Gems) by Ibn al-Hafid al-Taftazani of Herat (d. 1510) and *al-İjtihād fi faḍl al-jihād* (An Endeavor regarding the Virtues of Holy War) by Ibn al-Waiz al-Qaysari (a contemporary of Bayezid). One of the unidentified works on jihad must be the *Faḍā'il al-jihād* (Virtues of Holy War) of Hatibzade (d. 1495), another book dedicated to Bayezid (Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya, 1989).
7. The Egyptian scholar al-'Abbasi's (1463–1556) commentary on *Şaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* was a gift to Bayezid made during al-'Abbasi's visit to Istanbul as an envoy of the Mamluk ruler al-Ghawri (r. 1501–16) (Taşköprüzade, *Şaḡā'iq*, 411–12). The manuscript in the Topkapı Palace Library (Ahmed III, 391) is dated to 1501, only a couple of years before the preparation of the inventory. This is the year al-Ghawri ascended to the throne and probably also the year al-'Abbasi was sent to Istanbul as an ambassador.
8. When counting, I assumed that multi-volume sets are always indicated in the inventory, but this may not be the case.
9. *Taḡşilu kutubi al-aḥādīthi wa-kutubi asmā'i al-rijālī wa-ansābihim wa-kutubi manāqibi aṣḥābi al-ḥadīthi wa-kutubi shamā'ili al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama-* (Documentation of the books of hadith, books of names of transmitters and their genealogies, books of glorious deeds of the people of hadith, and books of the character of the Prophet) (MS Török F. 59, 30–42; 54–55). A leaf in the hadith section is clearly misplaced. The folio that covers pages 54–55 after the *ad'ya* section should come between pages 37 and 38 in the hadith section.
10. *Majmū'atun min rasā'ili al-funūni al-mukhtalifati ūlāhā majmū'atun min al-aḥādīthi* (A compendium comprising treatises on different arts, first of which is a collection of traditions) (MS Török F. 59, 41 {14}); *Kitābu al-ḥiṣni al-ḥaṣni fi al-ḥadīthi wa-thalātha 'ashara risālatan min qibali al-ḥadīth fi mujalladin wāhidin* (The Book of Strong Fortress and thirteen treatises pertaining to hadith bound in a single volume) (MS Török F. 59, 37 {1–2}). This kind of entry prevents us from determining the exact number of hadith works in the inventory, but the actual number is probably higher.
11. See MS Török F. 59, 295 {4–5, 16}; 297 {13–17}; 299 {1–3, 7–10}.
12. For example, in the section on prayers and devotions: *Kitābu al-jāmi'i al-bahī li-da'awāti al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama- fi al-ad'iyaṭi. Kitābu al-ḥiṣni al-ḥaṣni min qibali al-adhkāri wa-al-ad'iyaṭi* (The Splendid Collector of the Prayers of the Prophet on Prayers. The Strong Fortress pertaining to Remembrances and Prayers) (MS Török F. 59, 52 {1–2}). Several other copies of *al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣn* are placed in the hadith section. Judging from the title, *al-jāmi' al-bahī* may also have been placed in the hadith section just like many other prayer books.
13. For example, al-Kalabadhi's *Ma'ānī al-akhbār* (Meanings of Reports) is listed under three different titles in three different places (MS Török F. 59, 55 {9}; 55 {11–12}; 40 {12–13}).
14. An examination of manuscripts reveals that the titles or the descriptive statements found in the inventory are written verbatim on the first leaves of many manuscripts. They are obviously later additions, and it is very likely that it was 'Atufi who wrote these titles on the manuscripts during the preparation of the inventory.
15. The compiler uses this phrase even after such well-known hadith books as al-Bukhari's *Şaḥīḥ*, but he does not do so after every book.
16. There are about forty books that cannot be identified because of this problem.
17. The actual number of Persian books is probably much higher. In addition to some unidentified books, at least two books in the inventory are said to be Persian in other sources: *Najāt al-dhākirin* (Salvation of Rememberers) (MS Török F. 59, 42 {8}) and *Miftāḥ al-jinān* (Key to the Gardens) (MS Török F. 59, 55 {12–13}).
18. 'Atufi does not use a specific term to indicate that a book is incomplete. Only when the library does not hold all the volumes of a multi-volume set does he regularly make note of which volume(s) the library has. I can only infer from this that certain books (about fifteen sets) are incomplete. However, an examination of the manuscripts shows that several other books in the Hadith section were actually incomplete at the time of the preparation of the inventory. For example, a volume of *Sharḥ al-sunna* (The Commentary on Traditions) by al-Baghawi (d. 1122), comprising about one fifth of the book, could not be identified by 'Atufi, who gave it the title *Ādāb al-Islām* (Manners of Islam) based on the surviving chapters of the book.
19. Works that combine the hadiths of the books of al-Bukhari and Muslim.
20. Works that trace the original primary sources of the hadiths found in later collections.
21. See Mustafa Celil Altuntaş, "Osmanlı Hadis Eğitiminde *Meşāriku'l-Envār*," in *Osmanlı'da İlim ve Fikir Dünyası: İstanbul'un Fethinden Süleymaniye Medreselerinin Kuruluşuna Kadar*, ed. Ömer Mahir Alper and Mustakim Arıcı (Istanbul, 2015), 147–78.
22. For an incomplete list of Carullah Efendi's hadith books, see Abdullah Taha İmamoğlu, "Osmanlı'da Kitap Kültürü

- Açısından Veliyyüddin Cârullah Efendi'nin Hadis Kitaplarındaki Notları," in *Osmanlı Kitap Kültürü: Cârullah Efendi Kütüphanesi ve Derkenar Notları*, ed. Berat Açıl (Ankara, 2015), 100–103. *Shihâb al-akhbâr* and *Shir'at al-Islâm* are not found in this list because they are not categorized as hadith books in the old catalogue of the library of Carullah Efendi. The fact that some of these books are placed under other topics also indicates the hesitation on the part of Ottoman scholars regarding the classification of certain books.
23. According to *samâ'* (audition) records of a manuscript, Sadr al-Din al-Qunawi taught *Jâmi' al-uşul* to a number of students in Konya. See Muhammet Yılmaz, "Sadreddin el-Konevî'nin Huzurunda Okunan Mecdüddîn İbnül-Esîr el-Cezerî'nin Câmî'u'l-Uşûl İsimli Eserinin Kiraat ve Semâ Kayıtları Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme," in *Anadolu'nun İslamlaşma Sürecinde Dârul-Hadisler*, ed. Salih Kesgin and Muhittin Düzenli (Samsun, 2013), 261–74. The popularization of this book in Anatolia can probably be credited largely to Sadr al-Din al-Qunawi.
 24. Mustafa Bilge, *İlk Osmanlı Medreseleri* (Istanbul, 1984), 225–31, quoted in Selahattin Yıldırım, *Osmanlı İlim Geleneğinde Edirne Dârulhadîsi ve Müderrisleri* (Istanbul, 2001), 187–88.
 25. See Mehdi Çiftçi, *Süleymaniye Dârulhadîsi: XVI-XVII. Asırlar* (Istanbul, 2013), 152–63.
 26. See Taşköprizade, *Shaqâ'iq*, 556–58. Note that the word he uses for teaching hadith books is the more modest *naqaltu* ("I transmitted") instead of the usual *darrastu* ("I taught") that he uses for other books.
 27. For example, Nebi Efendizade (d. 1785–86), in his famous *Qasida*, names *Bukhârî*, *Maşâbîh*, and *Ibn Malak* (*Sharh al-Mashâriq*) as books to be studied in hadith. See Cevat İzgi, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1997), 1:96.
 28. For the authority this book carries, one has only to remember the *Şifahanlık* institution (public recitation of al-Qadi İyad's book *al-Shifâ*), similar to *Buharihanlık* (public recitation of al-Bukhari's *al-Şahîh*), both of which were established to publicize hadith as well as to receive blessings, relief, or victory especially in times of trouble such as war, famine, and natural disasters. These texts about the beloved Prophet were read publicly and ceremonially from beginning to end. For an introductory essay on Buharihanlık, see Mustafa Celil Altuntaş, "Osmanlı İlim Geleneğinde Buhârîhanlık," *Hadis Tetkikleri Dergisi* 8:1 (2010): 33–67. For *al-Shifâ* and Şifahanlık, see *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "eş-Şifâ," by M. Yaşar Kandemir.
 29. Though not a textbook, al-Tirmidhi's *Shamâ'il* was very commonly studied. After the fifteenth century, the popularity of this text grew, and more than sixty commentaries were written on it. Ottoman scholars contributed to its renown by translating and reworking the book at least a dozen times. See Ali Yardım, "Şemâil Nev'inin Doğuşu ve Tirmizi'nin Kitâb'üş-Şemâil'i," *Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 1 (1983): 349–409.
 30. See Ali Yardım, *Hadis Kivulcimleri: Şihâb'ül-Ahbâr Tercümesi* (Istanbul, 2007), 10–20.
 31. Leaving aside the literary references to these books, even a cursory look at the copying dates and places of the manuscripts preserved in libraries today will demonstrate that these titles were popular in the Ottoman realm long before Bayezid.
 32. See Kamil Çakın, "Buhârî'nin Otoritesini Kazanma Süreci," *İslâmî Araştırmalar* 10 (1997): 100–109; Jonathan Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim: The Formation and Function of the Sunni Hadīth Canon* (Leiden, 2007).
 33. How exactly these works were studied is still far from clear. One wonders how staunchly Hanafi Ottoman scholars dealt with Bukhari hadiths that went against the rulings of the Hanafi *madhhab* (school of law) in their teaching circles, for example.
 34. The number of hadiths in these books may change from edition to edition.
 35. That the book did not attract commentaries, probably due to its size, may be taken to indicate that it was not a classroom text.
 36. For this commentary, which was written by a very influential Anatolian scholar on Ottoman madrasa education, see Suat Koca, "İbn Melek'in *Mebâriku'l-Ezhâr Şerhu Meşâriki'l-Envâr*'ındaki Şerh Yöntemi ve Eserin Hadis Şerh Literatüründeki Yeri," *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 53, no. 1 (2012): 1–33. This text discusses the features that Ottoman scholars consider desirable in a hadith commentary.
 37. See Zişan Türcan, *Hadis Şerh Geleneği* (Ankara, 2011). See also Türcan's article on the Anatolian tradition of hadith commentaries, "Anadolu'da Hadis Şerhçiliği," in *Anadolu'da Hadis Geleneği ve Dârul-Hadisler*, ed. Muhittin Düzenli (Çankırı, 2011), 339–51.
 38. Taşköprizade calls al-Kirmani's commentary *amthal* and *afdal* ("exemplary" and "superior") and Ibn Hajar's *ajma'* and *anfa'* ("extensive" and "more beneficial") (Taşköprizade, *es-Se'âdetü'l-Fâhira fî Siyâdeti'l-Âhira: İlimler Tasnifi*, ed. Sami Turan Erel [Istanbul, 2016]), 147).
 39. It is interesting here to note that many scholars called "hadith experts" came from Syria and Egypt, or were educated there. Ibn al-Jazari is one early example of these scholars. Molla Gurani, a student of Ibn Hajar in Egypt, was introduced to Murad II as a tafsir and hadith scholar. The Mamluk envoy al-'Abbasi, who presented to Bayezid II his commentary on *al-Bukhârî*, declined Bayezid's offer of a position to teach hadith in Istanbul, but later on he settled in Istanbul (Taşköprizade, *Shaqâ'iq*, 411–12). Taşköprizade's hadith teacher was a scholar originally from Tunisia (ibid., 451–52, 555). The anonymous author of *Kevâkib-i Seb'a* (Seven Planets), a treatise on the Ottoman scholarly tradition, calls Misri Mustafa Efendi *tabaka-ı muhaddisînin tâc-ı sırrı* [read: *tâc-ı serî*] ("the crown of the class of hadith scholars") in the first half of the eighteenth century (XVIII. Asrın Ortalarına Kadar Türkiye'de İlim ve İlimiyeye Dâir Bir Eser: *Kevâkib-i Seb'a Risâlesi*, ed. Nasuhi Ünal Karaarslan [Ankara, 2015], 107). One can find more examples. Of course what makes someone a great hadith expert in the view of

- an Ottoman scholar might differ from the opinion of their contemporaries in Egypt or from a modern scholarly perspective. To give an example, the Mamluk scholar Taj al-Din al-Subki (d. 1370) complained about people who were called "hadith scholars" (*muḥaddithūn*) by merely studying *Mashāriq*, *Maṣābiḥ*, and *Jāmi' al-uṣūl*; according to him, even if someone memorizes these and other similar books and studies *uṣūl* books, this would still not qualify him to be called a *muḥaddith*. Al-Subki goes on to define what he considers to be the lowest degree of hadith scholarship. In order to be called a *muḥaddith*, he says, that person should be familiar with technical matters of *isnād* and *rijāl*, memorize a substantial number of hadiths, and study the six books under teachers, in addition to several other important collections. See al-Subki, *Mu'īd al-ni'am wa-mubīd al-niqam*, ed. M. 'A. al-Najjār, Abū Zayd al-Shalabī, and Muḥammad Abū al-'Uyūn (Cairo, 1948), 81–83. Al-Subki seems to have been attacking scholars who came to the Mamluk world from the east, but one could also easily read this as a Mamluk criticism of Ottoman hadith scholarship.
40. It is striking that of the almost 200 identified *mudarris*es who taught at the Edirne Darūlhadisi and the Süleymaniye Darūlhadisi, none produced a work of this kind. In fact, only a handful of hadith-related works appear to have been written by them. These works all fit perfectly within the usual trend in Ottoman hadith studies. See Yıldırım, *Edirne Dârulhadîsi*, 61–158; Çiftçi, *Süleymaniye Dârulhadisi*, 289–414.
 41. According to a recent study, in an exegetical work, our own 'Atufi uses only *Mashāriq al-anwār* as his hadith source with two commentaries (one of them being his own) on the work, and he hardly ever discusses any technical aspects of the hadiths he uses. See Hızır Yağcı, "Beyzâvî'nin *Envârü't-Tenzîl* Adlı Eserine, Atûfî'nin Yazdığı *Mir'âtü't-Te'vîl* Adlı Haşiyesinde Rivayet Kullanımı," *Kafkas Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 5 (2016): 1–24.
 42. These figures are helpful estimates, but they may not be totally accurate because 1) not all hadith-related works by Ottoman scholars have been identified and studied; and 2) the boundaries of the field of hadith are ambiguous.
 43. See Selahattin Yıldırım, "Osmanlı Muhaddisleri'nin Eserleri ve Bunlar Arasında Kırk Hadis Çalışmalarının Yeri," in *Anadolu'da Hadis Geleneği ve Dâru'l-Hadisler*, 141–42. For the genre of forty hadiths and the books of this genre compiled by Ottoman scholars, see Abdülkadir Karahan, *İslâm-Türk Edebiyatında Kırk Hadisler* (Ankara, 1991); Selahattin Yıldırım, *Osmanlı'da Kırk Hadis Çalışmaları – 1* (İstanbul, 2000). For a list of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ottoman hadith works, see Yunus Macit, "Osmanlı Gerileme Dönemi Hadis Öğretimi," in *Anadolu'da Hadis Geleneği ve Dâru'l-Hadisler*, 257–68. Bayezid's contemporary Kemalpaşazade, a very prolific and highly esteemed scholar, wrote about fifteen works related to the hadith discipline and, with the exception of a short *uṣūl* work that contains only explanations of about twenty terms, all of them are selections and commentaries. Unsurprisingly, the sources utilized in his commentaries are not technical hadith works, but rather are what might be expected from an Ottoman scholar of his age: linguistic, rhetorical, and theological works, Hanafi legal books, and Qur'anic commentaries. See Salih Özer, "Şeyhu'l-İslam Kemâl Paşazâde'nin (ö. 1534) Hadis İlmine İlişkin Faaliyetleri, Şerhçiliği ve Hadis Usûlü Risâlesinin Tercümesi," *Dinî Araştırmalar* 9 (2006): 193–210.
 44. Birgivi's (d. 1571) famous *Uṣūl al-ḥadīth* (Methodology of Hadith) is a good example. For an incomplete and not totally reliable list of *uṣūl al-ḥadīth* works by Ottoman scholars, see Sadık Cihan, "Osmanlı Devrinde Türk Hadisçileri Tarafından Yazılan Usulü Hadis Eserleri, Risâleleri ve Nuhbetü'l-Fiker Üzerine Yapılan Şerh ve Tercümeler," *Atatürk Üniversitesi İslâmî İlimler Fakültesi Dergisi* 1 (1975): 127–36.
 45. Judging from the entries in the inventory, there appear to be three additional *uṣūl* works among the unidentified titles. 'Atufi seems to have used the phrase *fi 'ilm al-ḥadīth* ("on the science of hadith") for *uṣūl* works rather than the usual *fi al-ḥadīth* ("on hadith").
 46. The title given to the hadith section by 'Atufi is more promising in terms of biographical works but the collection itself is rather poor.
 47. Two of these three volumes could be copies of *Asmâ' rijāl Mishkât al-Maṣābiḥ* (The Book Concerning the Men of the Niche of the Lamps) by al-Khatib al-Tibrizi (d. 1340). There are two copies of this work in the Topkapı Palace Library today that have Bayezid's stamps on them. The third volume could be *Asmâ' rijāl al-Bukhārī* (The Book of Names in al-Bukhari's Book), another work in the library with a Bayezid stamp.
 48. Although this work is known as *Sharḥ al-arba'in* (Commentary on Forty Hadiths), all the manuscripts of this work contain only 27 to 29 hadiths.
 49. For the dates of common textbooks and reference works, see Francis Robinson, "Ottomans-Safavids-Mughals: Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 8, no. 2 (1997): 174–77; Shahab Ahmed and Nenad Filipović, "The Sultan's Syllabus: A Curriculum for the Ottoman Imperial *Medreses* Prescribed in a *Fermân* of Qānūnī I Süleymân, Dated 973 (1565)," *Studia Islamica* 98–99 (2004): 183–218, at 196.
 50. The reason there are so many copies of certain works might be that they were intended to educate the palace inhabitants and the sultans. However, this does not explain all the works in multiple copies and it cannot be the only reason, since these books were occasionally sent out to public libraries established by the royal family. On the other hand, books that had been gifted or dedicated to the royal family were also sent out, and these books were often unique and autograph copies. Obviously, those who made decisions concerning the library collection had very different standards from those of modern librarians.
 51. The library held only one copy each of the other three *Sunans* in *al-kutub al-sitta*.

52. If today we have many of these works in Istanbul libraries, including the Topkapı Palace Library, their transfer to the Ottoman capital must have taken place after the conquest of Arab lands in the sixteenth century. Individual bibliophiles from among the scholars and statesmen must have played an important role in acquiring these works.
53. Although Bayezid inherited the majority of his library from his father, only one book in the section is specifically related to Mehmed II: *Kitābu nuzhati al-sultāni li-khizānati Mehemmed bin Murād Khān fī faḍli al-jihādi* (The Stroll of the Sultan written/copied for the library of Mehmed II on the virtues of holy war) (55 {13–14}).
54. Books that were dedicated or sent to the sultan from afar include: an autograph copy (*bi-khaṭṭi shāriḥihi*) of *al-Jawhar al-farīd* (The Unique Gem) by ‘Alī b. Nasir of Mecca (d. 1509) (41 {3–5}) and *Jawāhir al-‘iqdayn* (Gems of Two Necklaces) by Nur al-Dīn al-Samhūdī of Medina (d. 1506). Another Hijāzī scholar, ‘Afif al-Dīn al-Madani (fl. 1482), personally came and presented his book, *Ighthinām al-furṣa li-qirā’at al-ḥadīth bi-Burṣa* (The Book of Seizing the Opportunity for Reading Hadith in Bursa), to Bayezid.
55. *Al-Tuḥfa al-najībīyya al-uwaysīyya* (The Noble Gift to the Uwaysi Dynasty) (41 {5–6}) of al-Damaghani (d. before 1407) compiled for the Jalayirid ruler Uways Khan (r. 1356–74); and *Tuḥfat al-khāqān* (The Gift to the King) (41 {12}), written for Jani Beg (r. 1342–57), the sultan of the Golden Horde. Another book in the collection, namely *al-Risāla al-ghiyāthiyya* (The Epistle for Ghiyath al-Dīn) by ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Hamadani (fl. 1317), appears to have been the actual copy presented to the Ilkhanid vizier Ghiyath al-Dīn b. Rashid al-Dīn Fadl Allāh (d. 1336).
56. Books classified as hadith are not our only source for observing how Ottoman scholars worked with hadith. As a main source of religious knowledge, hadith was heavily drawn upon in all types of religious literature; by examining such works, we may be able to learn even more about how hadith was used, interpreted, and reinterpreted in the Ottoman world. For an introductory essay on the place of hadith in the Ottoman culture, see Mehmet Emin Özafşar, “Osmanlı Eğitimi, Kültür ve Sanatında Hadis,” in his *Hadis ve Kültür Yazıları* (Ankara, 2015), 111–56.

LIST OF ENTRIES

SECTION ON BOOKS OF HADITH, REPORTERS OF TRADITIONS AND THEIR GENEALOGIES,
LIVES OF THE PEOPLE OF HADITH, AND THE PROPHET'S CHARACTER

(*Taḥṣīl kutubi al-aḥādīthi wa-kutubi asmā'i al-rijālī wa-ansābihim wa-kutubi manāqibi aṣḥābi
al-ḥadīthi wa-kutubi shamā'ili al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama-*)

Defter-i Kütübḥāne-i Ayāsofya. İstanbul, 1304.

DİA *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. İstanbul, 1988–2013.

GAL Carl Brockelmann. *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. Leiden, 1996.

GAL-S Carl Brockelmann. *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur: Supplement*. Leiden, 1996.

İḍāḥ al-Maknūn Ismā'īl Bāshā al-Baghdādī. *İḍāḥ al-Maknūn fī al-Dhayl 'alā Kashf al-Ẓunūn*. Ed. Şerefettin Yalkaya and Kilisli Rifat Bilge. İstanbul, 1972.

KZ Kātib Çelebi. *Kashf al-Ẓunūn 'an Asāmī al-Kutub wa-al-Funūn*. Ed. Şerefettin Yalkaya and Kilisli Rifat Bilge. İstanbul, 1971.

Osmanlı Müellifleri Bursalı Mehmed Tâhir. *Osmanlı Müellifleri I-II-III*. Ankara, 2000.

Taşköprizade, *Shaqā'iq* Taşköprizade Aḥmed Efendi. *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya fī 'Ulamā' al-Dawla al-Uthmāniyya*. Ed. Ahmed Subhi Furat. İstanbul, 1985.

Note: I use *i'rāb* (case endings) only for titles taken from the inventory.

I. IDENTIFIED BOOKS

al-'ABBĀSĪ, Badr al-Dīn Abū al-Faṭḥ 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ḥamawī al-Qāhirī (d. 963/1556)

1. *al-Ḍaw'* *al-sārī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*: see al-BUKHĀRĪ 1.5.

ABŪ DĀWŪD Sulaymān b. al-Ash'ath al-Sijistānī al-Azdī (d. 275/888)

1. *al-Sunan* (Traditions), in 1 vol., Arabic, 34 {16}. MANUSCRIPT: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi (hereafter TSMK), A. 260 (Karatay 2525), 819/1416 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*. Ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. Egypt, 1354/1935.
- 1.1. Zakī al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīm b. 'Abd al-Qawī al-Mundhirī (d. 656/1258), *Mukhtaṣar Sunan Abī Dāwūd* (Abridgement of Abū Dāwūd's *Sunan*), Arabic, 34 {15}. EDITION: *Mukhtaṣar Sunan Abī Dāwūd* (together with al-Khaṭṭābī's *Ma'ālim al-sunan* and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's *Tahdhīb Sunan Abī Dāwūd*). Ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir and Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiḳī. Cairo, 1367–69.

ABŪ ḤANĪFA al-Nu'mān b. Thābit al-Kūfī (d. 150/767)

1. *Musnad Abī Ḥanīfa*: see al-KHWĀRIZMĪ 1.

AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ḤANBAL, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shaybānī al-Baghdādī (d. 241/855)

1. *al-Musnad* (The Supported), in 8 vols., Arabic, 34 {12–13}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 369 (Karatay 2551–55), 5 vols., vol. 1: 837/1433; vol. 2: 838/1434 (seal of Bayezid II). The other three volumes might have been removed from the library. EDITION: *Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*. Ed. Shu'ayb al-Arnā'ūt et al. Beirut, 1993.

‘ALĀ’ AL-DĪN AL-RŪMĪ, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Mūsā (d. 841/1438)

1. *Risālat al-nikāt (al-nukat) wa-al-as’ila* (Treatise of Subtleties and Questions) = *As’ilat ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Rūmī* (Questions of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Rūmī), in a *majmū’a*, Arabic, 39 {12–13}.
- 1.1. Mollā Sirāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Ḥalabī (d. ca. 850/1446), *Kāshifat al-shubuhāt al-‘alā’iyya* (Discloser of Uncertainties of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn), in a *majmū’a*, Arabic, 39 {13–14}. This book is commonly ascribed to Sirāj al-Dīn al-Tawqī’ī (d. 886/1481) (*KZ*, I:91) but recent research shows that he cannot be the author. See Musa Alak, “Molla Hüsrev’in Belâgat İlimlerine Dair *Hâşiye ale’l-Mutarvel* Adli Eseri,” in *Uluslararası Molla Hüsrev Sempozyumu: 18–20 Kasım 2011 Bursa, Bildiriler*, ed. Tevfik Yücedoğru et al. (Bursa, 2013), 203n13.
- 1.2a. Mollā Khusraw Muḥammad b. Farāmurz b. ‘Alī (d. 885/1480), *Naqd al-afkār fī radd al-anzār* (Critique of Ideas in Refutation of Thoughts), in a *majmū’a*, Arabic, 39 {14–15}.
- 1.2b. Same as above, 25 {2–3}.

al-ANDARASFĀNĪ, Abū al-Karam ‘Abd al-Salām b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥijjī al-Firdawsī al-Khwārizmī (6th/12th cent.)

- 1a. *al-Jāmi’ al-bahī li-da’awāt al-Nabī* (The Splendid Collector of the Prayers of the Prophet), *GAL-S*, I:624, Arabic, 51 {18}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 519 (Karatay 5396) (seal of Bayezid II).
- 1b. Same as above, 52 {1}.

al-ARDABĪLĪ, Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm (d. 779/1377)

1. *al-Azhār fī sharḥ al-Maṣābiḥ min aḥādīth Sayyid al-abrār*: al-BAGHAWĪ 1.4.

al-BĀBARTĪ, Akmal al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd (d. 786/1384)

1. *Tuḥfat al-abrār fī sharḥ Mashāriq al-anwār*: see al-ŞAGHĀNĪ 1.3.

al-BAGHAWĪ, Abū Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Sunna al-Ḥusayn b. Mas’ūd al-Farrā’ (d. 516/1122)

- 1a. *Maṣābiḥ al-sunna* (The Lamps of Sunna), Arabic, 35 {16}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 280 (Karatay 2691), 844/1440 (seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, A. 289 (Karatay 2682) (seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, A. 294 (Karatay 2692), 854/1450. EDITION: *Maṣābiḥ al-sunna*. 2 vols. [Cairo], 1294 [1877]; ed. Yūsuf ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mar’ashlī, Muḥammad Salīm Ibrāhīm Samārah, and Jamāl Ḥamdī al-Dhahabī. 4 vols. Beirut, 1987.
- 1b. Same as above, 35 {16}.
- 1c. Same as above, 35 {16}.
- 1d. Same as above, 35 {16}.
- 1e. Same as above, 35 {16}.
- 1f. Same as above, 35 {17}.
- 1g. Same as above, 35 {17}.
- 1h. Same as above, 35 {17}.
- 1i. Same as above, 35 {18}.
- 1j. Same as above, 35 {18}.
- 1k. Same as above, 35 {18–19}.
- 1l. Same as above, 35 {19}.
- 1m. Same as above, 35 {19}.
- 1n. Same as above, 35 {19}–36 {1}.
- 1o. Same as above, 36 {1}.
- 1p. Same as above, 36 {1}.

- 1q. Same as above, 36 {1–2}.
- 1r. Same as above, 36 {2}.
- 1s. Same as above, 36 {2}.
- 1t. Same as above, 36 {3}.
- 1u. Same as above, 36 {3}.
- 1v. Same as above, 36 {3–4}.
- 1w. Same as above, 36 {4}.
- 1.1. “*Maşābīhu mutarjamun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-ḥadīthi*,” Persian translation of *Maşābīh al-sunna*, 36 {7}.
- 1.2. Muḥzir al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Maḥmūd al-Zaydānī (d. 727/1327), *al-Maḥfātīḥ fī sharḥ al-Maşābīḥ* (The Keys in the Commentary on the Lamps), Arabic, 36 {10}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 428 (Karatay 2705), 739/1336. EDITION: Nūr al-Dīn Ṭālib et al., eds. Beirut, 2012.
- 1.3a. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Sakhūmī (d. after 762/1360), *Manḥal al-yanābī’ fī sharḥ al-Maşābīḥ* (The Pool of Springs in the Commentary on the Lamps), Arabic, 36 {12–13}.
- 1.3b. Same as above, 36 {13–14}.
- 1.4. Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Ardabīlī (d. 779/1377), *al-Azhār fī sharḥ al-Maşābīḥ min aḥādīth Sayyid al-abrār* (The Flowers in the Commentary of Traditions of the Master of the Righteous in the Lamps) Arabic, 36 {14}. KZ, II:1699, does not give the author’s name: *wa-min shurūḥihi al-Azhār*. MANUSCRIPT: Millet-Feyzullah 464 (seal of Bayezid II).
- 1.5. “*Sharḥu Maşābīḥa fī al-ḥadīthi*,” Arabic, 36 {8}.
- 1.6. “*Kitābu sharḥi al-Maşābīḥi fī al-ḥadīthi*,” Arabic, 36 {8}.
- 1.7. “*Hawāshī li-l-Maşābīḥi fī al-ḥadīthi*,” Arabic, 36 {9–10}. MANUSCRIPT: ‘Uthmān b. al-Ḥājj Muḥammad al-Harawī, *Kitāb al-ḥawāshī li-l-Maşābīḥ* (Book of Glosses on the Lamps), TSMK, A. 427 (Karatay 2716) (seal of Bayezid II), KZ, II:1702; GAL, I:364; GAL-S, I:620.
- 1.8. Walī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī (d. 741/1340), *Mishkāṭ al-Maşābīḥ* (The Niche of the Lamps), Arabic, 36 {7}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 295 (Karatay 2944), 805/1402; TSMK, A. 296 (Karatay 2945), 873/1469. EDITION: Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, ed. 3 vols. Damascus, 1960–62.
- 1.8.1a. Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ṭībī (d. 743/1342), *al-Kāshif ‘an ḥaqā’iq al-sunan* (The Uncoverer of the Truths of Traditions), in 2 vols., Arabic, 36 {11–12}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 434 (Karatay 2950–51), 2 vols. (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Sharḥ al-Ṭībī ‘alā Mishkāṭ al-Maşābīḥ al-musammā bi-al-Kāshif ‘an ḥaqā’iq al-sunan*. Ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Hindāwī. 13 vols. Mecca and Riyadh, 1997.
- 1.8.1b. Same as above, 36 {10–11}.
- 1.9. Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852/1449), *Hidāyat al-ruwāt ilā takhrīj aḥādīth al-Maşābīḥ wa-al-Mishkāṭ* (The Guidance of Transmitters to the Sources of Traditions of the Lamps and the Niche), Arabic, 36 {9}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 477 (Karatay 3012) (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: ‘Alī b. Ḥasan ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḥalabī, ed. 6 vols. al-Dammam, 2001.
2. *Sharḥ al-sunna* (Commentary on Traditions), Arabic, 40 {13–14}. MANUSCRIPT: *Ādāb al-Islām* (Manners of Islam), TSMK, A. 559 (Karatay 3166), 664/1266 (seal of Bayezid II). The descriptive title *Ādāb al-Islām* seems to have been given to this incomplete book by an evaluation of the contents and possibly during the preparation of the inventory. The manuscript has a note identical with what the inventory says about this work: *Kitābun murattabun ‘alā ‘asharati kutubīn marqūmun bi-Ādābi al-islāmī fī al-ḥadīthi*. EDITION: Shu‘ayb al-Arnā’ūṭ and Muḥammad Zuhayr

al-Shāwīsh, eds. 16 vols. Beirut, 1983. The manuscript corresponds to vol. 10, p. 247–vol. 13, p. 192 of the edition.

al-BIṢṬĀMĪ, Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad (d. 452/1060)

1. *Risālat al-iḥsān fī bayān faḍīlat a‘lā (a‘lām) shu‘ab al-īmān* (The Epistle of Beneficence in Explanation of the Highest of the Branches of Faith), KZ, I:6, Arabic, 38 {15–16}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A.1475 (Karatay 5215), 774/1377.

al-BUKHĀRĪ, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm al-Ju‘fī (d. 256/870)

- 1a. *al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ* (The Sound Collector = The Collector of Sound Traditions), Arabic, 31 {2}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 243 (Karatay 2266) (seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, A. 244 (Karatay 2248), 781/1379 (seal of Bayezid II); Milli Kütüphane 2870 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Cairo, 1314 [1896]; Istanbul, 1315 [1897].
- 1b. Same as above, in 1 vol., 31 {2–3}.
- 1c. Same as above, in 1 vol., 31 {3}.
- 1d. Same as above, in 1 vol., 31 {4}.
- 1e. Same as above, in 1 vol., 31 {4–5}.
- 1f. Same as above, in 1 vol., 31 {5–6}.
- 1g. Same as above, in 1 vol., 31 {6}.
- 1h. Same as above, 31 {6–7}.
- 1i. Same as above, in 1 vol., 31 {7–8}.
- 1j. Same as above, in 1 vol., 31 {8}.
- 1k. Same as above, in 1 vol., 31 {9}.
- 1l. Same as above, in 1 vol., 31 {9–10}.
- 1m. Same as above, in 1 vol., 31 {10–11}.
- 1n. Same as above, in 1 vol., 31 {11}.
- 1o. Same as above, in 1 vol., 31 {12}.
- 1p. Same as above, in 1 vol., 31 {12–13}.
- 1q. Same as above, in 1 vol., 31 {13–14}.
- 1r. Same as above, in 1 vol., 31 {14–15}.
- 1s. Same as above, in 1 vol., 31 {15}.
- 1t. Same as above, in 1 vol., 31 {15–16}.
- 1u. Same as above, in 1 vol., 31 {16–17}.
- 1v. Same as above, in 4 vols., 31 {17–18}.
- 1w. Same as above, 8 vols. in 7, 31 {18–19}–32 {1}.
- 1x. Same as above, in 8 vols., 32 {1–2}.
- 1y. Same as above, vol. 1 only, 32 {2–3}.
- 1z. Same as above, vol. 1 only, 32 {3}.
- 1aa. Same as above, 1 vol. only, 32 {4}.
- 1ab. Same as above, vol. 4 only, 32 {5–6}.
- 1.1a. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Kirmānī (d. 786/1384), *al-Kawākib al-darārī fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (The Twinkling Planets in the Commentary on the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhari), Arabic, 32 {12}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (hereafter SK), Şehzade Mehmed 10 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Ṣaḥīḥ Abī ‘Abd Allāh al-Bukhārī bi-sharḥ al-Kirmānī*. Cairo, 1933–37.
- 1.1b. Same as above, in 2 vols., 32 {12–13}.
- 1.1c. Same as above, in 2 vols., 32 {13}.

- 1.1d. Same as above, in 4 vols., 32 {14}.
 - 1.1e. Same as above, in 4 vols., 32 {14–15}.
 - 1.1f. Same as above, in 3 vols., 32 {15–16}.
 - 1.1g. Same as above, vol. 1 only, 32 {16–17}.
 - 1.1h. Same as above, vols. 3–4 only, 32 {17–18}.
 - 1.1i. Same as above, vol. 2 only, {18–19}.
 - 1.1j. Same as above, last vol. only, 32 {19}–33 {1}.
 - 1.2. Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl al-Kūrānī (Mollā Gūrānī) (d. 893/1488), *al-Kawthar al-jārī ilā riyāḍ aḥādīth al-Bukhārī* (The River Flowing into the Gardens of al-Bukhari's Traditions), *GAL-S*, I:262, Arabic, 33 {1–2}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 390 (Karatay 2425), 874/1469. EDITION: Aḥmad ʿIzzū ʿInāya, ed. Beirut, 2008.
 - 1.3. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahādur al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392), *al-Tanqīḥ li-alfāz al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ* (Examination of the Words of the Sound Collector), Arabic, 33 {2}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 376 (Karatay 2338), 835/1432 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Aḥmad Farīd, ed. 3 vols. Riyadh, 2000.
 - 1.4. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449), *Fath al-bārī bi-sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (The Opening of the Creator in the Commentary on the Saḥih of al-Bukhari), in 10 vols., Arabic, 33 {2–3}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 403 (Karatay 2363–71), 10 vols., 875/1470 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Fath al-bārī bi-sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. Ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnāʾūṭ and ʿĀdil Murshid. 26 vols. Beirut, 2013.
 - 1.5. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAbbāsī (d. 963/1556), *al-Dawʿ al-sārī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (The Penetrating Light: Commentary on the Saḥih of al-Bukhari), *GAL-S*, II:394, Arabic, 33 {4–5}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 391 (Karatay 2427), autograph, Shaʿbān 906/Feb.–March 1501 (presented to Bayezid II, seal of Bayezid II). See Taşköprizade, *Shaqāʾiq*, 246–47; *KZ*, I:551.
 - 1.6a. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd Ibn Abī Jamra al-Azdī (d. 699/1300), *Bahjat al-nufūs wa-taḥallihā bi-maʿrifat mā laḥā wa-mā ʿalayhā* (Delight of Souls and Their Adornment with the Knowledge of What Is for and against Them), a commentary on his own selection of traditions from al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. 2 vols., Arabic, 33 {3–4}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 406 (Karatay 2335–36), 2 vols., vol. 1: 786/1384 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Bakrī Shaykh Amīn, ed. Beirut, 1997.
 - 1.6b. Same as above, vol. 3 only, together with Ibn Abī Jamra's *al-Marāʾī al-ḥisān*, Arabic, 33 {5–6}.
- al-CĀMĪ, Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nizām al-Dīn (d. 898/1492)
1. “*Risālatun fī ḥadīthi al-ʿamāʾi fī al-taṣawwufi*” (An Epistle on the Hadith “He Was in Obscurity”), Persian, 126 {19}.
- al-DĀMAGHĀNĪ, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad (d. before 810/1407)
1. *al-Tuḥfa al-najībīyya li-ḥadrat al-saltāna al-uwaysīyya* (The Noble Gift to the Presence of the Uwaysi Dynasty), written for Jalāyirid Uways Khān (r. 757–76/1356–74), Arabic and Persian, 41 {5–6}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 656 (Karatay 2965) (seal of Bayezid II).
- al-DHAHABĪ, Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān b. Qaymāz (d. 748/1348)
1. *Tadhīb Tahdhīb al-Kamāl fī asmāʾ al-rijāl* (The Gilding of the Refinement of the Perfection about the Names of Men [hadith transmitters]), 4 vols., Arabic, 42 {2–3}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2849 (Karatay 6314–16), 745/1344–45, vols. 2–4 (seal of Bayezid II on vol. 2), vol. 1 seems to have been lost. EDITION: Ghunaym ʿAbbās Gunaym and Majdī al-Sayyid Amīn, eds. 11 vols. Cairo, 2004.

al-FĪRŪZĀBĀDĪ, Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb (d. 817/1415)

1. *Adawāt al-su'l min da'awāt al-Rasūl* (Devices of Request from the Prayers of the Messenger), Arabic, 51 {17}. MANUSCRIPT: "Ad'iya ma'thūra marwīyya 'an al-nabī" (Prayers Transmitted from the Prophet), TSMK, A. 526 (Karatay 5446) (seal of Bayezid II).

al-HAMADĀNĪ, 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Muṣliḥ (fl. 717/1317)

1. *al-Risāla al-ghiyāthiyya fī al-aḥādīth al-nabawiyya* (The Epistle for Ghiyāth al-Dīn about Prophetic Traditions), Arabic, 39 {2}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1204, 729/1328–29 (seal of Bayezid II). Presented to the Ilkhanid vizier Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh (d. 736/1336).

al-HAMADĀNĪ, Abū al-Futūḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ṭā'ī (d. 555/1160)

- 1a. *Kitāb al-arba'in fī irshād al-sā'irīn ilā manāzil al-muttaqīn* (Book of Forty Traditions about Guiding the Wanderers towards the Stations of the God-Fearing), Arabic, 38 {11}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 512 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: 'Abd al-Sattār Abū Ghudda, ed. Beirut, 1999. In the old catalogue of Ayasofya Library (p. 34), the author's name is given as Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Yūnus b. Abī al-Ḥasan Yahyā al-Hāshimī, who is actually the transmitter of the book.
- 1b. Same as above, 38 {18–19}.

al-HARAWĪ, Abū 'Ubayd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 401/1011)

- 1a. *Kitāb al-gharībayn fī al-Qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* (Book of Rare Words in the Qur'an and Hadith), in 2 vols., Arabic, 299 {2–3}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2771 (Karatay 7540–41), 2 vols. EDITION: Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī, ed. 6 vols. Mecca and Riyadh, 1999.
- 1b. The following could be another copy of *Kitāb al-gharībayn*: "*Kitābun fī gharībī al-Qur'āni wa-al-ḥadīthi 'alā tartībī al-ḥurūfī fī al-lughati*," 295 {16}.

al-HARAWĪ, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Aṭā' Allāh (d. 829/1425–26)

1. *Maṭālī' al-asrār li-sharḥ Mashāriq al-anwār*: see al-ṢAGHĀNĪ 1.5.

al-HARAWĪ, 'Uthmān b. al-Ḥājj Muḥammad (d. ?)

1. *Kitāb al-ḥawāshī li-l-Maṣābiḥ*: see al-BAGHAWĪ 1.7.

al-HAYTHAMĪ, Abū al-Ḥasan Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Abī Bakr (d. 807/1405)

- 1a. *Majma' al-zawā'id wa-manba' al-fawā'id* (The Collection of Additions [traditions not found in the six books] and the Source of Benefits), in 7 vols., Arabic, 54 {18}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 510 (Karatay 2986–92), 7 vols. (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Cairo, 1352–53 [1933–34].
- 1b. Same as above, 1 vol. of a multi-volume set, 41 {6–7}.

IBN 'ABD AL-BARR, Abū 'Umar Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh al-Namarī (d. 463/1071)

1. *al-Istī'āb fī ma'rifat al-aṣḥāb* (The Exhaustive Book on the Knowledge of Companions), 6 vols., Arabic, 55 {5}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 501/1, 501/5, 501/6 (Karatay, 6246–48), vol. 1: 850/1466; vol. 5: 577/1181. The other three volumes are not located in the library. EDITION: 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī, ed. Cairo, n.d.

IBN ABĪ JAMRA, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd al-Azdī (d. 699/1300)

1. *Bahjat al-nufūs wa-taḥallihā bi-ma'rifat mā lahā wa-mā 'alayhā*: see al-BUKHĀRĪ 1.6.

2. *Kitāb al-marāʾi al-ḥisān* (Book of Beautiful Visions), Arabic, 33 {6–7}. MANUSCRIPT: It could be at the end of one of the manuscripts of *Bahjat al-nufūs* and not catalogued separately. EDITION: Together with Ibn Abī Jamra's *Bahjat al-nufūs*. Ed. Bakrī Shaykh Amīn. Beirut, 1997.

IBN AL-ATHĪR, Abū al-Saʿādāt Majd al-Dīn Mubārak b. Muḥammad (d. 606/1210)

- 1a. *Jāmiʿ al-uṣūl li-aḥādīth al-rasūl* (The Collector of the Roots [Primary Sources] for the Traditions of the Prophet), in 1 vol., Arabic, 34 {4}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 301 (Karatay 2833–34) (seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, A. 302 (Karatay 2835–36), 2 vols. (seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, R. 354 (Karatay 2838), 724/1324 (seal of Bayezid II); SK, Turhan Valide 48 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Jāmiʿ al-uṣūl fi aḥādīth al-rasūl*. Ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnāʾūt. Damascus, 1969.
- 1b. Same as above, in 1 vol., 34 {4–5}.
- 1c. Same as above, in 1 vol., 34 {5–6}.
- 1d. Same as above, in 1 vol., 34 {6–7}.
- 1e. Same as above, in 1 vol., 34 {7}.
- 1f. Same as above, in 2 vols., 34 {8}.
- 1.1. *Mukhtaṣar Jāmiʿ al-uṣūl* (Abridgement of the Collector of the Primary Roots), in 1 vol., 34 {8–9}. This must be Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Marwazī al-Astarābādī (fl. 682/1283), *Mukhtaṣar Jāmiʿ al-uṣūl*. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 306 (Karatay 2851), copied for Mehmed II (seal of Bayezid II); KZ, I:536.
- 1.2. “*Mukhtaṣaru Jāmiʿi al-uṣūli fi al-ḥadīthi*,” in 2 vols., 34 {9–10}.
- 2a. *al-Nihāya fi gharīb al-ḥadīth wa-al-athar* (The Ultimate Outcome regarding the Rare Words in Traditions and Reports), Arabic, 299 {10}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 516 (Karatay 2852–53), 2 vols., vol. 2: 831/1427 (seal of Bayezid II); SK, Süleymaniye 1025 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Ṭāhir Aḥmad al-Zāwī and Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī, eds. 5 vols. Cairo, 1963–65.
- 2b. Same as above, vol. 2 only, 299 {1}.
- 2c. Same as above, vol. 1 only, 299 {7–8}.
- 2d. Same as above, vol. 1 only, 299 {8–9}.
- 2e. Same as above, 2 vols., 299 {9–10}.

IBN AL-ḤAFĪD, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. ca. 916/1510)

1. *Kitāb al-fawāʾid wa-al-farāʾid* (Book of Benefits and Precious Gems), GAL, II:218, Arabic, 54 {19}–55 {1}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 576 (Karatay 3081), copied for Bayezid II (Abū Yazīd Bahādur Khān) in 900/1494 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *al-Durr al-naḍīd li-majmūʿat Ibn al-Ḥafīd* (Stringed Pearl for the Compendium of Ibn al-Ḥafīd). Egypt, 1322; Beirut, 1980.

IBN AL-IMĀM, Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Humām al-ʿAsqalānī al-Miṣrī (d. 745/1344)

1. *Silāḥ al-muʾmin* (The Weapon of the Believer), Arabic, 42 {7}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 573 (Karatay 5438), 839/1436 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Silāḥ al-muʾmin fi al-duʿāʾ wa-al-dhikr*. Ed. Muḥyī al-Dīn Dīb Mistū. Damascus, 1993.

IBN AL-JAWZĪ, Abū al-Faraj Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī al-Baghdādī (d. 597/1200)

1. *Ṣifāt al-ṣafwa* (Description of the Elite) or *Ṣafwat al-ṣafwa* (The Elite of the Elite), vol. 1 only, 55 {16–17}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2807 (6275–77), 846/1442. EDITION: *Kitāb Ṣifāt al-ṣafwa*. Ed. Maḥmūd Fakhūrī. Aleppo, 1969–73.

2. *al-Waḡfā' bi-aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā* (Loyalty to the States/Affairs of the Chosen One), Arabic, 176 {6–7}. MANUSCRIPT: "*Aḥwāl al-nabī*" (The States/Affairs of the Prophet), TSMK, A. 578 (Karatay 3171), 842/1438 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Muḥammad Zuhri al-Najjār, ed. Riyadh, [1976?]. This and other editions do not contain the chains of transmitters that TSMK, A. 578 has. The book seems to exist in two versions, one with *isnāds*, and one without.

IBN AL-JAZARĪ, Shams al-Dīn Abū al-Khayr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. 833/1429)

- 1a. *al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn min kalām Sayyid al-mursalīn* (The Strong Fortress from the Speech of the Master of the Messengers), in a *majmū'a* with 13 treatises, KZ, I:669, Arabic, 37 {1}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 340 (Karatay 5451). EDITION: Khayr Allāh al-Sharīf, ed. Beirut, 1421/2000.
- 1b. Same as above, together with *Arf al-ta'rīf fi al-mawlid al-sharīf*, Arabic, 37 {2}.
- 1c. Same as above, 52 {2}.
- 1.1a. Ibn al-Jazarī's own abridgement, *Uddat (Muhktaṣar) al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn min kalām Sayyid al-mursalīn* (Preparation [Abridgement] of the Strong Fortress from the Speech of the Master of the Messengers), KZ, I:669, Arabic, 36 {17}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 346 (Karatay 5456). EDITION: Beirut, 1979.
- 1.1b. Same as above, 36 {19}.
- 1.2a. *Tarjuma-i Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn* (Translation of the Strong Fortress), trans. Aṣīl al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥusaynī al-Wā'iz, KZ, I:669, Persian, 36 {18–19}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2780.
- 1.2b. Same as above, in a *majmū'a* with two other works, Persian, 36 {17–18}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 1130, fols. 29–162.
- 1.2c. Same as above, first work in a *majmū'a*, Persian, 37 {4}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye-Ayasofya 4795, fols. 1–32.
2. *Uddat (Muhktaṣar) al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn min kalām Sayyid al-mursalīn*: see IBN AL-JAZARĪ 1.1.
3. *Arf al-ta'rīf fi al-mawlid al-sharīf* (The Fragrance of the Announcement about the Celebrated Birth), together with *al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn*, KZ, II:1132, GAL-S, II:277, Arabic, 37 {3}. EDITION: Muḥammad Abū al-Khayr al-Mulqī (?), ed. [Beirut?, 1431].

IBN AL-KHARRĀṬ, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ishbīlī (d. 582/1186)

1. *al-Jam' bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* (The Union of the Two Sahihs), Arabic, 33 {15}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 300 (Karatay 2822), 736/1336 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Ed. Ṭāhā b. 'Alī Abū Sarīh. Beirut, 2004.

IBN AL-ṢALĀḤ, Taqī al-Dīn Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shahrazūrī (d. 643/1245)

- 1a. *Ma'rīfat anwā' 'ilm al-ḥadīth* (The Knowledge of the Categories of the Science of Tradition) = *Ulūm al-ḥadīth* (Sciences of Tradition) = *Muqaddima* (Prolegomena), in a *majmū'a*, Arabic, 55 {18–19}. MANUSCRIPT: Köprülü-Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 224, leaves 7–68. EDITION: *Muqaddimat Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ*. Ed. 'Ā'isha 'Abd al-Raḥmān Bint al-Shāṭi'. Cairo, 1974.
- 1b. Same as above, 38 {10–11}.

IBN AL-WĀ'IZ AL-QAYṢARĪ, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Atharī (9th/15th cent.)

1. *al-Itihād fī faḍl al-jihād* (An Endeavor regarding the Virtues of Holy War), Arabic, 55 {9–10}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 623 (Karatay 2977), copied for Bayezid II (seal of Bayezid II). According to Karatay, *Topkapı Arapça Yazma Kataloğu*, II:237, Ibn al-Wā'iz was a scholar of Bayezid II's reign. EDITION: Edited by Sa'īd Aḥmad 'Ināyat Allāh in an unpublished Panjab University PhD dissertation (Lahore, n.d.).

IBN DAQĪQ AL-ĪD, Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (d. 702/1303)

1. *Iḥkām al-aḥkām sharḥ ‘Umdat al-aḥkām* (Bolstering the Rulings: Commentary on the Foundation of Rulings), Arabic, 38 {6–7}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 470 (Karatay 2937), 726/1326 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Irfān al-‘Ashshā Ḥassūna, ed. Beirut, 1997.

IBN ḤAJAR AL-‘ASQALĀNĪ, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad b. ‘Alī (d. 852/1449)

1. *Fath al-bārī bi-sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*: see al-BUKHĀRĪ 1.4.
2. *Hidāyat al-ruwāt ilā takhrīj aḥādīth al-Maṣābiḥ wa-al-Mishkāt*: see al-BAGHAWĪ 1.9.
3. *Nukhbat al-fikar fī muṣṭalah ahl al-athar* (Selection of Thoughts on the Terminology of the People of Traditions), Arabic, 40 {7–8}. EDITION: Usually published with Ibn Ḥajar’s own commentary on it: *Sharḥ al-Nukhbat: Nuzhat al-naẓar fī tawḍīḥ Nukhbat al-fikar fī muṣṭalah ahl al-athar*. Ed. Nūr al-Dīn ‘Itr. Damascus, 1992.
4. *Taqrib al-Tahdhīb* (Making the Refinement Accessible), Arabic, 42 {1–2}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 505 (Karatay 6320), 854/1450 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Muḥammad ‘Awwāma, ed. Aleppo, 1991.

IBN MĀJĀH, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Qazwīnī (d. 273/886)

1. *al-Sunan* (Traditions), Arabic 34 {16}. MANUSCRIPT: Topkapı, Ahmed III 261 (Karatay 2503). EDITION: *Sunan al-Ḥāfiẓ Abī ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Qazwīnī Ibn Mājah*. 2 vols. Ed. Muḥammad Fu’ād ‘Abd al-Bāqī. Cairo, 1952–54.

IBN MALAK, ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (d. after 821/1418)

1. *Mabāriq al-azhār sharḥ Mashāriq al-anwār*: see al-ŞAGHĀNĪ 1.1.

IBN NĀŞİR AL-DĪN, Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Dimashqī (d. 842/1438)

1. *Bard al-akbād ‘inda faqḍ al-awlād* (Coldness of Livers upon Losing Children), in a *majmū‘a*, 120 {8}. EDITION: ‘Abd al-Jalīl ‘Aṭā al-Bakrī, ed. Beirut, 1992.

IBN QUDĀMA, Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Maqdisī (d. 620/1223)

1. *Qun‘at al-arīb fī tafsīr al-gharīb* (Satisfaction of the Intelligent concerning the Interpretation of Rare Words), Arabic, 300 {13–14}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 588 (Karatay 2860), 692/1293 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Qun‘at al-arīb fī tafsīr al-gharīb min ḥadīth rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam wa-al-ṣaḥāba wa-al-tābi‘in*. Ed. ‘Alī Ḥusayn al-Bawwāb. Riyadh, 1986.

IMĀMZĀDA Sadīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Bukhārī (d. 573/1177)

- 1a. *Shir‘at al-islām* (Laws of Islam), Arabic, 54 {9}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 766 (Karatay 3570), 885/1480. EDITION: Muḥammad Raḥmat Allāh Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāẓim al-Nadawī, ed. Beirut, 1428/2007.
- 1b. Same as above, 54 {9}.
- 1c. Same as above, 54 {10}.
- 1d. Same as above, 54 {10}.
- 1e. Same as above, 54 {11}.
- 1f. Same as above, 54 {11}.
- 1g. Same as above, 54 {12}.

- 1h. Same as above, 54 {12–13}.
 - 1i. Same as above, in a *majmū'a*, 120 {3}.
 - 1.1a. Sayyid 'Alizāda, Ya'qūb b. Sayyid 'Alī al-Rūmī al-Burūsawī (d. 931/1525), *Maḥātīḥ al-jinān wa-maṣābīḥ al-janān* (Keys to Gardens and Lamps of Souls), also known as *Sharḥ Shir'at al-islām* (Commentary on the Laws of Islam), Arabic, 54 {15}. MANUSCRIPT: Milli Kütüphane 05 Ba 704 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Sharḥ Shir'at al-islām*. Istanbul, 1299.
 - 1.1b. Same as above, 54 {16}.
- al-'IRĀQĪ, Abū al-Faḍl Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Ḥusayn (d. 806/1404)
- 1a. *Faṭḥ al-mughhūth bi-sharḥ Alfīyyat al-ḥadīth* (The Opening of the Helper with the Commentary on "A Thousand Verses on Hadith"), Arabic, 55 {19}–38 {1}. MANUSCRIPT: Köprülü-Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 224, leaves 69–192. A commentary on his own *al-Tabṣira wa-al-tadhkira fī 'ulūm al-ḥadīth* (Instruction and Reminder on the Sciences of Tradition) = *al-Alfīyya al-'Irāqīyya* (A Thousand Verses of al-'Iraqī) = *Alfīyyat al-ḥadīth* (A Thousand Verses on Hadith). EDITION: Maḥmūd Rabī', ed. Beirut, 1995.
 - 1b. Same as above, 38 {1–2}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 667 (Karatay 2188), 776/1374, autograph copy (seal of Bayezid II).
 - 1c. Same as above, 38 {7–8}.
- 'IZZ AL-DĪN AL-ḤANBALĪ 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Riḍwān b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq (d. ?)
- 1a. *Maṭla' al-nayyirayn fī al-jam' bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* (The Rising Place of Sun and Moon in the Union of the Two Sahihs), GAL-S, II:930; KZ, II:1721, Arabic, 33 {15–16}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 540 (Karatay 2501), 717/1317 (seal of Bayezid II).
 - 1b. Same as above, 33 {16–17}.
- al-KĀFIYAJĪ, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sulaymān (d. 879/1474)
1. *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl fī ḥadīth inna-mā al-a'māl bi-al-niyyāt* (Summary of Opinions about the Hadith "actions are judged only according to intentions"), *Īdāḥ al-Maknūn*, I:433, Arabic, 39 {5–6}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 525, 868/1463–64 (seal of Bayezid II).
- al-KALĀBĀDHĪ, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Abī Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Bukhārī (d. 380/990)
- 1a. *Ma'ānī al-akhbār* (Meanings of Reports) = *Baḥr al-fawā'id* (Ocean of Benefits) = *Fawā'id al-akhbār* (Benefits of Reports), GAL, I:200; GAL-S, I:360, Arabic, 55 {9}. MANUSCRIPT: "Ma'ānī al-akhbār," TSMK, A. 538 (Karatay 2612), 605/1208 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Baḥr al-fawā'id, al-mashhūr bi-Ma'ānī al-akhbār*. Ed. Wajīh Kamāl al-Dīn Zakī. 2 vols. Cairo, 2008.
 - 1b. Same as above, "Kitābun mawsūmun bi-Fawā'id al-akhbārī fī al-ḥadīthi," 55 {11–12}. MANUSCRIPT: "Fawā'id al-akhbār," TSMK, A. 600 (Karatay 2612) (seal of Bayezid II).
 - 1c. Same as above, "Kitābu sharḥi al-aḥādīthi li-Abī Bakr al-Kalābādhī fī al-ḥadīthi," 40 {12–13}.
- al-KĀZARŪNĪ, 'Afīf al-Dīn Sa'īd b. Muḥammad (d. 785/1383)
1. *Maṭālī' al-anwār al-muṣṭafawīyya*: see al-ṢAGHĀNĪ 1.2.
- al-KĀZARŪNĪ, Sa'īd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd (d. 758/1357)
1. *al-Musalsalāt* (Enchained Traditions), Arabic, 38 {14–15}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 547 (Karatay 2964), 835/1431 (seal of Bayezid II).

al-KHWĀRIZMĪ, Abū al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd (d. 665/1257)

1. *Jāmi' masānīd al-imām al-a'zam wa-al-humām al-afkham Abī Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān ibn Thābit al-Kūfi* (The Collector of the *Musnads* of Abu Hanifa), Arabic, KZ, II:1680–82, 34 {12}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 367 (Karatay 2538), 825/1421 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: 3 vols. Hyderabad, 2008.

al-KIRMĀNĪ, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (d. 786/1384)

1. *al-Kawākib al-darārī fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*: see al-BAKHĀRĪ 1.1.

al-KÜRĀNĪ, Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ismā'il (Mollā Gūrānī) (d. 893/1488)

1. *al-Kawthar al-jārī ilā riyāḍ aḥādīth al-Bukhārī*: see al-BAKHĀRĪ 1.2.

al-MADANĪ, 'Afif al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Walī al-Dīn Musaddad al-Shāfi'ī (fl. 887/1482)

1. *Kitāb Ightinām al-furṣa li-qirā'at al-ḥadīth bi-Burṣa* (The Book of Seizing the Opportunity for Reading Hadith in Bursa), autograph copy, Arabic, 41 {8–11}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 756 (presented to Bayezid II, seal of Bayezid II).

al-MAKKĪ, 'Alā' al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Nāṣir al-Shāfi'ī al-Ḥijāzī (d. 915/1509)

1. *al-Jawhar al-farīd wa-al-'iqd al-naḍīd* (The Unique Gem and Stringed Necklace), autograph copy, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn*, I:383, Arabic, 41 {3–5}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 504 (presented to Bayezid II, seal of Bayezid II). Includes a poem at the end by al-Makkī in praise of Bayezid II.

MĀLIK b. ANAS, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Aṣḥabī al-Madanī (d. 179/795)

- 1a. *al-Muwaṭṭa'* (The Leveled Path), Arabic, 34 {13–14}.
- 1b. Same as above, 34 {14}. Which recension of *al-Muwaṭṭa'* is meant is not clear. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 275 (Karatay 2205). EDITIONS: *al-Muwaṭṭa'* [*bi-riwāyat Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Laythī*]. Ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Baqī. Cairo, 1951; *Muwaṭṭa' al-Imām Mālik Abī 'Abd Allāh ibn Anas al-Aṣḥabī: Riwāyat Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī*. Ed. 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Abd al-Laṭīf. Cairo, 1967.

al-MAWṢĪLĪ, Abū Muḥammad al-Mu'āfā b. Ismā'il Ibn al-Ḥadūs al-Shaybānī (d. 630/1233)

1. *Uns al-munqaṭi'īn li-'ibādat rabb al-'ālamīn* (Familiarization of the Separated with the Worship of the Lord of the Worlds), Arabic, 40 {15}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 555 (Karatay 2863). EDITION: Ed. Riḍā Aḥmad Ighbāriyya. Beirut, 2006.

al-MIZZĪ, Abū al-Ḥajjāj Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Zakī 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 742/1341)

1. *Tuḥfat al-ashraf bi-ma'rifat al-aṭraf* (The Gift to the Nobles regarding the Knowledge of *aṭraf* [pl. of *ṭaraf*, the first or the most prominent section of a hadith]), vol. 2 only, Arabic, 38 {9}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 702. EDITION: Ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf. 13 vols. Beirut, 1999.

MOLLĀ SIRĀJ AL-DĪN Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Ḥalabī (d. ca. 850/1446)

1. *Kāshifāt al-shubuhāt al-'alā'iyya*: see 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN AL-RŪMĪ 1.1.

MOLLĀ KHUSRAW Muḥammad b. Farāmūrz b. 'Alī (d. 885/1480)

1. *Naqd al-afkār fī radd al-anzār*: see 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN AL-RŪMĪ 1.2.

al-MUNDHIRĪ, Abū Muḥammad Zakī al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīm b. 'Abd al-Qawī (d. 656/1258)

- 1a. *Kitāb al-targhib wa-al-tarhib* (The Book of Enjoining and Warning), in 2 vols., Arabic, 54 {5}. MANUSCRIPTS: "*Sharḥ aḥādīth al-targhib wa-al-tarhib*," TSMK, A. 496 (Karatay 2910–11), 2 vols., 890/1485–86 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, ed. Egypt, 1960–62.
- 1b. Same as above, 54 {6}.
- 1c. Same as above, vol. 2 only, 54 {6–7}.
2. *Mukhtaṣar Sunan Abī Dāwūd*: see ABŪ DĀWŪD 1.1.

MUSLIM b. al-Ḥajjāj Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Qushayrī al-Naysābūrī (d. 261/875)

- 1a. *al-Musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ* (The Sound *Musnad*), in 1 vol., 33 {8}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 257 (Karatay 2460), 831/1428 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. Istanbul, 1330–34.
- 1b. Same as above, in 1 vol., 33 {8–9}.
- 1c. Same as above, in 1 vol., 33 {9}.
- 1d. Same as above, in 1 vol., 33 {10}.
- 1e. Same as above, in 1 vol., 33 {10–11}.
- 1f. Same as above, in 1 vol., 33 {11–12}.
- 1g. Same as above, in 1 vol., 33 {12}.
- 1h. Same as above, in 1 vol., 33 {12–13}.
- 1.1a. Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), *al-Minhāj fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj* (The Manifest Road in the Commentary on the Sound of Muslim), 5 vols., Arabic, 33 {17–18}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, R. 222–26 (Karatay 2488–92), 5 vols., vol. 5: 901/1496; TSMK, A. 410 (Karatay 2485), 789/1387 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim bi-sharḥ al-Nawawī*. Cairo, 1349.
- 1.1b. Same as above, in 1 vol., 33 {18–19}.
- 1.1c. Same as above, in 1 vol., 33 {19}.
- 1.1d. Same as above, vol. 1 only, 33 {19}–34 {1}.
- 1.2. "*Mujalladun awwalu min Sharḥi Ṣaḥīḥi Muslim fī al-ḥadīthi*," Arabic, 34 {1–2}.

al-NAHRAWĀNĪ, Abū al-Faraj al-Mu'āfā b. Zakariyyā b. Yaḥyā al-Jarīrī (d. 390/1000)

1. *al-Jalīs al-ṣāliḥ al-kāfi wa-al-anīs al-nāṣiḥ al-shāfi* (Righteous and Sufficient Table Companion and Sincere and Relieving Friend), Arabic, 38 {5–6}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2321 (Karatay 8230), 629/1232 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Muḥammad Mursī al-Khawālī, ed. 4 vols. Beirut, 1981–93.

al-NASĀ'Ī, Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad b. Shu'ayb (d. 303/915)

1. *al-Sunan* (Traditions) = *al-Mujtabā* (The Chosen), Arabic, 34 {15}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 266 (Karatay 2520), 740/1340. EDITION: *Sunan al-Nasā'ī: al-Mujtabā*. Egypt, 1964–65.

al-NAWAWĪ, Abū Zakariyyā Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Sharaf (d. 676/1277)

1. *al-Minhāj fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj*: see MUSLIM 1.1
- 2a. *Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn min kalām Sayyid al-mursalīn* (The Gardens of the Righteous from the Speech of the Master of the Messengers), Arabic, 55 {1–2}. MANUSCRIPTS: Several copies in TSMK predating the inventory. EDITION: *Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn*. Ed. Shu'ayb al-Arnā'ūt. Beirut, 1422/2001.
- 2b. Same as above, 55 {5–7}.

- 2c. Same as above, in the third volume of al-Qurṭubī's *al-Jāmi' li-aḥkām al-Qur'an* (The Collector of the Rulings of the Qur'an), 21 {9}.
- 3a. *Ḥilyat al-abrār wa-shi'ār al-akhyār fī talkhīṣ al-da'awāt wa-al-adhkār al-mustaḥabba fī al-layl wa-al-nahār* (Decoration of the Righteous and the Slogan of the Good in Extracting the Prayers and Remembrances Commendable at Night and Day) = *al-Adhkār min kalām Sayyid al-abrār* (Remembrances from the Speech of the Master of the Righteous), Arabic, 55 {7–8}. MANUSCRIPTS: At least eight copies in TSMK with a date prior to the preparation of the inventory. EDITION: *Ḥilyat al-abrār wa-shi'ār al-akhyār fī talkhīṣ al-da'awāt wa-al-adhkār al-mustaḥabba fī al-layl wa-al-nahār, al-ma'rūf bi-al-Adhkār al-Nawawīyya*. Ed. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Arnā'ūt. [Damascus], 1971.
- 3b. Same as above, 55 {8–9}.
- 3c. Same as above, in the third volume of al-Qurṭubī's *al-Jāmi' li-aḥkām al-Qur'an*, 21 {9}.
- 3d. Same as above, 47 {1}.
- 3e. Same as above, bound with *Risālat shu'ab al-īmān*, 47 {15–16}.
- 3f. Same as above, 115 {1–2}.
4. *al-Arba'ūn al-nawawīyya* (al-Nawawī's Forty Traditions), first work in a *majmū'a*, Arabic, 39 {8}. MANUSCRIPT: This *majmū'a* is found in TSMK, A. 358 (Karatay 8650) (seal of Bayezid II). *al-Arba'ūn* is in 1b–14b. EDITION: *Matn al-Arba'ūn al-Nawawīyya fī al-aḥādīth al-ṣaḥīḥa al-nabawīyya*. Ed. Maḥmūd al-Arnā'ūt. Kuwait, 1989.

al-QĀḌĪ 'IYĀḌ b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 544/1149)

- 1a. *al-Shifā' bi-ta'rīf ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā* (The Healing through the Exposition of the Rights of the Chosen), Arabic, 37 {14}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 310 (Karatay 2733), 715/1315 (seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, A. 314 (Karatay 2740), 763/1362 (seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, A. 650 (Karatay 2752) (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Istanbul, 1312 [1895]; ed. 'Alī Muḥammad Bajāwī. Beirut, 1404/1984.
- 1b. Same as above, 37 {14–15}.
- 1c. Same as above, in 1 vol., 37 {15–16}.
- 1d. Same as above, 37 {16}.
- 1e. Same as above, 37 {16–17}.
- 1f. Same as above, 37 {17}.
- 1g. Same as above, 37 {17}.
- 1h. Same as above, in 2 vols., 37 {18}.
- 1i. Same as above, 37 {18}.
- 1j. Same as above, 37 {19}.
- 1k. Same as above, 37 {19}–54 {1}.
- 1l. Same as above, 54 {1–2}.
- 1m. Same as above, 54 {2}.
- 1n. Same as above, in 4 vols., 54 {3}.

al-QARAḤIŞĀRĪ, Muḥammad b. Najīb (d. 900/1494, 946/1539 or 950/1543)

1. *Rawnaq al-tafāsīr* (Splendor of Commentaries), GAL, II:229, Arabic, 38 {10}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 5315.

al-QUDĀ'Ī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Salāma b. Ja'far (d. 454/1062)

- 1a. *Shihāb al-akhbār fī al-ḥikam wa-al-amthāl wa-al-ādāb min al-aḥādīth al-marwīyya 'an al-rasūl al-mukhtār* (Shooting Stars of Reports in Aphorisms, Parables, and Manners from the Traditions

Transmitted from the Chosen Messenger), Arabic, 54 {16–17}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 370 (Karatay 2634), 489/1095. EDITION: *al-Shihāb fī al-ḥikam wa-al-ādāb*. Baghdad, 1327.

- 1b. Same as above, 54 {17}.
- 1c. Same as above, 55 {3}.
- 1d. Same as above, 55 {3–4}.
- 1e. Same as above, 55 {4}.

al-QŪNAWĪ, Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ishāq (d. 673/1274)

- 1a. *Sharḥ al-arbaʿīn ḥadīthan* (Commentary on Forty Traditions), in a *majmūʿa*, Arabic, 38 {3–5}. MANUSCRIPT: Could be Köprülü-Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1594, leaves 1–64. EDITION: *Kırk Hadis Şerhi* = *Sharḥ al-aḥādīth al-arbaʿīn: Kashfastār jawāhir al-ḥikam al-mustakhraja min jawāmiʿ al-kalim*. Ed. Abdullah Aydınlı. Istanbul, 2015.
- 1b. Same as above, 41 {2–3}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK. A. 556 (Karatay 8655) (Seal of Bayezid II).

ŞAFĪ AL-AKHAWAYN (fl. 810/1408)

- 1. *al-Hādī ilā dār al-salām* (The Guide to the Land of Peace), Arabic, 38 {16–17}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2158 (seal of Bayezid II). The author's name is given in the ms (142b.) as Şafī al-Akawayn, who finished the work in 810/1408. In *İdāḥ al-Maknūn*, II:715: *al-Hādī ilā dār al-salām: mawjūd bi-Dār al-Kutub Ayāşūfiyya*.

al-ŞAGHĀNĪ, Raḍī al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Muḥammad (d. 650/1252)

- 1a. *Mashāriq al-anwār al-nabawīyya min şihāḥ al-akhbār al-muṣṭafawīyya* (The Rise of Prophetic Lights from the Sound Reports of Mustafa), Arabic, 34 {17}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Şehzade Mehmed 15, 803/1401 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *al-Jamʿ bayn al-Şaḥīḥayn al-Bukhārī wa-Muslim: Mashāriq al-anwār al-nabawīyya ʿalā şihāḥ al-akhbār al-muṣṭafawīyya*. Ed. Ashraf ibn ʿAbd al-Maqṣūd. Beirut, 1989.
- 1b. Same as above, 34 {17}.
- 1c. Same as above, 34 {17}.
- 1d. Same as above, 34 {17}.
- 1e. Same as above, 34 {18}.
- 1f. Same as above, 34 {18}.
- 1g. Same as above, 34 {18}.
- 1.1a. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Malak (d. after 821/1418), *Mabāriq al-azhār sharḥ Mashāriq al-anwār* (Glitters of Flowers, Commentary on the Rise of Lights), Arabic, 35 {3}. MANUSCRIPTS: Several MSS in TSMK with a date prior to the inventory. EDITION: Istanbul, 1287 [1870–71]; *Mabāriq al-azhār sharḥ Mashāriq al-anwār fī al-jamʿ bayn al-Şaḥīḥayn li-l-Şaghānī*. Ed. Ashraf ibn ʿAbd al-Maqṣūd. 3 vols. Beirut, 1995.
- 1.1b. Same as above, 35 {3–4}.
- 1.1c. Same as above, 35 {4}.
- 1.1d. Same as above, 35 {5}.
- 1.1e. Same as above, 35 {5–6}.
- 1.1f. Same as above, 35 {6–7}.
- 1.1g. Same as above, 35 {7}.
- 1.2. ʿAfīf al-Dīn Saʿīd b. Muḥammad al-Kāzarūnī (d. 785/1383), *Maṭāliʿ al-anwār al-muṣṭafawīyya* (The Rise of the Lights of Mustafa), KZ, II:1689, Arabic, 35 {8}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 451 (Karatay 2879), 792/1391.

- 1.3. Akmal al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Bābartī (d. 786/1384), *Tuhfat al-abrār fi sharḥ Mashāriq al-anwār* (The Gift to the Righteous in the Commentary on the Rise of Lights), *KZ*, II:1688; *GAL*, I:361; *GAL-S*, I:614, in 3 vols., Arabic, 35 {9–10}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 454 (Karatay 2883). Many MSS in Istanbul libraries. Not published yet.
- 1.4. “*Maṭāli‘u al-asrārī fi tahshiyati Sharḥi Mashāriqi al-anwārī fi al-ḥadīthi*” (The Rise of the Secrets in Glossing on the Commentary on the Rise of Lights), Arabic, 35 {10–11}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 452 (Karatay 2898); SK, Turhan Valide 62. Karatay (II:209) says that *Maṭāli‘ al-asrār* is written by a mudarris during Süleyman I’s reign. *KZ*, II:1710: *Maṭāli‘ al-asrār li-sharḥ Mashāriq al-anwār, marra*. However, in the entry on *Mashāriq al-anwār*, the title is not mentioned. Turhan Valide 62 is ascribed in the catalogue to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-HARAWĪ (d. 829/1425–26), who is known to have written a commentary on *Mashāriq*.
- 1.5. “*Sharḥu al-Mashāriqi fi al-ḥadīthi*,” 35 {8–9}.
- 1.6. “*Sharḥu al-Mashāriqi fi al-ḥadīthi*,” 35 {10}.
- 1.7. “*Mujalladun wāḥidun min Kitābi sharḥi al-Mashāriqi fi al-ḥadīthi*,” 35 {11–12}.

al-SAKHŪMĪ, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (d. after 762/1360)

1. *Manḥal al-yanābī‘ fi sharḥ al-Maṣābiḥ*: see al-BAGHAWĪ 1.3.

al-SAM‘ĀNĪ, Abū Sa‘d ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr al-Tamīmī (d. 562/1166)

1. *al-Muntakhab min Mu‘jam al-shuyūkh* (A Selection from the Dictionary of Informants), Arabic, 178 {16–17}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2953 (Karatay 6270), 647/1250 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Muwaffaq b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Qādir, ed. 4 vols. Riyadh, 1996.

al-SAMHŪDĪ, Nūr al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad (d. 911/1506)

1. *Jawāhir al-‘iqdayn fi faḍl al-sharafayn sharaf al-‘ilm al-jalī wa-al-nasab al-‘alī* (Gems of the Two Necklaces on Virtues of the Two Dignities: Manifest Knowledge and Noble Lineage), Arabic, 41 {16–17}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 596 (Karatay 3027) (sent as a gift to Bayezid II, seal of Bayezid II), EDITION: Mūsā Bināy al-‘Alilī, ed. 2 vols. Baghdad, 1984–87.

al-SAYLĀNĪ, Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn (6th/12th cent.)

1. *Najāt al-dhākirīn* (Salvation of the Rememberers), *KZ*, II:1928, Persian, 42 {8}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2125, 898/1492.

SAYYID ‘ALĪZĀDA, Ya‘qūb b. Sayyid ‘Alī al-Rūmī al-Burūsawī (d. 931/1525)

1. *Maḥāṭiḥ al-jinān wa-maṣābiḥ al-janān*: see IMĀMZĀDA 1.1.

al-SUBKĪ, Taqī al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Kāfi (d. 756/1355)

1. *Shifā’ al-saqām fi ziyārat khayr al-anām* (Healing of Sickness through Visiting the Best of Mankind), bound together with *al-Sayf al-maslūl*, Arabic, 97 {7–8}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 324 (Karatay 2963), 775/1374 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Ḥasan Muḥammad ‘Alī Shukrī, ed. Casa-blanca, 2010.
2. *al-Sayf al-maslūl ‘alā man sabba al-Rasūl* (Drawn Sword upon Those Who Insult the Prophet), bound together with *Shifā’ al-saqām*, Arabic, 97 {8–9}. MANUSCRIPT: Possibly at the end of TSMK, A. 324. EDITION: Iyād Aḥmad al-Ghawj, ed. Amman, 2000.

al-ṬĪBĪ, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad (d. 743/1342)

1. *al-Kāshif 'an ḥaqā'iq al-sunan*: see al-BAGHAWĪ 1.8.1.
2. *al-Khulāṣa fi ma'rifat al-ḥadīth* (An Epitome on the Knowledge of Hadith), in a *majmū'a*, Arabic, 74 {9}. EDITION: *al-Khulāṣa fi uṣūl al-ḥadīth*, ed. Ṣubḥī al-Sāmarrā'ī. Beirut, 1985.

al-TIBRĪZĪ, Walī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Khaṭīb (d. 741/1340)

1. *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ*: see al-BAGHAWĪ 1.8.

al-TIRMIDHĪ, Abū 'Isā Muḥammad b. 'Isā b. Thawra (d. 279/892)

- 1a. *Shamā'il al-Nabī* (High Character of the Prophet), Arabic, 41 {15}. MANUSCRIPTS: Several MSS in TSMK predating the inventory. EDITION: *al-Shamā'il al-muḥammadiyya*. Ed. 'Abduh 'Alī Kūshak. Beirut, 2013.
- 1b. Same as above, 41 {15}.
- 1c. Same as above, 41 {19}.
- 1.1. *Tadhkirat al-faḍā'il fi tarjamat al-Shamā'il* (Remembrance of the Virtues in Translation of the High Character), Persian, 41 {18}.

al-UQLĪSHĪ, Abū al-'Abbās Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ma'add (d. 550/1155)

- 1a. *al-Kawkab al-durrī al-mustakhrāj min kalām al-nabī al-'arabī* (Twinkling Planet Extracted from the Speech of the Arab Prophet), Arabic, 32 {4–5}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 560 (Karatay 2818), 709/1309.
- 1b. Same as above, 39 {17–18}.

al-WĀSITĪ, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī (d. 776/1374)

1. *Majma' al-aḥbāb wa-tadhkirat ulī al-albāb* (The Assembly of the Dear Ones and the Reminder of the Intelligent), vol. 3 only, Arabic, 55 {14–16}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1604 (Karatay 5155): *al-Cuz' al-thālith min Majma' al-aḥbāb*. EDITION: 'Abd Allāh Ḥumaydān et al., eds. Jidda, 2008.

al-ZAMAKHSHARĪ, Jār Allāh Maḥmūd b. 'Umar (d. 537/1144)

- 1a. *al-Fā'iḳ fi gharīb al-ḥadīth* (The Exquisite One on the Rare Words of Traditions), in 2 vols., Arabic, 295 {4}. EDITION: 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī and Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, eds. 4 vols. Cairo, 1969–71.
- 1b. Same as above, vol. 1 only, 295 {4–5}.
- 1c. Same as above, vol. 1 only, 297 {15–16}.
- 1d. Same as above, vol. 2 only, 297 {17}.

al-ZARKASHĪ, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahādur (d. 794/1392)

1. *al-Tanqīḥ li-alfāẓ al-jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*: see al-BUKHĀRĪ 1.3

al-ZAYDĀNĪ, Muḥḥir al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Maḥmūd (d. 727/1327)

1. *al-Mafātīḥ fi sharḥ al-Maṣābiḥ*: see al-BAGHAWĪ 1.2.

II. POSSIBLE IDENTIFICATIONS

1. "*Bābun 'āshirun min Mawā'izi al-mulūki*," in a *majmū'a*, 41 {7}. This book could be Abū al-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī's (d. 597/1200) *Mawā'iz al-mulūk* or *al-Shifā' fi mawā'iz al-mulūk wa-al-khulafā'*,

which has ten chapters; the tenth and last chapter is titled *al-Bāb al-āshir: muntakhab min al-adhkār wa-al-ad'iya*, which includes prophetic prayers. EDITION: *al-Shifā' fi mawā'iz al-mulūk wa-al-khulafā'*. Ed. Fu'ād 'Abd al-Mun'im Aḥmad. Alexandria, 1985.

2. "*Daqā'iqu al-akhbārī 'an al-nabī al-mukhtārī*" (Niceties of Reports from the Chosen Prophet), 39 {7–8}. There seem to be a few different books that bear the title *Daqā'iq al-akhbār*, such as *Daqā'iq al-akhbār wa-ḥadā'iq al-i'tibār* (Niceties of Reports and Gardens of Reflection) ascribed to al-Quḍā'ī (GAL-S, I:585). Many of the MSS appear without authorship in catalogues.
3. "*Du'ā'-i sayfī*" (Prayer of Sword [?]), in a *majmū'a*, Arabic, 36 {17}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 1130, leaves 1–28. Several copies of *Du'ā' sayfī* are listed in other sections of MS Török F. 59.
4. "*Kitābu al-aḥādīthi al-arba'ina fi faḍli al-jihādī*" (The Book of Forty Traditions on the Virtues of Jihad), 39 {16–17}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 356 (Karatay 3154) is a book titled *Arbā'ūn ḥadīthan fi faḍl al-jihād*; the author is identified in the Topkapı catalogue as Nūr al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī al-Qarāfī (d. ca. 940/1533). See GAL-S, II:964. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) has a book with a similar title (KZ, I:56).
5. "*Kitābu al-anwārī al-nabawīyyati min ṣiḥāhi al-aḥādīthi al-muṣṭafawīyyati*," 40 {14}. Could be another copy of al-Ṣaghānī's *Mashāriq al-anwār al-nabawīyya min ṣiḥāḥ al-aḥādīth al-muṣṭafawīyya*.
6. "*Kitābu al-arba'ina fi faḍli al-jihādī*" (Book of Forty Hadiths on the Virtues of Jihad), 40 {8–9}. See the note for "*Kitābu al-aḥādīthi al-arba'ina fi faḍli al-jihādī*" above.
7. "*Kitābu al-as'īlati wa-al-ajwibati fi al-tafsīri wa-al-ḥadīthi*," 38 {13}. Possibly Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Aqsarāyī's (d. 791?/1388–89) *al-As'ila wa-al-ajwiba*, a popular question and answer book about *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 69, 70, 71, 72, 1033; SK, Fatih 89. Similar titles are found elsewhere in the inventory. See, for example, 24 {3} and 26 {16–17}.
8. "*Kitābu al-ḥikami al-marwīyyati 'an Sayyid al-mursalīn Muḥammad wa-'Alī amīri al-mu'minīna fi al-ḥadīthi*" (Book of Wisdom Related from Muhammad, the Master of the Messengers, and 'Alī, the Prince of Believers), Arabic, 40 {18}. Must be *Akhbār wa-ḥikam wa-mawā'iz wa-nawādir wa-mulaḥ marwīyya 'an Sayyid al-mursalīn Muḥammad wa-'Alī amīr al-mu'minīn* (Reports, Wisdoms, Exhortations, Anecdotes, and Witticisms Related from Muhammad, the Master of the Messengers and 'Alī, the Prince of the Believers): MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, B. 67 (Karatay 2825) (seal of Bayezid II). The title page of the manuscript also has the exact title given in the inventory in a different hand.
9. "*Kitābu al-irshādi fi al-arba'ina ḥadīthan*," 39 {4}. Could be *Risālat al-Irshād fi faḍl al-jihād* of Khaṭīb-zāda Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (d. 901/1495). MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2674 (Karatay 5257) (presented to Bayezid II). KZ, I:859.
10. "*Kitābu arba'ina al-'alā' fi kalāmi al-'Alī raḍiya Allāhu bi-al-tarjamati al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-ḥadīthi*" (The Book of Forty Lofty Sayings from the Speech of 'Alī = 'Ala' al-Dīn's (?) Selection of Forty Sayings from the Speech of 'Alī), Persian, 39 {1–2}. MANUSCRIPT: Anonymous, *Arba'in al-'alā' fi kalām al-'Alī* [sic], SK, Fatih, 2653/1, Persian, 783/1381.
11. "*Kitābu asmā'i al-rijālī min ahli al-ḥadīthi*" (The Book of Names of Men), Arabic, 42 {4}. Seems to be al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī (d. 741/1340), *Asmā' rijāl Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ*. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 508 (Karatay 6370) (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī. *al-Ikmāl fi asmā' al-rijāl*. In vol. 11 of 'Alī al-Qārī. *Mirqāt al-maḥāṭiḥ sharḥ Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ*. Ed. Jamāl 'Ayntābī. Beirut, 2001.

12. "*Kitābu asmā'i al-rijāl min ahli al-ḥadīthi*" (The Book of Names of Men), Arabic, 42 {4–5}. Seems to be another copy of al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's (d. 741/1340) *Asmā' rijāl Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ*. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2852 (Karatay 6369) (seal of Bayezid II).
13. "*Kitābu asmā'i al-rijāl min ahli al-ḥadīthi*" (The Book of Names of Men), Arabic, 42 {5}. MANUSCRIPT: Probably *Kitābu Asmā' ricāl al-Bukhārī* (The Book of Names of the Transmitters of al-Bukhari), TSMK, A. 509 (Karatay 2617) (seal of Bayezid II). The manuscript is a commentary on *thulāthiyyāt* of al-Bukhārī, i.e., hadiths with only three transmitters between al-Bukhārī and the Prophet.
14. "*Kitābu durri al-wā'izīna wa-dhukhri al-'ābidīna bi-al-aḥādīthi*" (The Book of Pearls of the Preachers and Supplies of the Worshipers), Arabic, 38 {17–18}. Many MSS in Istanbul libraries with the same or similar titles, some of which are anonymous. *KZ*, I:745, ascribes the book to Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Salāma b. Ja'far al-Qudā'ī (d. 454/1062), *Durr(at) al-wā'izīn wa-dhukr al-'ābidīn*. However, it is said that it is written by one of the scholars of Mehmed II's reign (see *GAL-S*, II:325; "Kudāi," *DĪA*, XXVI:309–10). While in the introduction of some of the manuscripts Mehmed II and his vizier Mahmud Pasha are mentioned, in others Bayezid b. Mehmed appears instead. The relation of this book to *Badr al-wā'izīn wa-dhukr al-'ābidīn* ascribed to 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ibn Malak (d. after 821/1418) (see *KZ*, I:231) or to his son Muḥammad (d. 854/1450) (*Osmanlı Müellifleri*, I:220) is not clear.
15. "*Kitābun fī al-ad'iyyati al-ma'thūratī bi-al-aḥādīthi*" (A book on transmitted prayers), 42 {8–9}. Could be *Ad'iya ma'thūra muntakhaba marwiyya 'an Rasūl Allāh wa-'an ba'd aṣḥābihi* (Selected Prayers Transmitted from the Messenger of God and from Some of His Companions), TSMK, B. 81 (Karatay 5609), 698/1293 (seal of Bayezid II).
16. "*Kitābun fī al-as'ḥātī wa-al-ajwibati fī 'ilmi al-tafsīri wa-al-ḥadīthi*," 39 {15–16}. Possibly another copy of Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Aqsarāyī's (d. 791?/1388–89) *al-As'ila wa-al-ajwiba*. See above.
17. "*Kitābun fī shamā'ili al-nabī*" (A book on the character of the prophet), 41 {17–18}. Could be another copy of al-Tirmidhī's *Shamā'il al-nabī* or another book on the topic such as *Shamā'il al-nabī* of Abū Bakr 'Afif al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Nayrizī al-Ījī (d. 855/1451), TSMK, A. 349 (Karatay 3005), written in 847/1443, copied in 855/1451.
18. "*Kitābu kashfī mushkilāti al-aḥādīthi al-marwiyyati 'an al-ṣaḥābī al-madfūni bi-aṣli ḥiṣni al-Qusṭantīniyyati*" (The Book of Explanation of the Difficulties of Traditions Related on the Authority of the Companion Buried inside the Citadel of Istanbul), Arabic, 39 {3–4}. MANUSCRIPT: See Anonymous, *Kashf mushkilāt al-aḥādīth al-marwiyya 'an al-ṣaḥābī*, Beyazıt Devlet-Beyazıt 1054 (undated).
19. "*Kitābu mawāṭini al-ṣalāti 'alā al-nabī*" (The Book of Places of Sending Blessings on the Prophet), Arabic, 40 {9–10}. Possibly *Mawāṭin al-ṣalāt 'alā al-Nabī* of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Khayḍirī al-Ramlī (d. 894/1499). See *KZ*, II:889. EDITION: In his own commentary on the book: *al-Liwā' al-Mu'lam bi-Mawāṭin al-Ṣalāt 'alā al-Nabī*. Ed. 'Alī Muḥammad Zaynū. Amman (?), 2016.
20. "*Kitābu miftāḥi al-jināni fī faḍā'ili al-ṣalāti wa-ghayrihā bi-al-aḥādīthi*" (The Book of Keys to the Gardens in Virtues of Prayer and Other Things), Arabic, 55 {12–13}. According to *KZ*, II:760 and *Idāḥ al-Maknūn*, II:523, the book is in Persian: *Miftāḥ al-jinān, fārisī, fī faḍā'il al-ṣalāt*. Kātib Ḥalebi ascribes it to someone called Wajīh al-Dīn and Ismā'īl Pāšā ascribes it to Wajīh al-Dīn Abū al-Muzaḥḥar Manṣūr b. Salīm al-Hamdānī al-Iskandarī Ibn al-'Imādiyya (d. 673/1275). The ascription might be incorrect.

21. “*Kitābu waṣāyā al-Nabī-ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama- li-‘Alī-raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhu-*” (The Book of Admonitions of the Prophet to ‘Alī), Arabic, 39 {18–19}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 945, 704/1304 (seal of Bayezid II).
22. “*Kitābu zubdati al-jawāmi‘i al-muḥammadiyyati wa-barqati al-lawāmi‘i al-aḥmadiyyati fī al-jihādi bi-al-aḥādīthi*” (The Book of Cream of Muhammadi Collections and Flash of Ahmadi Lights on Jihad), Arabic, 55 {10–11}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 558 (Karatay 3176) (seal of Bayezid II). The author cannot be identified.
23. “*Mujalladun awwalu min Sharḥi Ṣaḥīḥi Muslim fī al-ḥadīthi,*” Arabic, 34 {1–2}: see MUSLIM 1.2. This MS could be either: (a): al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 544/1149), *Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim bi-fawā'id Muslim* (Completion of the Informer of the Benefits of Muslim). MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 413 (Karatay 2481), 670/1272. EDITION: *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim li-l-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ al-musammā Ikmāl al-Mu‘lim bi-fawā'id Muslim*. Ed. Yahyā Ismā‘īl. al-Mansura, 1998; or (b): Aḥmad b. ‘Umar al-Anṣārī al-Qurṭubī (d. 656/1258), *al-Mufḥim li-mā ashkala min talkhīṣ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (The Explainer of What is Ambiguous in the Extract of the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim). MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 415 (Karatay 2482), 729/1329. EDITION: ‘Abd al-Hādī et-Tāzī, ed. Rabat, 2004.
24. “*Mukhtaṣaru Jāmi‘i al-uṣūli,*” in 2 vols., 34 {9–10}: see IBN AL-ATHĪR 1.2. Perhaps another copy of al-Astarābādī’s *Mukhtaṣar* but probably: Sharaf al-Dīn Hibat Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Bārizī al-Ḥamawī (d. 738/1338), *Tajrīd al-uṣūl min aḥādīth al-rasūl* (Abstraction of the Roots from the Traditions of the Messenger), TSMK, A. 307 (Karatay 2943); *KZ*, I:536; *GAL*, I:438–39; *GAL-S*, I:608.
25. “*al-Munabbihāt ‘alā al-isti‘dād li-yawm al-ma‘ād li-l-nuṣṣ wa-al-widād*” (Warnings about the Preparation for the Day of Return in Advice and Friendship), in a *majmū‘a*, Arabic, 36 {18}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 1130, leaves 163–274, 879/1474. EDITION: *Munabbihāt Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī*. Cawnpore, 1307 [1890]; *al-Munabbihāt ta’līf Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī*. Ed. Muḥammad Adīb al-‘Asqalānī. Damascus, 2003. Published multiple times mistakenly as a book of Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852/1449). See *GAL*, II:69; *GAL-S*, II:74. *KZ*, II:1848, where it is ascribed to Zayn al-Qudāt Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥijjī, and several MSS have his name; but the book probably belongs to Abū al-‘Abbās Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ibn Ḥijjī al-Dimashqī (d. 816/1413). The name Ibn Ḥijjī seems to have been corrupted to Ibn Ḥajar. See “İbn Hicci,” *DİA*, XX, 66–67.
26. “*Risālatun fī aḥādītha mutafarriqatin,*” 40 {6}. MANUSCRIPT: “*Risāla fī al-aḥādīth al-mutafarriqa,*” SK, Ayasofya 533 (seal of Bayezid II).
27. “*Risālatun fī baḥṭhi ziyādati al-īmānī*” (An Epistle on the Increase of Faith), in a *majmū‘a*, Arabic, 40 {4–5}. Possibly: *Risāla fī ziyādat al-īmān wa-nuṣṣānih* (An Epistle on the Increase and Decrease of Faith) by Jalāl al-Dīn Rasūlā b. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Tabbānī al-Ḥanafī (d. 793/1391). See *KZ*, I:870.
28. “*Risālatun fī faḍīlati shahri al-muḥarrami wa-yawmi ‘āshūrā*” (A Treatise on the Virtues of the Month of Muharram and the Day of ‘Ashura’), Arabic, 40 {5–6}. MANUSCRIPT: “*Risāla fī faḍīlat shahr Allāh al-muḥarram al-ḥarām wa-yawm ‘āshūrā,*” SK, Ayasofya 534 (seal of Bayezid II). The author is unidentified.
29. “*Risālatu al-aḥādīthi fī fawā’idi al-mawā’idi*” (The Treatise of Traditions about Benefits of Tables), Arabic, 40 {19}. Probably: SK, Ayasofya 1755: “*Aḥādīth fī fawā’id al-mawā’id.*” This MS could be a copy of *Fawā’id al-mawā’id* by Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥusayn Yahyā b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīm al-Jazzār (d. 679/1281). See *GAL-S*, I:574; *KZ*, II:1302. EDITION: In *Rasā’il wa-nuṣṣ fī al-lughā wa-al-adab wa-al-tārīkh*. Ed. Ibrāhīm al-Samarrā’ī. al-Zarqā’, 1988. Pp. 302–68.
30. “*Tarjuma-i Nathr al-la’ālī min kalām ‘Alī*” (Translation of Scattering the Pearls from the Speech of ‘Alī), in a *majmū‘a*, Persian, 37 {4–5}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4795, leaves 33–78. EDI-

TION: Abū 'Alī al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548/1153). Ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī. Qum, n.d. Edition of the Arabic original with Latin translation: *Sententiae Ali ebn Abi Talebi, arabice et latine. E codicibus manuscriptis descripsit, latine vertit, et annotationibus illustravit, Cornelius van Waenen. Oxoniæ: typographeo Clarendoniano*, 1806. KZ, II:1928 identifies the compiler as Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Aḥsā'ī Ibn Abī Jumhūr (d. 878/1473), which cannot be correct, as there are manuscripts with much earlier dates. A similar title is also ascribed to both Quṭb al-Dīn Sa'īd b. Hibat Allāh al-Rāwandī (d. 573/1177) and Rashīd al-Dīn al-Waṭwāt (d. 573/1177). Several copies of *Nathr al-la'ālī* are listed in other sections of MS Török F. 59. See Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu* 23.

31. "*Tarjuma-i Ṣad kalima-i 'Alī*" (Translation of A Hundred Sayings of 'Ali), in a *majmū'a*, Persian, 37 {10–11}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4795, leaves 416–41. The original Arabic collection of the hundred sayings of 'Ali seems to have been collected by al-Jāhīz (d. 255/869) (see Qāsim Khalaf al-M. shawī al-Sukaynī, "Athar al-Jāhīz fī Jam' Nahj al-Balāgha," *Majallat Dirāsāt al-Baṣra* 12 [2011]: 29–54). The translation into Persian and the commentary appear to belong to Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Waṭwāt (d. 573/1177) (Ahmed Ateş, "Raşid al-Din Waṭwāt'ın Eserlerinin Bazı Yazma Nüshaları," *Tarih Dergisi* 10 [1959]: 17–19). Al-Waṭwāt's commentary is titled *Maṭlūb kull ṭālib min kalām Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib* (Every Seeker's Desire for the Sayings of 'Ali, the Prince of the Believers) (ed. Mīr Jalāl al-Dīn Urmawī, Tehran, 1348). A copy of *Maṭlūb* is in MS Török F. 59, 137 {2–3}. Several other copies are listed in the inventory with the title *Ṣad kalima* (for example: 137 {9–10} and {13–15}). Also see Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu* 21–22.
32. "*Tuḥfatu al-khāqāni fī sharḥi al-arba'ina ḥadīthan*" (A Gift to the King through the Commentary on Forty Traditions), Persian, in verse, 41 {13}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, R. 325, 751/1350–51 (Karatay, *Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu* 15) (seal of Bayezid II). Written for Jānī Beg (r. 1342–57), the sultan of the Golden Horde.

III. UNIDENTIFIED BOOKS:

1. "*al-Arbā'ūna ḥadīthan*," in a *majmū'a*, 129 {13}.
2. "*Da'awātu al-ayyāmi fī al-ḥawāshī*," 41 {1}.
3. "*Kitābu aḥādītha fī al-mi'rāji muṣawwarun*," illustrated, 39 {15}.
4. "*Kitābu al-ālī fī ma'rifati al-nabī -'alayhi al-salām- wa-awlādihi wa-aṣḥābihi -raḍiya Allāhu 'anhum-*," 41 {19}–42 {1}.
5. "*Kitābu al-arba'ina fī al-ḥadīthi*," 39 {6}.
6. "*Kitābu al-arba'ina fī al-ḥadīthi*," 39 {19}.
7. "*Kitābu al-hanā'ī al-manūṭi fī sharḥi al-aḥādīthi al-'ashri*," 41 {11}.
8. "*Kitābu al-majmū'ati min al-akhbāri wa-al-ḥikami ma'a ba'di al-aḥādīthi*," 39 {5}.
9. "*Kitābun fī al-aḥwālī al-muta'alliqati bi-nubuwwati Muḥammad-ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama-min qibali al-ḥadīthi*," Arabic, 38 {12–13}.
10. "*Kitābun fī al-ḥadīthi*," 40 {3}.
11. "*Kitābun fī faḍā'ili al-mulūki min qibali al-ḥadīthi*," 40 {9}.
12. "*Kitābu lawāmi'i al-anwāri al-manẓūmi fī 'ilmi al-ḥadīthi*," 40 {10–11}.
13. "*Kitābun mukhtaṣarun mushtamilun 'alā muqaddimatin wa-taqṣimin wa-khātimatīn fī 'ilmi al-ḥadīthi*," 40 {16–17}.

14. "*Kitābu nuzhati al-sultāni li-khizānati Meḥemmed ibn Murād Khān fī faḍli al-jihādi bi-al-aḥādīthi*," 55 {13–14}.
15. "*Kitābu qawā'idi al-uşūli fī 'ilmi ḥadīthi al-rasūli*," 41 {1–2}.
16. "*Kitābu sharḥi al-Maşābīḥi fī al-ḥadīthi*," Arabic, 36 {8}: see al-BAGHAWĪ 1.6.
17. "*Kitābun yashtamilu 'alā faḍā'ili al-jihādi wa-al-ribāṭi bi-al-aḥādīthi*," 38 {3}.
18. "*Majmū'atun min rasā'ili al-funūni al-mukhtalifati ūlāhā majmū'atun min al-aḥādīthi*," 41 {13}.
19. "*Maşābīḥu mutarjamun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-ḥadīthi*," Persian translation of *Maşābīḥ al-sunna*, 36 {7}: see al-BAGHAWĪ 1.1.
20. "*Mujalladun wāḥidun min Kitābi sharḥi al-Mashāriqi fī al-ḥadīthi*," 35 {11–12}: see al-ŞAGHĀNĪ 1.7.
21. "*Risālatun fī al-ad'iyati ma'a ḥikāyati al-Shaykh al-Ashajj min qibali al-ḥadīthi*," 42 {9–10}.
22. "*Risālatun fī al-akhbārī wa-al-ḥikami min qibali al-ḥadīthi*," in a *majmū'a*, 40 {3}.
23. "*Risālatun fī al-arba'ina ḥadīthan*," in a *majmū'a*, 346 {14}.
24. "*Risālatun fī al-ḥadīthi*," first work in a *majmū'a*, 40 {1}.
25. "*Risālatun fī al-ḥadīthi*," 40 {6}.
26. "*Risālatun fī al-ḥadīthi*," 40 {8}.
27. "*Risālatun fī al-ḥadīthi*," in a *majmū'a*, 290 {11}.
28. "*Risālatun fī bayāni ṭuruqi al-ḥadīthi*," in a *majmū'a*, 290 {9}.
29. "*Risālatun fī da'awātin marwiyyatin bi-al-aḥādīthi*," 42 {10}.
30. "*Risālatun fī qawli al-nabī -'alayhi al-salāmu- al-a'mālu bi-al-niyyāti*," in a *majmū'a*, 40 {4}.
31. "*Risālatun min qibali al-ḥadīthi fī mujalladin wāḥidin*," 1 vol., 40 {11–12}.
32. "*Risālatu al-aḥādīthi*," in a *majmū'a*, 138 {1}.
33. "*Risālatu al-aḥādīthi ma'a tarjamatini fārisiyyatin manzūmatin*," Arabic and Persian, 40 {19}–41 {1}.
34. "*Risālatu al-aḥādīthi al-mutarjamati bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manzūmati*," in a *majmū'a*, Arabic and Persian, 49 {4–5}.
35. "*Risālatu al-aḥādīthi fī ḥaqqi al-Qur'āni al-'azīmi*," in a *majmū'a*, 49 {14}.
36. "*Risālatu al-arba'ina fī al-ḥadīthi*," 40 {7}.
37. "*Risālatu al-arba'ina ḥadīthan*," 41 {14}.
38. "*Risālatu al-arba'ina ḥadīthan*," in a *majmū'a*, 41 {7–8}.
39. "*Risālatu al-jadāwili fihā asmā'u Allāhi al-ḥusnā wa-nasabu al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama- ma'a awlādihī -riḍwānu Allāhi 'alayhim ajma'ina-*," 42 {11–12}.
40. "*al-Risālatu al-munabbihatu fī sharḥi qawlihi -'alayhi al-salāmu- al-nāsu niyāmun fa-idhā mātū intabahū min qibali al-taşawwufi*," 116 {16–17}.
41. "*Risālatu da'awāti al-nabī ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama*," 47 {18}.
42. "*Risālatu naẓmi tarjamati aḥādītha qudsiyyatin*," 256 {6}.
43. "*Sharḥu al-arba'ina ḥadīthan*," 40 {15}.
44. "*Sharḥu al-arba'ina ḥadīthan*," 40 {16}.
45. "*Sharḥu al-arba'ina ḥadīthan*," in a *majmū'a*, 100 {11}.
46. "*Sharḥu al-arba'ina ḥadīthan 'alā ṭariqati al-taşawwufi*," 147 {16}.
47. "*Sharḥu kitābi al-arba'ina ḥadīthan bi-al-'arabiyyati*," Arabic, 40 {17}.
48. "*Sharḥu Maşābīḥi fī al-ḥadīthi*," Arabic, 36 {8}: see al-BAGHAWĪ 1.5.
49. "*Sharḥu al-Mashāriqi fī al-ḥadīthi*," 35 {8–9}: see al-ŞAGHĀNĪ 1.5.
50. "*Sharḥu al-Mashāriqi fī al-ḥadīthi*," 35 {10}: see al-ŞAGHĀNĪ 1.6.

THE SECTION ON PRAYERS, INVOCATIONS, UNIQUE QUALITIES OF THE QUR'AN, AND MAGIC SQUARES IN THE PALACE LIBRARY INVENTORY

When reviewing the section of the inventory titled *Tafṣīl kutub al-ad'īya wa kutub khawāṣṣ al-Qur'ān wa-kutub 'ilm al-wafq* (The Section Containing Books of Prayers, Books on the Special Qualities of the Qur'an, and Books on the Science of Magic Squares, 45–55), one is tempted to imagine 'Atufi or one of his assistants surveying the shelves of the palace library, pulling out volumes and chests full of inscribed artifacts of different sorts: talismanic shirts, skullcaps, amulets and tablets made of wood, copper, and silver. This must have been a fairly large section of the library, as the inventory records 208 items, written or inscribed in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, many of which are unidentifiable by the generic titles and descriptions that 'Atufi provides. As indicated by the entries in this section, some of the compilations of prayers and invocations were produced over the course of centuries and arrived in the Ottoman domains from different parts of the Islamic East. This section of the inventory, then, offers a glimpse into supplicatory, devotional, and talismanic practices that prevailed not only in the Ottoman realms, but across the Islamic East (and the Mamluk sultanate). The organizational logic of the section is not easily discernible: talismanic shirts seem to have been mixed with bound volumes, and amulets were apparently kept in the same chests or on the same shelf as tablets. It is clear, however, that either 'Atufi or previous librarians did try, to some extent at least, to cluster the items by type and title (as the group of amulets at the beginning of the section indicates). Another possibility is that 'Atufi kept the contents of the chests intact and placed them in the section of the palace library where other items and volumes dealing with similar subjects were held. It is also possible that there may have been some thematic correspondence among

the items or that the texts were linked in the way they were used. Future studies may further illuminate some of these connections.

Be the case as it may, the grouping of prayers, supplications, works on lettrism, treatises on the unique qualities of the Qur'anic verses, God's Beautiful Names, and magic squares in the same part of the sultan's library would not surprise anyone who has studied Ottoman compilations of treatises (*majmū'a*, Turkish *mecmū'a*); talismanic shirts containing various combinations of prayers, talismans, and magic squares; or Ahmad al-Buni's (d. ca. 1225) *Shams al-ma'ārif* (The Sun of Gnosis).¹ However, as will be discussed in the next section, the connection between prayers and the occult sciences was not an obvious one. This section of the inventory, then, deepens our understanding of the relationship between such bodies of knowledge in the Ottoman domains and, more generally, throughout the eastern Islamic lands in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Furthermore, it provides a sense of how prayers and talismanic texts were read, consumed, and integrated into the daily life of the palace and beyond.

The inclusion of talismanic objects and texts on lettrism in the palace library stems, at least in part, from the interest of Bayezid II and his ancestors in understanding their mission on Earth and deciphering the secrets of their names. This interest, it seems, led scholars from the Ottoman dominions and beyond to compile prayer books, magic squares, and amulets. One of these individuals was Muhammad b. Sharaf al-Din, a custodian of the pious foundations of Mecca and Medina, who presented a talismanic prayer book to Bayezid II. According to Hüseyin Yılmaz, Muhammad b. Sharaf al-Din formulated specific incantations based on the

symbolism in the sultan's name. Moreover, as Muhammad b. Sharaf al-Din explained in the introduction to the book, he seeks to explore the correlation between the sultan's name and God's names for the purpose of discovering specific invocations and magic squares (*adhkār/awrād* and *awfāq*, respectively). Muhammad b. Sharaf al-Din assumed that there was an existential correlation between Bayezid's name, his character, and his destiny, status, and mission as "the true manifestation of God on Earth."²

CONSTELLATION OF SCIENCES

In the Turkish introduction to the inventory (see translation in Appendix IV), 'Atufi emphasizes the importance of the disciplines and sciences as the organizing principle of the inventory. As Abdurrahman Atçıl observes in his contribution to the present volume, this was not always an easy task, as volumes and compilations (*mecmū'as*) could have been placed in multiple locations in the collection. But the titles of the inventory sections may reveal an ideal classification and constellation of the sciences. It is therefore worth devoting a few words to the title of the section that constitutes the subject of the present essay, namely Prayers, Invocations, Unique Qualities of the Qur'an, and Magic Squares.

The placement of these specific bodies of knowledge in a single section of the library suggests that 'Atufi was sympathetic to the classification of the sciences that was prevalent in the Persian-speaking parts of the Islamic world from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries. As Matthew Melvin-Koushki has argued, from the mid-fourteenth century onward, the occult sciences were increasingly "mathematicalized" and sanctified through association with Sufism, and particularly with the figures of Ibn 'Arabi (d. 1240) and al-Buni. In this process, lettrism, along with astrology and geomancy, was classified as one of the mathematical sciences and as one of the sciences of *walāya* (sainthood or sacral power).³ The growing sense of sacral power was also captured in the involvement of Sufi masters in the production of talismans and amulets. As Hülya Tezcan and Özgen Felek have pointed out, Sufi masters decided

which Qur'anic chapters, prayers, and talismanic numbers and letters would be inscribed on talismanic shirts.⁴

Other scholars, such as Ahmed El Shamsy and Liana Saif, have suggested that significant aspects of the process described by Melvin-Koushki can be already discerned in the thirteenth century. Along with the growing consolidation of Sufi networks across the eastern Islamic lands at this time, Sufi doctrines increasingly informed the production and use of amulets, and the Sufi perception of revealed, sacred language as a means to establish direct access to the divine became ever more central. In Ahmed El Shamsy's words, "it is this notion of the nature of sacred language that underpins the idea that the repetition of divine names leads one to approach the named."⁵ Such an understanding of language ties together the various bodies of knowledge included in this section of the inventory: invocations, prayers, magic squares, the study of God's names, and the science of letters. As Liana Saif has remarked,

We can now [from the thirteenth century onward] discern an epistemological shift in Islamic occult thought from magical theories drawn from natural philosophy to foundations drawn from Sufi doctrines. The "hidden" (*bāṭin*) in magic is no longer the *ḥawāṣṣ* (occult properties) of natural things (minerals, plants, and animals), but the powers of subtle levels of reality (*laṭā'if*), whether as cosmic principles (letters and Divine Names) or as inner human faculties (heart, soul, spirit, and intellect) that can only be understood through abstraction guided by revelation.⁶

At the same time, this process also led to closer connections between the science of letters and the science of the special qualities of the Qur'an and the Beautiful Names, on the one hand, and invocations and prayers, on the other. Compositions of invocations and prayers became fairly common after the twelfth century and were often associated with saintly figures, usually senior members of their respective Sufi networks or the eponymous founders of Sufi paths.⁷ The close connections between Sufi doctrines and discourses and certain occult sciences are reflected in 'Atufi's inventory. Furthermore, it appears that certain invocations, such as al-Shadhili's *Ḥizb al-baḥr* (The Litany of the Sea), served to establish conduits to the transmission of occult knowledge and specifically of the Science of Letters through dreams.⁸

It is worth stressing that the inclusion of these bodies of knowledge in the same section was not unanimously accepted. In his extensive work on the classification of the sciences, titled *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda wa-mibṣāḥ al-siyādah fī mawḍū'āt al-'ulūm* (Key to Happiness and the Lantern of Mastery on the Subject Matters of the Sciences),⁹ the sixteenth-century Ottoman scholar and jurist Ahmed ibn Mustafa Taşköprüzade classified the science of the special qualities of the Qur'an, the science of the use of the letters and divine names, and numerical divination (*jafr*) as part of the science of Qur'anic exegesis (*tafsīr*).¹⁰ Much later in the *Miftāḥ*, in the section on the interior sciences (*'ulūm al-bāṭin*), Taşköprüzade devotes lengthy discussions to the canonical prayers (*ṣalāt*),¹¹ invocations (*adḥkār*, *ad'īya*, *awrād*), and supplications (*du'ā*).¹² The fact that these subject matters were not treated in the same section/chapter of the *Miftāḥ* suggests that Taşköprüzade did not consider these bodies of knowledge to be closely interrelated. Much like Taşköprüzade, the seventeenth-century Ottoman scholar and bibliographer Katip Çelebi (d. 1657) adhered to the view that invocations and the occult sciences are not intrinsically connected.¹³

Finally, it is worth pointing out that a few treatises and works dealing with invocations and the science of letters are also recorded in other sections of 'Atufi's inventory. For instance, the section on medicine contains copies of *Risālat da'wat al-aṭibbā'* (The Treatise of the Prayer of the Physicians, 164 {13–14}). Similarly, 'Atufi placed a compilation of invocations and supplications (*adḥkār wa-da'wāt*, 115 {1–2}) in the section on Sufism (*taṣawwuf*). Moreover, although al-Ghazali's (d. 1111) magnum opus, *Iḥyā 'ulūm al-dīn* (The Revival of the Religious Sciences), has a lengthy discussion of prayers and invocations and Ibn 'Arabi devotes two chapters of his *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* (The Meccan Revelations) to the Beautiful Names,¹⁴ both works appear in other sections of 'Atufi's inventory.

PRAYERS

Scholarship has paid remarkably little attention to prayers and invocations in the eastern Islamic lands in general and in the fifteenth-century Ottoman domains

in particular. This lack of attention stands in inverse relation to the number of manuscripts containing prayers and invocations in Ottoman libraries (and in other manuscript collections throughout the world). It would not be an exaggeration to say that Ottoman society was saturated with prayers: in addition to canonical prayers (*namaz* or *ṣalāt*), there were specific supplications and prayers for all sorts of purposes, from the most momentous events, such as the prayers sultans recited on the battlefield,¹⁵ to the most mundane occasions, such as entering a bathhouse.¹⁶ Moreover, the years and days were dotted with particularly favorable times for certain supplications. Prayers and supplications, however, varied in terms of popularity and proliferation: some were extremely popular and exist in numerous copies, while others circulated in fairly small circles.

Numerous terms were used to refer to different types of prayers, supplications, and invocations, although their usage is somewhat inconsistent: *ṣalāh* (pl. *ṣalāwāt*, Turkish *şelāvāt*), *du'ā'* (pl. *ad'īya*, Turkish *ed'īye*), *hizb* (pl. *aḥzāb*), and *wird* (pl. *awrād*, Turkish *evrād*). As Richard McGregor has observed for the Mamluk period, "although the terminology is inconsistent, with prayers referred to by more than one term, the genre as a whole is clearly identifiable as consisting of supererogatory petitionary prayer compositions."¹⁷ Moreover, it is not fully clear how each of these compilations and genres was employed. It is possible that some texts were considered more petitionary, intended to persuade God to intervene on behalf of the supplicant on specific issues, while others were more supererogatory in nature. However, it is quite difficult to draw a clear line between uses of the texts, as it is quite likely that there were cases in which the same text was used for different purposes. This vast textual corpus also includes a significant number of commentaries (usually referred to as *sharḥ*, pl. *shurūḥ*) on prayers, invocations, and supplications. In addition, as the inventory attests, prayers vary in terms of the medium through which they circulated.

The palace library inventory reflects the diversity within the textual corpus of invocations and prayers. Some prayers in the inventory were intended to be recited on specific occasions and times ("the last third of the night," or "seven days"), while others were more general in terms of their recitation time. Moreover, some

prayers were attributed to a specific figure (such as ‘Ali and Zayn al-‘Abidin), while the authors of other invocations remain unidentified. In addition, the inventory lists commentaries on the “Thousand and One Names” prayer, the “Prayer of the Sword Bearer,” and the “Forty Names.”

The tone of these prayers is often petitionary, and their content is commonly derived from the Qur’an (as the term *wird* indicates) and/or the prophetic tradition (hadith). As Richard McGregor has explained, “the Qur’anic passages in these prayer texts vary in length and style, and they are also edited in order to preserve the voice and syntax of the prayer narrative [...] Used this way, the Qur’anic text is both an integral component of the prayer text, and yet is altered to serve in its new context.”¹⁸

LETTERS, AMULETS, TALISMANIC SHIRTS, AND MAGIC SQUARES

Multiple terms are used to refer to amulets and talismans throughout the Islamic world: *hīrz* (mostly in the Islamic West), *hijāb* (mostly in Egypt), *ṭilasm/ṭillasm*, and *ḥamla* (pl. *ḥamāl’il*).¹⁹ Despite the variation in terminology, all these terms seem to denote inscribed objects that are “used as magic charms to protect and avert the evil eye.”²⁰

As will be further discussed below, amulets varied considerably in terms of their materiality and the texts inscribed on them. The inscriptions on amulets and talismans draw on a wide repertoire consisting of Qur’anic verses, the Beautiful Names of God, invocations, various symbols, and magic squares. As Venetia Porter has pointed out, “many of the [Qur’anic] phrases belong to a general repertoire of protective phrases found in numerous contexts, such as in architecture and metalwork, while the signs and symbols also appear on ‘magical’ objects, such as magic-medicinal bowls, talismanic shirts and so on.”²¹ Similarly, in her comprehensive study of talismanic shirts held at the Topkapı Palace Museum, Hülya Tezcan has observed that the shirts are inscribed with Qur’anic verses in addition to magic squares and divinations. She notes that the most frequently cited sura is the opening sura, *al-Fātiḥa*, but verses are drawn

from other suras as well. Besides the Qur’an, sixteenth-century (and later) talismanic shirts were inscribed with the Names of God, the names of the four archangels, hadiths, literary descriptions of the appearance of the Prophet (*ḥilyas*), and the Ode of the Prophet’s Mantle (*Qaṣīdat al-Burda*).²² Indeed, many of these elements appear on the short-sleeved cotton talismanic shirt produced between March 1477 and March 1480 during the reign of Mehmed II for Prince Cem, brother and eventual rival of Bayezid II. The shirt is inscribed with several magic squares, the Names of God, and Qur’anic verses written in black, gold, green, and red ink.²³ However, a late fourteenth- to early fifteenth-century talismanic shirt, possibly made during the reign of Bayezid I (r. 1389–1402), does not include magic squares, as opposed to the later Ottoman practice, and resembles Timurid talismanic shirts.²⁴

As I have suggested above, the science of letters (*‘ilm al-ḥurūf*), which attached numerical values to specific letters, was central to the production of amulets, talismans, and magic squares, as well as to divinations. Based on the letter’s numerical value, calculations of various degrees of complexity were performed. As Shahzad Bashir and Evrim Binbaş have shown, the second half of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries witnessed the growing popularity of the science of letters throughout the intellectual circles of the Islamic East.²⁵ As will be further discussed below, several key fifteenth-century practitioners of the science of letters appear in the section of the inventory surveyed here.

IDENTIFIED WORKS

As ‘Atufi explains in his Arabic and Turkish introductions, he usually provides the original title of the work as assigned by its author or the assumed title (see Appendix IV and V at the end of this volume). This title also appears on the first page of the volume containing the work and on its binding. ‘Atufi occasionally provides alternative titles as well. He is quite inconsistent, however, in the manner in which he records the authors of the works. Occasionally, though not always, the author is mentioned explicitly in the inventory. In other cases, only the title of the work is recorded.

'Atufi's descriptive practices pose considerable challenges for identifying the works listed in the inventory, particularly works with generic titles.²⁶ The section on prayers contains numerous generic titles that cannot be easily associated with a specific text. Such, for example, are the numerous volumes titled *Ad'iyat al-ayyām al-sab'a* (The Prayers for the Seven Days [of the Week], 45 {6}, 46 {8–10, 13}, 47 {12}, 48 {7, 9}, 49 {4–5, 7–8, 11, 18–19}, 50 {2, 4}), or the treatises dealing with the Beautiful Names of God. Without a close examination of the manuscripts, it is impossible to know whether they all contain the exact same text. It is quite possible that numerous versions of The Prayers for the Seven Days coexisted in the Ottoman lands in the fifteenth century. Similarly, it is likely that the various amulets (*ḥamā'il*) that appear in the inventory were not identical in terms of their inscribed texts. Even as far as the identifiable titles are concerned, it is possible that there would have been considerable variations among the numerous copies of the same work held at the palace library.

Generally speaking, the volumes and works in this section deal with one or more of the following subject matters: (a) prayers, invocations, and supplications by known or anonymous authors; (b) the special qualities of the Qur'anic verses (for accessing God) and the special qualities of God's Beautiful Names; and (c) amulets, talismans, magic squares (*wafq*), and the science of letters. Given the significant overlaps and interconnections between these bodies of knowledge, assigning a work to a single thematic cluster may turn out to be a fairly complex task. For instance, in his treatise, as its title suggests, the ninth-century scholar Hakim al-Tirmidhi deals with both invocations and amulets.²⁷

Prayers, invocations, and supplications

Numerous works in this section contain prayers, invocations, and supplications. As has already been pointed out, many of these works have a generic title. Other invocations and prayer cycles are attributed to one of the companions of the Prophet, such as 'Ukasha,²⁸ and possibly Muhammad ibn Ka'b al-Qarthi,²⁹ or the imams. Among the latter, we should particularly mention the prayer ascribed to Zayn al-'Abidin (d. 710), Husayn's son (and the fourth imam of the Shi'a).³⁰ The attribution of the prayer to one of the prominent figures of the Islam-

ic distant past does not necessarily make the identification of the text easier, as there are often multiple prayers associated with these figures. In other instances, however, the supplicatory text seems to have been fairly stable. The *Du'ā sayfi* (The Prayer of the Sword Bearer, 45 {4, 16}, 46 {13}, 47 {3, 10}, 48 {4–6, 8}, 49 {10, 13–14, 18, 19}), attributed to 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (d. 661), is one example of a stable supplicatory text. The work circulated widely throughout the eastern Islamic lands in the fifteenth century in general and in the Ottoman lands in particular.³¹

Among the identifiable titles are several collections of prayers by eminent scholars and Sufi masters, such as those attributed to Ibn 'Arabi (d. 1240),³² *The Splendid Collection* by Zayn al-Din 'Abd al-Salam ibn Muhammad Abu al-Karam (d. 1178–79),³³ Shahab al-Din Yahya ibn Habash al-Suhrawardi (d. 1191),³⁴ and Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Qurtubi (d. 1273).³⁵ The inventory also lists *al-Ḥizb al-baḥr* (The Litany of the Sea, 46 {15–16}, 48 {1}, 49 {2}) by the eponymous founder of the Shadhili order, Abu al-Hasan 'Ali ibn 'Abd Allah al-Shadhili (d. 1258); the collection of prayers by Yahya ibn Sharaf al-Nawawi (d. 1277),³⁶ the collection of invocations by 'Ali bin Shihab al-Din al-Hamadani (d. 1385), known as *al-Awrād al-fathiyya* (The Invocations of Revelation, 50 {6}),³⁷ the invocations of Hamid al-Din Hamid ibn Musa Aqsara'i (d. 1402),³⁸ the collections of prayers by Kutbüddinzade İzniki (d. 1480),³⁹ and those compiled by Şeyh Vefa (d. 1491), the eminent Sufi master and the founder of the Zeyniyye branch of the Vefaiyye order.⁴⁰ This list of authors casts light on the geographical circulation of these collections. While some authors, like Şeyh Vefa and Kutbüddinzade, were Anatolian, others operated in different parts of the Islamic world, from the Maghrib (as in the case of al-Shadhili) to Kashmir (as in the case of al-Hamadani). It is worth stressing that the inventory includes works by several eminent Sufi figures, such as Ibn 'Arabi and Suhrawardi, whose works were extremely popular in the "Balkans-to-Bengal complex."⁴¹ Compare, for instance, the works listed in 'Atufi's inventory with those mentioned in a later Mughal work on the classification of the sciences written for Emperor Humayun (r. 1530–56) by Muhammad Fazil Miskini Qazi Samarqandi. Samarqandi mentions the science of the special qualities of [al-Hamadani's] *al-Awrād al-fathiyya*, a rhymed

translation of [al-Busiri's] *Qaṣīdat al-burda* (Ode of the Mantle of the Prophet), and [al-Shadhili's] aforementioned *al-Ḥizb al-baḥr*, three works that were also held at Bayezid II's palace library.⁴² The presence of these authors in the inventory suggests that some of the unidentified prayers and supplications also circulated across vast territories. The circulation of *The Prayer of the Sword Bearer* across the Timurid lands and Anatolia in the fifteenth century further strengthens this possibility.

The inventory also lists several prayer manuals, including Muhammad ibn al-Jazari's (d. 1420) *Kitāb 'Uddat al-ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn* (The Equipment of the Strong Bastion, 52 {2}), and the collection of prayers by Şükru'llah ibn Shihab al-Din (d. after 1460, possibly his *Jāmi' al-da'wāt* (Comprehensive [compilation of] Prayers).⁴³ In addition to prayers and invocations, the manuals contain chapters dealing with the act of prayer. Ibn al-Jazari, for instance, discusses the most appropriate places and times for prayer, the signs of the prayer's acceptance, and he devotes lengthy sections to the virtuous qualities of different types of prayers.⁴⁴ In this sense, the manuals may be seen as predecessors of the Ottoman shaykh al-Islam Ebu's-Su'ud Efendi's (d. 1574) *Du'ā-nāme* (Book of Prayer).

Furthermore, the inventory includes several commentaries (*sharḥ*, pl. *shurūḥ*) on prayers and invocation cycles, such as the *Sharḥ Du'ā' Sayfī* (Commentary on the Prayer of the Sword Bearer, 48 {6}), *Sharḥ du'ā' hazar yak nām* (Commentary on the Prayer of One Thousand and One Names, 48 {2}), and *Sharḥ Chihil nām* (Commentary on the Prayer of the Forty Names, 47 {17}). Based on the titles alone, it is difficult to determine the exact content of these commentaries.⁴⁵ Based on their description in the inventory, however, it is known that some of the commentaries were written in Persian while others were compiled in Arabic (and possibly also in Turkish).

It is worth dwelling on the inclusion of a fairly large number of prayers attributed to 'Ali and to Zayn al-'Abidin, the fourth imam in the Shi'i tradition who is revered by Sunnis as well. Their presence serves as an example of what Muhammad Ahmad Masad has called "the legacy of *Ahl al-Bayt* within the Islamic divinatory tradition,"⁴⁶ and in the occult literature more generally,

among both Sunnis and Shi'is from at least the thirteenth century. According to this tradition, the imams were perceived as an authoritative channel for the transmission of occult knowledge.

The special qualities of the Qur'an and God's Beautiful Names

Several treatises and commentaries in this section of the inventory deal with the special qualities of the Qur'an and/or God's Beautiful Names. 'Atufi repeatedly indicates in his comments on the content of the works (*fī al-ad'īya, min qibal al-ad'īya*) that these treatises are related to invocations and prayers. The tenth-century physician Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad al-Tamimi's (d. ca. 980) *Manāfi' al-Qur'ān* (The Benefits of the Qur'an, 47 {14}),⁴⁷ and the fourteenth-century scholar and Sufi 'Abd Allah ibn As'ad al-Yafī's (d. 1367) *al-Durr al-naẓīm fī manāfi' al-Qur'ān* (The Well-Ordered Pearl on the Benefits of the Qur'an, 50 {14})⁴⁸ are the only two works on the special qualities of the Qur'anic verses that I have been able to identify.

Among the identified works are the commentaries on the Beautiful Names by the Andalusians 'Abd al-Salam Ibn Barrajan (d. 1141)⁴⁹ and Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Qurtubi (d. 1273).⁵⁰ As Yousef Casewit has recently demonstrated, Ibn Barrajan was a central figure in the evolution of the mystical tradition in the Islamic West, and a proponent of the view that the Names can help the believer to cross (*'ibra*) into the unseen world.⁵¹ Moreover, he contended that the Beautiful Names could serve as spiritual guides. Until recently, Ibn Barrajan's work has received very little attention among scholars of mysticism in the Islamic West, and even less so among scholars of mysticism/Sufism in the Ottoman lands. His appearance in the inventory (and the fact that his commentary on God's names exists in numerous copies in Ottoman libraries) indicates that, at least by the fifteenth century, Ibn Barrajan was read by Ottoman scholars (and, presumably, by their colleagues throughout the Islamic East) along with the works of other thinkers from the Western Islamic mystical tradition, most notably Ibn 'Arabi.

It is quite remarkable that al-Ghazali's work on God's Beautiful Names is not listed, or at least is not explicitly recorded as such, in the inventory. Al-Ghazali is well

represented in the inventory, and it is likely that the work circulated in the Ottoman lands in the fifteenth century. Clearly, as Taşköprüzade's *Miftāh* attests, in the mid-sixteenth century, al-Ghazali's work on God's names was praised as one of the most important compilations on the Beautiful Names.

Amulets, talismans, magic squares, and the science of letters

The section includes a large number of amulets, talismans, and magic squares of different shapes and materials. 'Atufi probably thought it appropriate to keep such items in the same place as the manuals and treatises dealing with amulets and magic squares. Among the treatises and manuals on amulets and special qualities of the Arabic letters are a treatise by Abu Salim Ibn Talha (d. 1254) on magic squares and divination,⁵² a work attributed to Ibn 'Arabi on the science of letters,⁵³ and several works by Ibn 'Arabi's near contemporary Ahmad al-Buni.

The Ayyubid scholar, courtier, jurisconsult, and ascetic Kamal al-Din Muhammad ibn Ahmad Ibn Talha's *al-Durr al-munazzam fi al-sirr al-a'zam* (The Well-Ordered Pearl on the Great Secret, 51 {7}) is a short apocalyptic prophecy on the imminent evils that were to precede the end of the world. According to Muhammad Masad, the work did not survive independently, but was incorporated into other works, such as 'Abd al-Rahman al-Bistami's (d. 1454) *Miftāh al-jāfir al-jāmi'* (The Comprehensive Key of Divination), "a masterpiece of divination and apocalyptic writing."⁵⁴ Moreover, at the basis of the *Durr* lies a mysterious circular tablet that Ibn Talha describes in detail. The tablet was filled and surrounded with the Beautiful Names, Qur'anic verses, and Arabic letters, which Ibn Talha used to calculate the exact date of the end of the world based on the numerical values of the letters and names.⁵⁵

The palace library of Bayezid II also held a work on the science of letters attributed to Ibn 'Arabi and titled *'Iqd al-manẓūm* (The Well-Ordered Necklace, 50 {9}). The *'Iqd* was not, as has been pointed out above, the only work Ibn 'Arabi devoted to the science of letters. Much like other mystics of the Andalusī mystical tradition, such as his tenth-century predecessor Ibn Masarra (d. 931), Ibn 'Arabi was concerned with the classification

of letters and tried to establish the relationships between letters and the divine. In his aforementioned *Futūḥāt al-Makkiya*, for instance, Ibn 'Arabi even linked each letter of the Arabic alphabet to one of the Beautiful Names and to one of the lunar mansions.⁵⁶ Much like in Ibn 'Arabi's other lettrist work, the *'Iqd* includes various classifications of the letters, such as classifications according to the four humors, the zodiac signs, and the planets; it also lists the numerical values of the letters.⁵⁷

As I have already mentioned, the palace library held only a small portion of the works that have been attributed to Ahmad al-Buni over the centuries.⁵⁸ Yet the works of al-Buni that are listed in the inventory are generally the author's most important and popular treatises. Al-Buni's oeuvre contributed to the diverse bodies of knowledge represented in the section of the inventory that is analyzed here, and indeed, it epitomizes the close connections between them.

Most of the Bunian works in the inventory deal with the science of letters and the special capacity of God's names to access the divine (see below). In recent years, several important studies have drawn attention to the complex transmission history of the Bunian corpus.⁵⁹ These studies have also demonstrated the fairly unstable nature of this corpus, as reflected in significant variations between manuscripts of the same work. The complex transmission poses serious challenges for identifying al-Buni's works in the inventory.

Consider, for instance, the case of *Shams al-ma'ārif* (The Sun of Gnosis, 48 {2}), a title that appears several times in the section. *Shams al-ma'ārif wa-laṭā'if al-'awārif* is a manual on the science of letters (*ḥurūfiyya*) that was copied extensively throughout the fifteenth century.⁶⁰ As Yasmine el-Saleh has shown, much of the discussion in the *Shams* was intended to provide information on the production of magic squares.⁶¹ However, the title *Shams al-ma'ārif* was also assigned to other, very different texts. And to complicate matters even further, *Shams al-ma'ārif wa-laṭā'if al-'awārif* was occasionally conflated with *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt*. For example, according to Noah Gardiner,

Süleymaniye MS Ayasofya 2799, a copy of *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt* copied in 861/1457, is simply titled *Shams al-Ma'ārif*. [However,] Süleymaniye MS Ayasofya 2802, an undated but most likely fifteenth-century copy of *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt*, is declared

on its opening leaf to be “the book *Shams al-ma‘ārif* of which no [other] copy exists,” with a further claim that “this copy is not the one found among the people, and in it are bonuses and additions to make it complete.”⁶²

A close examination of the manuscripts of *Shams al-ma‘ārif* with Bayezid II’s seal is needed to determine which version of this work was held at the palace library.

The third work by al-Buni, which deals with the science of letters and its practices, is *al-Lum‘a [Lum‘a] al-nūrāniyya fī awrād al-rabbāniyya* (The Luminous Glitter on the Divine Invocations, 50 {12, 17}). The *Lum‘a*, too, was widely copied in the fifteenth century.⁶³ As with the prayer and invocations books, al-Buni’s works were consulted and copied in the Mamluk sultanate, the Timurid lands, and, as the inventory attests, the Ottoman domains. Moreover, a work described as *Kitāb fī kayfiyyat al-‘amal bi-al-asmā’ wa-al-awfāq* (Book on the Manner of Using the [beautiful] Names and Magic Squares, 48 {12, 15–16}, 49 {10}) appears in five copies in the inventory. It is not easy to determine which work in the Bunian corpus this description relates to without examining the manuscripts.

In addition to the works by al-Buni, the palace library held a commentary by the famous fifteenth-century scholar ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad al-Bistami (d. 1454) on al-Buni’s *Lum‘a*.⁶⁴ Al-Bistami also wrote another work on magic squares, titled *Shams al-āfāq fī ‘ilm al-awfāq* (The Sun of the Horizons on the Science of Magic Squares, 48 {3}) whose title may be an allusion to al-Buni’s *Shams al-ma‘ārif*.⁶⁵ As Evrim Binbaş has recently demonstrated, al-Bistami was part of a network of scholars who practiced and wrote on the science of letters in the Mamluk sultanate, the Timurid lands, and in Anatolia. An eminent member of this network was Sharaf al-Din Yazdi (d. 1454), who also authored a work on magic squares, titled *Kunh al-murād fī wafq al-a‘dād* (The Essence of the Desired on Magic Squares and Numbers). As the relevant section of the inventory attests (49 {1}), an abridged version of Yazdi’s work was available at Bayezid II’s palace library.⁶⁶

The works on magic squares seem to have been of personal interest to this sultan, or at least so the author/copyist must have hoped, as a treatise dedicated to Bayezid II is also recorded in the same section. It is worth pointing out that any treatises containing magic

squares made for Bayezid’s predecessors are absent from the collection. While it is possible that Bayezid’s interest in magic squares was indeed unique, this is somewhat unlikely given that the interest in magic squares and the science of letters predated his reign.⁶⁷ It is possible that treatises prepared for earlier Ottoman sultans had been removed from the palace library before the inventory was compiled.

Finally, it is worth devoting a few words to the compilations of treatises (commonly known as *majmū‘as* in Arabic, *mecmū‘as* in Turkish) in the section examined here. When ‘Atufi describes these compilations, he tends to mention only the first treatise in the compilation. Other compilations of multiple works are simply described as “volume” (*mujallad*), in which case the descriptions of the works in the volume are more complete, containing the title, or at least a description, of each individual work. The *mujallads* reveal how fifteenth-century readers perceived the relationships between different disciplines and sciences. One volume, for instance, consisted of one treatise on geometry (*handaṣa*) and another on magic squares.⁶⁸ Another compilation contained al-Tamimi’s work on the benefits of the Qur’an, al-Busiri’s *Ode of the Mantle of the Prophet*,⁶⁹ and *The Prayers for the Seven Days of the Week*, which were bound together with a Persian translation of prophetic traditions.⁷⁰

OBJECTS

‘Atufi was clearly struck by the materiality of the objects he found; or, at least, he presumed that a description of the material qualities of the objects would be of interest to the sultan and future users of the palace library. He therefore paid considerable attention to the materials and physical shape of the artifacts, and to the identity of the calligraphers. This section of the library is therefore quite different from most other sections, and is somewhat similar to the section of the inventory dealing with the copies of the Qur’an. In the latter, too, ‘Atufi devotes much attention to the identity of the calligrapher and to the physical shape of the *maṣāḥif*. His description of the amulets, talismanic shirts, skullcaps, and other devotional/talismanic objects renders the inventory indispensable for understanding certain aspects

of fifteenth-century piety in the Ottoman context, and the Islamic East more generally. Furthermore, the inclusion of objects in the palace library inventory, presumably due to the texts inscribed on them, raises important questions concerning the relationship between texts and their material manifestations in different moments in the "life cycle" of objects: Were amulets, talismanic shirts, and skullcaps that were still in use as devotional/talismanic objects kept elsewhere in the palace? When were they moved to the library? And how were they used or consulted thereafter? Furthermore, since many of the amulets and talismanic shirts were produced for specific individuals or for particular events, as was the case with the talismanic shirt made for Cem Sultan, their subsequent storage in the palace library may have signaled the end of their effectiveness. Alternatively, newly made and more generic amulets may have been requested from the palace library by the sultan on special occasions, for himself or perhaps even to be presented to family members or privileged courtiers as gifts (as were some of the books).

Among the objects listed in this section of the inventory, amulets (*ḥamā'il*) of different shapes (round, triangular, and square) occupy a prime place. The material on which the text was written is unclear from 'Atufi's descriptions. It is possible that, at least in some cases, the text was written on a paper scroll, as such amulet scrolls had been common in the Islamic East for centuries.⁷¹ Most of the amulets were bound, likely with leather (*mujallad*). It is possible that some of them were enclosed in metal cases. Several amulets were wrapped in silk as well. In addition, the inventory lists four square silver tablets (45 {18}, 46 {1–2}) and one square copper tablet inscribed with magic squares (46 {2}), as well as a round, three-handspan-long wooden [piece?] with four amulets, magic squares, and prayers (46 {7}).

The inventory also mentions several talismanic shirts and skullcaps inscribed with invocations and magic squares (figs. 2, 3). It is difficult to identify these, but it is possible that they were made for the sultan and, perhaps, for his predecessors. The talismanic shirts held at the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art (possibly made for Bayezid I)⁷² and the Topkapı Palace Museum (made during Mehmed II's reign, fig. 1)⁷³ may be two of the shirts mentioned in the inventory.

'Atufi also pays close attention to the calligraphic style employed, and he even occasionally mentions the calligrapher: "the Beautiful Names in Kufic script" (45 {6}), "invocations in Yaqut's hand" (*khatt Yāqūt*, 46 {8}), "the supplication of the morning and the supplications for the seven days [of the week] in Arghun's hand" (47 {12}), "invocations in the hand of Ibn Jalal al-Din" (46 {12}), "The Litany of the Sea written in single [or cut out] letters (*khatt muqatta'*)" (46 {15}), "the invocations of al-Hamadani written by 'Abd Allah al-Hirawi" (46 {18}), "the Prayer of the Sword Bearer written by Şeyhzade" (48 {4}), or simply "an unparalleled exquisite *muḥaqqaq* hand" (47 {7}). In other instances, when the calligrapher used gilded ink, 'Atufi recorded this feature as well.

Some of the calligraphers 'Atufi mentions by name above were well known. Yaqut al-Musta'simi (d. 1268), who, according to Mustafa 'Ali, was known as "the Sultan of the masters of the pen,"⁷⁴ and his Baghdadi student, 'Abd Allah Arghun Kamil (d. after 1352/53), were renowned calligraphers from the more distant past.⁷⁵ 'Ali considered Yaqut and Arghun part of the "Seven Masters" of calligraphy.⁷⁶ In addition to these seven masters, 'Ali explains, "the calligraphers of Rum also have their own 'Seven Masters.'" ⁷⁷ Dede Çelebi, the abovementioned Shaykhzada (Şeyhzade, d. 1531) who copied one of the works (the Prayer of the Sword Bearer) listed in the inventory, was the son and student of the eminent calligrapher Shaykh Hamdullah of Amasya (d. 1520) and was considered one of those seven masters.⁷⁸ Other members of the prestigious group included Muhyi al-Din of Amasya, Ibn Jalal, and his younger brother Mawlana Jamal of Amasya (who was likely the "Ibn Jalal al-Din" referred to above in the inventory).⁷⁹ In his *Epic Deeds of the Artists*, Mustafa 'Ali mentions that Muhyi al-Din was known for his excellence in *naskh*.⁸⁰

It is very likely that 'Atufi believed that listing the calligraphers' names would please his patron. After all, Bayezid II himself was an accomplished calligrapher and disciple of the Sufi Shaykh Hamdullah, whose extended family became intimately affiliated with Bayezid's princely court in Amasya, rising to further prominence in the courtly circles of Istanbul after his accession to the throne.⁸¹

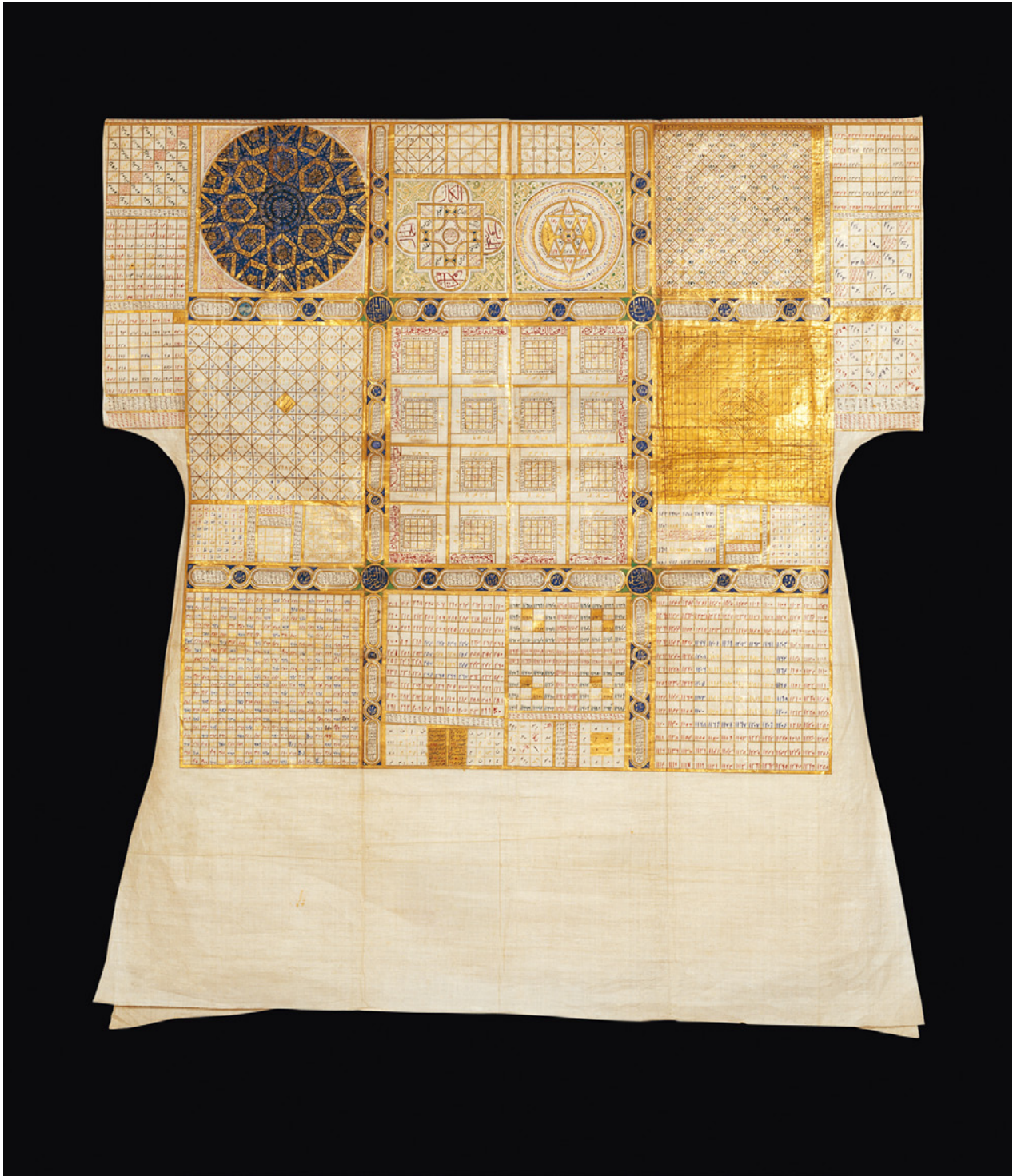


Fig. 1. Talismanic shirt made for Bayezid II's brother and rival Cem Sultan. Produced between 14 Zilhicce 881 (March 30, 1477) and 16 Muharrem 885 (March 29, 1480). Cotton, ink, and gold. 123 cm. TSM Padişah Elbiseleri, 13/1404.



Fig. 2. Talismanic skullcap. Cotton, silk, ink, and gold. Sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. Diameter: 17 cm; height: 16 cm. TSM Padişah Elbiseleri, 13/2291b.



Fig. 3. Talismanic skullcap. Cotton, silk, ink, and gold. Sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. Diameter: 18 cm; height: 10 cm. TSM Avadancılar Bölümü, 24/1737.

But beyond the pride of 'Atufi and his patron Bayezid II in possessing works by these prominent calligraphers, it appears that the emphasis on the identity of the calligrapher was intended to further cement the connection between the Qur'anic corpus and prayer books, invocations, and talismanic objects. Indeed, the only other section in the inventory to devote attention to the identity of the calligraphers or calligraphic style is the section on Qur'an manuscripts. 'Atufi also drew on a long tradition of Sufi writings on penmanship and the shape of letters. Ibn Massara and Ibn 'Arabi, for instance, argued that the ideal human being corresponded to *alif*. Ibn 'Arabi added that the universal intellect corresponded to *hamza*, and he believed that the letter *nūn* reflected the lower aspects of reality.⁸²

It seems that the inventory's description of calligraphy and gilded ink was intended to supplement the sensory experience of touch. In other words, for 'Atufi and many of his contemporaries, prayers and talismans could be employed in diverse ways, including bodily engagement with the sacred through various objects.⁸³ Moreover, certain calligraphic styles were thought to

possess special talismanic qualities. The best studied example is the use of linear Kufic script in amulets. As Venetia Porter has observed, in al-Buni's *Shams al-ma'ārif*, linear Kufic appears in a number of drawn amulets. It is very likely that Kufic script had been in use some centuries before.⁸⁴ In the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ottoman context, square panels with Kufic script appear in compilations of invocations and talismanic shirts.⁸⁵ It is possible that future studies will reveal special qualities attributed to other scripts.

CONCLUDING REMARK

The section of the inventory that I have focused on in this essay raises important questions: Why were the amulets, talismanic shirts, and skullcaps included in the sultan's library collection? Why were they not placed in a depository where other objects were kept? What can their inclusion in the palace library tell us about the perception of libraries and texts in late-fifteenth- to early-sixteenth-century Istanbul? Clearly, the texts inscribed

on the objects justified their inclusion in the library. But, then, one must reflect on the manner in which these objects may have been used once they became part of the library collection: Did the sultan and/or his intimates wear the talismanic shirts and amulets? Or were these objects archived for their textual qualities, but no longer in use? It is rather difficult to answer these questions, but they are crucial for understanding the processes through which this section of Bayezid II's library inventory came into being.

NOTES

1. Kutbüddinzade İzniki's compilation of invocations, which was part of palace library, contains several magic squares. Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya MS 2815, 137b–138a.
 2. Hüseyin Yılmaz, *Caliphate Redefined: The Mystical Turn in Ottoman Political Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 249–51.
 3. Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "Powers of One: The Mathematization of the Occult Sciences in the High Persianate Tradition," *Intellectual History of the Islamic World* 5 (2017): 127–99. This constellation of sciences diverged considerably from the Avicennan-Aristotelian classification, in which the occult sciences were part of the natural sciences.
 4. Özgen Felek, "Fears, Hopes, and Dreams: The Talismanic Shirts of Murād III," *Arabica* 64 (2017): 647–72; Hülya Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı'ndaki Şifalı Gömlekler* (Istanbul: Karizma Yayın Eğitim, 2006), 35.
 5. Ahmed El Shamsy, "Returning to God through His Names: Cosmology and *Dhikr* in a Fourteenth-Century Sufi Treatise," in *Essays in Islamic Philosophy, History and Philosophy*, ed. Alireza Korangy, Wheeler M. Thackston, Roy P. Motahedeh, and William Granara (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 204–28, at 221.
 6. Liana Saif, "From *Gāyat al-ḥakīm* to *Šams al-ma'ārif*: Ways of Knowing and Paths of Power in Medieval Islam," *Arabica* 64 (2017): 297–345, at 344.
 7. Richard McGregor, "Notes on the Literature of Sufi Prayer Commentaries," *Mamluk Studies Review* 17 (2013): 199–211.
 8. Noah Gardiner, "The Occult Encyclopedism of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Bisṭāmī," *Mamluk Studies Review* 20 (2017): 25–27.
 9. The work was completed in 1541.
 10. Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafā Ṭāshkubrī'zāda (Taşköprüzade), *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda wa-miṣbāḥ al-siyāda fī mawḍū'āt al-'ulūm*, 4 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥaditha, 1968), 2:568. Among the titles he lists under this heading are the works by al-Tamimi, al-Ghazali (d. 1111), and al-Yafī's *al-Durr al-naẓīm fī khawāṣṣ al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*. It is worth noting that al-Tamimi's and al-Yafī's titles also appear in the inventory.
- However, Taşköprüzade additionally included the science of the special qualities of the names of God and the Qur'an (*ilm al-khāwaṣṣ*) in the section on the "branches of magic" (*furū' al-sihr*) in his *Miftāḥ*: "The Science of the Special Qualities: this is the science dealing with the special qualities that follow (*mutarattiba*) the readings of the names of God Most High or his Book, including Psalms (*Zabūr*), the Gospel, and the Qur'an. Each of these names and supplications has unique qualities attached to it" (ibid., 1:365).
11. Ibid., 3:33–55.
 12. Ibid., 3:113–81. See also Melvin-Koushki, "Powers of One," 174–76.
 13. Katip Çelebi, *Kashf al-zunūn 'an asāmī al-kutub wa-al-funūn*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1971–72). Katip Çelebi has fairly detailed entries on the "science of letters and names" (*Kashf al-zunūn*, 1:650–60) and the "science of the famous invocations and revealed supplications" (*Kashf al-zunūn*, 1:200). There is also an incomplete entry on magic squares (*wafq*) (*Kashf al-zunūn*, 2:2017).
 14. Al-Ghazālī, *Invocations & Supplications = Kitāb al-adhkār wa-al-da'wāt: Book IX of the Revival of the Religious Sciences, Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 2016). On Ibn 'Arabi and the science of letters, see P. Lory, "The Symbolism of Letters and Language in the Work of Ibn 'Arabi," *The Journal of Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society* 23 (1998): 32–42; Gerald Elmore, "Four Texts of Ibn al-'Arabi on the Creative Self Manifestation of the Divine Names," *Journal of Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society* 29 (2001): 1–43; and Michael Ebstein, *Mysticism and Philosophy in al-Andalus: Ibn Masarra, Ibn al-'Arabi and the Isma'ili Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 77–119.
 15. Barbara Fleming, "The Sultan's Prayer before the Battle," in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honor of Professor V. L. Menage*, ed. Colin Imber and Colin Heywood (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 1994), 63–75.
 16. Consider, for example, Ebu's-Su'ud Efendi's (d. 1574) *Du'ā'-nāme* (Book of Prayer). In this work, the chief imperial mufti lists prayers for different occasions. Abdullah Kaleli, "*Du'ā'-nāme: İnceleme-Çeviri Yazılı Metin-Özel Adlar Dizini-Tıpkıbasım*" (master's thesis, Adıyaman Üniversitesi, 2014).
 17. McGregor, "On the Literature of Sufi Prayer Commentaries," 201. The term *wird* often refers to Sufi arrangements of standard litanies and supererogatory devotions (in this sense, the *wird* is not unlike *dhikr* and *ḥizb*). *El2*, s.v. "Wird," by F. N. Denny; *El2*, s.v. "Ḥizb"; and *El2*, s.v. "Du'ā'," by L. Gardet.
 18. McGregor, "On the Literature of Sufi Prayer Commentaries," 205.
 19. Venetia Porter, *Arabic and Persian Seals and Amulets in the British Museum* (London: British Museum Publications, 2011), 131; Adam Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 36; Yasmine F. Alsaleh, "Licit Magic: The Touch and Sight of Islamic Talismanic Scrolls" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2014), 7–8.

20. *El2*, s.v. “Tilsam,” by C. E. Bosworth, J. Ruska, and B. Carra de Vaux.
21. Porter, *Arabic and Persian*, 132. See also Christiane Gruber, “From Prayer to Protection: Amulets and Talismans in the Islamic World,” in *Power and Protection: Islamic Art and the Supernatural*, ed. Francesca Leoni (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2016), 33–51.
22. Hülya Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Koleksiyonundan Tılsımlı Gömlekler* (İstanbul: Timaş, 2011), 19–20.
23. *Ibid.*, 46–47.
24. *Ibid.*, 69.
25. Shahzad Bashir, *Fazlallah Astarabadi and the Hurufis* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2012); İlker Evrim Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran: Sharaf al-Din ‘Ali Yazdi and the Islamic Republic of Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).
26. Unfortunately, due to time constraints, I did not have the opportunity to examine all the manuscripts that carry Sultan Bayezid II’s seal. Therefore, the identifications are quite tentative.
27. MS Török F. 59, 51 {5}.
28. *Ibid.*, 49 {13}.
29. *Ibid.*, 47 {10}.
30. *Ibid.*, 46 {10}, 47 {11}.
31. *Du‘ā sayfi* was copied throughout the Ottoman lands in the fifteenth century. See, for instance, Süleymaniye Library, Hüsrev Paşa MS 194 (copied in Amasya in 1500) and Süleymaniye Library, Fatih MS 2618 (possibly copied in Bursa, in 1432). For an early fifteenth-century Timurid copy of The Prayer of the Sword Bearer, see Christie’s website: <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/dua-sayfi-of-ali-ibn-abitaleb-4894153-details.aspx> (last accessed 10/15/2017).
32. MS Török F. 59, 50 {9}.
33. *Ibid.*, 51 {18}.
34. *Ibid.*, 51 {9}.
35. *Ibid.*, 51 {2}.
36. *Ibid.*, 47 {1}.
37. On al-Hamadani see *El2*, s.v. “Alī b. Shihāb al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Hamadānī,” by S. M. Stern.
38. MS Török F. 59, 46 {16}.
39. MS Török F. 59, 50 {19}. On Kutbüddinzade see *TDVİA*, s.v. “Kutbüddin İzniki,” by Reşat Öngören.
40. MS Török F. 59, 46 {13}, 47 {6}, 50 {7}. On Şeyh Vefa, see *TDVİA*, s.v. “Muslihuddin Mustafa,” by Reşat Öngören.
41. Shahab Ahmed, *What Is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), ch. 5.
42. Melvin-Koushki, “Powers of One,” 168–69.
43. Şükrullah, *Kitāb al-Da‘wāt*, Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya MS 2793. See also *TDVİA*, s.v. “Şükrullah,” by Sara Nur Yıldız.
44. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Jazarī, *Uddat al-ḥişn al-ḥaşin min kalām Sayyid al-Mursalīn* (Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Madani, 1983).
45. On commentarial practices on prayers, see McGregor, “Notes on the Literature of Sufi Prayer Commentaries.” I am currently completing a short study on sixteenth- through eighteenth-century commentaries on prayers tentatively titled *Prayers, Commentaries, and Edification of the Ottoman Supplicant (1500-1750)*.
46. Muhammad Ahmad Masad, “The Medieval Islamic Apocalyptic Tradition: Divination, Prophecy, and the End of Time in the Thirteenth-Century Eastern Mediterranean,” (PhD diss., Washington University, 2008), 99–144.
47. MS Török F. 59, 47 {14}, 50 {18}. On al-Tamimi see *TDVİA*, “Temimi, Muhammad b. Ahmed,” by Mahmut Kaya.
48. MS Török F. 59, 50 {14}. On al-Yafī‘i, see *El2*, s.v. “al-Yāfi‘i,” by E. Geoffroy. Taşköprüzade refers to al-Yafī‘i’s *al-Durr al-naẓīm* (though the title is slightly different) in the section on the “science of using the Greatest Name” (*‘ilm al-taṣrīf bi-l-ism al-a‘ẓam*) of God that is revealed to the select few. Taşkubrī zāda (Taşköprüzade), *Miftāḥ al-sa‘āda*, 2:593.
49. MS Török F. 59, 52 {2}.
50. *Ibid.*, 51 {2}. On al-Qurtubi see *El2*, s.v. “al-Ḳurṭubī,” by R. Arnaldez.
51. Yousef Casewit, *The Mystics of al-Andalus: Ibn Barrajan and Islamic Thought in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017). On the commentary on the Names, see *ibid.*, 11.
52. MS Török F. 59, 51 {7}.
53. *Ibid.*, 50 {9}.
54. Masad, “The Medieval Islamic Apocalyptic Tradition,” 68–69. In later centuries, the work was also associated with the Bunian corpus.
55. *Ibid.*, 68–71.
56. Ebstein, *Mysticism and Philosophy*, 94–97. In addition to the *Futūḥāt*, Ibn ‘Arabī wrote other works on the science of letters, such as Ibn ‘Arabī, *al-Mabādī wa-al-ghāyāt fī ma‘ānī al-ḥurūf wal-āyāt* (Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya lil-Turāth, 2015), that are not represented in the inventory.
57. Ibn ‘Arabī, *al-Mabādī wa-al-ghāyāt fī ma‘ānī al-ḥurūf wa-al-āyāt wa-yalihi al-‘Iqd al-manẓūm fīmā taḥwīhi al-ḥurūf min al-khawāṣṣ wa-al-‘ulūm* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2006), 163–85.
58. For a comprehensive study of the Bunian corpus, see Noah Daedalus Gardiner, “Esotericism in a Manuscript Culture: Aḥmad al-Būnī and His Readers through the Mamlūk Period” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2014).
59. *Ibid.*; Gardiner, “Esotericist Reading Communities and Early Circulation of the Sufi Occultist Ahmad al-Bunī’s Work,” *Arabica* 64 (2017): 405–41; Jean-Charles Coulon, *La Magie en terre d’islam au Moyen Age* (Paris: CTHS, 2017).
60. Al-Saleh, “Licit Magic,” 47–48; Gardiner, “Esotericism,” 16.
61. Al-Saleh, “Licit Magic,” 48–49. This connection is also reflected in several anonymous treatises in the section of the inventory that deal with the science of letters and magic squares.
62. Gardiner, “Esotericism,” 31.
63. *Ibid.*, 16.
64. MS Török F. 59, 50 {12}. *El3*, s.v. “Bisṭāmī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān,” by E. Geoffroy.
65. For a study of this work, see Gardiner, “Occult Encyclopedism.”

66. Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks*. For the abridged version of Yazdi's work, see MS Török F. 59, 49 {1}. It is worth pointing out that the aforementioned Şükrullah was also affiliated with these networks.
67. MS Török F. 59, 51 {7}.
68. *Ibid.*, 51 {14}.
69. *Ibid.*, 47 {14}.
70. *Ibid.*, 49 {4}.
71. Al-Saleh, "Licit Magic."
72. Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Koleksiyonundan Tılsımlı Gömlekler*, 68–69.
73. *Ibid.*, 46–48.
74. Esra Akın-Kıvanç, *Mustafa 'Ali's Epic Deeds of Artists: A Critical Edition of the Earliest Ottoman Text about the Calligraphers and Painters of the Islamic World* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 188–89.
75. *Ibid.*, 189–90.
76. *Ibid.*, 185–88.
77. *Ibid.*, 199.
78. *Ibid.*, 202.
79. *Ibid.*, 200.
80. *Ibid.*
81. M. Uğur Derman, *Letters in Gold: Ottoman Calligraphy from the Sakıp Sabancı Collection, Istanbul* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 46.
82. Ebstein, *Mysticism and Philosophy*, 112, 118–19. See also Carl W. Ernst, "Sufism and the Aesthetics of Penmanship in Sirāj al-Shīrāzī's *Tuhfat al-Muḥibbīn* (1454)," *Journal of the American Historical Society* 129, no. 3 (2009): 431–42; Annemarie Schimmel, "Calligraphy and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey," in *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey*, ed. Raymond Lifchez (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 242–52.
83. Finbarr Barry Flood, "Bodies and Becoming: Mimesis, Mediation, and Ingestion of the Sacred in Christianity and Islam," in *Sensational Religion: Sensory Cultures in Material Practice*, ed. Sally Promey (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 459–94.
84. Venetia Porter, "Magical Inscriptions in Linear Kufic on Rock Crystal Amulet-Seals," in *Rivers of Paradise: Water in Islamic Art and Culture*, ed. Sheila Blair and Jonathan Brown (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 131–59.
85. See, for instance, the "album" by Ahmed Karahisari (d. 1556) (The Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, Istanbul, 1443). For sixteenth-century talismanic shirts with inscriptions and panels in Kufic script, see Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Koleksiyonundan Tılsımlı Gömlekler*, 59, 114–17.

LIST OF ENTRIES

SECTION ON BOOKS OF PRAYERS, BOOKS ON THE SPECIAL QUALITIES OF THE QUR'AN,
AND BOOKS ON THE SCIENCE OF MAGIC SQUARES

(Tafşılı kutubi al-ad'iyati wa-kutubi khawāşşi al-Qur'āni wa-kutubi 'ilmi al-wafqī)

Abbreviations

- GAL Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1943–49).
 GAL S Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur. Supplementband*, 3 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937–42).
 Gardiner Noah Daedalus Gardiner, “Esotericism in a Manuscript Culture: Aḥmad al-Būnī and His Readers through the Mamlūk Period” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2014).
 KZ Katip Çelebi, *Kaṣṣf al-ẓunūn ‘an asāmī al-kutub wa-al-funūn*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1971–72).

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1. “*Ḥamā’ilu ad’iyatin fī mujalladin*” (An Amulet Containing Prayers in a Binding), 45 {2}.
2. Same as above, 45 {2}.
3. Same as above, 45 {2–3}.
4. Same as above, 45 {3}.
5. Same as above, 45 {3}.
6. “*Ad’iyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab’ati fī mujalladin*” (Prayers for the Seven Days [of the Week], in a Binding), 45 {3–4}. MANUSCRIPT: A manuscript with this title stamped with Bayezid II’s seal is TSMK, R. 82 (Karatay: A 5613). Another manuscript with the same title, allegedly copied by “Yāqūt al-Mu’taṣimī” and stamped with Bayezid II’s seal, is held at the Süleymaniye Library, MS Ayasofya 2765.
7. ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭalib (d. 661) (attributed to), *Du‘ā’un sayfiyyun fī mujalladin* (The Prayer of the Sword Bearer, in a Binding), 45 {4}.
8. “*Du‘ā’u hazār-yak¹ nām fī mujalladin*” (The Prayer of [God’s] One Thousand and One Names, in a Binding), 45 {4–5}.
9. “*Ḥamā’ilu malfūfun mustadīrun*” (A Round Folded/Wrapped Amulet), 45 {5}.
10. Same as above, 45 {5}.
11. Same as above, 45 {6}.
12. “*Asmā’u ḥusnā bi-khaṭṭi[n] kūf[iyyin] ghayru mujalladin*” ([God’s] Beautiful Names in Kufic Script, without a Binding), 45 {6}.
13. “*Ḥamā’ilu malfūfun mustadīrun fī ghilāfin mustadīrin*” (A Round Folded/Wrapped Amulet, in a Cylindrical [?] Case), 45 {7}.
14. “*Qamişun maktūbun fīhi al-ad’iyatu*” (A [Talismanic] Shirt Inscribed with Prayers), 45 {7–8}.
15. Same as above, 45 {8}.
16. “*Araqiyyatun maktūbun fīhā al-awfāqu*” (A Skullcap Inscribed with Magic Squares), 45 {8–9}.
17. “*Ḥamā’ilu malfūfun mustadīrun*” (A Round Folded/Wrapped Amulet), 45 {9}.
18. “*Naṭ’un a’ṣamu min al-kāghidi fīhi al-awfāqu*” (A Large Paper Sheet/Mat with Magic Squares), 45 {9–10}.
19. “*Ḥamā’ilu malfūfun muthallathun*” (A Triangular Folded/Wrapped Amulet), 45 {10}.
20. Same as above, 45 {10–11}.

21. Same as above, 45 {11}.
22. Same as above, 45 {11–12}.
23. Same as above, 45 {12}.
24. Same as above, 45 {12}.
25. Same as above, 45 {13}.
26. Same as above, 45 {13}.
27. Same as above, 45 {13–14}.
28. Same as above, 45 {14}.
29. Same as above, 45 {14}.
30. Same as above, 45 {15}.
31. “*Ḥamā’ilu malfūfun murabba’un*” (A Square Folded/Wrapped Amulet), 45 {15}.
32. Same as above, 45 {15–16}.
33. “*Naṭ’un ‘aẓīmun min al-kāghidi fihi al-awfāqu*” (A Large Paper Sheet/Mat with Magic Squares), 45 {16}.
34. “*Du’ā’un sayfiyyun malfūfun mustadīrun*” (A Round Folded/Wrapped [Scroll?] [Containing] the Prayer of the Sword Bearer), 45 {16–17}, similar to no. 7 above.
35. “*Ḥamā’ilu malfūfun mustadīrun ‘arīḍun fi ghilāfin a Akhḍara*” (A Wide Folded/Wrapped Round Amulet in a Green Case), 45 {17–18}.
36. “*Kāghidun murabba’un fihi al-awfāqu bi-ghilāfi kāghidin*” (A Square Sheet of Paper Containing Magic Squares, in a Paper Wrap), 45 {18}.
37. “*Lawḥun murabba’un min fiḍḍatin fihi al-awfāqu*” (A Square Silver Tablet Containing Magic Squares), 45 {18–19}.
38. Same as above, 45 {19}.

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39. Same as above, 46 {1}.
40. “*Lawḥun murabba’un min nuḥāsīn fihi al-awfāqu*” (A Square Copper Tablet Containing Magic Squares), 46 {1}.
41. “*Lawḥun mudawwarun min fiḍḍatin mudhahhabun fihi al-awfāqu*” (A Round Silver Tablet Containing Magic Squares), 46 {2}.
42. “*Thalāthatu ajzā’i fiḥā Du’ā’un*” (Three Booklets Containing a Prayer), 46 {2–3}.
43. “*Hazār-yak nām*” ([The Prayer of] One Thousand and One Names), 46 {3}, same as no. 8 above.
44. “*Ḥamā’ilu malfūfun muthallathun*” (A Triangular Folded/Wrapped Amulet), 46 {3}.
45. Same as above, 46 {3}.
46. Same as above, 46 {4}.
47. Same as above, 46 {4}.
48. Same as above, 46 {4–5}.
49. “*Ḥamā’ilu malfūfun muthallathun makhīṭun fi al-ḥarīri*” (A Triangular Amulet Wrapped in Silk), 46 {5}.
50. “*Ḥamā’ilu malfūfun muthallathun makhīṭun fi ḥarīrin lahū ‘ilāqatun min ḥarīrin*” (A Triangular Folded/Wrapped Amulet Wrapped in Silk with a Silk Strap), 46 {5–6}.
51. “*Ḥamā’ilu malfūfun muthallathun*” (A Triangular Folded/Wrapped Amulet), 46 {6}.
52. “*Khashabun mustadīrun ṭūluḥ thalāthatu ashbārīn luffa ‘alayhi arba’a ḥamā’ila bi-al-awfāqi wa-al-ad’iyati*” (A Round Three-Hand-Span-Long Wooden [Cylindrical Case?], Containing Four Amulets [Scrolls?] with Magic Squares and Prayers), 46 {7–8}.

53. "*Ad'iyatun bi-khaṭṭi Yāqūt fi mujalladin*" (Prayers in Yaqut's Hand, in a Binding), 46 {8}.
54. "*Ad'iyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab'ati fi mujalladin*" (Prayers for the Seven Days [of the Week], in a Binding), 46 {8–9}.
55. Same as above, 46 {9}.
56. Same as above, 46 {9–10}.
57. "*Ad'iyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab'ati*" (Prayers for the Seven Days [of the Week]), 46 {10}.
58. Imām Zayn al-Ābidīn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 710 [?]) (attributed to), *Du'a'un fi makārimi al-akhlāqi 'an Zayn al-Ābidīn -raḍiya Allāhu 'anhu- fi mujalladin* (The Prayer of the Honorable Morals [transmitted from] Zayn al-Ābidīn RA, in a Binding), 46 {10–11}. EDITIONS: Beirut: 'Abd al-Amīr Qabalān, 2007; and a 2002 edition by an unknown publisher in Iran.
59. "*Ad'iyatu al-hayākili al-sab'ati fi mujalladin*" (Prayers of the Seven Temples, in a Binding), 46 {11–12}.
60. "*Ad'iyatun ba'da al-ṣalawāti fi mujalladin bi-khaṭṭi Ibn Jalāl al-Dīn*" (Prayers for after the Ritual Prayers, in a Binding, Transcribed by Ibn Jalāl al-Dīn), 46 {12}. The calligrapher might be the Ottoman scholar/shaykh Muḥyi al-Dīn ibn Jalāl al-Dīn (fl. 15th century).
61. Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā al-Qunawī, also known as Shaykh Wafā' (Ṣeyh Vefa, d. 1491), *Awrādu al-Shaykh Abī al-Wafā' fi mujalladin* (The Invocations of Shaykh Abū al-Wafā', in a Binding), 46 {13}. The author was the founder of the Zeyniyye branch of the Vefāiyye order. MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye Library (MS Kadızade Mehmed 332; Yazma Bağışlar 1081).
62. "*Du'a'un sayfiyyun fi mujalladin*" (The Prayer of the Sword Bearer, in a Binding), 46 {13}, same as no. 7 above.
63. "*Ad'iyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab'ati fi mujalladin*" (Prayers for the Seven Days [of the Week], in a Binding), 46 {13–14}.
64. "*Risālatu māḥiyu al-dhunūbi fi al-ad'iya wa-al-aḥādīthi*" (A Treatise that Effaces Sins, on Prayers and Hadith), 46 {14–15}.
65. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Shādhilī (d. ca. 1258), *Du'a'u ḥizbi al-baḥri wa-ghayruhū bi-khaṭṭi[n] muqatta'in fi mujalladin* (The Prayer of the Litany of the Sea and other [prayers], Written in Single/Cut-out Letters, in a Binding), 46 {15}. EDITIONS: Pishawar: Maktaba-i Akramiyya, 2000; Arrah: [n.p.], 1892. There are numerous published commentaries on this prayer. See GAL 1:449; GAL S, 1:805.
66. "*Du'a'u ḥizbi al-baḥri wa-ghayruhū fi mujalladin*" (The Prayer of the Litany of the Sea and other [prayers], in a Binding, 46 {16}), same as no. 65 above.
67. Ḥamīd al-Dīn Ḥamīd ibn Mūsā Aqsarāi (d. 1402), *Suwaru al-wirdi wa-awrādu al-Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn fi mujalladin* (The Suras of the Invocation and the Invocations of Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn, in a Binding), 46 {16–17}. MANUSCRIPT: Fatih, Millet Kütüphanesi, MS Ali Emiri, Arabi 730.
68. "*Du'a'u Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā fi mujalladin*" (The Prayer of Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā, in a Binding), 46 {17}.
69. "*Awrādu al-Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn -quddisa sirruhū- fi mujalladin*" (The Invocation of Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn—May His Mystery Be Hallowed—in a Binding), 46 {17–18}, similar to no. 67 above.
70. 'Alī ibn Shihāb al-Dīn al-Hamadānī (d. 1385), *Ad'iyatu Sayyid 'Alī al-Hamadānī bi-khaṭṭi 'Abd Allāh al-Hirawī fi mujalladin* (The Prayers of Sayyid 'Alī al-Hamadānī, copied by 'Abd Allāh al-Hirawī, in a Binding), 46 {18–19}.
71. "*Risālatu maslaki al-qāṣidīna fi mujalladin*" (The Treatise of the Path of the Intenders, in a Binding), 46 {19}.

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72. Yahyā ibn Sharaf al-Nawawī (d. 1277), *Kitābu ḥilyati al-abrārī fī al-adʿiyati* (The Book of the Jewel of the Pious, on Prayers), 47 {1}. EDITIONS: Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1992; Limassol: al-Jaffān wa-al-Jābī, 2004. GAL 1:397; GAL S 1:617; 2:533; KZ, 1:688–89.
73. “*Kitābu al-ʿuddati ʿinda al-kurabi wa-al-shiddati fī al-adʿiyati wa-al-awfāqi wa-al-juzʿu al-awwalu min Kitābi subuli al-khayrāti min qibali al-naṣīhati fī mujalladin wāḥidin*” (The Book of Equipment for [Times of] Concerns and Trouble [Containing] Prayers and Magic Squares, and the First Part of the Book on the Paths of Good Deeds, Pertaining to [Moral] Advice, Bound in a Single Volume), 47 {1–3}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 617 (Karatay: A 5445). GAL S, 2:65.
74. “*Risālatu al-duʿāʾi al-sayfī wa-iʿtiṣāmihī wa-duʿāʾi al-miʿrājī*” (A Treatise [about] the Prayer of the Sword Bearer and His Refuge and The Prayer of the [Prophet’s] Ascension [to Heaven]), 47 {3–4}.
 - 74a. Same as no. 7 above.
 - 74b. Anonymous.
75. “*Risālatu istifādati al-murādāti bi-asmāʾi Allāhi taʿālā ʿalā al-wajhi al-khāṣṣi*” (A Treatise on Seeking Fulfillment of Wishes through the Names of God, from the Perspective of the Special Qualities [of the Qurʾan]), 47 {4–5}. GAL S, 1:772.
76. “*Risālatu asmāʾi Allāhi taʿālā li-maṭāliba shattā*” (A Treatise on the Names of God, Most High, for Different Wishes), 47 {5}.
77. “*Risālatu awrādi al-ṣalāwāti li-Shaykh Waḥā[ʿ] -raḥimahū Allāhu taʿālā*” (A Treatise [Containing] the Invocations of Shaykh Waḥāʿ—May God Bless His Soul), 47 {6}, probably the same as no. 61 above.
78. “*Risālatu khawāṣṣi al-Qurʾāni min qibali al-adʿiyati*” (A Treatise on the Special Qualities of the Qurʾan, Pertaining to Prayers), 47 {6–7}.
79. “*Kitābu al-adʿiyati al-mubārakati al-jalīlati bi-khaṭṭin naḥṣin muḥaqqaqin lam yura mithlahū*” (A Book of Blessed and Exalted Prayers in an Unparalleled Exquisite Muḥaqqaq Script), 47 {7–8}.
80. “*Risālatu wirdin jalīlin wa-duʿāʾin jamīlin*” (A Treatise [Containing] an Exalted Invocation and a Beautiful Prayer), 47 {8}.
81. “*al-Daʿawātu baʿda al-ṣalawāti ʿan al-aʿimmati*” (Supplications for after the Ritual Prayers, Transmitted from the Imams), 47 {9}.
82. “*Risālatun fihā wirdāni naḥṣāni*” (A Treatise Containing Two Exquisite Invocations), 47 {9}.
83. “*Mujalladun fihī daʿawātu al-ṣalawāti wa-al-duʿāʾu al-sayfī wa-sharḥuhū wa-duʿāʾu qarṭhiyyā*” (A Bound Volume Containing Supplications; Prayers; and the Prayer of the Sword Bearer with a Commentary on It; and the Prayer [of Muḥammad ibn Kaʿb ?] al-Qarṭhī), 47 {10}.
 - 83a. For the “Prayer of the Sword Bearer,” see no. 7 above.
 - 83b. The remaining works are anonymous.
84. “*Risālatun fī al-duʿāʾi bi-makārimi al-akhlāqi ʿan Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn -raḍiya Allāhu ʿanhu*” (Treatise Containing a Prayer of the Honorable Morals, [transmitted] by Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn), 47 {11}, same as no. 58 above.
85. “*Adʿiyatun maʿthūratun bi-khaṭṭin naḥṣin*” (Revealed Prayers Written in an Exquisite Script), 47 {12}, possibly Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Firūzābādī’s *Adʿiya maʿthūra marwīya ʿan al-nabī*. MANUSCRIPTS: A copy stamped with Bayezid II’s seal is held at the Topkapı Library: TSMK, A. 526 (Karatay: A 5446). Another manuscript with a similar title also has Bayezid II’s seal: TSMK, B. 81 (Karatay: A 5609).
86. “*Daʿawātu al-ṣubḥi wa-daʿawātu al-ayyāmi al-sabʿati bi-khaṭṭi Arghūn*” (Supplications of the Morning and Supplications for the Seven Days [of the Week], copied by Arghūn), 47 {12–13}.

87. "*Risālatu al-musabba'āti al-'ashri bi-khaṭṭi al-dhahabi fī al-ad'iyati*" (A Treatise Containing the Seventeenth [Prayers] in Gold Script, on Prayers), 47 {13}.
88. "*Risālatu khawāṣṣi āyātīn min qibali al-ad'iyati*" (A Treatise on Special Qualities of the [Qur'anic] Verses, Pertaining to Prayers), 47 {14}.
89. "*Kitābu al-Tamīmī fī manāfi'i al-Qur'āni min qibali al-ad'iyati wa-Qaṣīdatu burdata fī mujalladin wāḥidin*" (The Book by al-Tamīmī on the Benefits of the Qur'an, Pertaining to Prayers; and *The Ode of the Mantle [of the Prophet]*, Bound in a Single Volume), 47 {14–15}.
- 89a. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Sa'īd al-Tamīmī (d. 980–81), *Manāfi' al-Qur'ān*. MANUSCRIPTS: Beyazıt Library, MS Veliyüddin Efendi 69. See also GAL G 1:237; GAL S, 1:422.
- 89b. Most likely Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd al-Būṣīrī's (d. 1296) Qasida. EDITIONS: Damascus: Dār Manābi' al-Nūr, 2004; 'Amman: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa, 2009. See also KZ, 2:1331–36.
90. "*Kitābu ḥilyati al-abrārī fī al-ad'iyati wa-risālatu shu'abi al-īmāni fī mujalladin wāḥidin*" (The Book of the Jewel of the Pious, on Prayers; and the Treatise of the Branches of Faith, Bound in a Single Volume), 47 {15–16}.
- 90a. Same as no. 72 above.
- 90b. Most likely Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 1240). KZ, 2:1348. It could also be a work by Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī (d. 1066). EDITIONS OF AL-BAYHAQI: Beirut: Dār al-'Ilmiyya, 1990; Riyadh: Markaz al-Turāth li-al-Barmajjiyyāt, 2012. See KZ, 2:1048.
91. "*Du'ā'u hazār-yak nām*" (The Prayer of One Thousand and One Names [of God]), 47 {16–17}, same as no. 8 above.
92. "*Kitābun fihi du'ā'u hazār-yak nām wa-Sharḥu Chihil nām*" (A Book Containing the Prayer of One Thousand and One Names [of God], and the Commentary of the Forty Names), 47 {17}.
- 92a. Same as no. 8 above.
- 92b. MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye Library (MS Ayasofya 2811-10; MS Ayasofya 377-4; MS Hacı Beşir Ağa 654-53).
93. "*Risālatu da'awāti al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama*" (A Treatise on Supplications to/for the Prophet SAS), 47 {18}. MANUSCRIPT: A copy with this title bearing Bayezid II's seal is TSMK, A. 518 (Karatay: A 5677).
94. "*Qamiṣun min niqābi al-janīni fihi awfāqun wa-ad'iyatun*" (A Shirt Made of ...? Inscribed with Magic Squares and Prayers), 47 {18–19}.
95. "*Kirbāsun fihi arba'atu suṭūrin min al-āyāti wa-al-ad'iyati*" (A Cotton Fabric/Linen Inscribed with Four Lines of Qur'anic Verses and Prayers), 47 {19}–48 {1}.
- [48]
96. "*Qamiṣun fihi awfāqun wa-ad'iyatun*" (A Shirt Containing Magic Squares and Prayers), 48 {1}.
97. Same as above, 48 {1–2}.
98. "*Sharḥu du'ā'i hazār-yak nām bi-al-'arabiyyati*" (An Arabic Commentary on the Prayer of One Thousand and One Names), 48 {2}.
99. Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Būnī (d. 1225) (attributed to), *Kitābu shamsi al-ma'ārifi li-l-Būnī min qibali al-adhkāri wa-al-ad'iyati* (The Sun of Gnosis and Delicacies of Knowledge, by al-Buni, Pertaining to Invocations and Prayers), 48 {2–3}, most likely a version of *Shams al-ma'arif wa-laṭā'if al-'awārif*, a manual on the science of letters (*hurufiyya*). See Gardiner, 16.
100. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 1454), *Kitābu shamsi al-āfāqi fī 'ilmi al-awfāqi* (The Book of the Sun of the Horizons, on the Science of Magic Squares), 48 {3–4}. MANUSCRIPTS:

Süleymaniye Library (MS Ayasofya 2807; MS Fatih 3433); TSMK, R. 1743 (Karatay: A 7472). See also KZ, 2:1061; Gardiner, 422.

101. “*Du‘ā’un sayfiyyun bi-khaṭṭi Shaykh-zāda*” (The Prayer of the Sword Bearer, Copied by Shaykh-zāda), 48 {4–5}, same as no. 7 above.
102. “*Du‘ā’un sayfiyyun muqayyadun bi-al-fārisiyyati*” (The Prayer of the Sword Bearer, Written in Persian), 48 {5}, same as no. 7 above.
103. Same as above, 48 {5}.
104. “*Du‘ā’un sayfiyyun*” (The Prayer of the Sword Bearer), 48 {6}, same as no. 7 above.
105. “*Du‘ā’un sayfiyyun ma‘a sharḥihī bi-ḥibri al-dhahabī*” (The Prayer of the Sword Bearer with Its Commentary, Written in Gilded Ink), 48 {6}, same as no. 7 above.
106. “*Du‘ā’un sayfiyyun muqayyadun bi-al-turkiyyati*” (The Prayer of the Sword Bearer, Written in Turkish), 48 {6–7}, same as no. 7 above.
107. “*Du‘ā’u istiftāḥin wa-da‘awātu al-ayyāmi al-sab‘ati*” (The Prayer Opening the Supplications of the Seven Days [of the Week]), 48 {7}.
108. “*Du‘ā’un sayfiyyun*” (The Prayer of the Sword Bearer), 48 {8}, same as no. 7 above.
109. Same as above, 48 {8}.
110. “*Kitābu al-ḥikmatī fi al-ad‘iyati wa-al-maw‘izati bi-al-fārisiyyati*” (The Book of Wisdom, on Prayers and Sermons, in Persian), 48 {8–9}.
111. “*Tafsīru al-asmā‘i al-ḥusnā ma‘a khawāṣṣihā bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-ad‘iyati*” (An Exegesis on the Beautiful Names [Prayer] with Its Special Qualities, in Persian, Pertaining to Prayers), 48 {9–10}.
112. “*Shamsu al-ma‘ārifi li-l-Aḥmad al-Būnī min qibali al-ad‘iyati*” (The Sun of Gnosis by Aḥmad al-Būnī, Pertaining to Prayers), 48 {10}, same as no. 99 above.
113. “*Kitābu asāsi al-‘ulūmi fi ‘ilmi al-ḥurūfi wa-al-awfāqi*” (The Foundation of the Sciences, on the Science of Letters and Magic Squares), 48 {11}.
114. “*Sūratu al-an‘āmi wa-Ḥizbu al-baḥri min qibali al-ad‘iyati*” (The An‘ām Sura and the Litany of the Sea, Pertaining to Prayers), 48 {11–12}. The latter is the same as no. 65 above. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, K. 968 (Karatay A: 5351) has Bayezid II’s seal.
115. Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Būnī (d. 1225), *Kitābu al-Aḥmad al-Būnī fi kayfiyyati al-‘amal bi-al-asmā‘i wa-al-awfāqi* (A Book by Aḥmad al-Būnī on the Use of the Names and the Magic Squares), 48 {12–13}, possibly his *‘Alam al-hudā wa-asrār al-ihtidā’ fi sharḥ asmā’ Allāh al-ḥusnā*. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye Library, MS Carullah 2083. Alternatively, a treatise titled *Risāla fi kayfiyyat al-‘ilm bi-āyāt al-Qur’ān wa-asmā’ al-ḥusnā*. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye Library, MS Carullah 2083.
116. “*Kitābu al-‘uddati al-kāmilati ‘inda al-shiddati al-shāmilati min qibali al-ad‘iyati*” (The Complete Equipment in the Full Prowess, Pertaining to Prayers), 48 {13–14}, same as no. 73 above.
117. “*Kitābu al-ḥikmatī fi al-ad‘iyati wa-al-maw‘izati bi-al-fārisiyyati*” (The Book of Wisdom, on Prayers and Sermons, in Persian), 48 {14–15}, same as no. 110 above.
118. “*Kitābu Aḥmad al-Būnī fi kayfiyyati al-‘amali bi-al-asmā‘i wa-al-awfāqi*” (The Book by Aḥmad al-Būnī Pertaining to the Manner of Using [God’s] Names and Magic Square), 48 {15–16}, same as no. 115 above.
119. Same as above, 48 {16}.
120. Same as above, 48 {17}.
121. Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Būnī (d. 1225), *Sharḥu al-Asmā‘i al-ḥusnā li-l-Shaykh al-Būnī min qibali al-ad‘iyati* (A Commentary on the Beautiful Names by the Shaykh al-Būnī, Pertaining to Prayers, 48 {17–18}. MANUSCRIPTS: Beyazıt Library, MS Beyazıt 1362; and MS Beyazıt 1377.

- Süleymaniye Library (MS Hamidiya 260; MS Şehid Ali Paşa 427; MS Nurosmeniye 2822). TSMK A. 1494 (Karataş: A 5412) has Bayezid II's seal. See also Gardiner, 411.
122. "*Kitābu al-ḥikmatī wa-al-ad'iyatī wa-al-maw'izati bi-al-fārisiyyati*" (The Book of Wisdom), 48 {18–19}, same as no. 111 above.
123. "*Sab'atu ḥuşūnin li-l-ayyāmi al-sab'ati min al-ad'iyatī bi-khaṭṭi al-Hirawī*" (Seven Strongholds for the Seven Days [of the Week] Copied by al-Hirawī), 48 {19}–49 {1}.
- [49]
124. "*Mukhtaṣaru Kunhi al-murādi fī waḥḍi al-a'dādi*" (An Abridgment of the Essence of the Desired, on Magic Squares and Numbers), 49 {1}, most likely an abridged version of Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī's (d. 1454) work. KZ, 2:1021.
125. Shukr Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Hasanī, also known as Shukr Allāh Amasyawī (Şükruallah al-Amasi, d. 1464), *Kitābu al-da'awāti alladhī jama'ahū Mawlānā Shukr Allāh* (A Book of Supplications Compiled by Mawlānā Shukr Allāh), 49 {2}. MANUSCRIPTS: Fatih, Millet Kütüphanesi, MS Ali Emiri, Arabi 1924; Süleymaniye Library, MS Ayasofya 2783 and MS Ayasofya 2793.
126. "*Ḥizbu al-baḥri wa-ghayruhū min al-ad'iyatī*" (The Litany of the Sea and Other [Invocations], on Prayers), 49 {2–3}, same as no. 65 above.
127. "*Asmā'u Allāhi ta'ālā alfun wa-wāḥidun wa-Kitābu da'awāti sātī al-layli wa-al-nahāri al-mustajābatī*" (The One Thousand and One Names of God; and a Book of the Answered Supplications for Hours of the Night and Day), 49 {3–4}, possibly the same as no. 8 above.
128. "*Ad'iyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab'ati wa-Risālatu al-aḥādīthi al-mutarjamati bi-al-fārisiyyati al-man-ẓūmati fī mujalladin wāḥidin*" (The Prayers for the Seven Days [of the Week]; and a Treatise on Hadith, Translated into Rhymed Persian, Bound in a Single Volume), 49 {4–5}.
129. "*Ad'iyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab'ati bi-[al-]midādi al-dhahabi*" (The Prayers for the Seven Days [of the Week] in Gilded Ink), 49 {5–6}.
130. "*Du'ā'u al-munājātī bi-al-asmā'i al-ḥusnā*" (A Silent Prayer with the Beautiful Names), 49 {6}.
131. Attributed to Muḥyi al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 1240), "*Ad'iyatun wa-Risālatu rijālī al-ghaybi bi-al-fārisiyyati*" (Prayers and a Treatise on the Men of the Unseen in Persian). This is apparently a Persian translation of the original Arabic text. Versions of this text exist in Persian, Turkish, and Arabic. MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye Library (MS Süleymaniye 1028; MS Hüsrev Paşa 905), 49 {7}.
132. "*Ad'iyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab'ati*" (Prayers for the Seven Days [of the Week]), 49 {7}.
133. Same as above, 49 {8}.
134. "*Ḥirzu al-nabī -alayhi al-salāmu- wa-Ḥirzu 'Alī wa-awlādihi -raḍīya Allāhu 'anhum- wa-Ad'iyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab'ati bi-[al-]midādi al-dhahabi fī mujalladin wāḥidin*" (The Amulet of the Prophet AS; and the Amulet of 'Alī and His Progeny RA; and the Prayers for the Seven Days [of the Week], in Gilded Ink, Bound in a Single Volume), 49 {8–9}.
135. "*Du'ā'un sayfiyyun*" (The Prayer of the Sword Bearer), 49 {10}, same as no. 7 above.
136. Probably Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Būnī (d. 1225), *Risālatun fī kayfiyyati al-'amali bi-al-ḥurūfi wa-al-asmā'i min qibali al-ad'iyati* (A Treatise on the Use of Letters and the Names [of God], Pertaining to Prayers), 49 {10–11}, possibly the same as no. 115 above.
137. "*Ad'iyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab'ati ma'a wirḍi al-Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn—quddisa sirruhū* (Prayers for the Seven Days [of the Week] with the Invocation of Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn—May His Mystery Be Hallowed), 49 {11–12}.
- 137a. Anonymous.
- 137b. Ḥamīd al-Dīn Ḥamīd ibn Mūsā Aqsarāi (d. 1402), may be the same as no. 67 above.

138. ‘Alī ibn Shihāb al-Dīn al-Hamadānī (d. 1385), *Awradun fathīyyatun li-Amīr Sayyid ‘Alī al-Hamadānī min al-ad‘iyati* (The Invocations of the Conquest by Amīr Sayyid ‘Alī al-Hamadānī), 49 {12}. See KZ, 1:201.
 139. “*Du‘ā’un sayfiyyun*” (The Prayer of the Sword Bearer), 49 {13}, same as no. 7 above.
 140. “*Awradu al-ṣubḥi wa-Du‘ā’u ‘Ukāshā -raḍīya Allāhu ‘anhu*” (The Invocations of the Morning and the Prayer of ‘Ukāshā RA), 49 {13}.
 - 140a. Anonymous.
 - 140b. A prayer attributed to ‘Ukāshā, one of the companions of the Prophet.
 141. “*Du‘ā’u al-ḥājati wa-Du‘ā’un sayfiyyun wa-risālatu al-aḥādīthi fī ḥaqqi al-Qur’āni al-‘aẓīmi*” (The Prayer to [fulfill] the Need [of the Supplicant]; and The Prayer of the Sword Bearer; and a Treatise Containing Hadith on the Truth of the Great Qur’an), 49 {14}.
 - 141a. Anonymous.
 - 141b. Same as no. 7 above.
 - 141c. Anonymous.
 142. “*Du‘ā’u al-ṣalāti ‘alā al-nabī wa-risālatun min qibali al-tafsīri*” (A Prayer to [?] the Prophet and a Treatise, Pertaining to [Qur’anic] Exegesis), 49 {15}. Both anonymous.
 143. Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Būnī (d. 1225) possibly?, “*Risālatu al-ḥijābi al-‘aẓīmi min al-āyāt wa-al-ad‘iyati*” (A Treatise on the Great Veil on [Qur’anic] Verses and Prayers), 49 {15–16}.
 144. “*Ad‘iyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab‘ati*” (The Prayer for the Seven Days [of the Week]), 49 {16}.
 145. “*Miftāḥu al-najāhi min du‘ā’i Amīr al-Mu’minīn ‘Alī -raḍīya Allāhu ta‘ālā ‘anhu*” (The Key of Success, [part] of the Prayer of the Commander of the Believer ‘Alī RA), 49 {16–17}.
 146. “*Da‘awātun*” (Supplications), 49 {17}.
 147. “*Du‘ā’un sayfiyyun wa-Sharḥu Chihil nām fī mujalladin wāḥidin*” (The Prayer of the Sword Bearer; and a Commentary on the Forty Names, Bound in a Single Volume), 49 {18}.
 - 147a. Same as no. 7 above. Commentary anonymous.
 - 147b. Seems to be the same as no. 92b above.
 148. “*Ad‘iyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab‘ati wa-mukhtaṣarun fī ‘ilmi al-akhlāqi fī mujalladin wāḥidin*” (Prayers for the Seven Days [of the Week] and an Abridgement of the Science of Ethics, Bound in a Single Volume), unidentified, 49 {18–19}.
 149. “*Du‘ā’un sayfiyyun ma’a sharḥihī*” (The Prayer of the Sword Bearer with Its Commentary), 49 {19}. Same as no. 7 above, with anonymous commentary.
 150. “*Ad‘iyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab‘ati wa-al-da‘awātu ba‘da al-ṣalāti fī mujalladin wāḥidin*” (Prayers for the Seven Days [of the Week]; and Supplications for after the Ritual Prayer, Bound in a Single Volume), 49 {19}–50 {1}.
- [50]
151. “*Sharḥu Chihil nām bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-ad‘iyati*” (A Commentary on the Forty Names, in Persian, on Prayers), 50 {1}. May be the same as no. 92b above.
 152. “*Du‘ā’u hazār-yak nām*” (The Prayer of One Thousand and One Names), 50 {1–2}. Same as no. 8 above.
 153. “*Ad‘iyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab‘ati wa-Risālatu rijālī al-ghaybi fī mujalladin wāḥidin*” (The Prayers for the Seven Days [of the Week] and a Treatise on the Men of the Unseen, Bound in a Single Volume), 50 {2}.
 - 153a. Anonymous.
 - 153b. Same as no. 131 above.
 154. “*Juz’un fīhi ad‘iyatun*” (A Booklet Containing Prayers), 50 {3}.

155. "*Kitābun fī al-ad'iyati wa-ādābihā wa-sharā'īhā*" (A Book of Prayers, and Their Etiquette, and Their Conditions [for Valid Recitation]), 50 {3}.
156. *Kitābu al-tamīmī fī manāfi' al-Qur'āni al-'azīmi min qibali al-ad'iyati* (al-Tamimi's Book on the Benefits of the Great Qur'an, Pertaining to Prayers), 50 {3–4}. Same as no. 89a above.
157. "*Ad'iyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab'ati*" (Prayers for the Seven Days [of the Week]), 50 {4–5}.
158. "*Ad'iyatu al-thuluthi al-akhīri min al-layālī*" (Prayers for the Last Third of the Nights), 50 {5}.
159. "*Kitābu shamsi al-ma'ārifi li-l-Būnī fī al-ad'iyati*" (The Sun of Gnosis and Delicacies of Knowledge, Pertaining to Prayers), 50 {5–6}. Same as no. 99 above.
160. 'Alī ibn Shihāb al-Dīn al-Hamadānī (d. 1385), *Risālātun fī al-awrādi al-faḥḥiyyati wa-Risālātun fī al-da'awāti allatī ba'da al-ṣalāti fī mujalladin wāhidin* (A Treatise on the Conquest Invocation; and a Treatise on Supplications after the Ritual Prayers, Bound in a Single Volume), 50 {6–7}.
161. "*Kitābu awrādi Shaykh Wafā['] fī al-ad'iyati*" (The Book of Invocations of Shaykh Wafā'), 50 {7}. Same as no. 61 above.
162. Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Būnī (d. 1225), *Kitābu mūdīhi al-ṭarīqi bi-asmā'i Allāhi ta'ālā li-l-Būnī min qibali al-ad'iyati* (The Book That Clarifies the Path on the Names of God, Most High, by al-Būnī, Pertaining to Prayers), 50 {7–8}. An alternate title is *'Alam al-hudā wa-asrār al-ihtidā' fī sharḥ asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā*. See Gardiner, 422–24.
163. Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Būnī (d. 1225), *Kitābu al-Būnī min qibali al-ad'iyati* (A Book by al-Būnī, Pertaining to Prayers), 50 {8–9}.
164. "*Kitābu al-sirri al-khaṭf al-maḥzūni min qibali al-ad'iyati wa-Kitābu al-'iqdi al-manzūmi fī 'ilmi al-khawāṣṣi al-ḥurūfiyyati kilāhumā li-l-Shaykh Muḥyi al-Dīn al-'Arabī -quddisa sirruhū- wa-Risālātu ashkālī al-kawākibi wa-Kitābu sirri al-jamālī min qibali al-ad'iyati fī mujalladin wāhidin*" (The Book of the Hidden and Stored Secret, Pertaining to Prayers; Shaykh Muḥyi al-Dīn [Ibn] 'Arabī's—May His Mystery Be Hallowed—versified *Book of The Well-Ordered Necklace*, Pertaining to the Science of the Special Qualities [of the Qur'an] and the Science of Letters; a Treatise on the Figures of the Planets/Stars; and *The Book of the Secret of Beauty*, Pertaining to Prayers, Bound in a Single Volume), 50 {9–12}.
- 164a. Attributed to Muḥyi al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 1240), *Kitāb al-sirr al-khaṭf al-maḥzūn wa-al-durr al-'ālī al-maknūn*. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1408 (Karatay: A 7479).
- 164b. Attributed to Muḥyi al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 1240). MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye Library (MS Bağdatlı Vehbi 2128; MS Hacı Beşir Ağa 659); Fatih, Millet Kütüphanesi (MS Feyzullah Efendi 2119; MS Ali Emiri Arabi 2796). EDITION: Ibn al-'Arabī, *al-Mabādī wa-al-ghāyāt fī ma'ānī al-ḥurūf wa-al-āyāt; wa-yalīhu, al-'Iqd al-manzūm fī mā taḥwīh al-ḥurūf min al-khawāṣṣ wal-al-'ulūm* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2006). See also KZ, 2:1153.
- 164c. Anonymous.
- 164d. Anonymous.
165. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 1454), *Kitābu rashḥi adhwāqi al-ḥikmati al-rabbāniyyati fī sharḥi awfāqi al-lam'ati [lum'ati] al-nūrāniyyati fī al-wafqi* (Book of the Trickling of the Tastes [?] Pleasures [?] of the Divine Wisdom: A Commentary on the Luminous Glitter and Luminous Magic Squares, on the Science of Magic Squares), 50 {12–13}. MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye Library (MS Carullah 1543; MS Carullah 1560); TSMK, A. 1451 (Karatay: A 5413). Katip Çelebi provides a slightly different title: *Rashḥ 'uyūn al-dhawq fī sharḥ funūn al-shawq* (KZ, 1:903).
166. "*Du'a'u hazār yak nām ma'a sharḥihī*" (The Prayer of One Thousand and One Names with Its Commentary), 50 {13}. Same as no. 8 above. Commentary anonymous.

167. “*Kitābu sharḥi al-ismi al-aʿẓami al-maʿrūfi bi-Chihil nām fi al-adʿiyati*” (Book of the Commentary on the Greatest Name, known as the Forty Names, on Prayers), 50 {14}. Possibly the same as no. 92 above.
168. “*Shifāʾu al-mushtafī [al-mustashfī] fi manāfiʿi al-Qurʾāni wa-Kitābu al-durri al-naẓīmi fi manāfiʿi al-Qurʾāni min qibali al-adʿiyati fi mujalladin wāḥidin*” (The Cure for the One Who Seeks a Cure from the Benefits of the Qurʾan; and *The Well-Ordered Pearl on the Benefits of the Qurʾan*, Pertaining to Prayers, Bound in a Single Volume), 50 {14–15}.
- 168a. Anonymous.
- 168b. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Asʿad al-Yāfiʿi (d. 1367). EDITIONS: [Cairo ?]: Maktabat Muḥammad Ḥusnī, 1865–66; Beirut: Dār al-Maḥajja al-Bayḍāʾ, 1999; Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2000.
169. “*Risālatu khawāṣṣi suwari al-Qurʾāni al-aẓīmi*” (A Treatise on the Special Qualities of the Suras of the Great Qurʾan), 50 {16}.
170. “*al-Risālatu al-ʿarabiyyatu fi al-awfāqi*” (The Treatise in Arabic on Magic Squares), 50 {16}.
171. Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Yūsuf al-Būnī (d. 1225) (attributed to), *Kitābu al-lamʿati [lumʿati] al-nūrāniyyati li-l-Būnī fi al-ismi al-aʿẓami wa-al-ʿamali bihī min qibali al-adʿiyati* (The Book on the Luminous Glitter by al-Būnī, on the Greatest Name and Its Use, Pertaining to Prayers), 50 {17}. See Gardiner, 411.
172. “*Kitābu al-Tamīmī fi khawāṣṣi al-Qurʾāni al-aẓīmi min qibali al-adʿiyati*” (The Book by al-Tamīmī on the Special Qualities of the Qurʾan, Pertaining to Prayers), 50 {18}. Same as no. 89a above.
173. “*Kitābu al-durrati fi ʿilmi al-awfāqi*” (The Book of the Pearl, Pertaining to the Science of Magic Squares), 50 {18–19}. Possibly the same as 167b above.
174. Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Quṭb al-Dīn, also known as Quṭb al-Dīn-zāde al-Iznīqī (Kutbid-dinzade, d. 1480), *Kitābu Quṭb al-Dīn-zāda—quddisa sirruhu—fi al-adʿiyati* (The Book by Quṭb al-Dīn-zāda—May His Mystery be Hallowed—on Prayers), 50 {19}. Possibly his *Munawwir al-daʿwāt*. MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye Library (MS Ayasofya 1802; MS Ayasofya 2814; MS Denizli 426; MS Hacı Mahmud Efendi 4093, MS Şehid Ali Paşa 1272). MS Ayasofya 2815, which has Bayezid II’s seal.
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175. “*Sharḥu al-asmāʾi al-aẓīmati fi al-adʿiyati*” (A Commentary on the Greatest Names, on Prayers), 51 {1}.
176. “*Mujalladun awwalu min Sharḥi al-asmāʾi bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-adʿiyati*” (The First Volume of the Persian Commentary on the [Beautiful] Names, Pertaining to Prayers), 51 {1–2}.
177. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Qurṭubī (d. 1273), *Mujalladun awwalu min al-Kitābi al-Asnā fi sharḥi al-asmāʾi al-ḥusnā li-l-Imām al-Qurṭubī min qibali al-adʿiyati* (The First Volume of The Most Exalted Book on the Commentary of the Beautiful Names by Imām Qurṭubī, Pertaining to Prayers), 51 {2–3}. EDITIONS: Tanta: Dār al-Şaḥāba li-al-Turāth bi-Ṭanṭā li-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ wa-al-Taḥqīq, 1995; Sayda: al-Maktaba al-ʿAşriyya, 2014.
178. “*Kitābu Afālātūn fi al-naṣāʾiḥi wa-Kitābu sharḥi adʿiyati ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib -raḍīya Allāhu taʿālā ʿanhum—fi mujalladin wāḥidin*” (Plato’s Book of Advice; and a Book of Commentary on the Prayers of ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib RA, Bound in a Single Volume), 51 {3–4}.
- 178a. Anonymous.
- 178b. Anonymous.
179. “*Kitābu al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī—quddisa sirruhū—fi al-adʿiyati wa-al-tilsimāti wa-al-ʿazāʾimi wa-Risālātu masʿalati binti Faghfur-i Chīn fi mujalladin wāḥidin*” (The Book by al-Ḥakīm

- al-Tirmidhī—May His Mystery Be Hallowed—on Prayers, Talismans, and Amulets; and a Treatise on the Story of the Daughter of the Emperor of China, Bound in a Single Volume), 51 {5–6}. 179a. Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (9th century), possibly his *al-Shamā’il al-Muḥammadiyya*. See KZ, 2:1059–60.
- 179b. Anonymous. MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye Library (MS Şehid Ali Paşa 2863, 104a–105b).
180. “*Risālatun fi ismi Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn Bāyezīd Khān—zīdat sa‘ādatuhū fi al-dārāyni—min qibali al-wafqi*” (A Treatise on the Name of the Sultan of Sultans Bayezid Khan—May His Felicity Be Increased—Pertaining to Magic Squares), 51 {6–7}.
181. Kamāl al-Dīn Abū Salīm Ibn Ṭalḥa (d. 1254), *Kitābu al-durri al-munaẓẓami fi al-sirri al-a‘ẓami fi ‘ilmi al-jafri wa-al-awfāqi* (Book of The Well-Ordered Pearl about the Great Secret, on the Science of Divination and Magic Squares), 51 {7–8}. EDITION: Beirut: Dār al-Hādī, 2004 (facsimile). See also KZ, 1:734–35.
182. “*Kitābun fi taksīri al-ḥurūfi min qibali ‘ilmi al-wafqi manqūlun ‘an sifri Ādam ‘alayhi al-salāmu*” (Book on the Fracturing of the Letters, Pertaining to the Science of Magic Squares, Transmitted from the Book of Adam AS), 51 {8–9}.
183. Shahāb al-Dīn Yaḥyá ibn Ḥabash al-Suhrawardī (d. 1191) (attributed to), *Risālatu al-munājāti li-l-Shaykh Shahāb al-Dīn al-maqtūli ma‘a sharḥihā min qibali al-ad‘iyati* (A Treatise of the Silent Prayers of the Martyred Shaykh Shahāb al-Dīn with Its Commentary, Pertaining to Prayers), 51 {9–10}.
184. “*Risālatun fi ‘ilmi al-ḥurūfi min qibali al-‘ilmi al-wafqi*” (A Treatise on the Science of Letters, Pertaining to the Science of Magic Squares), 51 {10–11}.
185. “*Majmū‘atun min rasā’ila mukhtalifatin awwaluhā risālatun fi ‘ilmi al-ḥurūfi fi al-wafqi*” (A Compendium of Various Treatises, the First of Which is a Treatise on the Science of Letters [Used] in Magic Squares), 51 {11–12}.
186. “*Majmū‘atun awwaluhā al-ḥirzu al-mansūbi ilā Amīri al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī- raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhū al-mawsūmu bi-Miftāḥi al-rizqi wa-al-najāti*” (A Compendium [of Works], the First of Which is an Amulet Attributed to the Commander of the Faithful ‘Alī RA, titled *The Key of Blessing and Refuge*), 51 {12–13}.
187. “*Majmū‘atun awwaluhā muhallalātu al-Qur’āni al-‘aẓimi min qibali al-ad‘iyati*” (A Compendium [of Works] the First of Which is an Interpretation of the Great Qur’an, Pertaining to Prayers), 51 {14}.
188. “*Kitābun fi al-handasati wa-risālātāni fi al-wafqi fi mujalladin wāḥidin*” (A Book on Geometry and Two Treatises on Magic Squares, Bound in a Single Volume), 51 {14–15}.
189. “*Sharḥu al-asmā’i al-ḥusnā bi-al-fārisiyyati wa-risālātun ukhrā fi Sharḥi al-asmā’i al-ḥusnā bi-al-fārisiyyati wa-rasā’ilu ukhrā fi mujalladin wāḥidin*” (A Commentary on the Beautiful Names, in Persian; and another commentary in Persian on the Beautiful Names; and Other Treatises, Bound in a Single Volume), 51 {15–16}.
190. “*Kitābu adawāt al-su‘ūli [sa‘ūli?] min da‘awāti al-rasūli -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama*” (A Book of Transmission of the Curious on the Supplications of the Messenger [of God] SAS), 51 {17}.
191. Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Salām ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan Abū al-Karam (d. 1178–79), *Kitābu al-jāmi‘i al-bahī li-da‘awāti al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama- fi al-ad‘iyati* (The Book on the Splendid Collection of the Supplications of the Prophet SAS, on Prayers), 51 {18}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 519 (Karatay: A 5396), which has Bayezid II’s seal; and TSMK, R. 520 (Karatay: A 5397).
192. “*Kitābun fi ‘ilmi al-ad‘iyati al-mustajābati*” (A Book on the Science of the Answered Prayers), 51 {19}. MANUSCRIPT: A copy dedicated to Bayezid II, stamped with his seal, is TSMK, A. 525 (Karatay uncatalogued).

193. “*Sharḥu al-asmā’i al-ḥusnā bi-al-‘arabiyyati fī al-ad‘iyati*” (A Commentary on the Beautiful Names in Arabic, on Prayers), 51 {19}.
- [52]
194. “*Kitābu al-jāmi‘i al-bahī li-da‘awāti al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama- fī al-ad‘iyati*” (The Book on the Splendid Collection of the Supplications of the Prophet), 52 {1}. Same as no. 191 above.
195. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 1420), *Kitābu al-ḥiṣni al-ḥaṣīni min qibali al-adhkāri wa-al-ad‘iyati* (The Strong Bastion, Pertaining to Commemorative Invocations and Prayers), 52 {2}. The complete title is *Kitāb Uddat al-ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn min kalām Sayyid al-mursilīn*. EDITIONS: Cairo: Dār al-Bashā’ir [2007]; Kuwait: Ghirās li-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī‘ wa-al-Dirāya wa-al-I‘lān, 2008. See also KZ, 1:669–70.
196. ‘Abd al-Salām ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad Ibn Barrajan (d. 1141), *Sharḥu al-asmā’i al-ḥusnā li-l-Imām ‘Abd al-Salām min qibali al-ad‘iyati* (A Commentary of the Beautiful Names by the Imām ‘Abd al-Salām, Pertaining to Prayers), 52 {2–3}. EDITION: Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas; Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, 2000.

NOTES

1. The manuscript has a *kasra*, either for *izāfe* or reading: *yik*; also at 46 {3}, 47 {17}, 48 {2}, etc.
2. The definite article here is redundant, as it cannot come before a name.
3. Erroneous definite article, as both *midād* and *dhahab* are nouns.

THE *KALĀM* (RATIONAL THEOLOGY) SECTION IN THE PALACE LIBRARY INVENTORY

Upon the order of Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512), Khayr al-Din Khidr (Hayreddin Hızır), known by the epithet ‘Atufi,¹ undertook the task of overhauling the Topkapı Palace Library collection and cataloguing its books in 1502–3.² He identified the name of each book and determined its scholarly discipline, noted this information on the binding and the title page (*zahrīyya*) of each book, and recorded the same information in an inventory he completed in 1503–4.³

Taken together, ‘Atufi’s inventory and the notes he left in the books of the library are fruitful sources for researchers. They show that, at the time of cataloguing, the library consisted of the volumes Bayezid II had acquired over the course of his reign up until 1503–4 and during his earlier years as prince-governor in Amasya (1455–81), as well as the books that his father Mehmed II (r. 1444–46 and 1451–81) had already gathered in the palace library.⁴ An examination of the inventory allows us a glimpse into the Ottoman sultans’ preferences for collecting books and organizing them in a library. It also opens a window into the intellectual environment of the period by showing which books were in circulation and which books were esteemed in different branches of learning in the center of the Ottoman empire.

In this essay, I will focus on the works in the *kalām* (rational theology) section of the library.⁵ The list of the books in this section, titled “Section on the Principles of Religion, i.e., Rational Theology” (*Taḥṣīl Kutub ‘Ilm Uṣūl al-Dīn, ay ‘Ilm al-Kalām*, MS Török F. 59, 56–68), includes 188 volumes. Of these, 157 contain a single work, and 31 are compendiums (*majmū‘as*) consisting of multiple works, at least one of which treats topics related to *kalām*. I will first describe and comment on ‘Atufi’s efforts to organize and catalogue the books. Then I will

present my own observations on the variety of *kalām* works in the library; the use of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish in them; and the representation of the works by Ottoman scholars in this section. Afterward, I discuss different groups of books and make suggestions about their significance by considering the number of copies and their location within the *kalām* subsections. Finally, I will reflect on the purpose of the palace library and the uses of the books collected in it.

CATALOGUING AND ORGANIZING THE BOOKS

In his Turkish introduction to the inventory, ‘Atufi describes the principles he followed in arranging the books after he had determined their names and disciplines (see translation in Appendix IV). The task of categorizing the books by discipline required him to make some difficult choices, as many of the books could be categorized under more than one discipline, and the compendiums (*majmū‘as*) often included works from multiple separate disciplines. ‘Atufi appears to have attempted to ensure that locating these books would be as easy as possible. If there were multiple copies of a volume with connections to two disciplines, for example, one copy would be placed in the section of each discipline. In the same vein, if a *majmū‘a* included a rare copy of a book or a frequently requested book, then it would be placed in the section of the discipline of that particular book.⁶ In this way, ‘Atufi decided which books would be placed in which section. The fifth section of the library comprised *kalām* works.⁷

‘Atufi normally wrote the original title of each book as given by its author, or what could be surmised as such,

on the title page of the volume as well as in the inventory. In some cases, he gave the alternative titles popular at the time, either alone or together with the original title. For example, he recorded Siraj al-Din ‘Ali ibn ‘Uthman al-Ushi’s (d. 1179) creed in verse, *Bad’ al-Amālī* (The Beginning of the Dictations), as *Qaṣīda Yaḳūl al-‘Abd* (The Verse of “The Servant of God Says”), a popular alternative title drawn from a phrase at the beginning of the work.⁸ Similarly, ‘Atufi gave both *Sharḥ al-Hidāya* and *Mawlānāzāda* as titles for Mawlanazada Ahmad’s commentary (*sharḥ*) on Athir al-Din al-Abhari’s (d. 1265?) *Hidāya al-Ḥikma* (The Guidance to Wisdom).⁹ In some cases, however, ‘Atufi failed to determine the original or alternative titles of the books in the collection and instead gave them generic titles based on their disciplines, such as *Kitāb fī ‘Ilm al-Kalām* (A Book on the Science of *Kalām*), *Risāla min Qibal ‘Ilm al-Kalām* (A Treatise pertaining to the Science of *Kalām*), or *Kitāb Naḥṣ Mukhtasar fī ‘Ilm al-Kalām* (An Excellent Abridged Book on the Science of *Kalām*).¹⁰

‘Atufi appears to have been inconsistent in recording the names of authors. For example, he recorded Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (d. 1273) as the author of the two copies of *Matn al-Tajrīd* (The Text of the Abstraction),¹¹ but chose not to note Sa’d al-Din al-Taftazani (d. 1390) as the author of the six copies of *Matn al-Maqāṣid* (The Text of the Goals). In the case of multiple commentaries and supercommentaries (*ḥāshiya*) on the same text by several authors, it is often only possible to distinguish between the different works on the basis of the author’s name.¹² In such cases, ‘Atufi’s performance was uneven. Whereas he listed ‘Ali al-Jurjani, known as al-Sayyid al-Sharif al-Jurjani (d. 1413), as the author of six copies of *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* (The Commentary on the Stations)¹³ and identified ‘Ala’ al-Din al-Qushji (‘Ali Kuşçu d. 1474) as the author of two copies of *Sharḥ al-Tajrīd* (The Commentary on the Goals),¹⁴ he recorded at least six supercommentaries on *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* without naming their authors.¹⁵ Additionally, in one exceptional case ‘Atufi seems to have misidentified the author of *al-As’ila wa-l-Ajwiba al-Rashidiyya* (The Questions and Answers of Rashid) by Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah (d. 1318) as Nazam, who was probably the scribe of the copy in the collection.¹⁶

‘Atufi appears to have included two primary groups of books—at least as far as their scholarly disciplinary features were concerned—in the *kalām* section. The first group consists of books falling within the science of *kalām* (*fī ‘ilm al-kalām*). Apparently, these books followed the conventions of the science of *kalām* in terms of its mode of discourse and the selection of topics. Generally speaking, this science dealt with philosophical topics such as epistemology, metaphysics, and physics from an Islamic perspective. These topics were examined with a rational mode of argumentation such that the discourse was nearly indistinguishable in form from philosophical texts. The science of *kalām* also addressed questions concerning the godhead, prophethood, and eschatology. The discussion of these questions, which may arguably be called theology proper, was more clearly informed by scriptural sources (i.e., the Qur’an and the Sunna).¹⁷ At least 151 of the books (as single-work volumes or as sections in *majmū‘as*, multiple copies included) in the *kalām* section belong to this group. Among them are, for example, ‘Umar al-Nasafi’s (d. 1142) *Matn al-‘Aqā’id* (The Text of the Creed) and its commentary by Sa’d al-Din al-Taftazani; ‘Adud al-Din al-Ijī’s (d. 1355) *Mawāqif* (The Stations) and *Jawāhir al-Kalām* (The Jewels of Rational Theology); and Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Samarqandi’s (d. 1303) *al-Ṣaḥā’if* (The Pages).¹⁸

The second group can be characterized as works that took some of the methods of the science of *kalām* as a starting point but did not necessarily stay within its conventional boundaries in terms of topic and discourse. These are labeled “pertaining to the science of *kalām*” (*min qibal ‘ilm al-kalām*). Forty-one of the books (as single-work volumes or as sections in *majmū‘as*, multiple copies included) in the section are categorized as such. In the main, they deal with the refutation of the views of philosophers, debates among different Muslim groups, and polemics against Jews and Christians. For example, Abu Hamid al-Ghazali’s (d. 1111) *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa* (The Incoherence of Philosophers), which sought to refute some of the ideas of Muslim philosophers by showing their inconsistency, belongs to this group,¹⁹ as does his *al-Tafrīqa bayn al-Zandaqa wa-l-Īmān* (Distinguishing Heresy from Correct Faith), which aimed to delimit the boundaries of acceptable beliefs

and to identify heretics.²⁰ Also included in this group are *Al-Risāla al-Hādiya fī Ibtāl Ḥujaj al-Yahūd ‘alā al-Islām* (The Treatise that Guides to the Right Path on Undermining the Proofs of Jews against Islam) and *Risāla al-Ḥujaj ‘alā al-Naṣārā* (The Treatise of Proofs against Christians), whose titles reveal their goal of refuting the ideas of Jews and Christians, respectively.²¹

Aside from these two groups, ‘Atufi physically placed and catalogued several other books in the *kalām* section. For example, he included four volumes on the classification of sciences, in which the science of *kalām* (*‘ilm al-kalām*) is treated as the first science. These are Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s (d. 1210) *Ḥadā’iq al-Anwār fī al-‘Ulūm al-Sittīn* (The Gardens of Light: Sixty Sciences),²² two copies of his *Jāmi‘ al-‘Ulūm fī Arba‘in ‘Ilman* (Compendium of Forty Sciences),²³ and Abu Hamid al-Ghazali’s *Yawāqūt al-‘Ulūm fī Thalāthīn ‘Ilman* (The Rubies of Thirty Sciences).²⁴ In addition, he placed Sadr al-Sharī‘a’s (d. 1346) *Ta’dīl al-‘Ulūm* (Rectifying Sciences) in this section and categorized it as a book of both logic and *kalām* (*fī al-manṭiq wa-l-kalām*).²⁵ Moreover, a *majmū‘a*, which consists of treatises on the subject matter of scholarly disciplines, was placed in this section and identified as combining features of both the science of *kalām* and philosophy (*min qibal ‘ilm al-kalām wa-l-ḥikma*).²⁶ Furthermore, some works categorized as belonging to various other sciences, such as Sufism, chemistry, astronomy, geometry, philosophy, logic, and medicine, have been placed in this section, as they were bound in a *majmū‘a* together with a *kalām* work.

SCOPE OF WORKS IN THE *KALĀM* SECTION

A cursory look at the *kalām* section reveals that it was not intended to be comprehensive. It neither represents the diverse history of Islamic *kalām* scholarship nor does it provide an all-inclusive collection of a particular school, period, or author. Many significant *kalām* works, such as Abu Mansur al-Maturīdī’s (d. 944) *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* (The Book of Monotheism) or Jalal al-Dīn al-Dawwānī’s (d. 1502) *kalām* works, are not included in the section, even though Ottoman scholars were definitely aware of them from the copies in the other sections of this library inventory or in other libraries in

Istanbul and elsewhere.²⁷ But rather than dwelling on the question of what was not included in the library, I will limit my comments to some general observations on the variety of authors, periods of composition, languages, and schools in the works represented in the section under consideration.

The *kalām* section includes the works of more than forty authors. Some of these authors produced more than one work related to the discipline. For example, eleven of Abu Hamid al-Ghazali’s works and seven of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s works are represented in this section. Some of the books are listed in multiple copies. Among the authors with the highest number of works represented in this section are Sa’d al-Dīn al-Taftazānī (nineteen copies), Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (seventeen copies of eleven different works), al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (eight copies), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (eight copies), ‘Adud al-Dīn al-Ijī (six copies), and Nasir al-Dīn al-Tusi (six copies).

As for the dates of composition of works in the *kalām* section, the oldest are probably Abu al-Hasan al-Ash‘arī’s (d. 935–36) *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* (Theological Opinions of Muslims),²⁸ Imam al-Haramayn al-Juwaynī’s (d. 1085) *al-Irshād* (The Guidance),²⁹ and Abu Hamid al-Ghazali’s works. All other *kalām* works—at least those for which a rough date of composition can be determined—were authored after the twelfth century.

In the *kalām* section, ‘Atufi lists eight authors from Ottoman-era Anatolia and the Balkans (the lands of *Rūm*), namely, Khayali Shams al-Dīn Ahmad (Hayali Şemseddin Ahmed, d. 1470–71), ‘Ala’ al-Dīn al-Qushjī (d. 1474), Hasan Çelebi (d. 1486), Khwajazada Muslih al-Dīn (Hocazade, d. 1487–88), Yusuf Kirmastī (d. 1494), Khatibzade Muhyi al-Dīn (Hatibzade, d. 1496), ‘Ala’ al-Dīn al-‘Arabi (d. 1496), and Kamal al-Dīn Isma‘il al-Qaramani. This section also includes some works of *Rūmī* authors whose identities ‘Atufi could not or did not determine. For example, he listed the author of *Ḥāshiya al-Mawāqif* (Supercommentary on the Stations) as “one of the *Rūmī* professors”³⁰ and recorded a *majmū‘a* as “consisting of treatises...of the dignitary scholars (*mawālī*) of *Rūm*.”³¹

It is possible to determine the language of most of the works in the *kalām* section. Although a great majority of them are written in Arabic—the primary language of

religious scholarly studies in the Islamic world—some works in the section are written in (or translated into) Persian or Turkish. Seventeen of the works in this section are in Persian. Eleven of these are categorized as directly related to the science of *kalām* (*fi 'ilm al-kalām* or *min qibal 'ilm al-kalām*), four of them are works on the classification of sciences, and the other two are a *Qaṣīda* (Poem) and *Sharḥ Qaṣīda-i Burda* (Commentary on the Poem of the Mantle), whose disciplines are not given in the inventory. There are also two works in Turkish in this section. Both are translations of *Bad' al-Amāli* (The Beginning of the Dictations) and are likely two copies of the same work.

As for the representation of the different *kalām* schools, the diversity of the library's collection in this regard is apparent. The majority of works in the section under consideration were authored by followers of the Ash'ari school, including Imam al-Haramayn al-Juwayni, Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, Fakhr al-Din al-Razi, Nasir al-Din al-Baydawi (d. 1286), 'Adud al-Din al-Iji, Sa'd al-Din al-Taftazani, and al-Sayyid al-Sharif al-Jurjani. A significant number of works, however, were written by authors associated with the Maturidi school, including Abu al-Mu'in al-Nasafi (d. 1115), 'Umar al-Nasafi, Siraj al-Din 'Ali ibn 'Uthman al-Ushi, and Sadr al-Shari'a. Moreover, the works of several authors known for their Isma'ili leanings, such as Nasir al-Din al-Tusi and Ibn Mutahhar al-Hilli, are also represented in this section.

To sum up, although this section does not represent a comprehensive collection of *kalām* works, it does include works from a variety of authors, languages, and schools. This would seem to indicate the existence of a scholarly interest in diverse approaches by authors from different periods and schools. In addition, this section showcases the willingness of scholars from Ottoman lands to contribute to the discipline of *kalām* and the recognition of their scholarship by the Ottoman sultans during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

ARRANGEMENT OF WORKS IN THE *KALĀM* SECTION

One might inquire as to how the works 'Atufi catalogued were organized within their particular section. If there

was a plan, can we identify it? What does it tell us? The layout of the *kalām* section in the inventory indicates that a certain amount of planning did go into the arrangement of the books.³² It seems that those *kalām* works that were in wide circulation in the Ottoman centers of learning, and especially those that were taught as part of the madrasa curriculum, were given precedence.

As far as the location of books within the section is concerned, it is possible to divide the *kalām* works listed therein into two broad categories:

1. The 87 volumes that occupied the primary space included copies of one of the following seven works.³³ Each of these seven works formed a group, in some cases with subgroups of texts, commentaries, and supercommentaries. Each group and subgroup was distinguished from those that came before and after it with a blank space.
 - a. *Al-Maqāṣid* (The Goals): This was written by the famous Ash'ari scholar, Sa'd al-Din al-Taftazani, who subsequently wrote a commentary on his own work. Six copies of his original text are recorded first in the *kalām* section.³⁴ After a blank space, seven copies of his commentary on his own book and a copy of the partial supercommentary by a certain Sinan al-Din are listed.³⁵
 - b. *Al-Mawāqif* (The Stations): The author of this work is 'Adud al-Din al-Iji. Two copies of his text and an index of it (*Fihrist al-Mawāqif*) are recorded as a separate subgroup after the aforementioned *al-Maqāṣid* and its commentaries. Al-Sayyid al-Sharif al-Jurjani's commentary on al-Iji's text seems to have been very important. Six copies of this commentary and another commentary, whose author is not given, constitute a separate subgroup. In addition, thirteen copies of supercommentaries on various commentaries of *al-Mawāqif* are recorded as a distinct subgroup. The titles of supercommentaries show that some of them were partial; some included criticisms, and others were written to answer the criticisms.³⁶
 - c. *Al-Tajrīd* (The Abstraction): Its author is the Isma'ili scholar Nasir al-Din al-Tusi. In the

inventory, two compendiums, including copies of *al-Tajrīd*, constitute a subgroup. Three commentaries on *al-Tajrīd* by Shams al-Din al-Isfahani (d. 1349), Ibn al-Mutahhar al-Hilli, and ‘Ala’ al-Din al-Qushji (two copies) form another subgroup, as do six supercommentaries on various commentaries of *al-Tajrīd* by different authors.³⁷

- d. *Ṭawālī‘ al-Anwār* (The Appearances of the Lights): This work was composed by the Ash‘ari scholar Nasir al-Din al-Baydawi. In the inventory, four copies of his text and an abridgment (*mukhtaṣar*) of it constitute one subgroup. In addition, six commentaries and three supercommentaries each constitute subgroups.³⁸
- e. *‘Aqā’id al-Nasafi* (The Creed of al-Nasafi): The author of the text is the Maturidi scholar ‘Umar al-Nasafi. Two copies of the original text with a single copy of its versification by Tajzada (Tacizade) Sa‘di Çelebi (d. 1516) constitute a subgroup in the inventory. It seems that al-Nasafi’s work became famous after al-Taftazani wrote a commentary on it. Seven copies of commentaries, two of which were certainly written by al-Taftazani, and five volumes, including supercommentaries on *‘Aqā’id al-Nasafi*, each form separate subgroups.³⁹
- f. *Bad’ al-Amālī* (The Beginning of the Dictations): The author is the Maturidi scholar Siraj al-Din ‘Ali ibn ‘Uthman al-Ushi. In the inventory, five volumes, including two translations of al-Ushi’s text into Turkish and three commentaries on it, have their own group.⁴⁰
- g. *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa*: This famous book about the inconsistency and invalidity of some of the ideas of philosophers was written by Abu Hamid al-Ghazali. Four volumes, including copies of this book, constitute a separate group.⁴¹
2. The 100 volumes positioned in the secondary space in this section of the inventory include copies of *kalām* works other than the aforementioned seven

works and their commentaries. These volumes seem to have been organized in a somewhat erratic fashion on the basis of a varying set of criteria, alternating between author, genre, form, and particular work. No blank space is left between the different groups of works.

- a. Refutation of the ideas of philosophers and heretics (four volumes).⁴²
- b. *A majmū‘a*, consisting of correspondence between Sadr al-Din al-Qunawi (d. 1274) and Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (one volume).⁴³
- c. Refutation of the beliefs of Christians and Jews (seven volumes).⁴⁴
- d. *A majmū‘a*, consisting of two of Abu Hamid al-Ghazali’s works; a treatise whose author ‘Atufi does not identify; and *Hilya al-Abdāl* (The Jewel of Sufis), which was probably written by Muhyi al-Din ibn al-‘Arabi (d. 1240) (one volume).⁴⁵
- e. Two works by Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (two volumes).⁴⁶
- f. Works by Shams al-Din al-Samarqandi and commentaries on them (seven volumes).⁴⁷
- g. Works by Fakhr al-Din al-Razi and commentaries on them (five volumes).⁴⁸
- h. Works on the classification of sciences (four volumes).⁴⁹
- i. Various works on and pertaining to the science of *kalām* (*fī ‘ilm al-kalām* and *min qibal ‘ilm al-kalām*) for which the criteria of placement are hard to identify (twenty-one volumes). This group includes works by Nasir al-Din al-Tusi, Sadr al-Shari‘a, Fakhr al-Din al-Razi, Taj al-Din Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karim al-Shahristani (d. 1153), ‘Adud al-Din al-Iji, Ala’ al-Din al-‘Arabi, Shihab al-Din al-Qarafi (d. 1285), Ahmad al-Kashi, and Imamzada Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr (d. 1177).⁵⁰
- j. Works by Sayf al-Din al-Amidi (d. 1233) (four volumes).⁵¹
- k. Various works that relate to the science of *kalām*, with the writings of Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi (d. 1311), Siraj al-Din Mahmud al-Urmawi (d. 1283), Fakhr al-Din al-Razi, Imam al-Haramayn al-Juwayni, ‘Adud al-Din al-Iji,

Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah, Abu al-Hasan al-Ash'ari, and Abu Hamid al-Ghazali placed one after another (thirty-eight volumes).⁵² I have failed to ascertain any particular rationale in the placement of these volumes.

1. *Majmū'as*, with at least one work related to *kalām* (seven volumes).⁵³

It is clear that the reason for the prime location of the seven books and their commentaries in the first category is not chronological sequence, number of copies, the reputation of the author, or the disciplinary features of the works themselves. The second category contains some works with older dates than the ones in the first category (such as Imam al-Haramayn al-Juwayni's *al-Irshād* from the eleventh century). The second category also contains a number of works with multiple copies (such as the six volumes of Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Samarqandi's *al-Ṣaḥā'if* and its commentary *al-Ma'ārif*), and the works of such luminaries as Fakhr al-Din al-Razi and Sadr al-Shari'a, which indicates that neither the number of copies of a work nor the reputation of its author served as the basis of the division between the primary and secondary categories. The distinction between *fi 'ilm al-kalām* and *min qibal 'ilm al-kalām*, relating to the disciplinary features of the works, also fails to explain the arrangement of the books within the section, as the second category includes examples from both.

It is plausible to suggest an alternative rationale that differentiates the first category from the second. This rationale rests on the relevance of these seven *kalām* works to the madrasa education system, which was sponsored and regulated by the Ottoman government; these works were thus frequently requested and consulted by professors and students. This factor might have led 'Atufi to place these seven titles in a more prominent position. He probably expected that new copies of these books would be added, which explains why he left blank spaces (in the inventory and thus in the library) between different groups and subgroups.

A closer look at these seven works and their circulation in the Ottoman capital(s) in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries reveals that three of them—*al-Tajrīd*, *Ṭawālī' al-Anwār*, and *al-Mawāqif* (together with their commentaries and supercommentaries)—consti-

tuted essential parts of the curriculum of the madrasas associated with the Ottoman scholarly bureaucracy at the time.⁵⁴ We do not have conclusive evidence for the use of *'Aqā'id al-Nasafi*, *al-Maqāṣid*, or *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa* as textbooks in the madrasas,⁵⁵ but their popularity among the scholars of the time is obvious. For example, Khayali Shams al-Din Ahmad (d. 1470–71) wrote a supercommentary on al-Taftazani's commentary of *'Aqā'id al-Nasafi* and also wrote a supercommentary on *al-Maqāṣid*; Khatibzada Muhyi al-Din (Hatibzade Muhyiddin, d. 1495–96) wrote a commentary on *al-Maqāṣid*; and Tajzada Sa'di Çelebi (Tacizade) versified *'Aqā'id al-Nasafi*.⁵⁶ Several Ottoman scholars, including Khajazada Muslih al-Din, 'Ala al-Din al-Tusi (d. 1482), and Ibn Kamal (Kemalpaşazade, d. 1534), wrote commentaries on *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa*.⁵⁷ As for the seventh work in the category, *Bad' al-Amālī* was probably important for the teaching of *kalām* subjects at the pre-madrasa level and in non-madrasa institutions. The fact that the work was translated into Turkish suggests that it was used for teaching *kalām* topics to the public.⁵⁸

In short, the placement of the books in the library and in the inventory was probably carefully planned. The most widely circulated books among scholars were placed in a primary position within the library, while other works, including many important writings by outstanding scholars, occupied the secondary spaces.

PURPOSE OF THE PALACE LIBRARY

The foregoing account has shown that at the turn of the sixteenth century, the Topkapı Palace Library boasted a valuable collection of *kalām* works, including works in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish from the tenth to sixteenth centuries by scholars who followed different schools. 'Atufi examined all the books in the library to catalogue and divide them into different sections according to their disciplines. But what was the purpose of going to such lengths to catalogue and organize these books at the time? Did Bayezid II simply want to have an inventory of the books that were stored in his treasury, and thus assigned 'Atufi to prepare it? Or did Bayezid have some other purpose in mind? Here, I will reflect primarily on the *kalām* section in an attempt to reveal the goal

of devoting a separate section to *kalām* works and organizing them.

‘Atufi’s use of the expression “the possibility of a book’s being requested” (*istenmek / maṭlūb olmak*) several times in his introduction to the inventory indicates that people actively used the library and could request and consult the books within it (see Appendix IV).⁵⁹ The inventory was probably meant to facilitate library users’ access to the books. Who were these users? The available evidence does not indicate a definite answer to this question. We can, however, make some educated guesses in this regard, relying on our knowledge of the people in the Topkapı Palace and the scholarly world beyond it.

The sultan and his family members would have had access to any book in the palace library, whether for leisure reading or educational purposes, but it is highly probable that others also benefited from the library. This is indicated by the fact that there were multiple copies of certain books in the library, some of which lacked the decoration—gilding, illustrations, or embellishments—that would be expected of a book that had been prepared for members of the royal family.⁶⁰ The palace personnel included learned individuals with different needs and interests; one can well imagine a chief physician or astronomer taking an interest in one of the manuscripts, for example.⁶¹ In addition, the male and female servants of the sultan received training not only in the services they would provide for the sultan and his household, but also in such various fields as religion, military science, language, and music.⁶² They might also have consulted some of the *kalām* texts in the library. However, it is not plausible that multiple copies of advanced *kalām* texts like *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* and *Ḥāshiya al-Tajrīd* were prepared for the occasional use of a limited number of learned personnel in the palace.

So, apart from the royal family, the palace personnel or servants, who else might have used the *kalām* section of the Topkapı Palace library? The answer to this question, it appears to me, lies in the fact that this section accorded a primary place to books that served as textbooks in the madrasas of the official scholarly system and to other books that were esteemed by the scholars in this system. This suggests that books in the *kalām* section were also intended to serve the needs of the madrasas and their scholarly personnel. For example, Bayezid

II probably sent some of the books in the palace library to the library of the complex he established in Edirne (1488).⁶³ He likely made similar donations to the libraries of his two other complexes in Amasya (1484) and Istanbul (1505).

In addition, considering the prevalence of the practice of reading, studying, and copying books inside madrasa libraries, as well as the existence of a system for lending books for use outside these libraries during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,⁶⁴ it would not be far-fetched to surmise that scholars outside the palace had the opportunity to consult at least some of the books in the palace library, although I have not found any specific evidence of a particular scholar having done so.

In short, the sources currently at our disposal do not provide direct information about the rationale for maintaining a palace library with a fairly large *kalām* section, the organization of the books within it, or how and by whom they were used. However, this analysis of ‘Atufi’s inventory and the evidence it provides about the order of the books in the palace library, together with external evidence regarding the use of books in Ottoman public libraries, suggests that some of the books in the palace library would likely have been accessible to scholars inside or outside the palace and donated to madrasa libraries. It would therefore be useful to study manuscripts in major collections codicologically in order to determine, on the basis of imperial seals, for instance, whether they were ever in the palace library, and if so, when.⁶⁵

NOTES

1. For a brief biographical sketch of ‘Atufi, see Ahmad Tashkobrizada *al-Shaqā’iq al-Nu‘māniyya fī ‘Ulamā’ al-Dawla al-Uthmāniyya*, ed. Ahmed Subhi Furat (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1985), 416–17.
2. For information on the establishment of the Topkapı Palace Library during Mehmed II’s reign (1451–81), see İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Kütüphaneler ve Kütüphanecilik* (Istanbul: Timaş, 2015), 96–98.
3. Hungarian National Library, MS Török F. 59, 12 {11}.
4. There are two clues that can be used to determine whether a particular volume was present in the palace library in 1503–4: (1) Bayezid II’s almond-shaped seal on one of the first and/or last pages of the volume, and (2) the title of the work on the *zahrīyya* page and binding of the volume written in ‘Atufi’s distinctive handwriting. The note

- sancaktan gelen* (a book that came from the province) in a copy of *Kitāb Kashf al-Murād fī Sharḥ Tajrīd al-I'tiqād* (The Book of Discovering the Purpose: A Commentary on the Abstraction of the Faith), which bears Bayezid II's seal (SK, Ayasofya 2347), indicates that he acquired it when he was the governor of the province of Amasya. In addition, there are several volumes with Bayezid's seal that show a copying date during the reigns of his predecessors, who most probably had acquired them. For example, see TSMK, A. 1907, A. 1789. For a reference to a volume, which Murad II (r. 1420–44 and 1446–51) had once owned, see MS Török F. 59, 55 {13–14}.
5. I am disinclined to use “theology” as a translation for *kalām*, but in cases where I thought it necessary to translate the term, I use “rational theology.” On the problematic issue of rendering *kalām* in English, see Tim Winter, “Introduction,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Classical Islamic Theology*, ed. Tim Winter (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 2–4.
 6. ‘Atufi gives the example of Abu Hamid al-Ghazali’s *Bidāya al-Hidāya* (The Beginning of the Guidance) as a book that could be classified under either jurisprudence (*‘ilm fiqh*) or Sufism (*taṣawwuf*). For this, see MS Török F. 59, 5 {15–19}, 6 {1–4}.
 7. The four preceding sections were devoted, respectively, to the scriptures (*al-maṣāḥif*), books of Qur’anic exegesis and variant readings of the Qur’an (*kutub al-tafāsīr wa-kutub ‘ilm al-qirā’a*), books of hadith and hadith reporters (*kutub al-aḥādīth wa-kutub asmā’ al-rijāl*), and books of prayers and those concerned with special attributes of the particular chapters of the Qur’an and talismans (*kutub al-ad’iya wa-kutub khawāṣṣ al-Qur’ān wa-kutub ‘ilm al-wafq*).
 8. MS Török F. 59, 62 {3–4}. For information about this work, see *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (hereafter *TDVİA*), s.v. “el-Emālī,” by M. Sait Özervarlı.
 9. MS Török F. 59, 60 {13}.
 10. Ibid., 62 {7–9}, 64 {3}, 66 {4}.
 11. Ibid., 58 {8–9}.
 12. If the author of a commentary or supercommentary gives a name to the work other than the generic *sharḥ* or *hāshiya*, then the work can be identified without knowing the name of the author, such as in the case of *Kashf al-Murād*, Ibn al-Mutahhar al-Hilli’s (d. 1325) commentary on Nasir al-Din al-Tusi’s *Matn al-Tajrīd*. See MS Török F. 59, 58 {15–16}.
 13. MS Török F. 59, 57 {2–6}. See SK, Ayasofya 2329. For a translation of this book into Turkish, see Al-Sayyid al-Sharif al-Jurjani, *Şerhu’l-Mevâkıf: Mevâkıf Şerhi*, trans. Ömer Türker, 3 vols. (Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2015).
 14. MS Török F. 59, 58 {16–17}. See SK, Turhan Valide Sultan 196.
 15. MS Török F. 59, 57 {16–19}, 58 {1–2}.
 16. Ibid., 67 {5–6}. See SK, Ayasofya 2180.
 17. For more information on the science of *kalām*, its subject matter, and its history, see Ulvi Murat Kılavuz and Ahmet Saim Kılavuz, *Kelâma Giriş* (Istanbul: İSAM, 2010), 11–105.
- Cf. Ayman Shihadeh, “From al-Ghazālī to al-Rāzī: 6th/12th Century Developments in Muslim Philosophical Theology,” *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 15 (2005): 141–79.
18. MS Török F. 59, 56 {17–18}, 60 {11–12}, 60 {18–19}, 64 {6–7}, 65 {5}, 66 {17}, 67 {8–9}. See SK, Ayasofya 2281.
 19. Three copies of *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa* are categorized as *min qibal ‘ilm al-kalām*, and another copy is categorized as *fī ‘ilm al-kalām*. See MS Török F. 59, 62 {11–14}, 62 {16–17}. See SK, Ayasofya 2203. For a translation of this book into English, see M. E. Marmura, ed. and trans., *The Incoherence of the Philosophers: Tahāfut al-Falāsifah* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1997). For a translation of this book into Turkish, see Mahmut Kaya and Hüseyin Sarioğlu, eds. and trans., *Tehāfütü’l-Felâsife: Filozofların Tutarsızlığı (Eleştirmeli Metin-Çeviri)* (Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2014).
 20. MS Török F. 59, 63 {9–10}, 64 {1–2}. For a translation of this book into English, see Sherman A. Jackson, *On the Boundaries of Theological Tolerance in Islam: Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī’s Fayṣal al-Tafriqa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
 21. MS Török F. 59, 63 {14–15}. See TSMK, A. 1735.
 22. MS Török F. 59, 64 {16–17}. See SK, Ayasofya 1759.
 23. MS Török F. 59, 64 {17–19}. See SK, Ayasofya 2205.
 24. MS Török F. 59, 65 {1}. See SK, Ayasofya 4351.
 25. MS Török F. 59, 65 {2–3}.
 26. MS Török F. 59, 67 {16}, 67 {18}, 68 {1}. See SK, Ayasofya 2391.
 27. Mu’ayyadzada (Müeyyeddade) ‘Abd al-Rahman (d. 1516) studied under al-Dawwani in Shiraz and returned to the Ottoman capital around 1483. Mu’ayyadzada brought a multitude of books, probably including al-Dawwani’s works, to Istanbul. For Mu’ayyadzada’s study under al-Dawwani, see Judith Pfeiffer, “Teaching the Learned: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī’s *İjāza* to Mu’ayyadzāda ‘Abd al-Rahmān Efendi and the Circulation of Knowledge between Fārs and the Ottoman Empire at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century,” in *The Heritage of Arabo-Islamic Learning: Studies Presented to Wadad Kadi*, ed. Maurice A. Pomerantz and Aram A. Shahin (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 284–332. For Mu’ayyadzada’s library and its fate after his death, see Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Kütüphaneler*, 123–24; also see Pfeiffer’s essay in this volume.
 28. MS Török F. 59, 67 {6}. The work referred to here is recorded as *Kitāb al-Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyya* (The Book of the Islamic Opinions) in the inventory but no author is given. Thus, it might be a different work than the one by al-Ash’ari.
 29. MS Török F. 59, 66 {16–17}. In the inventory, this work is registered under the title *Kitāb al-Irshād* (The Book of Guidance) but again no author is given. Thus, while it is likely that this is al-Juwayni’s *al-Irshād*, this is not certain.
 30. MS Török F. 59, 57 {16–17}.
 31. MS Török F. 59, 67 {18}, 68 {1}.
 32. In his Turkish introduction, ‘Atufi strongly implies that the order of books in the inventory somehow reflects the physical arrangement of the library: “*The Rule of the Repository* is

- that section headings (*tefāṣīl*) enumerated in the register's table of contents are written on top of each repository in exactly the same way" (*Ḳānūn-i maḥzen-i kütüb oldur ki her maḥzenün üzerinde defterde fihrist olan tefāṣīl bi-'aynihi yazılır*). MS Török F. 59, 9 {14–15}. For a translation of the introduction, see Appendix IV at the end of this volume.
33. As we have no information about the physical infrastructure of the library, it is not possible to delimit the mode of precedence of these volumes, i.e., whether they were placed on the top, bottom, right, or left shelves.
 34. After the copies of *al-Maqāṣid*, a single copy of *Tabṣira fi 'Ilm al-Kalām* is listed, but in different handwriting, which suggests it was a later addition to the inventory. Therefore, it is not considered in the categorization of *kalām* works according to their location in the inventory and thus in the library.
 35. MS Török F. 59, 56 {2–5}, 56 {8–13}. For more information about *al-Maqāṣid* as well as its commentaries and supercommentaries, see *TDVİA*, s.v. “el-Makāsīd,” by Mustafa Sinanoğlu.
 36. MS Török F. 59, 56 {17–19}, 57 {2–19}, 58 {1–6}.
 37. *Ibid.*, 58 {8–17}, 59 {3–9}.
 38. *Ibid.*, 59 {13–17}, 59 {18–19}, 60 {1–3}, 60 {5–7}.
 39. *Ibid.*, 60 {11–14}, 60 {18–19}, 61 {1–19}.
 40. *Ibid.*, 62 {3–9}.
 41. *Ibid.*, 62 {11–17}.
 42. *Ibid.*, 63 {6–9}.
 43. *Ibid.*, 63 {11–13}.
 44. *Ibid.*, 63 {13–19}, 64 {1}.
 45. *Ibid.*, 64 {1–4}. This *majmū'a* is probably the volume that bears Bayezid II's seal and is located in SK, Ayasofya 2200. If so, the treatise with the unidentified author is Abu Hamid al-Ghazali's *al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl*.
 46. MS Török F. 59, 64 {4–6}.
 47. *Ibid.*, 64 {6–12}.
 48. *Ibid.*, 64 {13–16}.
 49. *Ibid.*, 64 {16–19}, 65 {1}.
 50. *Ibid.*, 65 {1–16}.
 51. *Ibid.*, 65 {17–19}, 66 {1}.
 52. *Ibid.*, 66 {1–19}, 67 {1–18}.
 53. *Ibid.*, 67 {18–19}, 68 {1–9}.
 54. Al-Sayyid al-Sharif al-Jurjani's *Hāshiya al-Tajrīd*, a supercommentary on Shams al-Din al-Isfahani's (d. 1349) commentary on *al-Tajrīd*, was a required textbook in some madrasas, which in turn became known as the madrasas of *Hāshiya al-Tajrīd*. For references to these madrasas using this nomenclature from ca. 1523, see TSMA, D. 8823.1, 1b, 2a, 5b, 8a, 9a, 20a. An imperial decree from 1537 mandated the study of Shams al-Din al-Isfahani's *Maṭālī' al-Anzār*, a commentary on Ṭawālī' *al-Anwār*. For this, see Ahmed Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*, 11 vols. (Istanbul: FEY Vakfı/Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1990–96), 4:667–69 and Yasemin Beyazıt, *Osmanlı İlmîyye Mesleğinde İstihdam (XVI. Yüzyıl)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), 36–37. 'Ali al-Jurjani's commentary, *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, was a required text in the Ottoman madrasas in the early sixteenth century. For Ahmad Tashkobrizada's study and pedagogical use of this text as well as the commentaries and supercommentaries on *al-Tajrīd* and Ṭawālī' *al-Anwār* in the madrasas, see his autobiography in *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya*, 552–60. For general observations on the textbooks of the Ottoman madrasas at different levels, see İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmîye Teşkilâtı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1965; repr. 1988), 19–31. See also Abdurrahman Atçıl, *Scholars and Sultans in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 172–74, 191–94; Shahab Ahmed and Nenad Filipović, “The Sultan's Syllabus: A Curriculum for the Ottoman Imperial Medreses Prescribed in a *Fermān* of Qānūnī I Süleymān, Dated 973 (1565),” *Studia Islamica* 98/99 (2004): 183–218.
 55. Uzunçarşılı cites *al-Maqāṣid* among the textbooks in use in the Ottoman madrasas. For this, see Uzunçarşılı, *İlmîye Teşkilâtı*, 26.
 56. MS Török F. 59, 30a, 30b; Sinanoğlu, “el-Makāsīd.”
 57. İbrahim Hakkı Aydın, “Tehâfüt Geleneği Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme,” *Atatürk Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 26 (2006): 57–74, at 61–62.
 58. MS Török F. 59, 60 {14}, 61 {12–14}.
 59. *Ibid.*, 6 {6, 16}, 9 {4}.
 60. For example, see the volumes TSMK, A. 1907; SK, Ayasofya 2347.
 61. G. A. Russell, “Physicians at the Ottoman Court,” *Medical History* 34, no. 3 (1990): 243–67; *TDVİA*, s.v. “Müneccimbaşı,” by Salim Ayduz. See also Robert Morrison, “A Scholarly Intermediary between the Ottoman Empire and Renaissance Europe,” *Isis: A Journal of the History of Science Society* 105, no. 1 (2014): 32–57.
 62. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988), 308–35.
 63. Süheyl Ünver, “İkinci Sultan Bâyezid'in Edirne'deki Vakıf Kitaplarına Dair,” *Vakıflar Dergisi* 4 (1958): 105–6.
 64. Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Kütüphaneler*, 440–53.
 65. See Appendix II at the end of this volume, which lists books with seals of Bayezid II that were donated later in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to various madrasa libraries attached to royal mosque complexes.

LIST OF ENTRIES

SECTION ON BOOKS ON PRINCIPLES OF RELIGION, I.E., RATIONAL THEOLOGY

(Taḫṣīṣu kutubi ‘ilmi uṣūli al-dīn ay ‘ilm al-kalāmi)

1. Sa’d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 1390). *Kitābu matni al-maqāṣidi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi* (Goals), Arabic, 56 {2}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1789 (with Bayezid II’s seal); TİEM, MS 1820 (with Bayezid II’s seal); SK, Carullah 1264 (with Bayezid II’s seal) includes al-Taftāzānī’s notes in his own handwriting and was once owned by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Alī al-Muayyad (d. 1516).
2. Same as 1, 56 {2–3}.
3. Same as 1, 56 {3}.
4. Same as 1, 56 {3–4}.
5. Same as 1, 56 {4}.
6. Same as 1, 56 {4–5}.
7. Abū al-Mu‘īn al-Nasafī (d. 1115). *Tabṣīratun fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi* (Insight), Arabic, 56 {5}. EDITIONS: Abū al-Mu‘īn al-Nasafī. *Tabṣīrat al-Adilla fī Uṣūl al-Dīn: ‘Alā Ṭarīq al-Imām Abī Maṣṣūr al-Māturīdī*, ed. Claude Salamé. Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1990. Abū al-Mu‘īn al-Nasafī. *Tabṣīrat al-Adilla fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*, ed. Hüseyin Atay and Şaban Ali Düzgün. Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 2003.
8. Sa’d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 1390). *Kitābu sharḥi al-Maqāṣidi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi* (Commentary of the Goals), Arabic, 56 {8}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Carullah 1230, a copy in Khājjazāda Muṣliḥ al-Dīn’s handwriting; a seal on the ṣahīḥ page is scratched. EDITIONS: Sa’d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī. *Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid: Maqāṣid fī ‘Ilm al-Kalām li Sa’d al-Dīn ‘Umar al-Taftāzānī*. [Istanbul]: [Maṭb.] al-Ḥājj Muḥarrām Efendi al-Bosnawī, 1887. Sa’d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī. *Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Umayra. Beirut: ‘Ālam al-Kutub, 1989.
9. Same as 8, 56 {9}.
10. Same as 8, 56 {9–10}.
11. Same as 8, 56 {10}.
12. Same as 8, 56 {10–11}.
13. Same as 8, 56 {11}.
14. Same as 8, 56 {12}.
15. Mawlānā Sinān al-Dīn. *Kitābu ḥāshiyati Sharḥi al-Maqāṣidi fī mabāḥithi al-nubuwwati wa-al-imāmati fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi* (Supercommentary on the Commentary of the Goals: The Chapters of Prophethood and Leadership), Arabic 56 {12–13}.
16. ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 1355). *Kitābu matni al-mawāqifi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi* (Stations), Arabic, 56 {17}. EDITIONS: ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī. *Kitāb al-Mawāqif*. Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Sa‘āda, 1907. ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī. *Kitāb al-Mawāqif*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Umayra. Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1997.
17. *Majmū‘atun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 17a. ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 1355). *Kitābu jawāhiri al-kalāmi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi* (Gems of Kalām), Arabic, 56 {17–18}.
 - 17b. ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 1355). *Kitābu matni al-mawāqifi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi* (Stations), Arabic, 56 {18}.
18. “*Kitābu fihristi al-Mawāqifi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi*” (Index of the Stations), Arabic, 56 {19}.
19. ‘Alī Jurjānī (al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī) (d. 1413). *Kitābu sharḥi al-Mawāqifi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi* (Commentary of the Stations), Arabic, 57 {2}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2329 (with Bayezid

- II's seal). EDITIONS: 'Alī Jurjānī (al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī). *Şerhu'l-Mevâkıf: Mevâkıf Şerhi*, ed. and trans. Ömer Türker. Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2015.
20. Same as 19, 57 {3}.
 21. Same as 19, 57 {3–4}.
 22. Same as 19, 57 {4–5}.
 23. Same as 19, 57 {5–6}.
 24. Same as 19, 57 {6}.
 25. Same as 19, 57 {7}.
 26. Khājazāda Muşlīh al-Dīn (d. 1488). *Kitābu ḥāshiyati Sharḥi al-Mawāqifi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Supercommentary of the Commentary on the Stations), Arabic, 57 {12–13}.
 27. Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā'īl al-Qaramānī. *Kitābu ḥāshiyati Sharḥi al-Mawāqifi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Supercommentary of the Commentary on the Stations), Arabic, 57 {13–14}.
 28. Ḥasan Çelebi (d. 1486). *Kitābu ḥāshiyati Sharḥi al-Mawāqifi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Supercommentary of the Commentary on the Stations), Arabic, 57 {14–15}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1914 (with Bayezid II's seal). EDITIONS: Ḥasan Çelebi. *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif li-l-Qādī 'Aḍud al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ījī*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1998 (together with other supercommentaries on *al-Mawāqif*). Ḥasan Çelebi. *Al-Mu'jam al-Mawḍū'ī li-Sharḥ al-Mawāqif wa-Ḥāshiyatay al-Siyāl-kūtī wa-al-Jalabī*. Qum: Markaz Abḥāth Dā'irat Ma'ārif al-'Ulūm al-'Aqliyya al-Islāmiyya, 2011 (together with the original text, al-Ījī's *Mawāqif*, and other supercommentaries on it).
 29. Same as 28, 57 {15–16}.
 30. Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf 'Ajāmī. *Kitābu ḥāshiyati Sharḥi al-Mawāqifi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Supercommentary of the Commentary on the Stations), Arabic, 57 {16–17}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1823 (with Bayezid II's seal).
 31. "*Kitābu ḥāshiyati Sharḥi al-Mawāqifi fi baḥthi al-'illati wa-al-ma'lūli fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Supercommentary of the Commentary on the Stations: The Chapters of the Cause and the Caused), Arabic, 57 {17–18}.
 32. "*Kitābu ḥāshiyati Sharḥi al-Mawāqifi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Supercommentary of the Commentary on the Stations), Arabic, 57 {19}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 2237 (with Bayezid II's seal); SK, Ayasofya 2241 (with Bayezid II's seal).
 33. "*Kitābu ḥāshiyati Sharḥi al-Mawāqifi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Supercommentary of the Commentary on the Stations), Arabic, 57 {19}–58 {1}.
 34. "*Kitābu ḥāshiyati Sharḥi al-Mawāqifi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Supercommentary of the Commentary on the Stations), Arabic, 58 {1–2}.
 35. "*Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi ilāhiyyāti al-Mawāqifi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Supercommentary of the Commentary on the Stations: The Chapter of Theology), Arabic, 58 {2}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2329 (with Bayezid II's seal).
 36. "*Majmū'atun min al-ḥawāshī fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi awwaluhā Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi dibajati al-Mawāqifi*" (Compendium of Supercommentaries, the first of which is the Supercommentary on the Commentary of the Introduction of the Stations), Arabic, 58 {3}.
 37. "*Risālatu al-as'lati 'alā sharḥi al-Sayyid al-Sharīf li-l-Mawāqifi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Treatise of the Questions for the Commentary on the Stations by al-Sayyid al-Sharīf), Arabic, 58 {4}.
 38. "*Risālatun fi al-aḥwibati 'an i'tirāḍāti Mawlānā Kastallu [Molla Kestelli] 'alā al-Mawāqifi wa-sharḥihī fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Treatise of the Answers to the Objections of Mawlana Kastallu to the Stations and Its Commentary), Arabic, 58 {5–6}.
 39. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274). *Kitābu matni al-tajrīdi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Abstraction), Arabic, 58 {8}. EDITIONS: Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. *Tajrīd al-'Aqā'id*, ed. 'Abbās Sulaymān. Alexandria: Dār al-

Ma'rifa al-Jāmi'iyya, 1996. Naşir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. *Tajrīd al-I'tiqād*, ed. Muḥammad Jawād Ḥusaynī Jalālī. Qum: Maktab al-ʿIlām al-Islāmī, 1986.

40. *Majmū'atun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 40a. Naşir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274). *Kitābu matni tajrīdi al-'aqā'id fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Abstraction of Creed), Arabic, 58 {8–9}.
 - 40b. Naşir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274). *Kitābu qawā'id al-'aqā'id fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Principles of Creed), 58 {9–10}. EDITION: Naşir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. *Risālat Qawā'id al-'Aqā'id*, ed. 'Alī Ḥasan Khāzim. Beirut: Dār al-Ghurba, 1992.
 - 40c. Abū Naşr al-Fārābī (d. 950). *Risālatu al-Fārābī fi al-ḥikmatī* (Treatise of al-Farabi), Arabic, 58 {10}.
41. Shams al-Dīn al-Isfahānī (d. 1349). *Kitābu sharḥi al-Tajrīdi al-mawsūmu bi-Tashdīdi al-qawā'id fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Strengthening the Principles: A Commentary on the Abstraction), Arabic, 58 {14–15}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Şehzade Mehmed 58 (with Bayezid II's seal). EDITION: Shams al-Dīn al-Isfahānī. *Sharḥ Tajrīd al-'Aqā'id*. Tabriz: As'ad Kitābfurūsh, 1883. (Together with Naşir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Matn al-Tajrīd*.)
42. Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (d. 1325). *Kitābu kashfi al-murādi fi sharḥi Tajrīdi al-i'tiqādi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Discovering the Purpose: Commentary on the Abstraction of Creed), Arabic, 58 {15–16}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2347 (with Bayezid II's seal). EDITIONS: Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī. *Kashf al-Murād fi Sharḥ Tajrīd al-I'tiqād*, Taşnīf Naşir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-ʿIlāmī, 1988 (together with other supercommentaries on *Matn al-Tajrīd*). Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī. *Kashf al-Murād: Sharḥ-i Tajrīd al-I'tiqād*. Tehran: Kitābfurūshī-yi Islāmiyya, 1997 (together with other supercommentaries on *Matn al-Tajrīd*). Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī. *Tarjumah va-sharḥ-i Kashf al-Murād*, ed. and trans. 'Alī Shīrvānī. Qum: Dār al-'Ilm, 2004.
43. 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Qūshjī (d. 1474). *Kitābu sharḥi al-Tajrīdi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Commentary on the Abstraction), Arabic, 58 {16–17}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Turhan Valide Sultan 196 (with Bayezid II's seal). EDITION: 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Qūshjī. *Hādhā Sharḥ Tajrīd al-kalām*. [Tabriz?], 1883.
44. Same as 43, 58 {17}.
45. 'Alī Jurjānī (al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī) (d. 1413). *Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Sayyid al-Sharīf 'alā sharḥi Shams al-Dīn al-Isfahānī li-l-Tajrīdi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Supercommentary by al-Sayyid al-Sharīf of the Commentary of Shams al-Dīn al-Isfahani on the Abstraction), Arabic, 59 {3–4}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1879 (with Bayezid II's seal); SK, Şehzade Mehmed 55 (with Bayezid II's seal).
46. Mawlānā Khaṭīb-zāda (d. 1496). *Kitābu ḥāshiyati Ḥāshiyati al-Sayyid al-Sharīf li-sharḥi al-Tajrīdi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Supercommentary of the Supercommentary of al-Sayyid al-Sharīf on the Abstraction), Arabic, 59 {4–5}.
47. Şadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī. *Kitābu ḥāshiyati Şadr al-Dīn 'alā sharḥi 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Qūshjī li-l-Tajrīdi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Supercommentary by Şadr al-Dīn of the Commentary of 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Qūshjī on the Abstraction), Arabic, 59 {5–6}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1889 (with Bayezid II's seal).
48. Al-Naşir al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 1325?). *Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Naşir al-Ḥillī 'alā sharḥi al-Tajrīdi li-l-Isfahānī fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Supercommentary by al-Nasir al-Hilli of the Commentary on the Abstraction by al-Isfahani), Arabic, 59 {7}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1741 (with Bayezid II's seal).
49. "*Sharḥu dībājati Sharḥi al-Tajrīdi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Commentary on the Introduction of the Commentary on the Abstraction), Arabic, 59 {8}.
50. "*Kitābu ḥāshiyati sharḥi al-Qūshjī li-l-Tajrīdi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Supercommentary of the Commentary by al-Qushji on the Abstraction), Arabic, 59 {8–9}.

51. Al-Bayḍāwī (d. 1286). *Kitābu matni ṭawālī'i al-anwāri fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Appearances of the Lights), Arabic, 59 {13}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2334 (with Bayezid II's seal). EDITIONS: al-Bayḍāwī. *Matn Ṭawālī' al-Anwār fi 'Ilm al-Mantiq wa-al-Ḥikma wa-al-Tawḥīd*. [Cairo]: Maṭba'at al-Mu'ayyad, 1991. Al-Bayḍāwī. *Tavāli'u'l-Envār = Kelam Metafizigi: (metin-çeviri)*, ed. and trans. İlyas Çelebi and Mahmut Çınar. Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2014. Al-Bayḍāwī. *Nature, Man and God in Medieval Islam: 'Abd Allah Baydawi's Text, Tawālī' al-Anwar min Matalī' al-Anzar along with Mahmud Isfahani's Commentary Matalī' al-Anzar, Sharh Tawālī' al-Anwar*, ed. and trans. Edwin E. Calverley and James W. Pollock, 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
52. Same as 51, 59 {13–14}.
53. *Majmū'atun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 53a. Al-Bayḍāwī (d. 1286). *Kitābu matni al-ṭawālī'i fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Appearances of the Lights), Arabic, 59 {14}.
 - 53b. "Al-fannu al-thālithu min al-Muṭawwālī fi al-badī'i fi al-ma'ānī" (Third Chapter of the Comprehensive Book), Arabic, 59 {14–15}.
54. "*Kitābu al-nūri al-ṭālī'i mukhtaṣari al-Ṭawālī'i fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Rising Light: Abridgement of the Appearances), Arabic, 59 {15–16}.
55. *Majmū'atun min kutubi al-funūni awwaluhā Kitābu al-ṭawālī'i fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Compendium containing Books on the Sciences, the first of which is the Appearances [by al-Bayḍāwī, d. 1286]), Arabic, 59 {16–17}.
56. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī (d. after 1382). *Kitābu sharḥi Ṭawālī'i al-anwāri fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Commentary on the Appearances), Arabic, 59 {18}.
57. "*Kitābu sharḥi al-Ṭawālī'i fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Commentary on the Appearances), Arabic, 59 {19}.
58. Shams al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1349). *Kitābu maṭālī'i al-anzāri fi sharḥi Ṭawālī'i al-anwāri fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Ascensions of the Ideas: Commentary on the Appearances), Arabic, 59 {19}–60 {1}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2294 (with Bayezid II's seal). EDITIONS: Shams al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī. *Maṭālī' al-Anzār 'alā Ṭawālī' al-Anwār*. Istanbul: 1305/1887–88. Shams al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī. *Hādihā Kitāb Sharḥ Maṭālī' al-Anzār*. Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Khayriyya, 1905. (Together with al-Bayḍāwī's *Matn Ṭawālī' al-Anwār*.)
59. "*Kitābu sharḥi al-Ṭawālī'i fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Commentary on the Appearances), Arabic, 60 {1–2}.
60. Same as 59, 60 {2}.
61. Same as 58, 60 {3}.
62. "*Kitābu ḥāshiyati sharḥi al-'Ibrī li-l-Ṭawālī'i fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Supercommentary of al-'Ibrī's Commentary on the Appearances), Arabic, 60 {5}.
63. Same as 62, 60 {5–6}.
64. Mawlānā Kirmāstī (d. 1495/96). *Kitābu lawāmi'i al-afkārī fi taḥshiyati Maṭālī'i al-anzāri li-Mawlānā Kirmāstī fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Glittering Ideas: The Supercommentary of the Ascensions of the Ideas), Arabic, 60 {6–7}.
65. *Majmū'atun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 65a. 'Umar al-Nasafī (d. 1142). *Kitābu matni al-'aqā'id fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Creed), Arabic, 60 {11}. EDITION: 'Umar al-Nasafī. *'Aqā'id al-Nasafī*. Istanbul: Hacı Muharrem Efendi Matbaası, 1847.
 - 65b. "*Risālatu ādābi al-baḥthī*" (Treatise on the Art of Disputation), 60 {11}.
 - 65c. "*Risālatun fi al-ṭibbī*" (Treatise on Medicine), 60 {11–12}.
66. *Majmū'atun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 66a. Umar al-Nasafī (d. 1142). *Kitābu matni al-'aqā'id fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Creed), Arabic, 60 {12}.
 - 66b. Mawlānā-zāda. *Kitābu matni Mawlānā-zāda al-musammā bi-al-Hidāyati fi al-ḥikmatī*

(Guide to Wisdom), Arabic, 60 {13}. ('Aṭūfī seems to have made a mistake here, as Mawlānā-zāda is the author of *Sharḥ al-Hidāya*, not *al-Hidāya*.)

67. Al-Makhdūm Mawlānā Tāj-zāda Sa'dī (d. 1516). *Kitābu naẓmi matni al-'Aqā'id fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Versification of the Creed), Arabic, 60 {14}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1777 (with Bayezid II's seal).
68. Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 1390). *Kitābu sharḥi al-'Aqā'id fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Commentary on the Creed), Arabic, 60 {18}. EDITIONS: Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī. *Sharḥ 'Aqā'id al-Nasafī*. Istanbul: Matba'a-i Āmire, 1271. Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī. *Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafīyya*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥijāzī al-Saqqā. Cairo: Maktabat al-Kulliyyāt al-Azhariyya, 1987. Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī. *A Commentary on the Creed of Islam: Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī on the Creed of Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī*, trans. Earl Edgar Elder. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950.
69. Same as 68, 60 {18–19}.
70. Same as 68, 60 {19}–61 {1}.
71. Same as 68, 61 {1}.
72. *Majmū'atun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 72a. Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 1390). *Kitābu sharḥi al-'Aqā'id fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Commentary on the Creed), Arabic, 61 {1–2}.
 - 72b. Mawlānā-zāda. *Kitābu sharḥi al-Hidāyati al-ma'rūfi bi-Mawlānā-zāda fi al-ḥikmatī* (Commentary on the Guide to Wisdom), Arabic, 61 {2}.
 - 72c. Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī (d. 1265?). *Kitābu matni al-hidāyati fi al-ḥikmatī* (Guide to Wisdom), Arabic, 61 {3}.
73. *Majmū'atun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 73a. Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 1390). *Kitābu sharḥi al-'Aqā'id fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Commentary on the Creed), Arabic, 61 {3–4}.
 - 73b. "*Kitābu sharḥi al-'Izzī*" (Commentary of al-'Izzī), 61 {4}.
 - 73c. 'Izz al-Dīn al-Zanjānī (d. 1262?). *Kitābu sharḥi Ādābi al-baḥṭhi* (Commentary on the Art of Disputation), 61 {4}.
 - 73d. "*Qaṣīdatun fārisiyyatun*" (Persian Poem), Persian, 61 {5}.
 - 73e. "*Kitābu sharḥi Kitābi al-'arūḍī*" (Commentary on the Book of Prosody), 61 {5}.
 - 73f. "*Kitābun manẓūmun fi 'ilmi al-'arūḍī*" (Versified Book on the Science of Prosody), 61 {5–6}.
74. "*Kitābu sharḥi al-'Aqā'id bi-al-fārisiyyati fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Commentary on the Creed), Persian, 61 {6–7}.
75. *Majmū'atun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 75a. Khayālī (d. 1470?). *Kitābu ḥāshiyati Sharḥi al-'Aqā'id fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Supercommentary of the Commentary on the Creed), Arabic, 61 {12}. EDITION: Khayālī. *Ḥāshiya al-Khayālī 'alā Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafīyya*. Bombay: Abnā' Mawlawī Muḥammad b. Ghulām Rasūl al-Sūrātī, 1983 (together with other supercommentaries on *Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id*).
 - 75b. Al-Chaghminī (d. 1221?). *Kitābu al-mulakhkhaṣi li-l-Chaghminī fi al-hay'ati* (Book of Introduction on Astronomy), Arabic, 61 {12–13}.
76. *Majmū'atun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 76a. Khayālī (1470?). *Kitābu ḥāshiyati Sharḥi al-'Aqā'id fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Supercommentary of the Commentary on the Creed), Arabic, 61 {13–14}.
 - 76b. Mawlānā-zāda. *Kitābu sharḥi al-Hidāyati al-ma'rūfi bi-Mawlānā-zāda fi al-ḥikmatī* (Commentary on the Guide to Wisdom), Arabic, 61 {14–15}.
 - 76c. Mawlānā-zāda. *Kitābu ḥāshiyati Mawlānā-zāda fi al-ḥikmatī* (Supercommentary of the Commentary on the Guide to Wisdom), Arabic, 61 {15}.

77. Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Qunawī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1369). *Al-Qalāʾidi fī sharḥi al-ʿAqāʾidi al-mansūbati ilā Abī Ḥafṣ al-Ṭahāwī fī ʿilmi al-kalāmi* (Necklaces: Commentary on the Creed), Arabic, 61 {15–17}.
78. “*Hāshiyatu Sharḥi al-ʿAqāʾidi fī ʿilmi al-kalāmi*” (Supercommentary of the Commentary on the Creed), Arabic, 61 {17}.
79. “*Hāshiyatu Sharḥi al-ʿAqāʾidi fī ʿilmi al-kalāmi*” (Supercommentary of the Commentary on the Creed), Arabic, 61 {18}.
80. “*Kitābu sharḥi al-qaṣīdati al-maʾrūfati bi-Yaqūlu al-ʿabdu fī ʿilmi al-kalāmi*” (Commentary on the Verse of “The Servant of God Says”), Arabic, 62 {3}.
81. Same as 80, 62 {3–4}.
82. *Majmūʿatun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 82a. “*Kitābu naẓmi Yaqūlu al-ʿabdu bi-al-turkiyyati fī ʿilmi al-kalāmi*” (The Verse of “The Servant of God Says”), Turkish, 62 {4–5}.
 - 82b. Shamʿī. *Naẓmu kalimātin ḥasanatin* (The Versification of Refined Sayings), 62 {5–6}.
83. Shamʿī. *Tarjamatu Yaqūlu al-ʿabdu bi-al-turkiyyati al-manẓūmati fī ʿilmi al-kalāmi* (Translation of “The Servant of God Says”), Turkish, in verse, 62 {6–7}.
84. *Majmūʿatun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 84a. “*Kitābu al-tamhīdi fī ʿilmi al-kalāmi*” (Book of Introduction) 62 {7}.
 - 84b. “*Kitābun fī ʿilmi al-kalāmi*” (Book on the Science of *Kalām*), 62 {7}.
 - 84c. “*Sharḥu Yaqūlu al-ʿabdu fī ʿilmi al-kalāmi*” (Commentary on “The Servant of God Says”), 62 {8}.
 - 84d. “*Matnu al-ʿaqāʾidi fī ʿilmi al-kalāmi*” (Creed), 62 {8}.
 - 84e. “*Kitābun fī ʿilmi al-kalāmi*” (Book on the Science of *Kalām*), 62 {8–9}.
 - 84f. “*Kitābun fī ʿilmi al-kalāmi*” (Book on the Science of *Kalām*), 62 {9}.
85. *Majmūʿatun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 85a. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu miḥakki al-naẓari* (Touchstone of Reasoning), Arabic, 62 {10}. EDITIONS: Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī. *Kitāb Miḥakk al-Nazar fī al-Manṭiq*, ed. Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn al-Naʿsānī. Beirut: Dār al-Nahḍa al-Ḥadītha, 1966. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī. *Kitāb Miḥakk al-Nazar*, ed. Rafīq ʿAjam. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Lubnānī, 1994.
 - 85b. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu miʾyāri al-ʿilmi* (Criterion of Knowledge), Arabic, 62 {10–11}. EDITION: Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī. *Miʾyār al-ʿIlm fī Fann al-Manṭiq*, ed. Sulaymān Dunyā. Cairo: Dār al-Maʾārif, 1965.
 - 85c. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu ḥikāyati maqāṣidi al-falāsifati* (Aims of Philosophers), Arabic, 62 {11}. EDITIONS: Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī. *Maqāṣid al-Falāsifa*, ed. Sulaymān Dunyā. Cairo: Dār al-Maʾārif [1961?]. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī. *Maqāṣid al-Falāsifa*, ed. Muḥammad Khazāʾilī. Tehran: Amīr-Kabīr, 1960.
 - 85d. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu tahāfutī al-falāsifati* (Incoherence of Philosophers), Arabic, 62 {11–12}. EDITIONS: Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī. *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa*. Sidon: al-Maktaba al-ʿAsriyya, 2001. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī. *Tehāfutü'l-felâsife: Filozofların Tutarsızlığı (Eleştirmeli Metin-Çeviri)*, ed. and trans. Mahmut Kaya and Hüseyin Sarioğlu. Istanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2014. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī. *The Incoherence of the Philosophers: Tahāfut al-Falāsifa*, ed. and trans. M. E. Marmura. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1997.
86. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu tahāfutī al-falāsifati min qibali ʿilmi al-kalāmi* (Incoherence of Philosophers), 62 {13}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2203 (with Bayezid II’s seal).
87. Same as 86, 62 {14}.

88. *Majmū'atun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 88a. "*Kitābu anwāri al-afkārī fi al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyati*" (Lights of Ideas), 62 {14–15}.
 - 88b. "*Kitābu 'amali al-uşurlābi fi 'ilmi al-nujūmi*" (Using the Astrolabe), 62 {15}.
 - 88c. "*Sharḥu khuṭbati Ibn Sīnā fi al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyati*" (Commentary on Avicenna's Address on Philosophical Wisdom), 62 {15–16}.
 - 88d. "*Kitābu tahāfuti al-falāsīfati fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Incoherence of Philosophers), 62 {16–17}.
 - 88e. "*Kitābu lawāmi'i al-bayyināti fi sharḥi al-asmā'i wa-al-şifāti fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Glittering Proofs: Commentary of the Names and Attributes), 62 {17–18}.
89. "*Kitābu al-dhukhri fi ibṭālī madhāhibi al-falāsīfati min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Book of Treasure: The Rebuttal of the Ideas of Philosophers), 63 {6}.
90. "*Kitābun fi ibṭālī madhāhibi al-falāsīfati min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Book on the Rebuttal of the Ideas of Philosophers), 63 {7}.
91. *Majmū'atun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 91a. "*Risālatun fi ibṭālī qawli al-falāsīfati fi al-ma'ādi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Treatise on the Rebuttal of the Words of Philosophers about the Return/Afterworld), 63 {7–8}.
 - 91b. "*Risālatu al-munāzarāti al-fiqhiyyati*" (Treatise on Jurisprudential Disputation), 63 {8–9}.
92. *Majmū'atun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 92a. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu al-tafriqati bayna al-zandaqati wa-al-īmāni min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Distinction between Heresy and Faith), Arabic, 63 {9–10}. EDITIONS: Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī. *Fayṣal al-Tafriqa bayna al-Islām wa-al-Zandaqa*, ed. Sulaymān Dunyā. Cairo: Dār Ihyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, 1961. Sherman A. Jackson, *On the Boundaries of Theological Tolerance in Islam: Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī's Fayṣal al-Tafriqa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī. *Le Critère de distinction entre l'islam et l'incroyance*, ed. and trans. Mustapha Hogga. Paris: J. Vrin, 2010.
 - 92b. "*Kitābun fi 'ilmi al-kīmā'i*," 63 {10–11}. (It is possible that 'Aṭūfī was confused and considered *Kīmā'i al-Sa'āda* a book about chemistry.)
93. *Majmū'atun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 93a. Şadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī (d. 1274). *Risālātu al-masā'ilī allatī katabahā al-Shaykh Şadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī min al-rūmi ilā al-Naşir al-Ṭūsī wa-ajwibatihā min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Treatise of the Issues, about which Şadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī wrote to Naşir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, and Answers to Them), 63 {11–12}.
 - 93b. Naşir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274). *Ajwiba min qibal 'ilm al-kalām* (Answers), 63 {12–13}.
94. "*Kitābu al-maqāmi' fi raddi mā qālat bihī al-naşārā min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Rejections to What Christians Said), 63 {13–14}.
95. ['Abd al-Salām.] *Al-Risālatu al-hādiyyatu fi ibṭālī hujaji al-yahūdi 'alā al-islāmi min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Treatise of Guidance: Rebuttal of the Proofs of Jews against Islam), 63 {14–15}. I determined the name of the author from the following manuscript, p. 3: MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1735 (with Bayezid II's seal). TRANSLATION: Camilla Adang. "Guided to Islam by the Torah: The *Risāla al-Hādiyya* by 'Abd al-Salām al-Muhtadī al-Muḥammadī." In *Contacts and Controversies Between Muslims, Jews, and Christians in the Ottoman Empire and Pre-Modern Iran*, ed. Camilla Adang and Sabine Schmidtke, 57–72. Würzburg: Ergon, 2010.
96. *Majmū'atun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 96a. "*Risālatu al-hujaji 'alā al-naşārā min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Treatise of Proofs against Christians), 63 {15}.
 - 96b. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu al-raddi al-jamīli 'alā şariḥi al-injili fi ilāhiyyati 'Isā*

- min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Exquisite Refutation of the Outward Meaning of the Gospels about the Divinity of Jesus), 63 {16–17}. EDITION: Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī. *Réfutation excellente de la divinité de jésus-christ d'après les évangiles*, ed. and trans. Robert Chidiac. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1939.
97. Same as 94, 63 {17–18}.
98. “*Risālatun fī raddi al-millati al-naṣrāniyyati bi-al-injīli min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi*” (Refutation of the Faith of Christians by Means of the Gospels), 63 {18–19}.
99. “*Kitābu al-intiṣārāti al-islāmiyyati fī kashfi al-shubahi al-naṣrāniyyati min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi*” (Islamic Relief to Reveal the Doubts of Christians), 63 {19}–64 {1}.
100. *Majmū'atun* (Compendium) containing:
- 100a. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābun mawsūmun bi-al-Tafriqati bayna al-īmāni wa-al-zandaqati* (Distinction between Heresy and Faith), Arabic, 64 {1–2}.
- 100b. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu al-maḍnūni bihī 'alā ghayri ahlihī* (What is Shunned from the Dilettante), Arabic, 64 {2–3}. EDITIONS: Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī. *Al-Maḍnūn bihī 'alā Ghayr Ahlihī*, in *Majmū'a Rasā'il al-Imām al-Ghazālī*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1994. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī. *Al-Maḍnūn bihī 'alā Ghayr Ahlihī*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd Allāh. Damascus: al-Ḥikma, 1996. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī. *The Mysteries of the Human Soul*, trans. Abdul Qayyum Shafaq Hazarvi. Lahore: Muhammad Ashraf, 1981.
- 100c. “*Risālatun min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi*” (Treatise Dealing with the Issues Pertaining to the Science of *Kalām*), 64 {3}. (The title of the treatise, which 'Atūfī does not specify, should be Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī's (d. 1111) *al-Munqidhu min al-ḍalālī* / Deliverance from Error).
- 100d. Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 1240). *Kitābu ḥilyati al-abdālī fī al-taṣawwufi* (Jewel of Sufis), Arabic, 64 {4}. EDITIONS: Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī. *La Parure des Abdāl*, trans. Michel Vālsan. Paris: Les Éditions Traditionnelles, 1951. Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī. *The Four Pillars of Spiritual Transformation: The Adornment of the Spirituality Transformed (Ḥilyat al-Abdāl)*, ed. and trans. Stephen Hirtenstein. Oxford: Anqa Publishing, 2008. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2200 (with Bayezid II's seal).
101. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1210). *Sharḥu Mulakhkhaṣi al-Imām al-Rāzī* (Commentary on the Introduction), 64 {4–5}.
102. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1210). *Kitābu nihāyati al-'uqūli fī dirāyati al-uṣūli fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Ultimate Intellect on the Discernment of Fundamental Principles), Arabic, 64 {5–6}. EDITION: Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. *Nihāyat al-'Uqūl*, ed. Mehmet Baktır and Abdullah Demir. Sivas, 2013.
103. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Samarqandī (d. 1303). *Kitābu al-ṣaḥā'ifi fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Pages on the Science of *Kalām*), Arabic, 64 {6–7}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1864 (with Bayezid II's seal). EDITIONS: Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Samarqandī. *Al-Ṣaḥā'if al-Ilāhiyya*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sharīf. Kuwait: Maktabat al-Falāḥ, 1985. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Samarqandī. *Al-Ṣaḥā'if al-Ilāhiyya*, ed. Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2007.
104. *Majmū'atun* (Compendium) containing:
- 104a. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Samarqandī (d. 1303). *Kitābu al-ṣaḥā'ifi fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Pages on the Science of *Kalām*), 64 {7}.
- 104b. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Samarqandī (d. 1303). *Kitābu al-qistāsi fī al-mantiqi* (Criterion on Logic), Arabic, 64 {7–8}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2565 (with Bayezid II's seal). EDITION: Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Samarqandī. *Kıstāsu'l-Efkār = Düşüncenin Kıtası: (Eleştirmeli Metin-Çeviri)*, ed. and trans. Necmettin Pehlivan. Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2014.

105. Same as 103, 64 {9}.
106. “*Alṭafu al-laṭā’ifi fī sharḥi al-Ṣahā’ifi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi*” (Best Delicacies: Commentary on the Pages), Arabic, 64 {9–10}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1907 (with Bayezid II’s seal).
107. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Samarqandī (d. 1303). *Kitābu al-ma’ārifi fī sharḥi al-Ṣahā’ifi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi* (Comprehensions: Commentary on the Pages), 64 {10}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1921 (with Bayezid II’s seal).
108. Same as 107, 64 {11}.
109. *Majmū’atun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 109a. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Samarqandī (d. 1303). *Kitābu al-ma’ārifi fī sharḥi al-Ṣahā’ifi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi* (Comprehensions: Commentary on the Pages), Arabic, 64 {11–12}.
 - 109b. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Samarqandī (d. 1303). *Risālatu ashkālī al-ta’sīsī fī al-handasati* (Treatise on Elements of Geometry), Arabic, 64 {12}. EDITION: Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Samarqandī. *Ashkāl al-Ta’sīs*, ed. Muḥammad Suwaysī. Tunis: al-Dār al-Tūnisiyya li-l-Nashr, 1984.
110. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1210). *Kitābu matni al-muḥaṣṣali fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi* (Acquisitions), Arabic, 64 {13}. EDITIONS: Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. *Kitāb Muḥaṣṣal Afkār al-Mutaqaddimīn wa-al-Muta’akkkhirīn min al-‘Ulamā’ wa-al-Ḥukamā’ wa-al-Mutakallimīn*, ed. Ṭāhā ‘Abd-al-Ra’ūf Sa’d. Cairo: Maktabat al-Kulliyāt al-Azhariyya, 1975. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. *Kelam’a Giriş: El-Muhassal*, trans. Hüseyin Atay. Ankara: T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2002.
111. Alī b. ‘Umar al-Kātibī (d. 1277). *Kitābu al-muḥaṣṣali fī sharḥi al-Muḥaṣṣali fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi* (Comprehensive Book: Commentary on the Acquisitions), Arabic, 64 {13–14}.
112. Same as 111, 64 {14}.
113. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274). *Kitābu talkhīṣi al-Muḥaṣṣali fī sharḥi al-Muḥaṣṣali fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi* (Abridgement of the Acquisitions), Arabic, 64 {15}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A.1890 (with Bayezid II’s seal). EDITIONS: Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. *Naqd al-Muḥaṣṣal: Munāzara-i Khvāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī bā Imām Fakhr Rāzī, Falsafī-Kalāmī*, ed. Ḥamīd Qalandarī and Ghulām ‘Abbās Ḥasanvand. Qum: Nashr-i Hudā, 2011. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. *Talkhīṣ al-Muḥaṣṣal: al-Ma’rūf bi-Naqd al-Muḥaṣṣal*, ed. A. Nūrānī. Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā’, 1985. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. *Die Spekulative und Positive Theologie des Islam nach Rāzī und ihre Kritik durch Tusi: Nach Originalquellen übersetzt und erläutert, mit einem Anhang. Verzeichnis philosophischer Termini im arabischen*, trans. Max Horten. Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1912.
114. Same as 113, 64 {15–16}.
115. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1210). *Kitābu ḥadā’iqi al-anwārī fī al-‘ulūmi al-sittīna li-l-Rāzī awwaluhā ‘ilm al-kalāmi* (Gardens of Lights: Sixty Sciences), Persian, 64 {16–17}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1759 (with Bayezid II’s seal).
116. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1210). *Kitābu jāmi’i al-‘ulūmi fī arba’īna ‘ilman li-l-Rāzī awwaluhā ‘ilm al-kalāmi* (Compendium of Forty Sciences), Persian, 64 {17–18}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2205 (with Bayezid II’s seal).
117. Same as 116, 64 {18–19}.
118. Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu yawāqiti al-‘ulūmi fī thalāthīna ‘ilman awwaluhā ‘ilm al-kalāmi* (Rubies of Thirty Sciences), Persian, 65 {1}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4351 (with Bayezid II’s seal).
119. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274). *Sharḥu al-Muḥaṣṣali al-musammā bi-Talkhīṣi al-Muḥaṣṣali fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi* (Abridgement of the Acquisitions), Arabic, 65 {1–2}.

120. Ṣadr al-Sharī'a (d. 1346). *Sharḥu Kitābi ta'dili al-'ulūmi fi al-manṭiqi wa-'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Commentary on the Book of Setting the Sciences Right on the Sciences of Logic and *Kalām*), 1341, Arabic, 65 {2–3}.
121. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1210). *Kitābu al-arba'ina fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Book of Forty Issues on the Science of *Kalām*), Arabic, 65 {3}. EDITIONS: Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. *Kitāb al-Arba'in fi Uṣūl al-Dīn*. Hyderabad: Maṭba'at Majlis Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyya, 1354/1934–35. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. *Al-Arba'in fi Uṣūl al-Dīn*, ed. Aḥmad Saqqā. Cairo: Maktabat al-Kulliyāt al-Azhariyya, 1986.
122. Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shahristānī (d. 1153). *Kitābu nihāyati al-aqdāmi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Ultimate Step in the Science of *Kalām*), Arabic, 65 {4}. EDITIONS: Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shahristānī. *The Summa Philosophiae of al-Shahrastānī = Kitāb Nihāyatu'l-Iqdām fi 'Ilmi'l-Kalām*, ed. and trans. Alfred Guillaume. London: Oxford University Press, 1934. Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shahristānī. *Nahāyat al-Aqdām fi 'Ilm al-Kalām*, ed. Muḥammad 'Imādī Ḥā'irī. Tehran: Kitābkhānah, Mūzah va Markaz-i Asnād-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, 2013.
123. "*Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Persian Treatise on the Science of *Kalām*), Persian, 65 {4–5}.
124. "*Risālatun fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Treatise on the Science of *Kalām*), 65 {5}.
125. 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 1355). *Kitābu jawāhiri al-kalāmi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Gems of *Kalām*), 65 {5}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2281 (with Bayezid II's seal).
126. "*Kitābu silki al-durri al-manẓūmi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Path of the String of Pearls), 65 {6}.
127. "*Kitābu mukhtaṣari al-Fawzi al-akbari fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Abridged Book: The Utmost Success), 65 {6–7}.
128. Same as 122, 65 {7}.
129. Mawlānā 'Arab / 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Arabī (d. 1496). *Risālatun fi mas'alati al-qadari fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Treatise on the Issue of Predestination), Arabic, 65 {7–8}.
130. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfi (d. 1285). *Kitābu al-ajwibati al-fākhirati 'an al-as'ilati al-fājirati min qibal 'ilm al-kalāmi* (Majestic Answers to Indecent Questions), Arabic, 65 {8–9}. EDITIONS: Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfi. *Al-Ajwiba al-Fākhira 'an al-As'ila al-Fājira*, ed. Bakr Zakī 'Awaḍ. Cairo: Maktabat Wahba, 1987. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfi. *Al-Ajwiba al-Fākhira 'an al-As'ila al-Fājira fi Radd 'alā al-Yahūd wa-al-Naṣārā*, ed. Majdī Muḥammad Shahāwī. Cairo: Maktabat al-Qur'ān, 1992.
131. "*Kitābun fi al-ḥikmati 'alā al-jihati al-shar'iyyati marqūm bi-enne ismahū Tadhhibu al-ḥaqā'iqi min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Gilding the Truths), 65 {9–10}.
132. Aḥmad al-Kāshī. *Kitābu sharḥi kitābi al-Naṣir al-Ḥillī fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Commentary of Aḥmad al-Kāshī on al-Naṣir al-Ḥillī's Book), 65 {11}.
133. "*Risālatun fi fawā'ida min masā'ili 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Treatise of Issues on the Science of *Kalām*), 65 {11–12}.
134. Imām-zāda Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (d. 1177). *Uqūdi al-'aqā'id fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Intricate Issues of Creed), Arabic in verse, 65 {12–13}.
135. "*Kitābu sharḥi 'Aqā'id al-firaqi al-nājiyyati fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Creed of the Rescued Sects), 65 {13–14}.
136. "*Kitābu naẓmi al-ilāhiyyāti fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Versification of Metaphysics), in verse, 65 {14}.
137. "*Kitābu tarjamati 'Aqā'id al-firaq al-nājiyyati bi-al-fārisiyyati fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Translation of the Creeds of the Rescued Sects), Persian, 65 {14–15}.
138. Same as 122, 65 {15–16}.

139. “*Kitābun fārisiyyun fī aḥwālīn shattā min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi*” (Persian Book on Different Issues), Persian, 65 {16}.
140. Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī (d. 1233). *Kitābu abkārī al-afkārī fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi* (Untouched Ideas), Arabic, two volumes, 65 {17}. EDITIONS: Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī. *Abkār al-afkār fī uṣūl al-dīn*, 3 vols., ed. A. F. al-Mazīdī. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2003. Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī. *Abkār al-afkār fī uṣūl al-dīn*, 5 vols., ed. A. M. al-Mahdī. Cairo: Maṭba‘at Dār al-Kutub wa-al-Wathā’iq al-Qawmiyya, 2004.
141. Same as 140, a single volume, 65 {18}.
142. Same as 140, a single volume, 65 {19}.
143. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī (d. 1311). *Kitābu durrati al-tāji fī al-ḥikmatī al-islāmiyyati bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi* (Pearl in the Crown), Persian, 66 {1–2}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2405 (with Bayezid II’s seal).
144. Sirāj al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Urmawī (d. 1283). *Kitābu lubābi al-arba‘īna fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi* (Forty Essences), Arabic, 66 {2–3}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1783 (with Bayezid II’s seal).
145. “*Kitābu hibati Allāhi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi*” (Book of the Gift from God), 66 {3}.
146. “*Kitābun mukhtaṣarun fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi*” (Abridged Book on the Science of *Kalām*), 66 {3–4}.
147. “*Kitābun naḥḥisun mukhtaṣarun fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi*” (Excellent Abridged Book on the Science of *Kalām*), p. 66 {4}.
148. “*Kitābu al-anwārī al-qudsiyyati fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi*” (Holy Lights), 66 {4–5}.
149. “*Risālatun i’tiqādiyyatun fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi*” (Treatise Related to Creed), 66 {5–6}.
150. “*Al-Risālatu fī al-as‘ilati al-muta‘alliqati bi-mawḍū‘i ‘ilmi al-kalāmi*” (Treatise Related to the Subject Matter of the Science of *Kalām*), 66 {6}.
151. “*Risālatun muta‘alliqatun bi-mabāḥithi al-mawḍū‘i min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi*” (Treatise Related to the Issues on the Subject Matter), 66 {7}.
152. “*Risālatu daf‘i al-shubahī ‘an ḥawāshī mabāḥithi al-mawḍū‘i min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi*” (Treatise Erasing the Doubts from the Supercommentaries on the Issues of the Subject Matter), 66 {7–8}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2271 (with Bayezid II’s seal).
153. *Majmū‘atun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 153a. “*Risālatu raddi al-khaṭā‘i ma‘a sharḥihā fī al-ḥawāshī min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi*” (Treatise of the Rejection of Error, together with its commentary in the margins), 66 {8–9}.
 - 153b. “*Risālatu rijālī Allāhi min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Treatise of the Men of God pertaining to Sufism), 66 {9–10}.
 - 153c. “*Risālatun fī al-‘arūḍi*” (Treatise on Prosody), 66 {10}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4867 (with Bayezid II’s seal).
154. “*Kitābu ma‘āqidi al-‘ulūmi min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi*” (Junctions of Sciences), 66 {10–11}.
155. “*Kitābu al-mu‘tamadi fī al-mu‘taqadi bi-al-fārisiyyati fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi*” (Reliable Book on What Is to Be Believed), Persian, 66 {11–12}.
156. “*Kitābu al-mu‘tamadi fī al-mu‘taqadi min qibali ‘ilm al-kalāmi*” (Reliable Book on What Is to Be Believed), 66 {12}.
157. *Majmū‘atun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 157a. “*Tarjamatu Rashfi al-naṣā‘ihī bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi*” (Translation of Sipping the Advices), Persian, 66 {13}.
 - 157b. “*Sharḥu Qaṣīdati burdata bi-al-fārisiyyati*” (Commentary on the Poem of the Mantle), Persian, 66 {13–14}.
158. “*Risālatun fī al-tawḥīdi min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi*” (Treatise on Monotheism), 66 {14}.

159. "*Risālatun fārisiyyatun fi al-masā'ili al-kalāmiyyati*" (Persian Treatise on the Issues Related to *Kalām*), Persian, 66 {15}.
160. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1210). *Kitābu al-maṭālibi al-ʿāliyyati fi al-ilāhiyyāti ʿilmi al-kalāmi* (Sublime Issues), 66 {15–16}. EDITION: Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. *Al-Maṭālib al-ʿĀliya min al-ʿIlm al-Ilāhī*, ed. Aḥmad Saqqā. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1987.
161. Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī (d. 1085). *Kitābu al-irshādi min qibali ʿilmi al-kalāmi* (Book of Guidance), Arabic, 66 {16–17}.
162. ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 1355). *Risālatu jawāhiri al-kalāmi fi ʿilmi al-kalāmi* (Gems of *Kalām*), 66 {17}.
163. "*Risālatu ilzāmi al-yahūdi fīmā zaʿamū fi al-Tawrāti min qibali ʿilmi al-kalāmi*" (Treatise of Silencing Jews about Their Unsubstantiated Claims regarding the Torah), 66 {18}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 2994 (with Bayezid II's seal). EDITION: Sabine Schmidke, "Epistle Forcing the Jews [to Admit Their Error] with Regard to What They Contend about the Torah by Diealectical Reasoning (*Risālat ilzām al-yahūd fīmā zaʿamū fi al-tawrat min qibal ʿilm al-kalām*) by Salām ʿAbd al-ʿAllām, A Critical Edition." In *Contacts and Controversies between Muslims, Jews, and Christians in the Ottoman Empire and Pre-Modern Iran*, ed. Camilla Adang and Sabine Schmidke, 73–82. Würzburg: Ergon, 2010. TRANSLATION: Camilla Adang. "A Polemic against Judaism by a Convert to Islam from the Ottoman Period: *Risālat Ilzām al-Yahūd Fīmā Zaʿamū fi al-Tawrāt min Qibal ʿIlm al-Kalām*." *Journal Asiatique* 297 (2009): 131–51.
164. "*Mukhtaṣarun mushtamilun ʿalā ʿilmi uṣūli al-dīni ay ʿilmi al-kalāmi wa-ʿilmi uṣūli al-fiqhi wa-ʿilmi al-fiqhi wa-ʿilmi al-uṣūli al-muʿtabarati fi al-khilāfiyyāti wa-ʿilmi al-uṣūli al-muʿtabarati fi al-jadali*" (Abridged Book that Includes the Sciences of *Kalām*, Theoretical Jurisprudence, Principles of Juridical Disagreement, Principles of Dialectics), 66 {19}–67 {1–2}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Carullah 1262 (with Bayezid II's seal).
165. "*Risālatun fi al-wujūdi min qibali ʿilmi al-kalāmi*" (Treatise on Existence), 67 {2}.
166. "*Risālatun fi ṣifati kalāmi Allāhi taʿālā min qibali ʿilmi al-kalām*" (Treatise on the Attributes of God), 67 {3}.
167. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh (d. 1318). *Kitābu al-asʿilati wa-al-ajwibati al-rashīdiyyati bi-al-ʿarabiyyati fi ʿilmi al-kalāmi wa-ghayrihi* (The "Rashidiyya" Questions and Answers), Arabic, 67 {3–4}.
168. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh (d. 1318). *Kitābu al-asʿilati wa-al-ajwibati al-rashīdiyyati bi-al-fārisiyyati fi ʿilmi al-kalāmi wa-ghayrihi* (The "Rashidiyya" Questions and Answers), Persian, 67 {5–6}. (ʿAṭūfi seems to have confused the scribe with the author. Naẓẓām should be the scribe.) MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2180 (with Bayezid II's seal).
169. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (d. 935/36). *Kitābu al-maqālāti al-islāmiyyati min qibali ʿilmi al-kalāmi* (Islamic Opinions), Arabic, 67 {6}.
170. "*Kitābu al-aqīdati al-musammāti bi-Nabdhāti al-tawḥīdi fi ʿilmi al-kalāmi*" (Extract of Monotheism), 67 {7}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2337 (with Bayezid II's seal).
171. "*Risālatun fi kalāmi Allāhi taʿālā wa-ruʿyatihī fi ʿilmi al-kalāmi*" (Treatise on the Speech of God and the Possibility of Seeing Him), 67 {7–8}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2276 (with Bayezid II's seal).
172. Same as 162, 67 {8–9}.
173. "*Risālatu al-ḥawāshī min qibali ʿilmi al-kalāmi*" (Treatise of Marginal Notes Pertaining to the Science of *kalām*), 67 {9}.
174. "*Risālatu al-mabdaʿi wa-al-maʿādi bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali ʿilmi al-kalāmi*" (Treatise of the Origin/Creation and the Return/Afterworld), Persian, 67 {9–10}.
175. "*Sharḥu al-fiqhi al-akbari fi ʿilmi al-kalāmi*" (Commentary on the Great Jurisprudence), 67 {10–11}.

176. Same as 175, 67 {11}.
177. "*Kitābu muḥḥiri al-anwāri min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Revealer of the Lights), 67 {11–12}.
178. "*Mukhtaṣarun sharīfun fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi wa-uṣūli al-fiqhi wa-'ilmi al-fiqhi wa-'ilmi al-khilāfiyyāti wa-'ilmi al-jadali*" (Precious Abridged Book), Arabic, 67 {12–13}.
179. "*Risālatun fī taḥqīqi ḥaqīqati al-'ilmi ay al-ṣūrati al-'aqlīyyati min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (Treatise on Exploring the Truth of Science), Arabic, 67 {14}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2284 (with Bayezid II's seal).
180. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Al-Risālatu al-quḍsiyyatu fī qawā'id al-'aqā'id fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Holy Treatise: Principles of Creed), Arabic, 67 {15–16}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2272 (with Bayezid II's seal). EDITION: A. L. Tibawi, ed. and trans. *Al-Ghazali's Tract on Dogmatic Theology*. London: Luzac, 1965.
181. *Taqrīru al-ḥaqqi fī al-markazi min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi wa-al-ḥikmati* (Settling the Truth in Its Place), Arabic, 67 {16}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2391 (with Bayezid II's seal).
182. *Majmū'atun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 182a. *Maṣāri' al-Muṣāri' fī al-Muḥākamati bayn al-Shahristānī wa-Ibn Sīnā min qibal 'ilm al-kalām* (Ground for the Wrestler: Debates between al-Shahristānī and Avicenna), 67 {17–18}.
 - 182b. *Risālatāni ukhrāyāni* (Two other treatises), 67 {18}.
183. *Majmū'atun min rasā'il ḥawāshī mawālī al-Rūmi fī baḥṭhi al-jihati min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Compendium Containing the Treatises of the Dignitary Scholars of Rūm on the Subject of Matter of Sciences), 67–68 {18–1}.
184. *Majmū'atun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 184a. *rasā'il fī al-manṭiqi wa-al-jadali wa-al-'arūḍi* (Treatises on Logic, Dialectics, and Prosody), 68 {1}.
 - 184b. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Al-Risālatu al-quḍsiyyatu fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Holy Treatise), Arabic, 68 {2}.
185. *Majmū'atun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 185a. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1210). *Zādu ma'ādin* (Provisions of the Hereafter), Persian, 68 {3}.
 - 185b. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Al-Risālatu al-quḍsiyyatu* (Holy Treatise), Arabic, 68 {3–4}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2052 (with Bayezid II's seal).
186. *Majmū'atun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 186a. Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (d. 1325). *Sharḥu Qawā'id al-'aqā'id al-musammā bi-Kashfi al-fawā'id fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Discovering the Benefits: Commentary on the Principles of Creed), Arabic, 68 {4–5}. EDITION: Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī. *Kashf al-Fawā'id fī Sharḥi Qawā'id al-'Aqā'id*, ed. Ḥasan Muḥammad Makki 'Āmilī. Beirut: Dār al-Ṣafwa, 1993.
 - 186b. *Sharḥu Ḥikmati al-hidāyati* (Commentary on the Guide to Wisdom), 68 {5–6}
 - 186c.
187. *Majmū'atun awwaluhā Qawā'idu al-'aqā'id fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Compendium containing [several books,] the first of which is the Principles of Creed [by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī, d. 1274]), Arabic, 68 {6}.
188. *Majmū'atun* (Compendium) containing:
 - 187a. Imām-zāda Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (d. 1177). *Uqūdu al-'aqā'id fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi* (Intricate Issues of Creed), Arabic in verse, 68 {7}.
 - 187b. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu ḥusāmi al-kalāmi* (Decisive Word), 68 {7–8}.
 - 187c. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu al-ḥaddi* (Book of Definition), 68 {8–9}.

BOOKS ON ISLAMIC JURISPRUDENCE, SCHOOLS OF LAW, AND BIOGRAPHIES OF IMAMS FROM THE HANAFI SCHOOL

The preamble to the inventory of books donated by Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–46, 1451–81) to the madrasas of his mosque complex in Istanbul (now the “Fatih” collection in the Süleymaniye Library) illustrates fifteenth-century Ottoman dynastic ambitions, along with the concerns and goals of book collecting at the time. The author of the preamble, Muhammad bin Hidir bin el-Haj Hasan, encapsulates the prevailing attitudes of his time and milieu concerning books. The themes that he underscores—namely, preservation, founding institutions, allocating resources, and reviving books by reading—are similar to remarks made by ‘Atufi in the Arabic preamble to the inventory of the palace library during the reign of Mehmed II’s son, Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512), which also indicates the significance of books for learning as well as the patronage of Ottoman sultans as custodians of books (see Appendix V at the end of this volume). In his introduction ‘Atufi mentions “the Book,” i.e., the Qur’an, as a pillar for knowledge and certainty (*‘imādan li’l-‘ilm wa al-yaqīn*) and indicates qualities exemplified in the person of the Prophet Muhammad, “who combined the knowledge of those who went before and those who came later” (*jama’a ‘ulūm al-awwalīn wa al-ākhirīn*). ‘Atufi refers to the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II as “the most knowledgeable sultan,” as he “resolved to attend to the books of the religious sciences” and appointed “one of his slaves” to classify and catalogue every book in his “imperial treasury” (*khizānat al-‘āmira*).¹

The inventory of the books endowed by Mehmed II to his mosque-and-madrasa complex in Istanbul was prepared in 968 (1560–61) during the reign of Sultan Süleyman I (r. 1520–66). The preamble to this inventory is worth quoting in full:

Thanks and gratitude belong to God who made His Noble Book [i.e., the Qur’an] protected and well-preserved in a way that neither alterations nor corruption would harm it. Peace and blessings to His Messenger whose prophetic reports, not affected by forgery or alterations, reached us in an uninterrupted manner... Then, God Almighty made scholars of the past spend their utmost effort to comprehend the subtleties and deep meanings of His everlasting book, and to obtain the sources of the Prophetic reports. Then, they began establishing the foundational principles (*tamhīd al-uṣūl*), and establishing proofs and substantiating the legal matters, and recording the exemplary cases of law, perfecting the creed and strengthening the principles in a way that should suffice for what the Muslim community would have in terms of the exemplary events and normative rulings until the end of the world. Then, they began writing precious books on paper with the intention of ensuring their perpetuity among the people, and compiled books in every science, be it a Qur’anic commentary, prophetic tradition, legal theory, or substantive law. Similarly, they wrote ancillary books to these disciplines on the Arabic sciences and literary arts. They wrote books that were easy to understand and concise. Thereafter, the successor generation followed them in this path: With these books, the house of science and knowledge became well fortified, and the garden of arbitration of truth and falsehood was adorned from all sides. Thus, in this fashion, the affairs of learning will continue until the end of time. Therefore, it is required of us to preserve (*ri’āya*) the books and strive to collect them from every possible place in which they exist (*al-sa’y fi jam’ihā min mazānnihā wa iqtinā’ihā*) and allocate resources to obtain them, spending utmost effort in studying them, and making them alive through reading (*ihyā*). One should avoid abandoning and destroying them (*ta’ṭīlihā wa ifnā’ihā*), for reading revives religion, thus bringing many rewards for the hereafter. Therefore, every Muslim who wishes to do good deeds should adorn their accounts with these kinds of charitable acts to obtain bountiful rewards.

Among those who paid utmost attention in this regard is Sultan Mehmed bin Murad Khan...who collected precious books and exquisite copies of scriptures in a way that such a collection had never been assembled before. He entrusted them to his book treasury (*khizāna*) in the mosque that he built in Istanbul, still protected under the shade of his patronage. He endowed them to his madrasa, which the ear of time had never heard. Many other charitable people emulated the sultan, and endowed to this library their own books to have a share in the rewards in the hereafter. With these donations, the quantity of books reached high numbers, benefiting many people. Caretakers (*hafaza*), appointed and salaried by the order of the sultan, protected and preserved these books. Each one of them carried out required duties during their lifetime until the time of [appointment] of a certain Arab named al-Ḥāj Muḥammad. He himself toiled in this manner to maintain the books until he died.²

In terms of the number of books, the endowed library of Mehmed II, as listed in an earlier inventory prepared by Şah Çelebi İbnü'l Fenari around 907–18 (1501–12), had reached 1,241³ by the time of Bayezid II, in comparison to the roughly 5,700 volumes (7,200 titles) enumerated in 'Atufi's inventory. The palace library collection in general and the *fiqh* (jurisprudence) section in particular demonstrate the complex relationship of Ottoman imperial elites to books as custodians and collectors who enabled the preservation of the medieval Islamic legacy even if they also disregarded some aspects of that learning.

The history of books and libraries in the Ottoman empire has been a matter of scholarly concern for quite some time; yet we are still far from situating such books adequately in their historical contexts. The diffusion and circulation of legal books before they were ultimately deposited in the palace library needs further study in order to understand the formation of this particular collection. Conceptually, the royal library follows the established Islamic tradition, for it is referred to as a book "treasury" (*khizāna*).⁴ However, this term was not limited to the imperial library alone; it also refers to the libraries of viziers and others. For example, a copy of the *Nashāt al-şudūr* (Joy of Hearts), a significant book on schools of law by Muhyiddin al-Kafiyaji (d. 1474), a Hanafi Mamluk scholar of Rumi origins, was copied for the library (*khizāna*) of the grand vizier Mahmud Pasha (d. 1474).⁵

Major ways of acquiring books for the palace library included purchases, gifts, and copying for the personal study (*muṭāla'a*) of the sultan. The books that were copied for this library and those copied, presumably, for the sultan's personal study feature two different kinds of ex-libris notation, at least during the time of Mehmed II. For the palace library (*khizāna*), the ex-libris usually started with the expression of "by order of the treasury" (*bi-rasmi khizānati*), whereas books copied for the sultan's personal study have an ex-libris starting with the expression "by order for personal study" (*bi-rasmi al-muṭāla'ati*).

In the late medieval world, books were often recycled from previous libraries. Both Mehmed II and Bayezid II seem to have taken a serious interest in books that were associated with famous libraries. Some of the books that had been copied for other potentates, or that once belonged to a different royal library, ended up in the Topkapı Palace Library in Istanbul.⁶ Emigrant scholars seeking patronage often presented books as gifts to high-ranking dignitaries as well as to sultans. For instance, Shaykh 'Ali Muḥammad b. Mas'ud al-Shahrudi al-Bistami, popularly known as Musannifek (d. 1470), who was once in the circle of the Timurid ruler Shah-rukh (r. 1405–47), presented about sixty of his own works to Mehmed II. He eventually bequeathed his personal book collection to the library of this sultan's mosque-and-madrasa complex in Istanbul.⁷ Patronage, gifts, and readership patterns contributed to the production, circulation, and dissemination of books assembled in the palace library that Bayezid II inherited from his father, an already rich collection that he further expanded. Considering the large number and diversity of books on various branches of Islamic law, the following essay focuses primarily on a select number of legal books on substantive law (*furū'*), and highlights special aspects of the palace library collection. Some of the books, in both legal and other categories, have survived only in single copies thanks to this library.

In the post-formative era, the textual production of substantive law (*kutub al-fiqh*) in the Hanafi legal school continued in two major genres of legal writing. These two genres, which are intimately interrelated, served as the primary vehicles for the articulation of legal thought and discourse. This is not, however, to disregard the im-

portance of other types of legal writings such as legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), comparative legal studies of Islamic law, the science of legal disagreements and disputes (*ʿilm al-khilāf*, *ʿilm al-ikhtilāf*), and other sub-disciplines of substantive law, such as the etiquette of judges (*adab al-qāḍī*) and the science of legal writings (*ʿilm al-shurūṭ*). ʿAtufi lists some of these genres, but the bulk of the works in the inventory are either canonical legal books (*al-muṭūn*) or works of juridical opinions (*fatāwā*, *nawāzil*).

The legal books listed in ʿAtufi's inventory primarily concern the Hanafi school of law, the standard in the lands of Rum, which indicates that the collection probably had a practical dimension. Books belonging to the other schools of law are limited in number and were not collected systematically. Still, the inventory enumerates an impressive body of legal texts on diverse topics and other Sunni schools of law. For assessing the number and variety of books in the palace library, the collection of books in Mehmed II's mosque complex in Istanbul provides a useful comparative angle, but here I limit myself to the list recorded in ʿAtufi's inventory. Books on substantive law in this inventory generally reflect the post-twelfth-century process of canonization in the Hanafi school.

One may surmise a rough ordering of legal books in terms of textual hierarchy and chronology, yet ʿAtufi occasionally digresses from this apparent order and records books that do not necessarily fit into a chronological schema. This is particularly the case with regard to works by the early Hanafi jurists. For example, Imam Muhammad Shaybani's (d. 805) books come after the entries on al-Marghinani's (d. 1197) *al-Bidāya* (The Beginning), 83 {2–12}, and its commentary *al-Hidāya* (The Guidance), 83 {2–12}, and *Kitāb al-aṣl* (Book of Sources and Principles, 83 {13–14}) by Imam Muhammad al-Shaybani. While the *Mukhtaṣar* (Compendium, 84 {14}) of al-Karkhi (d. 952) is listed immediately after the books by al-Shaybani, the *Mukhtaṣar* (Compendium, 84 {15}) of al-Tahawi (d. 952) comes after two books on the etiquette of judges, which were written after this compendium. Otherwise, books that are commentaries on major texts, or that belong to a genre that includes many books, are typically listed together.

Legal books are cited generally by their abridged and well-known titles in legal scholarship. Authors are usually not mentioned unless the book bears a title that can possibly be misattributed or confused, such as *al-Bidāya* of al-Marghinani or al-Ghazali (d. 1111). In such cases, the author's name is not given in full but rather in an abridged form. Books by Ottoman scholars are generally listed with the author's name, again, in abridged form (such as Qadi Simawna), or using the honorific *al-Mawlā* (the master) and the first name. The language of a book is only specified if it was written in Persian or Turkish, because the norm is assumed to be Arabic. Similarly, books are also commonly identified by their school of law only if they are not from the Hanafi school. In two instances, ʿAtufi remarks on the copyists, since they were well-known figures in the Ottoman realm, the Timurid scholar al-Sayyid al-Sharif al-Jurjani (d. 1413) and the Ottoman scholar Hızır Shah al-Balati (d. 1449) (83 {9, 12}).

The legal books in the palace library exhibit geographical and intellectual connectivity, both diachronically and synchronically, across a wide region. The inventory demonstrates the interconnection of the Ottoman Hanafi legal tradition with the Hanafis of Iran, with Mamluk Cairo and its cultural hinterlands, and especially with the Persian-speaking populations of Central Asia, as well as medieval India. Works from these regions are the products of the scholarly milieu of Hanafis and Shafi'is before the advent of Safavid rule in Iran in 1501 and the establishment of Imami Shi'ism. The religio-legal history of medieval Iran, India, Anatolia, and Mamluk Cairo needs to be explored further through an intensive investigation of the links between these regions. Likewise, the textual production of scholars and the circulation of their works await more detailed studies based on the holdings of manuscript libraries. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, texts were often disseminated from the eastern Islamic world to the West, including Anatolia, where significant numbers of books were written and translated. Among the inventory's legal books in Persian, the books *ʿUmdat al-Islām* (Buttress of Islam, 97 {11}) by a certain Abd al-Aziz⁸ and *Asās al-Islām*⁹ (Foundation of Islam, 98 {19}) by an anonymous author and their translations into old Anatolian Turkish are two examples that show the dissemi-

nation of Persianate Hanafism in fifteenth-century Anatolia. From this period, two legal books in Turkish enjoyed a wider and more prolonged readership and circulation, namely Abu Hafs al-Nasafi's (d. 1142) versified book on legal disagreements, *al-Khilāfīyāt* (90 {16}), as well as the *Muqaddima* (Prolegomena, 98 {17}) of Kutbeddin al-Izniki (d. 1418).¹⁰

EARLY HANAFI TEXTS FROM ABU HANIFA AND HIS CIRCLE

Although the early canonical texts of the Hanafi school¹¹ do not constitute the main strength of the palace library, some examples belonging to this category are represented in the inventory. Canon formation in the Hanafi school, as in other schools of Islamic law, started in the formative period and continued over a long expanse of time with various turning points and ruptures. The formation of textual canons began with the eponymous founders of the schools of law and their students.¹² What jurists called *masā'il* (questions, or exemplary legal cases) formed the basis of these early legal traditions. Within the context of legal deliberation and discussion, a number of texts gained canonical status, which jurists of the later period considered as arbiters of the various legal issues at hand. Of those eponymous figures, no text by Abu Hanifa (d. 767)¹³ has survived.

The legal positions of early Hanafi scholars are preserved through the works of Imam Muhammad al-Shaybani, who compiled a number of texts that contain the legal positions of Abu Hanifa and his circle. Al-Shaybani's *al-Aṣl* (The Book of Principles), which gained canonical status within the normative hierarchy of the Hanafi school, contains the most authoritative legal opinions, called *zāhir al-riwāya*, "legal opinions whose authenticity is undisputed." Atufi lists four of al-Shaybani's works, *Kitāb al-aṣl* (83 {13}), its abridgement titled *Mukhtaṣar al-Jāmi' al-kabīr* (Abridgement of the Comprehensive Compilation, 83 {3}),¹⁴ the *al-Jāmi' al-saghīr* (Minor Compilation), and *Sīyar al-kabīr* (The Book of International Conduct, 83 {13}).¹⁵ These were his major works, and they inspired a corpus of commentaries by ninth- and tenth-century jurists.¹⁶ Books by other founding jurists of the Hanafi school, such as Abu Yusuf

(d. 767), are not listed. Similarly, works by ninth-century jurists do not seem to have been available at the time.

The abridged legal compendium (*mukhtaṣar*) genre represents a much wider phenomenon of textual production in Islamic schools of law during the ninth and tenth centuries. Such compendiums represent a significant step in the canonization of the traditions of the Hanafi school, particularly through texts from the tenth¹⁷ and eleventh centuries. These works were produced for various reasons, including for teaching and disseminating the basic principles and preferred legal opinions of Hanafi doctrine on substantive matters. Abridged texts were often used as major vehicles for legal training in the early history of the Islamic schools of law. Among these, the compendium of Abu al-Husayn Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Jafar al-Quduri (d. 1037) was read and copied extensively and enjoyed great popularity until the twentieth century as one of the canonical texts of the Hanafi school. The inventory lists eight copies (87 {9–12}) of this compendium as well as a commentary on it (87 {16–17}).

In addition to the work of al-Quduri, two of the other major abridged compendiums are listed in the inventory, with a single copy of each (83 {14–15}): the *Mukhtaṣar* of Abu al-Hasan al-Karkhi (d. 952), and that of Abu Ja'far Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Salamah b. al-Tahawi (d. 933). These scholars are leading figures of Iraqi Hanafism.¹⁸ Since there is no extant copy of al-Karkhi's work, which is known only through commentaries, it is important to note that the palace library seems to have had a copy of it. If Atufi's attribution is correct, then the book survived at least in a single copy until the early sixteenth century. Further research might enable us to explain why this particular work was not reproduced in multiple copies. Perhaps al-Karkhi's affiliation with the Mu'tazili school of theology played a role in the reception of his works in general, given the limited number of surviving books by him. Even though there are several manuscripts that bear the title of *Mukhtaṣar* by al-Karkhi, a close examination of the existing manuscripts indicates their misattribution.¹⁹

As for al-Tahawi's compendium, it represents a strong methodological engagement with the Shafi'i school, given that the author was formerly a Shafi'i scholar who later adopted the Hanafi school and became a leading

Hanafi scholar of his time. In contrast, al-Tahawi's maternal uncle, al-Muzani, a former Hanafi who turned to the Shafi'i school, wrote a compendium on Shafi'i *fiqh*, of which the palace library of Bayezid II does not hold a copy.²⁰

Books by other founding figures, such as Abu Yusuf from the Hanafi school, or works representing other schools of law, are absent from the inventory. The absence of such books could be due to their lack of availability at that particular time, or to the fact that the transmission of legal discourses through later canonical texts relegated books by the founding figures to secondary positions. In any case, the palace library's collection of select works from early Hanafi legal production is a significant holding for the early sixteenth century. These early Hanafi works indicate, to a certain degree, a shift in the direction of legal education, textual production, and articulation of law in the post-tenth-century world. In the legal education and interpretation, canonical *mutūn* texts and the formation of the *nawāzil* (emergent legal cases) represent a new method. Texts of *nawāzil* constituted a novel canon of exemplary cases and legal precedents for the jurists of subsequent periods.

CANONICAL TEXTS AND THEIR COMMENTARIES

At the top of the list is *Kitāb al-bidāya* (Book of the Introduction, 83 {2}, two copies) and its commentary, *al-Hidāya* (The Guidance, 83 {2–12}, eleven copies) by Abu al-Hasan Burhan al-din 'Alī bin 'Abd al-Jalil al-Farghani al-Marghinani. For its clarity, presentation of legal cases, and skillful incorporation of legal disagreements into a textbook, *al-Hidāya* remained one of the most widely read books in the Hanafi tradition long after its compilation. One encounters notes of praise for this work on various manuscript copies of it. One such note, recorded on the margin of a manuscript, puns on the word "guidance" in the sense of leading aright, "the *Book of Guidance* leads aright its preserver and memorizer, so attend to it and memorize and preserve it."²¹ The famous Ottoman scholar Taşköprüzade (d. 1561) records that the *Book of Guidance* "abrogated what has been written before it on the science of law."²² It has remained one of

the most popular books on substantive law and was considered the major reference work for legal cases, being one of the first books ever translated into English in India.

The next books listed at the beginning of this section in 'Atufi's inventory are the four canonical texts (*mutūn al-arba'a*) and their commentaries. These four were written by Hanafi jurists of Central Asia, the second major geographical zone after Iraq for Hanafism. In fact, the Hanafi legal tradition, having roots in Iraq, eventually became associated primarily with various centers in Central Asia, such as Samarqand, Balkh, Bukhara, and other major cities of Transoxiana. The history of Hanafism in this vast terrain has yet to be written. The four canonical texts and their commentaries constitute a substantial portion of this section of the palace library. These are the *Mukhtār* (The Choices) by Abu al-Fadl Majd al-Din 'Abd Allah al-Mawsili (d. 1284); five copies of the *Majma' al-baḥrayn wa multaḡā al-nahrayn* (Conjunction of the Two Seas and Two Rivers) by Muzaffar al-Din Ahmad Ibn al-Sa'ati (d. 1295); five copies of *al-Wiqāya* (The Protection)²³ by Burhan al-Din Mahmud bin Sadr al-Shari'ah al-Awwal al-Mahbubi (d. 1346); and five copies of *al-Kanz al-daḡā'iq* (The Treasury of the Subtleties) by Abu al-Barakat 'Abd Allah bin Ahmad al-Nasafi (d. 1310). Not only Ottomans but also Hanafi scholars at large regarded these works as authoritative texts (*matn*) containing the preferred opinions of early Hanafi scholars. The commentaries provide contextual information on how canon formation in the Hanafi school developed according to changing circumstances, a process that involved adaptation, appropriation, transformation, and selection within the larger framework of *madhhab* (school of law) scholarship. Moreover, commentaries also introduce the reader to larger legal questions and methodological challenges concerning particular subjects. Many of these commentaries explain in detail the legal basis of a specific opinion attributed to early Hanafi scholars, and later developments within the school. Among these books, *al-Hidāya* and *al-Wiqāya* are the texts most frequently cited and commented on by fifteenth-century Ottoman scholars. The inventory contains major commentaries on the four texts that were available to those Ottoman scholars, as

well as commentaries written by the Ottoman scholars themselves. Indeed, all the major commentaries and glosses on *al-Hidāya* are found in the palace library inventory, and all of them adopt titles that rhyme with it, such as *al-Kifāya*, *al-Ghāya*, and *al-Nihāya* (84 {18–19}, 84 {1–6}). Likewise with the *Wiqāya* and its commentaries (84 {11–19}, 85 {1–19}, 86 {1–3}, thirteen copies).

While the library also reflects an interest in works produced by Ottoman scholars, not all of their known legal commentaries on the canonical texts are included in the inventory. Yet the palace library preserved several early Ottoman legal works that otherwise would have been lost. A case in point is *al-Kunūz al-anwār fī sharḥ rumūz al-asrār* (The Treasuries of the Illumination in Explanations of Symbols of the Secrets, 80 {4–5}), and *al-ʿInāya fī sharḥ al-wiqāya* (The Help in Explaining the Guidance, 84 {5–6}) by ‘Alī bin Khidr bin ‘Alī bin ‘Ala’ al-Dīn al-Karahisari al-Aswad, also known as Kara Hoca (d. 1397). These two books have survived only in single copies.²⁴ The copyist of *al-Rumūz* mentions that he saw al-Aswad’s commentary on *al-Wiqāya* in two volumes, which was well received. As for the original text of *Rumūz al-asrār*, it was written by a certain Abu Bakr bin Ibrahim, and it has survived only through the commentary by ‘Ala al-din al-Aswad. Kara Hoca commended Abu Bakr bin Ibrahim with the following accolades: “the Imam, the pious one, the verifier, a thorough scholar par excellence, crown of religion and religiosity, and the inheritor of prophets and messengers.” Furthermore, he praised *Rumūz al-asrār* as a book that “eyes have not seen a second of, and ears have not heard the likes of its construction in exquisite language, yet it is a high mountain whose summit is not reached by every climber, and a stronghold whose door will not yield to crashers, a battlefield where not everyone can win.”²⁵

‘Ala’ al-din explains that he wrote the commentary upon a request by “Sultān Murād Beg bin Sultān Orḡān” (i.e., the Ottoman Sultan Murad I, r. 1362–89), whom he glorifies as a universal sovereign. While such introductory remarks provide us with insights on the book, they were even more relevant to contemporaneous readers. The author writes:

I was ordered with the language of inspiration, not by a delusive imagination, to write a commentary which unveils

its obscurities, solves its difficulties, explains its subtle points, and explicates indications of its sentences. [...] I adorned the beginning of it with the titles of the divinely supported sovereign, exalted shah of shahs, the one who showers generosity and kindness [...] the leader of *ghazis*, *mujahids* ... Since it is the custom to approach kings and the great ones with a gift appropriate to their status, I deemed to make this commentary adorned with his noble name [in order for it] to remain till the end of the time.²⁶

The only existing manuscript of *al-Kunūz*, copied²⁷ in 1367, testifies to a vibrant textual production and sophistication of Ottoman scholarship in the late fourteenth century. Kara Hoca’s work was not an isolated text from this period. Mecdi Efendi (d. 1591), who translated the *Shaqā’iq al-Nu’māniyya* (Peonies of the Garden [of Abu Hanifa]), gives his biography in the second rank (*ṭabaqa*), namely among the scholars of the era of the Ottoman ruler Orhan Bey (d. 1362). The biography of ‘Ala’ al-din al-Aswad is recorded among that of five other scholars of the period who were leading figures of the burgeoning textual tradition in the Ottoman scholarly world.²⁸ The library inventory also lists other contemporary works by Ottoman and Anatolian scholars whose impact was much longer lasting than that of *al-Kunūz*.

In terms of scholarly impact and circulation of books, the Anatolian scholar Ibn Malak (d. 1395), who flourished in the principality of the Sons of Aydın (Aydınids) before it fell to the Ottomans, enjoyed a wide readership and scholarly reception. Not only his *Sharḥ al-manār* (Commentary on the Lighthouse), but also his *Sharḥu majma‘ al-baḥrayn* (Commentary on the Confluence of Two Seas) had an extensive longevity both within the Ottoman domains and beyond. These works by Ibn Malak, who was also known as Ibn Ferište (Ferişteoğlu), are among the highest achievements of the scholars of Rum as recognized by their wide readership until the modern era. Taşköprüzade notes that “his commentary on the conjoining of two seas is a fine commentary and beautiful explanation and combines many useful subtle points and is well-regarded in the lands of *Rūm*.”²⁹

Similarly, the oeuvres of the Ottoman scholars Shaykh Badr al-din (Bedreddin, d. ca. 1420) and Molla Khusraw (Hüsrev, d. 1480) traveled beyond the lands of Rum, as exemplified by three of their works, which were disseminated in a much wider terrain between Cairo and

India. In addition to the inherited Hanafi legacy, these new legal works by Ottoman scholars themselves became authoritative texts with the status of *mutūn* (authoritative legal manuals) and were used for instruction in law. Such works included *Mir'āt al-Uṣūl* (Mirrors for the Legal Theory) and *Durar wa Ghurar* (Pearls and Blazes), both by Molla Hüsrev, and the *Jāmi' al-Fuṣūlayn* (The Conjoiner of Two *Fuṣūls*) by Shaykh Badr al-Din al-Simawi, upon which many critical commentaries were written in the following centuries.

Commentaries comprise the bulk of canonical or authoritative texts in 'Atufi's inventory. There were various motives behind commentary writing, which are often indicated by the commentators (*muḥashshīs*). *Muṭūns* (canonical texts) as books of instruction required constant unpacking, according to the changing needs and circumstances of readers in later generations. Commentators also worked to improve the original text by adding new information that was omitted by the main author. Most of the commentators represented in the palace library inventory are from the era of Mehmed II, including Molla Niksari (d. 1495). Molla Niksari comments that "when Sadr al-Shari'a wrote his commentary on *al-Wiqāya*, he left out some of the legal matters without fully explaining them... Yet, it occurred to me that it is not some of the matters, but rather all of the text was in need of explanation. Therefore, I asked God to help me in my endeavor to explain each legal case (*mas'ala*) with the legal basis for it (*dalīl*)."³⁰ Such remarks, which can be found in abundance in the period, show the Ottoman scholars' competitiveness as well as their critical attitude toward received legal wisdom.

Canonical texts and their medieval and Ottoman commentaries were the main vehicles through which legal education was conducted and legal discourse articulated by the integrated interpretative community of the Hanafis. The members of this community were connected to their colleagues through discursive networks that extended beyond the Ottoman realm as well as to local representatives of the legal tradition. Existing legal commentaries in the library inventory also indicate the maturity and self-confidence of the Ottoman scholarly world in its own skills and achievements, as is amply attested in the introductions of their respective works.

CENTRAL ASIAN HANAFISM AND WORKS ON NEW LEGAL PROBLEMS (*NAWĀZIL*, *WĀQI'ĀT*) AND MAJOR COMPILATIONS (*AL-MABSŪṬ*)

One of the strengths of the palace library is its holdings of the major legal compilations (*mabsūṭ*) and works of *nawāzil* or *wāqi'āt*, namely compilations of the works of post-canonical legal scholars (88 {1–19}, 89 {1–19}, 90 {1–19}, 91 {1–19}, 92 {1–14}). These works were compiled in Central Asia, especially in two major centers of learning: Bukhara and Samarqand.³¹ Along with other fatwa compilations, *nawāzil* formed one of the bases of Ottoman legal thought, serving in particular as a set of precedents in emerging legal cases. "Well-regarded books" (*al-kutub al-mu'tabara*) is a term that refers largely to these legal compilations of fatwas as well as to other canonical texts in the Hanafi tradition.³² The inventory contains major fatwa collections such as *Fatāwā Qāḍikhān*, *Tatarkhāniyya*, and *Bazzāziyya*, among others, as well as al-Sarakhsi's *al-Mabsūṭ*.³³ The first ever compilation of the emergent legal opinions (*nawāzil*) is the work by Abu al-Layth al-Samarqandi (d. 983?), which is missing in the inventory. How much of the actual legal production of the jurists of Central Asia survived awaits further study, given the fact that existing Ottoman libraries contain many of them.³⁴ One striking book in the inventory is a Turkish translation of the *Fatāwā al-Tatarkhāniyya* (88 {13}), which is no longer extant.

BOOKS FROM THE MAMLUK REALMS

The inventory includes a small number of books written in the Mamluk domains. Al-Ruhawi's (d. ca. mid-fifteenth century) *al-Bihār* (The Seas) represents one of the best examples of instructional texts for the study of law. Since it is versified, it was perhaps expected that students would memorize the text in its entirety. The other well-known versified book is 'Abd al-Wahhab ibn Ahmad ibn Wahban's (d. 1367) *al-Manẓūmāt* (The Versified Instruction for Law). Abu'l-Mahasin Husam al-Din Abi 'Abd Allah Hasan bin Sharaf al-Ruhawi's (d. ca. end of the fifteenth century)³⁵ *Bihār*,³⁶ written in verse, was particularly geared towards teaching Hanafi *fiqh* to ma-

drasa students. Given that he relies on the Compendium of Quduri and the Versified Book of Legal Disagreements of al-Nasafi, as well as the *Majmaʿ al-Bahrayn*, this book must be from the early fifteenth century.³⁷ The author, also known as Husam al-Din, composed his book by putting in verse *Majmaʿ al-Bahrayn* with many of his own additions to it. *Al-Bihār* is also characterized by a distinctive use of symbols to indicate legal disagreements (*al-khilāf*) among Hanafi jurists. Husam al-Din al-Ruhawi adopted the meter of *al-Shātibiyya*, which is an important book on the science of Qurʾanic variations and reading (*Qirāʾāt*). Al-Ruhawi was a teacher of Abu Muhammad Mahmud bin Ahmad al-Ayni's (d. 1451), whose commentary, called *al-Durar al-zāhira*, was read and admired by Tashköprüzade.³⁸ The inventory does not contain this particular book by al-Ayni, but it does include his commentary on *Kanz al-Daqaʾiq* (86 {19}).

Gifts from scholars who lived outside the Ottoman dominions represent a small but significant constellation of books in the palace library. The reputation of Ottoman sultans, both as successful empire builders and as patrons of the arts and sciences, reached beyond their imperial realms and attracted the attention of scholars and literati in Iran as well as in the Mamluk domains. A case in point is the works of Nur al-Din ʿAli bin ʿAbdullah Ahmad al-Hasan al-Samhudi (d. 1509),³⁹ a well-known Shafiʿi scholar who resided in Mecca and Medina. In a professionally executed colophon in the Mamluk style, al-Samhudi indicates that with these books, he wished to render a service to Sultan Bayezid II, whom he refers to with lofty titles such as “Sultan of Islam and the Muslims, and Beacon of the Islamic Sultans” (*Sulṭān al-Islām wa-al-muslimīn, ʿalam al-sālaṭīn al-Islām*), as well as “Master of the Dominions of Rum and the Islamic States” (*Ṣāhib al-mamālik al-rūmiyya wa al-duwal al-islāmiyya*),⁴⁰ leaving out the Arabs from the title. He acknowledges that Bayezid II seized the well-deserved title of “Sultan of all Muslims” from other potentates by waging the obligatory jihad. Moreover, he affirms that Bayezid holds the power of discernment in the understanding of sciences both in their internal and external meanings. Not least, he adds that books receive the attention of the sultan. As al-Samhudi notes in the introduction, he wanted to secure the continuation of

the sultan's financial favors for himself and the four sons of his brother.

Other contemporary scholars from the Mamluk domains also refer to the Ottoman sultan Bayezid with universalizing titles. Among the small number of texts on the Shafiʿi school, Muhammad al-Azdi al-Shafiʿi's book *Kitāb al-iḍāḥ al-aghālīṭ al-mawjūda fī al-wasīṭ* (Explanation of Existing Errors in the Book of *al-Wasīṭ*) is a critical commentary on al-Ghazali's *al-Wasīṭ* (The Intermediate). The author mentions that he corrected fifty legal errors in *The Intermediate*. The unique copy of this work in the palace library may shed some light on the legal history of the Shafiʿi school and its early history in general. Such seemingly minor works could open up new lines of inquiry on the reception history of famous and well-known figures such as al-Ghazali, since they include critical engagement with such works.⁴¹

Although the palace library lacks a systematic collection of books from any school of law other than the Hanafi school, it still contains rare books such as the *Hilyat al-ʿulamāʾ* (Ornament of Scholars, 93 {3}) by the Shafiʿite scholar Qaffal al-Shashi (d. 976). Likewise, the encyclopedic legal work *al-Ḥawi* (The Comprehensive) by al-Mawardi (d. 1058) was also available. Rare books of discontinued schools of law survived thanks to the collection of the palace library. One such case is the single known copy in five volumes of *al-Muḥallā* (The Bejeweled) by Ibn Hazm (d. 1064), the renowned scholar of the *ẓāhirī* school from al-Andalus (95 {8–9}).⁴² The extant volumes of *The Bejeweled* in Istanbul libraries once belonged to the palace library, as attested by the notations of ʿAtufi.⁴³ However, Shiʿi schools of law are entirely missing from his inventory.

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARIES (ṬABAQĀT) IN THE PALACE LIBRARY

The biographical dictionaries in the palace library inventory feature only a small number of books on Hanafi and Shafiʿi scholars. As far as the Shafiʿi school is concerned, the palace library only had Nawawi's (d. 1277) biographical dictionary along with Ibn Salah's (d. 1245) *Hilyat al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī* (97 {1–6}). Taj al-Din al-Subki's (d. 1370) major work on the biographies of Shafiʿi schol-

ars is missing from the inventory. His contemporary ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Qurashi’s (d. 1373) *al-Jawāhir al-muḍīyya* (Sparkling Jewelleries), which is the largest compilation of scholarly biographies on the Hanafi school, was available at the palace library (101 {10}). Yet no other biographical dictionary of Hanafi jurists is listed in the inventory, such as those written by Ibn Duqmaq (d. 1407) and Ibn Qutlubugha (d. 1475) from Cairo-based Mamluk scholars.

Among books in this category, the highlight of the palace library is a unique manuscript by a son of the famous scholar of Qur’anic recitation and reading variations, Muhammad Ibn al-Jazari (d. 1429). This unique manuscript by Ibn al-Jazari’s son, *Kitāb al-darajāt al-‘aliyya fi ṭabaqāt al-‘ulamā al-ḥanafīyya* (The Sublime Status on the Biographies of the Hanafi Scholars, 97 {14}) was copied for the library of the Timurid ruler Ulugh Beg (r. 1447–49).⁴⁴ The father of the author of the *Sublime Status* was taken captive by Timur after his victory over the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I (r. 1389–1402). Primarily known as a scholar of Qur’anic and the hadith sciences, Ibn al-Jazari represents one of the itinerant scholars of the Mamluk, Ottoman, and Timurid realms. In the introduction to this work, the author notes that he had seen a draft copy of the *Sparkling Jewelleries* of al-Qurashi and observes that the book contained many biographies of scholars who did not adhere to the Hanafi school, as well as some pseudo-Hanafis, while it left out many modern and ancient (*muta’akḥir wa mutaqaḍdim*) scholars of the Hanafi school. To this date, Qurashi’s biographical dictionary is the largest known compilation on Hanafi scholars of the medieval era. The library inventory carries none of the other known medieval biographical dictionaries of Hanafis, such as those of Ahmad Ibn al-Salt (ca. tenth century) and al-Saymari’s (d. 1045) *Akḥbār Abū Ḥanīfa* (Reports of Abu Hanifa). These two works survived only in limited numbers, and that of al-Saymari, which was copied in Baghdad, only became available in Istanbul in the eighteenth century.⁴⁵

The palace library contains nine copies of *Kitāb manāqib al-imām al-a’zam wa mashāyikhihi wa aṣḥābihi* (Book of Good Deeds of the Greatest Imam [Abu Hanifa] and His Companions and Scholars from His School) by Muwaffaq al-Din Muhammad bin Ahmad al-Kardari (d. 1173) and its abridged versions (101 {3–10}). These in-

clude five copies of the *Manāqib* and four copies of the abridgement⁴⁶ of al-Kardari’s work, which is the most comprehensive and popular biographical treatment of Abu Hanifa and his circles.

BOOKS ON ADAB AL-QĀDĪ (ETIQUETTE OF JUDGES)

Books on the etiquette of judges constitute a significant sub-genre of substantive law, which deals with issues of procedural law, the comportment of judges, and other matters related to law courts and judges. The palace library inventory lists six copies of exclusively Central Asian Hanafi works on this topic: *Fuṣūl al-usrūshaniyya* (*Ushrushanian* Decisive Arbiter, one copy) and *Fuṣūl al-‘imādiyya* (*‘Imāidian* Decisive Arbiter, five copies) by Majd al-Din al-Ushrushani (d. 1234) and Abu al-Fath al-‘Imadi (d. 1271), respectively. Despite their popularity, these two books have not yet received due attention by scholars of Islamic law. They constituted major manuals for judges until the beginning of, and perhaps even after, the fifteenth century as attested by the large number of available manuscripts.

The palace library did not own a copy of the mid-fifteenth century work *Mu‘īn al-ḥukkām* (Aid of Judges) by ‘Ala’ al-Din ‘Ali al-Tarablusi (d. 1445), a scholar from the Mamluk realms and a judge of Jerusalem, even though he presented his commentary on *al-Wiqāya* (titled *al-Istighnā* [The Indispensible]), to the Ottoman Sultan Murad II (r. 1421–44, 1446–51).⁴⁷ It might be the case that the book under consideration had not received a canonical status among the scholarly circles.

The towering Ottoman legal scholar of the early fifteenth century, Shaykh Badr al-Din ibn Simawna,⁴⁸ combined the two *Fuṣūls* mentioned above in a critical synthesis. He called it *Jāmi‘ al-fuṣūlayn* (Unification of Two *Fuṣūls*, 92 {17–19}, five copies), eliminating the repetitions and adding his own preferences (*ikhtiyārāt*). The *Jāmi‘ al-fuṣūlayn* achieved great success and popularity already during the author’s own time and triggered a number of critiques from sixteenth-century Hanafi scholars, who disagreed with his interpretative preferences. In any case, this work continued to receive a favorable readership in the large territories of the Ottoman empire and India, being printed several times in

the twentieth century. At the beginning of some copies of *Jāmi' al-fuṣūlayn*, 218 books and their abridgements are listed as the author's sources. It is not certain, however, whether Shaykh Badr al-Din consulted them all, or whether these were the references used by previous *Fuṣūl* writers. Even then, the list of books provides a comparative perspective on the Central Asian Hanafi books cited by 'Atufi. Two other legal books by Shaykh Badr al-Din, *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt* (The Subtleties of Indications) and *al-Tashūl fī sharḥ laṭā'if al-ishārāt* (The Facilitation on the Commentary of the Subtleties of Indications, 93 {6–8}), which is a commentary on his own work, are also recorded in Atufi's inventory, one of them being copied for the personal study of Mehmed II. Hence, the palace library collection documents the canonization process of this particular genre, which culminated in the already popular work of Shaykh Badr al-Din.

BOOKS ON LEGAL THEORY AND ON THE SCHOOLS OF LAW

Among the Mamluk scholars of Rumi origin, only Muhyiddin al-Kafiyaji (el-Kafiyeci) attracted the attention of the Ottoman ruling elite and scholarly world. Al-Kafiyaji, a prolific pamphleteer and an inventive scholar of his time, embarked upon a new project of studying the Islamic schools of law as an independent discipline detached from legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) and the lives of scholars (*ṭabaqāt*). These two well-established disciplines, among other topics, deal with *ijtihād* (legal reasoning) and *taqlīd* (adherence to a particular school of law). Al-Kafiyaji calls the new discipline the “science of the schools of law” (*‘ilm al-madhhab*), which no other scholar before him had conceived and conceptualized as such. His pamphlet on this topic, *al-Farah wa al-surūr* (The Happiness and Joy), which survived in only a few manuscripts, is not listed in the palace library inventory. Yet his remarkably long and sophisticated commentary on the same book, *Nashāt al-ṣudūr fī sharḥ al-farah wa al-surūr* (Activities of the Hearts on the Commentary of *The Happiness and Joy*), was available in Istanbul a year after its completion. Al-Kafiyaji remarked that he finished writing *Activities of the Hearts* on June 24, 1467 (5 Shawwal 867). It was copied by Yahya bin Muham-

mad al-Khatib on June 19, 1468 for Mahmud Pasha,⁴⁹ the grand vizier of Mehmed II.⁵⁰

The new discipline initiated by al-Kafiyaji, the “science of the schools of law,” examines late medieval theoretical approaches to the age-old discussions of legal reasoning versus adherence to specific schools, as well as epistemological questions regarding the truth value of juridical reasoning vis-à-vis God's knowledge and will. His book, *The Happiness and Joy*, seems to have been appropriated by a certain Ahmed Paşa bin Hızır, who called it *al-Taḥqīq wa al-tawfīq* (The Verification and Harmonization). This is a verbatim copy of the abovementioned book, except for the deletion of al-Kafiyaji's introduction. Even though Ahmed Paşa presented the same book to three Ottoman sultans, Mehmed II, Bayezid II, and Selim I, it does not seem to have received favorable attention. 'Atufi also lists a significant number of other works by al-Kafiyaji.

The palace library also held a single manuscript of Imam al-Haramayn al-Juwayni's (d. 1085) *Mughīt al-khalq fī tarjīḥ al-aḥaqq*⁵¹ (Abundant Rain for the Populace in Preferring the More Correct One, 97 {3}). “The More Correct One” in the title refers to the Shafi'i school, and the work includes a rebuttal by al-Babarti (d. 1384) concerning the superiority of the Hanafi school. Such polemical works on favoring a particular legal school over others constituted a fecund genre in the medieval era.

LEGAL PAMPHLETS (*RISĀLAS*)

Pamphleteering, an emerging genre in Ottoman legal writings in the fifteenth century, became very popular by the early sixteenth century, as oft-debated legal topics and newly emerging legal controversies prompted scholars to devise solutions either within the existing legal tradition or, in the absence of a clear precedent, with novel reasoning. The palace library held certain treatises on subjects that were hotly debated during Mehmed II's reign. Among them are age-old gender concerns in the legal arena, such as whether girls could be beneficiaries of endowments if the endowment charter only uses the word *awlād* (progeny, children). This debate provides clear evidence concerning gender issues and the status

of the female children of endowers. One of these treatises, titled *Risāla dukhūl al-walad al-bint taḥta kalimat al-awlād* (Treatise on Including the Daughters under the Word “Descendants” [as Beneficiaries of Endowments], 97 {19}), is listed in ‘Atufi’s inventory. A note by ‘Atufi indicates that the treatise had been copied from Molla Khusraw’s (Hüsrev) larger book of law, the *Ghurur al-aḥkām* (Pearls of Rulings). This work thus illustrates one of the various mechanisms by which larger texts fragmented into smaller texts, each with their own textual history and patterns of dissemination that were quite independent from the source texts.

The library inventory lists two compendiums (*majmū‘as*) that contain legal pamphlets and other topics (100 {9, 12–13}). Pamphlets also appear on other pages (between 97 and 100), which include 23 titles that start with the word “treatise” (*risāla*). The long-lasting controversy initiated by Molla Khusraw on the question of *walā*, namely, the clientage rights regarding manumitted slaves, is listed in the inventory. However, the responses to his work by contemporaries, such as Molla Ghurani (Gürani) and Hızır Shah Çelebi, as well as Molla Khusraw’s own rejoinder to them, are not recorded in ‘Atufi’s entries. Nevertheless, the library inventory provides ample testimony to the emerging legal genre of pamphleteering, even though its contents are not all-inclusive.

BOOKS ON INHERITANCE LAW

The majority of books on the topic of inheritance law were presented to Bayezid II. They generally consist of short texts, some of them versified, in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish (99 {15, 16, 17–18, 18–19}, 100 {1, 5, 7–11, 12–13, 13–14, 16}). ‘Atufi carefully identifies the language of books on inheritance law if they were written in Persian or Turkish. The extant copies of these books on inheritance contain a section that praises the Sultan Bayezid II. Some of the Persian texts were written by scholars that immigrated to the lands of Rum, one such example being a certain “‘Imād al-Dīn Yahyā b. Aḥmad al-Kāshī.” This scholar laments that even though he had been settled in the lands of Rum for quite some time, he still did not own a dwelling (*khāne*). Yet he remarks that, at

the time of Sultan Bayezid, no one among “the progeny of Adam” (*nasl-i ādam*) remained poor.⁵²

The anonymous author of a book on inheritance law in Turkish similarly praises the Ottoman sultan without mentioning his name. The sultan is referred to as the “Shah of Rum” (*Shāh-i Rūm*), who became a pillar of Islam (*islāma ‘imād oldı ol shāh*). The sultan is praised as the “refuge” (*penāh*) of Rumelia and Anatolia, and the “Shah of Ghazis.” The book provides a good example of the emerging vernacular Turkish in early fifteenth-century Anatolia. Similar to the common trope of early Anatolian Turkish writers, the author apologetically remarks that he wrote it in Turkish.⁵³ Such books may have been composed in response to pressing practical needs of the time. They exemplify a process of vernacularization in the lands of Rum, where Turkish and Persian were not necessarily set in competition but rather coexisted.⁵⁴

CONCLUSION

The palace library, in general, testifies to the ambitions of the Ottoman sultans Mehmed II and Bayezid II as patrons and custodians of books and learning. The inventory prepared by ‘Atufi suggests that the library made available to its readers major legal texts from the era of the foundation of the Hanafi school until the early sixteenth century. Through the library holdings, one may observe larger legal trends and developments of the Hanafi school across an expansive territory, as well as the interconnectedness of broader Hanafi legal and scholarly discourses. Similarly, the library preserves a good number of books on Persianate Hanafism, a legacy that otherwise would have been lost and that remains a field to be explored. Early Ottoman legal texts often survived in single copies through the custodial efforts of the Ottoman imperial elite.

The palace library also shows that from very early on in the fifteenth century, scholars who lived outside Ottoman domains sought patronage by presenting their books to the Ottoman sultan. The Ottoman court had already attracted well-known scholars from the East and would continue to represent an important center of learning and patronage in the subsequent era, with Istanbul as the capital city after 1453. Moreover, the

relatively large quantity of books by Ottoman scholars listed in the inventory testifies to an emerging interpretative community of the lands of Rum.

The palace library contains a significant number of rare items, which survived only in individual copies, as well as copies that were collated (*muqābala*) by the medieval scholars themselves. Collections of these edited and perfected manuscripts show that such copies were sought after and obtained if available. The materiality and material condition of the manuscripts may have played a role in the choice of collecting particular copies. Furthermore, the Ottoman royal book workshop generally enhanced the legibility and aesthetic qualities of legal manuscripts. This is particularly noticeable in books presented for the personal study of sultans.

In the inventory, Arabic is the major language of the legal books, but works in Persian and Turkish were also collected and preserved, which indicates the processes of vernacularization in Central Asia and the lands of Rum. The inventory's books of law suggest that the Ottoman legal landscape was shaped primarily by collecting works of the Hanafi school, which may have served the pressing needs of the Ottoman state and scholars of the time.⁵⁵ The imperial elite seems to have taken a keen interest in Ottoman scholarship in general and Ottoman legal scholarship in particular, which produced many significant works that would eventually acquire a canonical status in the lands of Rum and beyond.

NOTES

Author's Note: I would like to thank Professors Gülrü Necipoğlu and Cemal Kafadar, who read drafts of this paper and offered valuable criticisms. I dedicate this paper to the memory of my dear friend Dr. Shahab Ahmed, *askanahu Allāhu fi fasihi jinānihi*.

1. MS Török F. 59, 11–12.
2. The library inventory of Mehmed II's mosque complex was prepared by Muḥammad b. Khidīr b. el-Ḥāj Ḥasan: TSMA, D. 9559, 1b–2a. This inventory was studied in İsmail Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri Tarihi Gelişimi ve Organizasyonu* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2008), 91–157.
3. Ibid., 110.
4. For the role of book treasuries (*khizānas*) in the preservation of books, see Ayman Fu'ad Sayyid, "Le rôle des conservateurs des *khazā'in al-kutub* dans la reproduction des manuscrits arabes," in *Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Istanbul, March 28–30, 2001*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer and Manfred Kropp (Beirut: Orient Institut; Würzburg: Ergon in Kommission, 2007), 197–203.
5. Muḥyiddin al-Ḳāfiyaji, *Nashāt al-ṣudūr* (SK, Ayasofya MS 1477), fol. 1a.
6. For example, *Kitāb al-darajāt al-'aliyya fi ṭabaqāt al-'ulamā al-hanafīyya* was written for the library of Ulugh Bey as indicated in its ex-libris, TSMA, 2831.
7. See the library inventory of Mehmed II's mosque complex: TSMA, D. 9559.
8. SK, Ayasofya MS 1332.
9. SK, Ayasofya MS 1017.
10. The following two legal books in Persian bear the same title and are listed in the inventory without reference to their authors: Amīr 'Atā' Allāh Maḥmūd b. al Ḥusaynī, *Badāyi' al-aḥkām*, 97 {13} (SK, Ayasofya MS 3826); and Muḥammad bin Sulaymān al-Tankabānī, *Badāyi' al-aḥkām*, 97 {13} (SK, Ayasofya MS 1037).
11. The early history of schools of law has been studied by a number of scholars, including Joseph Schacht, George Makdisi, Christopher Melchert, Eyüp Said Kaya, Nimrod Hurvitz, Nurit Tsafrir, and Ahmed el-Shamsy. For a brief survey and analysis of the various perspectives, see Ahmed el-Shamsy, *The Canonization of Islamic Law: A Social and Intellectual History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 167–69.
12. For the formation of Islamic law, see Lena Salaymeh, *The Beginnings of Islamic Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Wael Hallaq, *The Origins and Evolution of Islamic Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); el-Shamsy, *Canonization of Islamic Law*.
13. The authenticity of books attributed to Abu Hanifa has been disputed.
14. The abridgement was done by a later scholar.
15. SK, Turhan Valide Sultan MS 116; and SK, Laleli MS 975.
16. For a short biography of Shaybani, see TDVİA, s.v. "Şeybani Muhammed bin Hasan," by Aydın Taş; and Majid Khadduri, *The Islamic Law of Nations: Shaybani's Siyar* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1966), 26–46.
17. For a discussion of the role of compendiums in the tenth-century Hanafi school, see Eyyup Said Kaya, "Continuity and Change in Islamic Law: The Concept of Madhhab and the Dimensions of Legal Disagreement in Hanafi Scholarship of the Tenth Century," in *The Islamic School of Law: Evolution, Devolution, and Progress*, ed. Peri Bearman, Rudolph Peters, and Frank E. Vogel (Cambridge, MA: Islamic Legal Studies Program, 2005), 26–40.
18. For the early history of Hanafism, see Nurit Tsafrir, *The History of an Islamic School of Law: The Early Spread of Hanafism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).
19. For a thorough discussion of this particular book, see Orhan Ençakar, "Hanafi Fıkıh Literatüründe Gelenek Oluşturan Kayıp Bir Metin: Muhtasarü'l-Kerhi," *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi* 37 (2017): 7–32.
20. There are many studies on al-Tahawi in Arabic. For his biography and studies on him, see TDVİA, s.v. "Tahavi," by Davud İtaş; and el-Shamsy, *Canonization of Islamic Law*, 205–7.

21. *Kitāb al-hidāya* (SK, Ayasofya MS 1524, fol. 1b).
22. Tashkopruzāda Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda wa miṣbāḥ al-siyāda fī mawḍū'āt al-'ulūm*, ed. al-Sayyid Sharaf al-dīn Aḥmad (Haydarabad, Deccan: Maṭba'at majlis dā'rat al-ma'ārif al-'uthmāniyya, 1400/1980), II:129.
23. SK, Ayasofya MS 1507; SK, Turhan Valide Sultan MS 140.
24. Kara Hoca, *al-'Ināya fī sharḥ al-wiqāya*, SK, Fatih MS 1383 and MS 1384; copied in 841/1437 by "Muḥammad bin Khalil."
25. 'Alā al-dīn al-Aswad, *Sharḥ rumūz al-asrār*, known as *Kunūz al-anwār*, Nuruosmaniye Library, 1334, fols. 3b–4a.
26. Ibid., fol. 3a.
27. Nuruosmaniye Library, MS 1334, fols. 1a–b. Katib Çelebi mentions that he also wrote a commentary on *al-Mughnī*, which is no longer extant: see Katip Çelebi, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ed. Şerafettin Yaltkaya, Rifat Bilge (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941–43), II, 1749a.
28. Mecdi Mehmed Efendi, *Ḥadā'iq al-shaqā'iq*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989).
29. Tashkopruzāda 'Iṣām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *al-Shaqā'iq al-nu'mā-niyyah fī 'ulāmā' al-dawlat al-'uthmāniyya*, ed. Ahmed Subhi Furat (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1985), 45.
30. Niksārī, *Hawāshī Ṣadr al-Sharī'ah* (TSMK, MS A. 991, fol. 1b).
31. For Central Asian Hanafism, see the seminal and pioneering article by Omeljan Pritsak, "Āl-i Burhān," *Der Islam* 30, no. 1 (1952): 81–96, as well as the articles by Wilferd Madelung in *Religious Schools and Sects in Medieval Islam* (London: Variorum, 1985). In Turkish, the studies of Kutlu Sönmez explore various aspects of the Maturidi school: Kutlu Sönmez, *İmam Maturidi ve Maturidilik: Tarihi Arka Planı, Hayatı, Eserleri, Fikirleri ve Maturidilik Mezhebi: Seçki* (Ankara: Kitabiyat, 2003). Most recently, Murteza Bedir has examined the emergence of *wāqī'āt* in the Bukhara scholarly circles; see his *Buhara Okulu: Vakıf Hukuku Bağlamında X-XIII. Yüzyıl Orta Asya Hanefi Hukuku Üzerine bir İnceleme* (Istanbul: İSAM Yayınları, 2014).
32. See Tashkopruzāda, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, 61–231.
33. *Fatāwā Qāḍikhān* (Fatwa Collection of Qāḍikhān, five copies); *al-Fatāwā al-bazzāziyyah* (Fatwa Collection of al-Bazzāzī, two copies); *Khulāṣat al-fatāwā* (Digest of Fatwas), *Majma' al-fatāwā* (Collection of Fatwas, seven copies); *Khizānat al-fatāwā*, two copies, *al-Hidāya*, eleven copies.
34. Tashkopruzāda lists a good number of Hanafi legal books, in an order that is similar to those in 'Atufi's list. Yet Tashkopruzāda's list seems much more comprehensive than the list in the palace library inventory. Furthermore, he gives a short biography of the authors of these books and indicates their status in the textual hierarchy of the Hanafi school. See his *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda wa miṣbāḥ al-siyāda*, 61–231.
35. Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (Brill: Leiden; New York, 1996), Supplement, II, 90.
36. SK, Ayasofya MS 1621.
37. Most of the copies that exist are from the fifteenth century: for example, SK, Fatih MS 1499, copied in 810/1408, Fatih MS 1498, and Fatih MS 1495 with an original Mamluk binding and copied in 832/1429.
38. SK, Yeniciami MS 435.
39. Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī bin Nāsir al-Makkī, *Idrākāt al-waraqāt* (The Apprehension of the Pages), SK, Ayasofya MS 997, 80 {5–6}. The book was presented to the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II (*bi-rasmi khizānati mawlānā al-sultān al-'ālim Bāyezid bin 'Uthmān, wassa'a Allāhu mulkahu wa 'azza nasrahu*).
40. The title referring to Bayezid II is longer than my quote: SK, Ayasofya, MS 997, fols. 1b–2a.
41. Muḥammad al-Azdī, *Kitāb idāḥ al-ağālīt al-mawjūda fī al-wasīt*, SK, Ayasofya MS 1035, fol. 2a.
42. The single known copy of *al-Muḥallā* has survived in five volumes, which were copied by the same copyist and collated with other contemporaneous copies.
43. Ibn Ḥazm, *Al-Muḥallā fī sharḥ al-mujallā*, 95 {8–9}. Manuscripts: TSMK, Revan MS 604; SK, Ayasofya MS 1259 and MS 1260. The third volume, Ayasofya MS 1259, does not bear the seal of Bayezid II but contains 'Atufi's notation on fol. 1a. It was copied in 727, and was compared and collated with three other copies in 724. Similarly, Ayasofya MS 1260 was collated (*muqābala*) and copied in 789. The copyist mentions that it was badly collated and needed a new collation with a sound copy (*bi-nuskhatin ṣaḥīḥatin*). SK, Carullah Efendi MS 710. The second volume featuring 'Atufi's notation on fol. 318a was copied in 726 and was collated with two other manuscripts and the autograph of Ibn Ḥazm. The first volume (SK, Carullah Efendi MS 709) has no seal impression of Bayezid II but features 'Atufi's notation. Apparently, the copies at the library of Carullah Efendi (d. 1738) originated from the Topkapı Palace collection.
44. *Kitāb al-darajāt al-'aliyya mimmā ullifa bi-ismi al-Mawlā al-Sultān al-'Ālim al-'Ādil al-Mu'ayyad al-manṣūr muḥīth al-dunyā wa-dīn Ulugh Bigh—khallada Allāhu mulkahu wa saltānahu*, TSMK, H. MS 2831, fol. 1a.
45. Al-Şaymarī, *Kitāb Jawāhir al-naḥḥa fī akhbār Abī Ḥanīfa*, SK, Şehid Ali Paşa MS 1186. Before being donated to this library, the book was owned by a certain "Waḥdī Efendi." Abu al-Wafā' al-Afghānī, who edited the book, mentions another copy in Egyptian libraries without discussing the manuscripts and their histories. He chose the title *Akhbār Abī Ḥanīfa* (News of and Reports about Abu Hanifa) even though the manuscript bears the abovementioned title. Since the book was primarily concerned with the history of Iraqi Hanafis, this might be a reason for its limited circulation: Iraqi Hanafis generally inclined to the Mu'tazili creed, whereas Hanafis from Samarqand and other Central Asian centers seem to have disassociated themselves from the Mu'tazilites. For the theological and legal differences between Maturidi and Iraqi Hanafism, see Şükrü Özen, *Ebu Mansur el-Maturidi'nin Fıkıh Usulünün Yeniden İnşası* (Istanbul, 2001), 161–210. For the other theological affiliations of Hanafi scholars, see Wilferd Madelung, "The Early Murji'a in Khurasan and Transoxania and the Spread of Hanafism," *Der Islam* 59, no. 1 (1982): 32–39.
46. TSMK, A. MS 2814 and A. MS 2815 (with the seal of Bayezid II).

47. See *TDVİA*, s.v. “Alāeddin Trablusi,” by Abdullah Kahraman.
48. The name of Shaykh Badr al-Din was written in different ways by Ottoman scholars. ‘Atufi spells it as “Ibn Simāwuna” and “Ibn Simāwina” (97 {17–19}). For a discussion of the spellings of his name, see the introduction to the translation of *Jāmi‘ al-fuṣūlayn: Yargılama Usulüne Dair, Cāmiu’l-fusuleyn*, ed. Yunus Apaydın (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2012), 7–8.
49. The multiple books that were copied for or dedicated to Mahmud Pasha require further study. In the existing copies of al-Kafiyaji’s work that were dedicated to Mahmud Pasha, the grand vizier is referred to with titles used in the language of the Mamluk chancery. Furthermore, the dedicatory notes indicate that the books were copied for his personal library. Perhaps these books were transferred to the Topkapı Palace Library after Mahmud Pasha’s execution in 1474.
50. Other books by al-Kafiyaji that bear the seal of Bayezid II and are listed in ‘Atufi’s inventory include the following copies: SK, Ayasofya MS 525, 2882, 3403.
51. Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī, *Mughīth al-ḥalq*, SK, Ayasofya MS 2194.
52. SK, Ayasofya MS 1625, fol. 26a.
53. *Türkçe nazm eyledüm yazdum ānı, bî-edeblik ittiliğin bu deni* (“I wrote it in rhymed prose in Turkish and acted in such an ill manner”): *Kitāb al-farāiz bi-al-turkiyyati al-manzūmati*, SK, Ayasofya MS 1620, fols. 3a–b.
54. Other books on inheritance that bear the seal of Bayezid II include the following: Muḥsin al-Qaysarī, ‘Abd al-Muḥsin b. Muḥammad Majd al-Dīn, *Jāmi‘ al-durar fī nazm al-farā’iz* (Combining of Pearls in Versifying the Book of Inheritance), SK, Ayasofya MS 1622/1, fols. 1a–11a; and 1621, in Arabic. The second book (Ayasofya MS 1621) is titled *Kitāb al-bihār al-zāhira fī al-fiqh*. Muḥyi al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Adirnavī (Edirnevī), *Hashiyya ‘alā sharḥ farā’iz al-sirājiyya li-al-sayyid*, copied in 904 (1498–99). It lacks Bayezid II’s seal but bears a notation by ‘Atufi. See also ‘Imād al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad al-Kāshī, *Iqdāḥ al-maqāsid li-farā’iz al-fawā’id*, dated 831 (1427–28), SK, Ayasofya MS 1620. Aḥmed bin Zakariyya b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥusaynī, *Nazm-i farā’iz bi-al-fārisiyya* (A Versified Book on Inheritance Law), copied in 896 (1490–91), SK, Ayasofya MS 1625. In ‘Atufi’s inventory the book referred to as *Kitāb fī ‘ilm al-farā’iz wa rasā’il fī al-hisāb* (The Book on Inheritance and Treatises on Arithmetic) could be the following text: *Nakth al-masā’il fī ‘ilm al-farā’iz*, by Kāmil bin Thābit al-Faraḍī al-Manṣūrī, copied in 783 (1381–82), SK, Ayasofya MS 2761, or *Kitāb nazm al-farā’iz bi-al-fārisiyya fī al-fiqh*, SK, Ayasofya MS 1623.
55. Shahab Ahmed and Nenad Filipović, “The Sultan’s Syllabus: A Curriculum for the Ottoman Imperial Medreses Prescribed in a *Fermān* of Qānūnī I Süleymān, Dated 973 (1565),” *Studia Islamica* 98–99 (2004): 183–218.

LIST OF ENTRIES

BOOKS ON ISLAMIC JURISPRUDENCE AND BIOGRAPHIES OF IMAMS

(*Tafṣīlu kutubi al-fiqhi wa-kutubi manāqibi al-a'immati*)

1. 'Alī b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Marghīnānī (d. 1197). *Kitābu al-bidāyati ay matni al-Hidāyati allatī allafahā ṣāhibu al-Hidāyati* (Primer explicated in *The Guidance* by its author), 83 {2}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 1525, copied in 1071 (1660–61); SK, Hacı Mahmud Efendi 1129/1. EDITION: *Bidāyat al-mubtadī: al-Matn alladhī sharaḥahu mu'allifuhu fī kitāb al-Hidāya fī al-fiqh al-Ḥanafī* (A Classical Manual on the Hanafī Juridical School), ed. Saed Bakdash, London: Mu'assasat al-Furqān li-al-Turāth al-Islāmī, Markaz Dirāsāt al-Makhṭūṭāt al-Islāmiyya, 2016. One other copy listed:
2. Same as above with variant title: *Kitābu bidāyati al-mubtadī fī al-fiqhi* (Primer for a Novice), 83 {3}.
3. 'Alī b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Marghīnānī (d. 1197). *Kitābu al-hidāyati fī sharḥi al-Bidāyati* (The Book of Guidance: A Commentary on *The Primer*) [in two volumes], 83 {5}. MANUSCRIPT: Manisa Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Hk. 509 (seal of Bayezid II), copied in 818 (1416). EDITIONS: *Al-Hidāya sharḥ Bidāyat al-mubtadī*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Tāmir and Ḥafīz 'Āshūr Ḥafīz, Cairo: Dār al-Salām, 2000; *Al-Hidāya, The Guidance: A Translation of al-Hidāya fī sharḥ Bidāyat al-mubtadī, a Classical Manual of Ḥanafī Law*, trans. Imran Ahsan Khan Nyazee, 2 vols., Bristol, England: Amal Press, 2006–8; *Hidayah: Commentary on the Islamic Laws Sheikh Burhanuddin Abi al-Hasan al-Marghinani*, trans. Charles Hamilton, rev. and ed. Z. Baimtner, Karachi: Darul Ishaat, 2007.
4. Same as above [in one volume], 83 {5–6}.
5. Same as above [in one volume], 83 {6–7}.
6. Same as above [in one volume], 83 {7}.
7. Same as above [in one volume], 83 {8}.
8. Same as above with note identifying copyist: *Mawlānā Khidīr Shāh (Ḥızır Şāh) al-Balāṭī*, 83 {8–9}.
9. Same as above with the note *fī al-fiqhi*, 83 {10}.
10. Same as above with the note *fī al-fiqhi*, 83 {10–11}.
11. Same as above [shorter version with note on the copyist]: *Mujalladun ṣaghīrun min Kitābi al-hidāyati ruqīma fīhi bi-anna jamī'a ḥawāshīhi wa-i'jāmi matnihi [juz'āni] bi-khaṭṭi al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Niḥrīr al-Jurjānī -quddisa sirruhū- fī al-fiqhi* (Shorter Book of Guidance containing marginal glosses and compiling chapters copied by the hand of al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, the Learned—may his mystery be blessed), 83 {11–12}.
12. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 805). *Kitābu al-aṣli li-Imām Muḥammad* (The Book of [Major Legal] Principles [and Cases]), 83 {13}. MANUSCRIPTS: Discussed in the introduction of Boynukalın's edition. The following copies are in SK: Murad Molla 1041; Ayasofya 1026; Hamidiye 546; Aşır Efendi 87, 91, 89; Carullah 575–81. EDITIONS: *Kitāb al-aṣl*, ed. Mehmet Boynukalın, 10 vols., Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm li-al-Ṭibā'a wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī', 2012.
13. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 805). *Mukhtaṣaru al-Aṣli* (Abridgment of *The Principles*), 83 {13}. This book is attributed to al-Shaybānī by 'Atufi, but the abridgement was made by al-Ḥākim al-Shahīd (d. 945).

14. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 805). [*Al-Ṣiyaru al-kabīri li-Imām Muḥammad* (Islamic Law of Nations: The Conduct of State Affairs), 83 {13}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1199; SK, Fatih 4403/2. EDITIONS: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1989–91; *The Islamic Law of Nations: Shaybānī's Siyar*, trans. Majid Khadduri, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966. The book was also translated into Ottoman Turkish by Muḥammad Munib 'Ayntābī (d. 1823), SK, Ayasofya 1049 (printed in two vols., Istanbul, 1241).
15. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 805). [*Al-Jāmi'u al-ṣaghīri li-Imām Muḥammad* (Shorter Compilation). Transmissions of Abū Ḥanīfa's opinions on the authority of Abū Yūsuf, 83 {14}.
16. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Karkhī (d. 952). *Al-Mukhtaṣaru al-Karkhī* (The Compendium of al-Karkhī), 83 {14}.
17. Abū al-Faṭḥ Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Ustrūshanī (al-Ustrūshanī) (d. 1240). *Fuṣūlu al-Ustrūshūnī* [sic] (The Judicial Discernments of al-Ustrūshanī), 83 {14}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A 821–23; SK, Fatih, 2423, 2426, 2433, 2435.
18. Abū al-Faṭḥ Abī Bakr b. 'Imād al-Dīn b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Marghīnānī? (d. ca. 670/1271). *Fuṣūlu 'Imādiyyatin* (*The Judicial Discernments of al-'Imādī*) [= *Fatāwā fuṣūl al-iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām al-ma'rūf bi-fuṣūl al-'Imādī* (Judicial Discernments Fortifying the Principles of Judgment, known as *The Judicial Discernments of al-'Imādī*)],¹ 83 {14}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Murad Molla 1168, copied in 819 (1416–17); Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi, Veliyüddin Efendi 1322, copied in 857 (1453); SK, Murad Molla 1172, copied in 908 (1502).
19. Abū Ja'far al-Ṭahāwī (d. 933). *Mukhtaṣaru Ṭahāwī* (Compendium of al-Ṭahāwī), 83 {15}. MANUSCRIPTS: Extant manuscript copies are later than the inventory; there is a commentary on this work, titled *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Ṭahāwī*, TSMK, A. 1075.
20. Jalāl al-Dīn Shams al-Dīn al-Kurlānī al-Khwarazmī (d. 1365). *Kitābu al-kifāyati fī sharḥi al-Hidāyati* (The Sufficient: Commentary on *The Guidance*) [in one volume], 83 {18}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Laleli 1077; SK, Mesih Paşa 23, 25; SK, Yeni Cami 509.
21. Same as above [in one volume], 83 {18–19}.
22. Qiwām al-Dīn Amīr Kātib b. Amīr 'Umar al-Itqānī (d. 1357). *Kitābu ghāyati al-bayāni fī sharḥi al-Hidāyati* (The Extreme Eloquence: Commentary on *The Guidance*) [= *Ghāyat al-bayān wa-nādirat al-zamān fī ākhir al-awān fī sharḥ al-Hidāya* (The Extreme Eloquence and Rarity of Time at the End of Time: Commentary on *The Guidance*)] [in six volumes], 83 {19}–84 {1}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 1320, 1321; SK, Ismihan Sultan 154, copied in 743/1342; SK, Süleymaniye 542 (seal of Bayezid II and note of 'Atufi), second volume, copied in 733/1332.
23. Abū 'Abd Allāh Tāj al-Sharī'a 'Umar b. Şadr al-Sharī'a al-Awwal 'Ubayd Allāh b. Maḥmūd al-Maḥbūbī al-Bukhārī (d. 1309). *Kitābu nihāyati al-kifāyati fī sharḥi al-Hidāyati* (The Book of the Ultimate, the Sufficient: Commentary on *The Guidance*) [in two volumes], 84 {1}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 1993.
24. Jalāl al-Dīn 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Khabbāzī (d. 1292). *Kitābu sharḥi al-Hidāyati bi-annahū li-l-Khabbāzī* (Commentary on *The Guidance*), 84 {2}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Turhan Valide Sultan 141, copied in 791 (1388–89); SK, Yeni Cami 406, copied in 710/1310.
25. Same as above, 84 {2–3}.
26. Same as 23 [in one volume], 84 {3}.
27. Same as above [first volume], 84 {4}.
28. Same as 20 [in two volumes], 84 {4–5}.
29. Akmal al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Bābartī (d. 1384). *Kitābu al-'ināyati fī sharḥi al-Hidāyati* (The Book of Providence: Commentary on *The Guidance*) [in three volumes], 84 {5–6}. EDITION:

- Al-ʿInāya sharḥ al-Hidāya*, ed. Abū Maḥrūs ‘Amr b. Maḥrūs, 6 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2007.
30. “*Kitābu ḥawāshī al-Hidāyati fī al-fiqhi*” (Commentaries on *The Guidance*), 84 {6}.
 31. Burhān al-Sharī‘a Maḥmūd b. Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a al-Awwal ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Maḥmūd al-Maḥbūbī al-Bukhārī (fl. 13th c.). *Kitābu al-wiqāyati fī al-fiqhi* (Book of Protection) [= *Kitāb al-wiqāya fī masā’il al-Hidāya* (Book of Protection on the Legal Cases in *The Guidance*)], 84 {11}. Copies abound.
 32. Same as above, 84 {11}.
 33. Same as above, 84 {11–12}.
 34. Same as above, 84 {12}.
 35. Same as above, 84 {12–13}.
 36. Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a al-Thānī ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Maṣ‘ūd b. Tāj al-Sharī‘a ‘Umar b. Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a al-Awwal ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Maḥmūd al-Maḥbūbī al-Bukhārī (d. 1346). *Kitābu Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a fī sharḥi al-Wiqāyati fī al-fiqhi* (Commentary on *The Protection*), 84 {15}.
 37. Same as above, 84 {15–16}.
 38. Same as above, 84 {16–17}.
 39. Same as above, 84 {17}.
 40. Same as above, 84 {17–18}.
 41. Same as above, 84 {18–19}.
 42. Same as above, 84 {19}.
 43. Same as above, 85 {1}.
 44. Same as above, 85 {1}.
 45. Same as above, 85 {2}.
 46. Same as above, 85 {2}.
 47. Same as above, 85 {3}.
 48. Same as above, 85 {3}.
 49. Ibn al-Malak ‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. Firīshte ‘Izz al-Dīn b. Amīn al-Dīn (d. ca. 1418). *Kitābu sharḥi al-Wiqāyati li-Ibn al-Malak* (Commentary on *The Protection*), 85 {4}.
 50. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Aswad (Ḳara Hoca) (d. 1397). *Kitābu sharḥi al-Wiqāyati al-marqūmu bi-annahū li-l-Aswad ‘Alā’ al-Dīn* (Commentary on *The Protection*) [in two volumes], 85 {4–5}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Turhan Sultan 140, only the second volume.
 51. “*Kitābu badri al-sharī‘ati fī sharḥi Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a fī al-fiqhi*” (The Book of the Moon of the Shari‘a on the Commentary of *Sadr al-Shari‘a*), 85 {10}.
 52. Husām-zāda, Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā b. Ḥusām al-Dīn (d. ca. 1488). *Kitābu al-tashriḥi fī sharḥi Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a li-Mawlānā al-ma‘rūfi bi-Ḥusām-zāda (Ḥūsāmzāde) fī al-fiqhi* (Book of Explication on the Commentary of *Sadr al-Shari‘a*) [in two volumes], 85 {10–12}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Hamidiye 453; SK, Turhan V. Sultan 118 (seal of Bayezid II), second volume.
 53. “*Kitābu ḥawāshī Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a fī al-fiqhi*” (Marginal Glosses of *Sadr al-Shari‘a*), 85 {14}.
 54. Same as above with variant title: *Kitābu ḥāshiyati Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a* [in two volumes], 85 {14–15}.
 55. Same as above, 85 {15}.
 56. Same as above, 85 {16}.
 57. Muḥyi al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Niksārī (d. 1495). *Kitābu ḥāshiyati Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a ilā ākhiri bābi al-naḥaqati fī al-fiqhi* (Marginal Gloss of *Sadr al-Shari‘a* to the end of the Chapter on Alimony), 85 {16–17}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Bağdadlı Vehbi 536; SK, Kadızade Mehmed 133; SK, Ayasofya 1118; TSMK, A. 991 (seal of Bayezid II and ‘Atufi’s note on fol. 1a: *Ḥawāshī ṣadr al-sharī‘a ilā ākhir bāb al-naḥaqa*), copied in 889 (1484).

58. Muhyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Niksārī (d. 1495). *Kitābu ḥāshiyati Ṣadr al-Sharī'a ilā ākhiri manāsiki al-ḥajji li-Mawlānā al-Niksārī fī al-fiqhi* (Marginal Gloss of *Sadr al-Sharī'a* to the end of the Chapter on Rituals of Pilgrimage), 85 {17–18}.
59. Volume containing:
 - 59a. Mirim Çelebi Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Qāḍizāda al-Rūmī (d. 1525). *Risālatun fī samti al-qiblati* (Treatise on the Direction of Prayer), 85 {19}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 2628 (written for Bayezid II who is mentioned on fol. 2a); SK, Ayasofya 2629; both copied in Bayezid II's era. Another book by Mirim Çelebi with Bayezid's seal and 'Atufi's note is Ayasofya 2697, *Sharḥ Zīj Ulugh Beg*, in Persian, copied in 904 (1498).
 - 59b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī al-Qaramānī (d. 1518). *Hāshiyatu Ṣadr al-Sharī'a li-Mawlānā Sulaymān al-Qaramānī fī al-fiqhi* (Marginal Gloss on *The Protection*), 85 {19}–86 {1}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Turhan Valide Sultan 110 (seal of Bayezid II and note of 'Atufi), contains two books by the same author. The first one, fols. 1b–8b, is on *Samt al-qibla* (The Direction of the Qibla) citing the name Bayezid II, fol. 1b; the second one, fols. 9b–241b, is titled *Hāshiyat Ṣadr al-Sharī'a* (Marginal Gloss on *Sadr al-Sharī'a*) and dated 902 (1496).
60. Akhizāda Yūsuf b. Junayd al-Toqādī (Aḥī Çelebi) (d. 1500). *Kitābu ḥāshiyati Ṣadr al-Sharī'a al-musammā bi-Dhakhīratī al-'uqbā li-Mawlānā Akhī fī al-fiqhi* (Provisions of the Hereafter: Marginal Gloss on the Commentary of *The Protection*), 86 {1–2}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 1114, 1115.
61. "*Hāshiyatun 'alā kitābi Ṣadr al-Sharī'a fī masā'ili al-ṣubḥi wa-al-dā'irati al-hindiyyati fī al-fiqhi*" (Marginal Gloss on the Book of *Sadr al-Sharī'a* on Issues Concerning the Morning and the Indian Circle), 86 {2–3}.
62. Ibn al-Sā'ātī, Abū al-'Abbās Muẓaffar al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī (d. 1295). *Kitābu majma'i al-baḥrayni fī al-fiqhi* (The Junction of the Two Seas and the Intersection of Crossroads), 86 {7}. EDITION: Muẓaffar al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Tha'lab, al-ma'rūf bi-Ibn al-Sā'ātī al-Ḥanafī, *Majma' al-baḥrayn wa-multaqā al-nayyirayn fī al-fiqh al-Ḥanafī*, ed. Ilyās Qablān, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2005.
63. Same as above, 86 {7}.
64. Same as above, 86 {8}.
65. Same as above, 86 {8}.
66. "*Kitābu naẓmi Majma'i al-baḥrayni fī al-fiqhi*" (The Versified Book of *The Junction of the Two Seas*), Turkish, 86 {9}.
67. Same as 62, 86 {9–10}.
68. Ibn al-Malak 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Firishte 'Izz al-Dīn b. Amīn al-Dīn (d. ca. 1418). *Sharḥu Majma'i al-baḥrayni li-Ibn al-Malak fī al-fiqhi* (Commentary on *The Junction of the Two Seas*), 87 {12}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 713/1-2, A. 712, read and emended with corrections (*saḥḥaḥa*) by their owner Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-'Umarī in 871 (1466).
69. Abū al-Barakāt Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Nasafī (d. 1310). *Kitābu kanzi al-daqa'iqi fī al-fiqhi* (The Treasury of Intricacies), 86 {14}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Mahmud Paşa 230, copied in 845 (1441); SK, Mehmed Ağa Camii 110, copied in 874 (1469–70); SK, Laleli 1143, copied in 865 (1460–61); SK, Serez 752, copied in 879 (1474–75) at the Imamiye madrasa in Tokat; SK, Serez 753, copied in 812 (1409). EDITION: *Kanz al-daqa'iq*, ed. Şalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ḥimşī, Damascus: Dar al-Beyrouti, 2009.
70. Same as above, 86 {14}.
71. Same as above, 86 {15}.

72. Same as above, 86 {15}.
73. Same as above, 86 {16}.
74. Same as above, 86 {16}.
75. "*Kitābu sharḥi al-Kanẓi fī al-fiqhi*" (Commentary of *The Treasury [of Intricacies]*), 86 {19}.
76. Shams al-Dīn al-Kardārī (d. ?). *Kitābu ramzi al-ḥaqā'iqi fī sharḥi Kanẓi al-daqa'iqi* (Sign of Truths on the Commentary of *The Treasury of Intricacies*), 86 {19}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Süleymaniye 485 (seal of Bayezid II and 'Atufi's note), with attribution to Shams al-Dīn al-Kardārī on fol. 1b. Copied in Barda' in 896 (1490); this particular copy seems to be a unicum.
77. Bālī b. 'Isā Faqīh b. Sulaymān Faqīh al-Elmāluwī (Elmalılı) (d. 1487?). *Kitābu 'uyūni al-ḥaqā'iqi fī sharḥi Kanẓi al-daqa'iqi fī al-fiqhi* (Spring of Truths on the Commentary of *The Treasury of Intricacies*), 87 {1}. MANUSCRIPT: Çorlulu Ali Paşa 187, copied in 894 (1488), unicum. The author states on fol. 2a that he wrote the commentary while he was a judge and presented it as a gift to Bayezid II. There is a note by 'Atufi, but Bayezid II's seal was erased. The manuscript, endowed by Çorlulu Ali Paşa (d. 1711), bears his endowment note and seal.
78. Same as 75, 87 {1–2}.
79. "*Kitābi kashfi al-ḥaqā'iqi fī sharḥi Kanẓi al-daqa'iqi*" (Discovery of Truths on the Commentary of *The Treasury of Intricacies*) [*Mujalladun awwalu wa-mujalladun thālithun wa-lam yūjad mujalladun thānin minhu* (First and third volumes; second volume missing)], 87 {2–4}.
80. Same as 75 [second volume], 87 {4}.
81. Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qudūrī (d. 1037). *Kitābu al-Qudūrī fī al-fiqhi* (Book of al-Qudūrī), 87 {9}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Turhan Valide Sultan, 155, copied in 870 (1465–66) for the library of Jānī Beg.
82. Same as above, 87 {9}.
83. Same as above, 87 {9–10}.
84. Same as above, 87 {10}.
85. Same as above, 87 {10–11}.
86. Same as above, 87 {11}.
87. Same as above, 87 {11–12}.
88. A compendium of the above with the title: *Kitābu mukhtaṣari al-qudūrī fī al-fiqhi* (The Compendium of al-Qudūrī), 87 {12}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 1421 (a Mamluk-period manuscript); SK, Ayasofya 1429, 1430. EDITION: *Le statut personnel en droit musulman hanéfite*, ed. and trans. G. H. Bousquet and L. Bercher, Tunis: Recueil Sirey, 1953.
89. Najm al-Dīn Mukhtār b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Zāhidī (d. 1260). *Kitābu sharḥi al-Qudūrī li-l-Imām al-Zāhidī fī al-fiqhi* (Commentary on *The Compendium* of al-Qudūrī) [= *Al-Mujtabā sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī* (The Chosen: Commentary on *The Compendium* of al-Qudūrī)], 87 {16}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Çorlulu Ali Paşa 209, copied in 890 (1485); SK, Damad İbrahim 545, copied in 864 (1459–60) by Hamza b. Qāsim b. al-Shihābī.
90. Same as above, 87 {16–17}.
91. "*Kitābu al-ḥāshiyati 'alā al-khulāṣati fī sharḥi al-Qudūrī fī al-fiqhi*" (Marginal Gloss on the Summary of the Commentary of al-Qudūrī), 87 {18}.
92. 'Alīm b. 'Alā' al-Anṣārī al-Andaraptī al-Dihlawī al-Hindī (d. 1384). *Kitābu al-fatāwā al-tātārkhānīyyati* (Fatwas of Tatārkhān) [in one volume], 88 {1}. EDITION: *Al-Fatāwā al-Tātārkhānīyya fī al-fiqh al-Ḥanafī*, ed. 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ḥasan 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Pakistan: Maktabah-i 'Umariyya, 2005.
93. Abū al-Maḥāsin Fakhr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Maṣṣūr b. Maḥmūd al-Uzjandī (al-Uzkandī) al-Farghānī Qāḍikhān (d. 1196). *Kitābu fatāwā al-Awzajandī [al-Ūzjandī] al-ma'rūfi bi-Qāḍi Khān [fī madhhab*

imām al-aʿẓam Abī Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān] (Fatwas of Qāḍikhān in the School of The Greatest Imam, Abu Hanifa), 88 {5}. Copies abound, and printed several times. No critical edition.

94. Same as above, 88 {5–6}.
95. Same as above, 88 {6–7}.
96. Same as above [to the end of the Book on Testimony] with the note *fī al-fiqhi* [in three volumes], 88 {7–9}.
97. Same as above [in two volumes], 88 {9–10}.
98. Same as above [in one volume], 88 {10–11}.
99. Abū al-Maḥāsin Fakhr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Maṣṣūr b. Maḥmūd al-Uzjandī (al-Uzkandī) al-Farghānī Qāḍikhān (d. 1196). *Kitābu mukhtaṣari al-Fatāwā al-khāniyyati al-mansūbati ilā Qāḍi Khān fī al-fiqhi* (Abridgement of the fatwas of Qāḍikhān), 88 {11–12}.
100. Akhizāda Yūsuf b. Junayd al-Toqādī (Aḥī Çelebi) (d. 1500). *Kitābu muntakhabi Fatāwā Qāḍi Khān fī al-fiqhi* (Selections from the fatwas of Qāḍikhān), 88 {12–13}. The name of Sultan Bayezid II is mentioned, and it is indicated that this selection was made for the library of the Sultan (*li-akh-duma bihi khidhāna man huwa nāṣir al-milla Bāyazid Khān*), fols. 1b–2a. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Yozgat 317, possibly autograph, copied in 896 (1490).
101. “*Kitābu tarjamati al-Fatāwā al-khāniyyati fī al-fiqhi*” (A Translation of *al-Tatarkhaniyya*), Turkish, 88 {13}.
102. Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Māza al-Bukhārī (d. 1219–20). [*Kitābu al-muḥīṭi al-burhānī fī al-fiqhi* (The Ocean of Proofs —can also be read as “Burhan [al-Dīn]’s Comprehensive Book”— on [Hanafi] law) [*Asharatu mujalladātin min al-muḥīṭi ... wa-lam yūjad sā’iru mujalladātihī* / Ten volumes from *al-Muḥīṭ* and the other volumes do not exist], 88 {18}–89 {6}. EDITION: Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn ‘Umar ibn Māzah al-Bukhārī, *Al-Muḥīṭ al-burhānī fī al-fiqh al-Nuʿmānī*, ed. Aḥmad ‘Izzū ‘Ināyah, 11 vols., Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 2003.
- 102a. *Mujalladun minhā ghayru murtabiṭin [bimā ba’dahu, ṣaḥḥ] wa-huwa awwalu mujalladātihī fa-fīhi kitābu al-ṭahārati wa-kitābu al-ṣalāti* (First volume, containing the *Book on Purification* and the *Book on Prayers*, not connected to what comes after), 88 {18–19}.
- 102b. *Thal[ā]thu mujalladātin minhā ba’duhā murtabiṭun ma’a al-ba’di al-ākharī fa-awwalu mā fī hādhihī al-thalāthi kitābu al-rujū’i ‘an al-shahādāti wa-ākhiru mā fihā kitābu al-ikrāhi* (Three volumes, containing consecutive chapters, starting with the *Book on Return* and ending with the *Book on Coercion*), 88 {19}–89 {1–2}.
- 102c. *Khamsu mujalladātin minhā ba’duhā murtabiṭun ma’a al-ba’di al-ākharī fa-awwalu mā fī hādhihī al-khamṣi kitābu al-‘atāq wa-ākhiru mā fihā kitābu al-ijārati* (Five volumes, containing consecutive chapters, starting with the *Book on Manumission* and ending with the *Book on Rent*), 89 {2–4}.
- 102d. *Mujalladun minhā ghayru murtabiṭin bi-mā qablahū wa-huwa ākhiru mujalladātihī fa-fīhi kitābu al-shurūṭi* (Final volume, containing the *Book on Legal Writings*, not connected to what comes before), 89 {4–5}.
103. Abū ‘Abd Allāh Raḍī al-Dīn Burhān al-Islām Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Sarakhsī al-Tūsānī? (d. ca. 1174). *Kitābu al-muḥīṭi bi-masā’il al-kutubi al-mansūbu ilā al-Sarakhsī fī al-fiqhi* (The Ocean) [in one volume], 89 {11}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Turhan Valide Sultan 152. Also attributed to Shams al-A’imma Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī al-Sarakhsī (d. 1090?).
104. Same as above [in two volumes with the note *lākin lā tawāfuqa bayna jildayhimā* (“but the two volumes do not agree with each other”)], 89 {12–13}.

105. Shams al-A'imma Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī al-Sarakhsī (d. 1090?). *Kitābu sharḥi Mukhtaṣari Mabsūṭi Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan -raḥimahū Allāh- li-Shams al-A'imma al-Sarakhsī fi al-fiqhi* (Commentary on the Abridged *Summa* of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan [al-Shaybānī (d. 805)]) [in two volumes], 89 {18–19}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1142 (seal of Bayezid II).
106. Same as above [first volume], 89 {19}–90 {1}.
107. Same as above [second volume, summary], 90 {1–2}.
108. Same as above [second volume, summary], 90 {3–4}.
109. Mukhtār b. Maḥmūd al-Najm al-Dīn al-Zāhidī (d. 1259). *Kitābu qinyati al-munyati fi al-fiqhi* (Acquisition of Hope in the Completion of Property) [also known as *qunya*], 90 {8}. This book was abridged by Ibn al-Sirāj al-Qonawī in 770 (1368–69) in Cairo. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 1353 (seal of Bayezid II), copied in 847 (1443); SK, Ayasofya 1349 (seal of Bayezid II and 'Atufi's note), copied in 777 (1375–76); SK, Ayasofya 1351 (seal of Bayezid II and 'Atufi's note), copied in 760 (1358–59). EDITION: *The Khwarezmian Element in the Qunyat al-munya*, ed. D. N. MacKenzie, trans. Hasan Amarāt and D. N. MacKenzie, London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1990.
110. Same as above, 90 {8}.
111. Same as above, 90 {9}.
112. Same as above, 90 {9}.
113. Same as above, 90 {10}.
114. Same as above, 90 {10}.
115. Abū Ḥafṣ Najm al-Dīn 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī (d. 1142). *Kitābu al-manzūmati fi al-fiqhi* (Versified Treatise on *The Debated Points* [of the Islamic schools of law]), 90 {13}. The work was translated into Ottoman Turkish ca. 731/1331 by the ruler of the city of Ḥama, Ibrāhīm b. Muṣṭafā b. 'Alīshīr al-Malīfdawī. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Turhan Sultan 160 (seal of Bayezid II), copied in the mosque of Shaykhūna in Cairo in 755/1354. EDITIONS: The above-mentioned Turkish translation was edited by Milan Adamovic, *Die Rechtslehre des Imām an-Nasafī in türkischer Bearbeitung vom Jahre 1332*, Stuttgart 1990; Azmi Bilgin, *Naẓmu'l-Hilāfiyyāt Tercümesi*, Ankara, 1996.
116. Same as above, 90 {13}.
117. "*Kitābu sharḥi al-Manzūmati fi al-fiqhi*" (Commentary on *The Versified Treatise*), 90 {15}. Possibly: 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Samarqandī al-Usmānī, *Sharḥ manzūmat al-Nasafī fi al-khilāfiyyāt* (Commentary on Nasafī's Versified Treatise on Debated Points). MANUSCRIPT: SK, Turhan Valide Sultan 132 (seal of Bayezid II and 'Atufi's note), copied in 805 (1402–3) by 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Khwārazmī.
118. Same as above, 90 {15}.
119. Same as above, 90 {16}.
120. Abū al-Maḥamid Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Lu'lū'ī al-Bukhārī al-Afshanjī (d. 1272). *Kitābu ḥaqā'iqi al-manzūmati fi al-fiqhi [fi sharḥ Manzūmat al-Nasafī fi al-khilāfiyyāt]* (Truths of *The Versified Treatise*), 90 {16}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Turhan Valide Sultan 133 (seal of Bayezid II and 'Atufi's note), copied by Shāḥ Walī b. Sa'd al-Dīn b. Ilyās in 870 (1465).
121. Abū al-Faḍl Majd al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. Maḥmūd b. Mawdūd b. Maḥmūd b. Baldajī al-Mawṣilī (d. 1284). *Kitābu al-ikhtiyārī fi sharḥi al-Mukhtārī fi al-fiqhi [= al-Ikhtiyār fi ta'līl al-Mukhtār]* (The Book of Choice: Commentary on *The Chosen*) [in one volume], 90 {19}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Turhan Valide Sultan 127 (seal of Bayezid II and 'Atufi's note), copied in 806 (1403–4); SK, Turhan Valide Sultan 129 and 153. EDITION: *Al-Ikhtiyār li-ta'līl al-Mukhtār*, ed. Shu'ayb al-Arna'ūt, Aḥmad Muḥammad Barhum, and 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ḥirz Allāh, Beirut: Dār al-Risāla al-'Ālamiyya, 2007.

122. Same as above, 90 {19}–91 {1}.
123. Muḥammad b. ‘Ubbād b. Malak-dād al-Akhlāṭī al-Khilāṭī (Khallāṭī) (d. 1254). *Kitābu talkhīṣi al-jāmi‘i al-kabīri li-l-‘Attābī fi al-fiqhi* (The Epitome of *The Larger Compilation*), 91 {3}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 730 (seal of Bayezid II; perhaps copied at the time of Mehmed II). This work by al-Khilāṭī seems to have been one of the commentaries of *al-Jāmi‘ al-kabūr*. Both al-Ghujduwānī (d. 1370) (see no. 128 below) and Akmal al-Dīn al-Bābartī (d. 1384) praised it.
124. Same as above, 91 {3–4}.
125. Abū al-Naṣr Zayn al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-‘Attābī (d. 1190). *Mukhtaṣaru al-Jāmi‘i al-kabīri li-l-‘Attābī fi al-fiqhi* (Abridgement of *The Larger Compilation*), 91 {4}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Süleymaniye 605 (seal of Bayezid II and ‘Atufi’s note), copied in 738 (1337). It was endowed by Sultan Süleyman to his mosque library.
126. Same as 123, 91 {4–5}.
127. Same as 123, 91 {5}.
128. Abū al-‘Iṣma, Maṣ‘ūd b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghujduwānī (d. 1370). *Kitābu al-tanwīri fi sharḥi Talkhīṣi al-Jāmi‘i al-kabīri li-l-Maṣ‘ūd al-Ghujdawānī fi al-fiqhi* (The Book of Illumination in the Commentary on the Epitome of *The Larger Compilation*) [in two volumes], 91 {5–8}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 734; SK, Ayasofya 1206 (seal of Bayezid II and ‘Atufi’s note); SK, Süleymaniye 459 (seal of Bayezid II). The book was erroneously attributed in the Süleymaniye Library catalogue to al-Khilāṭī. In the introduction, the author acknowledges al-Khilāṭī and his commentary, but the book is a commentary on him. SK, Ayasofya 1206, which was copied in 826 (1424) in Herat, might be the ur-text. Also see SK, Carullah 654, copied in 734 (1333) in Aleppo.
129. Same as above [in two volumes], 91 {7–8}.
130. Same as above [in two volumes with the note *lā tawāfuqa bayna jilday-himā* (“the two volumes do not agree with each other”)], 91 {8–9}.
131. *“Kitābu sharḥi al-Jāmi‘i al-kabīri fi al-fiqhi”* (Commentary on *The Larger Compilation*) [in two volumes], 91 {9–10}.
132. Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Khalīl al-Ḥusayn al-Dimashqī (d. 1253–54?). *Kitābu al-taysīri fi sharḥi al-Jāmi‘i al-kabīri fi al-fiqhi* (The Book That Facilitates the Commentary of *The Larger Compilation*), 91 {10–11}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Yazma Bağışlar 90.
133. *“Kitābu sharḥi manzūmi al-Jāmi‘i al-kabīri fi al-fiqhi”* (Versified Commentary on *The Larger Compilation*) [in two volumes], 91 {11}.
134. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Fanārī (d. 1431). *Kitābu sharḥi Talkhīṣi al-Jāmi‘i al-kabīri fi al-fiqhi [ilā bābi al-yamīni fi al-lubsi]* (Commentary on the Epitome of *The Larger Compilation*) [until the chapter on “oath under uncertainty”], 91 {12–13}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Laleli 962, 963/2; SK, Yeni Cami 482/2; SK, Carullah 656.
135. Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raṣhīd al-Bukhārī (d. 1147). *Kitābu khulāṣati al-fatāwā* (The Summary of Fatwas) [in one volume], 91 {17}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Turhan Sultan 166 (seal of Bayezid II and ‘Atufi’s note), second volume only, copied in 844 (1440–41).
136. Same as above [in two volumes], 91 {17–18}.
137. Same as above [in one volume], 91 {18}.
138. Same as above [in one volume], 91 {18–19}.
139. Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Bazzāzī (d. 1424). *Kitābu al-fatāwā al-bazzāziyyati fi al-fiqhi* (The Fatwas of al-Bazzāzī) [in one volume], 92 {2}.
140. Same as above, 92 {2–3}.
141. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ḥanafī (d. 1266). *Kitābu majma‘i al-fatāwā fi al-fiqhi* (Compilation of Fatwas), 92 {5}.

142. Same as above, 92 {5}.
143. Same as above, 92 {6}.
144. Same as above, 92 {6–7}.
145. Same as above, 92 {7}.
146. Same as above, 92 {7–8}.
147. Same as above, 92 {8}.
148. Same as above [selections by the author] with the title: *Khizānati al-fatāwā fī al-fiqhi* (Treasury of Fatwas), 92 {8–9}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Süleymaniye 684 (seal of Bayezid II), copied in 860 (1456), endowed by Sultan Süleyman I; SK, Turhan Valide Sultan 172, copied in 892 (1486), contains the note of ‘Atufi.
149. Same as above [selections by the author] with the title: *Khizānati al-fatāwā fī al-fiqhi* (Treasury of Fatwas), 92 {9–10}.
150. Yūsuf b. Abī Sa‘īd Aḥmad al-Sijistānī (d. 1240). *Kitābu munyati al-mufti li-l-Sijistānī fī al-fiqhi* (The Hope of the Jurisconsult), 92 {12}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1598/2, copied in 1467.
151. Same as above, 92 {12}.
152. Same as above, 92 {13}.
153. Same as above, 92 {13}.
154. Same as above, 92 {14}.
155. Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Qāḍī Simawna (d. 1420). *Kitābu jāmi‘i al-fuṣūlayni fī al-fiqhi* (The Combination of Two Chapters), 92 {17}, 93 {1}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1532 (seal of Bayezid II), copied in 1533–35. EDITION: Şeyh Bedreddin, *Yargulama Usulüne Dair: Camiü’l-Fusuleyn*, ed. Hacı Yunus Apaydın, 2 vols., Ankara: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür Bakanlığı, 2012.
156. Same as above, 92 {17–18}.
157. Same as above, 92 {18–19}.
158. Same as above, 92 {19}.
159. Same as above, 93 {1}.
160. “*Kitābu aḥkāmi al-Qur’āni al-‘azīmi min qibali al-fiqhi*” (The Rules of the Qur’an) [in five volumes], 93 {4}.
161. Same as above, 93 {5}.
162. Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Qāḍī Simawna (d. 1420?). *Kitābu laṭā’ifi al-ishārāti fī al-fiqhi* (The Subtleties of Indications), 93 {6}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Carullah 838, copied in 813 (1410–11); SK, Süleymaniye 412. EDITIONS: Şeyh Bedreddin, *Fıkıh ekolleri arasındaki tartışmalı konuların incelikleri: Letā’ifi’l-işārāt fī beyāni’l-mesā’i’li’l-hilāfiyyāt*, ed. Hacı Yunus Apaydın, 2 vols., Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2012.
163. Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Qāḍī Simawna (d. 1420?). *Kitābu al-tashīlī fī sharḥi laṭā’ifi al-ishārāti fī al-fiqhi* (The Facilitation: Commentary on *The Subtleties of Indications*), 93 {7}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 1749, copied in 855 (1451). EDITION: Şeyh Bedreddin, *al-Tashīl sharḥ Laṭā’if al-ishārāt fī bayān al-masā’il- al-khilāfiyyāt fī fiqh al-Ḥanafī*, ed. Ibrāhīm Maḥmūd Muḥammad, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2015.
164. Same as above, 93 {8}.
165. Shams al-A‘imma Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī al-Sarakhsī (d. 1090?). *Kitābu sharḥi al-Siyari al-kabīri fī al-fiqhi* (Commentary on *The Islamic Conduct of State and International Affairs*), 93 {10}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Turhan Valide Sultan 116 (seal of Bayezid II, and ‘Atufi’s note), copied in 866 (1461–62) at the madrasa of Sultan Murad II in Edirne by Mawlānā Ibrāhīm b. Khwāja

Dāwud al-Isfahānī, known as al-Madjī. Copy with Mehmed II's ex-libris was made for his personal study.

166. Same as above, 93 {10–11}.
167. Same as above, 93 {11–12}.
168. Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Māwardī (d. 1058). *Kitābu al-ḥāwī ‘alā madhhabī al-shāfi‘ī fī al-fiqhi* (*The Comprehensive Manual on law according to the Shafi‘i school*), 93 {14}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 1100-1108. EDITIONS: *Al-Ḥāwī al-kabīr fī fiqh madhhab al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī: Wa-huwa sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Muzanī*, ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad Maṣ‘ūd et al., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1999. There is another book with the same title attributed to Zayn al-Dīn Abū Ḥafs ‘Umar b. al-Wardī.
169. Same as above, 93 {14–15}.
170. Same as above, 93 {15–16}.
171. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Jārpardī (d. 1346). *Kitābu al-amālī fī Sharḥi al-Ḥāwī ‘alā al-madhhabī al-shāfi‘ī fī al-fiqhi* (*The Book of Dictations: Commentary on The Comprehensive Manual on law according to the Shafi‘i School*), 93 {16–17}. This book might be the commentary on *al-Ḥāwī al-ṣaghīr* of ‘Abd al-Ghaffār al-Qazwīnī (d. 1266–67); a copy of it exists in the Halis Efendi library at Istanbul University, A. 648.
172. ‘Umar b. al-Wardī (d. 1348). *Kitābu bahjati al-ḥāwī ‘alā madhhabī al-shāfi‘ī fī al-fiqhi* (*The Splendor of The Great Comprehensive Manual*), 93 {17}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1039 (seal of Bayezid II, with his ex-libris: *ṣāhibuhu al-sultān Bāyazīd khallada Allāhu mulkahu*), copied in 759 (1357–58). This is a versified legal text in the Shafi‘i school. EDITION: Printed on the margin of al-Māwardī, *al-Ḥāwī al-kabīr*, ed. Maḥmūd Muṣṭafā et al., Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1994.
173. Rukn al-Islām Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf al-Firūzābādī (d. 1083). *Kitābun mukhtaṣarun ‘alā madhhabī al-shāfi‘ī fī al-fiqhi* (*A Digest on the Shafi‘i School of Law*) [= *Kitāb al-tanbīh* (*The Book of Awakening*)], 93 {19}. It seems that the title was assigned by ‘Atufi based on the first line. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1218 (seal of Bayezid II).
174. Same as above, 93 {19}–94 {1}.
175. Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Sarwistānī al-Shīrāzī (d. ?). *Kitābu mukhtaṣari al-Muḥarrari ‘alā madhhabī al-shāfi‘ī fī al-fiqhi* (*Abridgement of The Recorded on the Shafi‘i School of Law*), 94 {1–2}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1062 (seal of Bayezid II). The author is not mentioned in the manuscript, which seems to contain only a section of the book. It includes two other short works: *Risālat al-ḥudūd* (*The Book of Definitions*), which defines terminologies of primarily Shafi‘i legal theory, and a commentary on *al-Waraqāt* of al-Juwaynī. All of these may have been penned by the author of *al-Muḥarrar* (TSMK, A. 1060). The manuscript was collated, corrected, and given contextualizing cases (*qūbila, ṣuḥḥiha wa-quyyida*) in the year 877 (1472) in Damascus (fol. 238b).
176. Same as above, 94 {2}.
177. “*Kitābun mukhtaṣarun ‘alā madhhabī Mālik bin Anas fī al-fiqhi*” (*A Digest on the Maliki School of Law*). 94 {3}.
178. Same as 18 with variant title: *Kitābu fuṣūli al-aḥkāmī fī al-fiqhi yuqālu lahū al-Fuṣūlu al-‘imādiyyatu* (*Judicial Discernments of Principles of Judgment*, also known as *The Judicial Discernments of al-‘Imādī*), 94 {6}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Amcazade Hüseyin 218.
179. Same as above with variant title: *Kitābu fuṣūlin ‘imādiyyatin mawsūmun bi-Fuṣūli al-aḥkāmī fī al-fiqhi* (*The Judicial Discernments of al-‘Imādī, also known as Judicial Discernments of Principles of Judgment*), 94 {7}.

180. Same as above with variant title: *Kitābu fuṣūli al-aḥkāmi fī uṣūl al-aḥkāmi al-shahīru bi-al-Fuṣūli al-‘imādiyyati fī al-fiqhi* (Judicial Discernments Fortifying the Principles of Judgment, also known as The Judicial Discernments of al-‘Imādī), 94 {8–9}.
181. Same as above with variant title: *Kitābu al-fuṣūli al-‘imādiyyati fī al-fiqhi* (The Judicial Discernments of al-‘Imādī), 94 {10}.
182. Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Abū al-Barakāt ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Nasafī (d. 1310). *Kitābu al-kāfi fī sharḥi al-Wāfi fī al-fiqhi* (The Sufficent: Commentary on *The Entirety*) [in one volume], 94 {11}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Fatih 1849, 1850, 1852, 1853.
183. Abū Ḥafṣ Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṣadr al-Shahīd ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Bukhārī? (d. 1141). *Kitābu sharḥi al-Jāmi‘i al-ṣaghīri li-l-Shaykh al-Bukhārī wa-huwa li-Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan fī al-fiqhi* (Commentary on *The Shorter Compilation* of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan [al-Shaybānī (d. 805)]), 94 {13}.
184. Abū Ḥafṣ Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṣadr al-Shahīd ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Bukhārī? (d. 1141). *Kitābu sharḥi al-Jāmi‘i al-ṣaghīri ma‘a zawā’ida li-l-Shaykh Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Bukhārī fī al-fiqhi* (Commentary on *The Shorter Compilation* with additions by Shaykh Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Bukhārī), 94 {14–15}.
185. Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Dīn? (d. 1190–91). *Kitābu sharḥi al-Jāmi‘i al-ṣaghīri li-l-Shaykh al-Zāhid ‘alā al-Bazdawī fī al-fiqhi* (Shaykh al-Zāhid’s Commentary on *The Shorter Compilation* following al-Bazdawī [d. 1089]), 94 {15–16}. MANUSCRIPT: Fatih Millet Library, Feyzullah 699.
186. “*Kitābu jawāmi‘ al-fiqari fī sharḥi manzūmi al-Jāmi‘i al-ṣaghīri fī al-fiqhi*” (The Book of the Collection of Subtleties: Versified Commentary on *The Shorter Compilation*), 94 {16–17}.
187. Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad? *Kitābu al-wajīzi fī al-fiqhi* (A Concise Book on Law), 94 {18}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1501 (seal of Bayezid II).
188. “*Kitābu al-biḥāri fī al-fiqhi*” (The Book of Seas), 94 {19}.
189. Same as above, 94 {19}.
190. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Ilyās al-Qunawī (d. 1386). *Kitābu durari al-biḥāri fī al-fiqhi* (Pearls of the Seas), 95 {2}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Carullah 640; SK, Ayasofya 2244; SK, Reisülküttap 330; SK, Reşid Efendi 196; SK, Fatih 1628.
191. Same as above, 95 {2}.
192. “*Kitābu al-durari al-zāhirati fī sharḥi al-Bihāri al-zākhirati*” (Manifest Pearls: Commentary on *The Open Seas*), 95 {2–3}.
193. Same as above, 95 {3}.
194. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu al-wajīzi fī fiqhi al-shāfi‘ī* (The Concise Book on Shafī‘ī Law), 95 {5}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Carullah 978; SK, Fatih 2210; SK, Şehid Ali Paşa 1004.
195. Qiwām al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Kākī al-Ḥujandī al-Sinjārī (d. 1348). *Kitābu ‘uyūni al-madhāhibi fī al-fiqhi [al-Kāmili]* (Springs of the Schools of Law), 95 {7}. The book is dedicated to the Mamluk sultan, Sha‘bān b. Muḥammad al-Malik al-Kāmil (d. 1346), and the author mentions the title in the introduction as *‘uyūn al-madhāhib al-Kāmili*. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 742; SK, Fatih 2034–2036; SK, Lala Ismail 96; SK, Mahmud Paşa 221, 240; SK, Mesih Paşa 2; SK, Reşid Efendi 236; SK, Şehid Ali Paşa 896; SK, Yeni Cami 519; Köprülü Library, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 638; SK, Hacı Selim Ağa 370. The manuscript copy housed in the University of Michigan Library was wrongly attributed to Jalāl al-Dīn al-Khabbāzī.
196. Same as above, 95 {7}.
197. Abū Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sa‘īd Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064). *Sharḥu al-Mujallā al-marqūmu bi-anna ismahū al-Muḥallā* (Commentary of *The Mirror*, known by the title of Adornments) [only

four volumes], 95 {8–9}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, R. 604; SK, Ayasofya 1259, 1260. Ayasofya 1259 is the third volume and does not bear the seal of Bayezid but contains ‘Atufi’s note; it was copied in 727 (1326), and was compared and collated with three other copies dated 724 (1323). Similarly, Ayasofya 1260, copied in 789, is a collated copy (*muqābala*). The copyist mentions that it was badly collated and that it needs a new collation with a sound copy (*bi-nuskha ṣaḥiḥa*). SK, Carullah 710 (the second volume, with ‘Atufi’s notation) was copied in 726 (1325) and collated with two other manuscripts and with the autograph of Ibn Ḥazm (fol. 318a). SK, Carullah 709, the first volume, has no seal but ‘Atufi’s notation. Apparently the copies in the library of Carullah Efendi originated from the palace library. No seal of Bayezid II exists on them now, but they contain ‘Atufi’s notation.

198. “*Kitābu irshādi al-adhhāni fī al-fiqhi*” (Guidance for Intellectuals), 95 {9}. A book with this title is attributed to the Shiite scholar Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (d. 1326).
199. “*Kitābu al-rawḍati fī al-fiqhi wa-ghayrihi*” (The Book of the Garden), 95 {9–10}.
200. Fakhr al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Mūdurnī [al-‘Ajāmī] (d. 1474). *Kitābu mushtamili al-aḥkāmi fī al-fiqhi* (The Repository of Rulings), 95 {10}. Copies abound.
201. *Fī mujalladin wāḥidin fī al-fiqhi* / one volume containing:
 - 201a. Mullā Khusraw (Ḥüsrev) (d. 1480). *Kitābu ghurari al-aḥkāmi* (The Finest Points of Rulings), 95 {11}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1032, copied for the personal study of Mehmed II.
 - 201b. Mullā Khusraw (Ḥüsrev) (d. 1480). *Risālatun fī uṣūli al-fiqhi* (Treatise on Legal Theory) [= *Mirqat al-wuṣūl* (The Ladder of Arrival)], 95 {11–12}.
202. Abū al-Naṣr Maṣ‘ūd b. Abī Bakr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Farāhī (d. 1242). *Kitābu dhātī ‘iqdayni fī al-fiqhi*, 95 {12}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1191; SK, Fatih 2179.
203. Wājid Pāshā (Vācid Paşa) (d. ca. 1404). *Kitābu al-ikhtiyārāti fī sharḥi al-Niqāyati* [or *Nuqāyati*] *fī al-fiqhi* (Choices in the Commentary on *The Purity*), 95 {12–13}. MANUSCRIPTS: Maraş İl Halk Kütüphanesi Hafız Ali Efendi 17; Leipzig University Library, Cod. Arab. 79, https://www.islamic-manuscripts.net/rsc/viewer/IslamHSBook_derivate_00002176/cod_arab_79_003.jpg.
204. “*Kitābun mukhtaṣarun min al-fatāwā fī al-fiqhi*” (An Abridged Book of Fatwas), 95 {13}.
205. Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-mushtahir bi-Badr al-Toqādī (fl. 1392). *Kitābu sharḥi al-Qalā’idi fī al-fiqhi* (Commentary on *The Exquisite Poems of Law*) [in two volumes], 95 {14}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1220 (seal of Bayezid II and the notation of ‘Atufi), copied in Angūriya (Ankara) in 799 (1396), only the first volume.
206. Abū al-Layth, Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Samarqandī (d. 983). *Kitābu al-mukhtalaḥ bayna al-aṣḥābi fī al-fiqhi* (The Book of Disputed Legal Issues among Scholars of Law), 95 {14–15}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1197 (seal of Bayezid II), copied in 754 (1344) by Yūsuf b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, known as Ṣalāḥ al-Su‘ūdī. The book, which was previously owned by Sūdūn Dāwud al-Sayfī Tanbak, a Mamluk amir, contains several notes by different readers and owners. EDITION: *Mukhtalaḥ al-riwāya*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Faraj, Riyāḍ, 2005.
207. “*Kitābu al-fuṣūli fī masā’ili al-qaḍāyā wa-al-da’āwā*” (Chapters on Legal Issues concerning Judgeship and Legal Cases), 95 {15}.
208. Same as above, 95 {16}.
209. Shams al-A’imma Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī al-Sarakhsī (d. 1090?). *Kitābu adabi al-qāḍī fī al-fiqhi* (The Etiquette of Judges), 95 {16–17}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1016 (seal of Bayezid II).
210. Abū Ḥafṣ Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṣadr al-Shahīd ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Bukhārī? (d. 1141). *Kitābu sharḥi Kitābi adabi al-qāḍī fī al-fiqhi* (Commentary on *The Etiquette of Judges* by Shams al-A’imma), 95 {17–18}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1017 (seal of Bayezid II), copied in 870 (1465).

211. Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī (d. 1223). *Kitābu al-kāfi fī al-fiqhi ‘alā madhhabī al-Ḥanbalī* (The Book of Sufficiency in Law According to the Hanbali School) [in two volumes], 96 {1}. EDITION: *Al-Kāfi fī fiqh al-Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*, ed. Muḥammad Fāris and Muṣ‘ad ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Sa‘danī, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1414/1994.
212. Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Raḥmān b. Ishāq al-‘Imādī al-Faṭḥabādī (d. 1100). *Kitābu ghurari al-shurūṭi fī al-fiqhi* (The Finest Points of Legal Writings), 96 {1–2}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1033 (seal of Bayezid II).
213. *Fī mujalladin wāḥidin* / one volume containing:
 - 213a. *Risālatun manẓūmatun fī al-fiqhi* (Treatise in verse), 96 {2}.
 - 213b. *Risālatun ma‘rūfatun bi-Yaqūlu al-‘abdu fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi* (Treatise known as *The Servant of God Says*), 96 {2–3}.
 - 213c. *“Qaṣīdatun ma‘rūfatun bi-al-Burdātī”* (The Verse known as *Ode of the Mantle*), 96 {3–4}.
214. *“Kitābun mukhtaṣarun ‘ajībun fī al-fiqhi yu‘rafu min uslūbihi ‘ilmu al-‘arūḍi wa-al-tawārīkhu wa-al-naḥwu wa-al-qawāfī”* (An Unusual Abridged Book on Law Distinguished in Its Manner Following the Sciences of Prosody, of History, of Grammar and of Rhyme), 96 {4–5}.
215. Same as above, 96 {5–6}.
216. *Fī mujalladin wāḥidin* / one volume containing:
 - 216a. Same as above, 96 {7–8}.
 - 216b. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Kalābādī (d. 990?). *Kitābu al-ta‘arrufi li-madhhabī al-taṣawwufi* (Book of Cognition of the Sufi school), 96 {8}.
217. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu al-wasīti ‘alā madhhabī al-shāfi‘ī fī al-fiqhi* (The Intermediate), 96 {9}. EDITION: *Al-Wasīṭ fī al-madhhab*, ed. ‘Alī Muḥyi al-Dīn al-Qaradāghī, Beirut: Dār al-Bashā‘ir al-Islāmiyya, 2015.
218. *“Kitābu jawāhiri al-fiqhi fī al-fiqhi”* (The Book of Gems in Jurisprudence), Persian, 96 {9–10}.
219. *“Kitābun fī faḍā‘ili al-‘ibādāti fī al-fiqhi”* (Virtues of Worship), 96 {10–11}.
220. *“Kitābun fī al-aḥkāmi al-sulṭāniyyati ‘alā madhāhibi al-fuqahā‘i fī al-fiqhi”* (Book of Rulings on Rulership), 96 {11}. MANUSCRIPTS: Murad Molla 724, copied in 850/1446–47 (a Mamluk manuscript); SK, Ayasofya 1013, copied in 743 (1342–43).
221. *“Kitābun fī al-fiqhi ibtada’an bi-kitābi al-miyāhi”* (A Book on Law That Begins with the Chapter on [the Law of] Water), 96 {12}.
222. No note of *fī mujalladin wāḥidin* (“one volume containing”) but items separated with “wa- ~.”
 - 222a. *“Risālatun fī al-waṣiyyati”* (A Treatise on Wills), 96 {12}.
 - 222b. *“Kitābu asrāri al-waḥyi”* (The Book of the Secrets of Revelation), 96 {13}.
 - 222c. *“Kitābu al-farā‘idi ma’a taṣwīrāti al-masā‘ili fī al-fiqhi”* (Book on Inheritance Law, illustrated with relevant cases), 96 {13}.
223. Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām (d. ??). *Kitābi sharḥi li-kitābi Ibn al-Ḥājib ‘alā madhhabī Mālik Ibn Anas fī al-fiqhi* (Commentary on the book of Ibn al-Hajib in the School of Law of Malik b. Anas) [‘Atufi notes that three of eight volumes are missing, namely, volumes 3, 5, and 8], 96 {14–16}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 1230–1237.
224. Abū al-Naṣr Zayn al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-‘Attābī (d. 1190). *Mujalladun min Kitābi sharḥi Fatāwā al-‘Attābī fī al-fiqhi* (A volume of The Commentary on *The Fatwas of al-‘Attābī*), 96 {17}.
225. *Fī mujalladin wāḥidin* / one volume containing:
 - 225a. Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Aqsarāyī (d. ca. 1398). *Kitābu as‘ilati* (Book of Questions) [= *Al-As‘ila wa-al-ajwiba* (Questions and Answers)], Persian, 96 {17–18}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 70–72, 1033 (seal of Bayezid II); SK, Fatih 99.

- 225b. “*Kitābun fī al-fiqhī*” (Book on Jurisprudence), Persian, 96 {18}.
226. “*Kitābu ḍaw’i al-lughati fī sharḥi al-lughati*” (The Light of Language in the Explication of the Lexicon), 96 {18–19}.
227. “*Al-Fatāwā ibtada’an bi-kitābi al-mafqūdi fī al-fiqhī*” ([A Collection of] Fatwas) [second volume only, starting with the chapter on Lost Items], 96 {19}–97 {1}.
228. *Fī mujalladin wāḥidin* / one volume containing:
- 228a. Taqī al-Dīn Abū ‘Amr ‘Uṭhmān b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kurdī al-Shahrazūrī ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 1245). *Kitābun fī ṭabaqāti al-fuqahā’i ‘alā madhhabī al-shāfi’i* (The Biographies of Scholars in the Shafi’i School of Law), 97 {1–2}. EDITION: Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī, Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā’ al-Nawawī, and Yūsuf Ibn Al-Zakī ‘Abd Al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī. *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā’ al-Shāfi’iyyah*, ed. Najīb, Muḥyī Al-Dīn ‘Alī Dār al-Bashā’ir al-Islāmīyah, 1992.
- 228b. Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā’ Yaḥyā b. Sharaf b. Murī al-Nawawī (d. 1277). *Kitābun mukhtaṣarun fī ṭabaqāti al-fuqahā’i wa-aḥwālīhim* (Abridgement of *The Biographies of Scholars and Their Circumstances*), 97 {2}. EDITION: *Mukhtaṣar Ṭabaqāt Al-fuqahā’*, ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad Mu‘awwaḍ and Ādil Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Mawjūd, Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyyah, 1995.
- 228c. Imām al-Ḥaramayn Abū al-Ma‘ālī Rukn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Juwaynī (d. 1085). *Kitābu mughḥithi al-khalqī fī tarjīhi madhahabi al-shāfi’i* (Aid for the People in Choosing the Shafi’i School of Law), 97 {2–3}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2194 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Al-Juwaynī, *Mughḥith al-khalq fī tarjīh al-qawl al-ḥaqq*, Lahore: Maktaba Quddūsiyya, 1400 (1980).
- 228d. “*Risālatun fī aḥwālī sayyidinā Muḥammad -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi- wa-aḥwālī aṣḥābihi*” (Treatise on the Circumstances of Muḥammad and His Companions), 97 {4–5}.
- 228e. “*Risālatu ḥilyati al-Imām al-Shāfi’i*” (Treatise on the Manners of Imam al-Shafi’i), 97 {5}.
- 228f. “*Risālatun fīmā yadda’hi al-nāsu min ‘ilmi al-ghaybi wa-ma’rifati al-ḥawādithi*” (Treatise on What People Claim about the Knowledge of the Unseen and Gnosis of the Events), 97 {5–6}.
229. “*Risālatun fī al-ta’arruḍi li-ba’ḍi mawāḍi’i al-kutubi al-fiqhiyyati*” (Treatise in Objection to Some Issues in the Books of Jurisprudence), 97 {6–7}.
230. *Fī mujalladin wāḥidin* / one volume containing:
- 230a. Abū al-Ḥasan Taqī al-Dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Kāfi al-Subkī (d. 1355). *Kitābu shifā’i al-siqāmi fī ziyārati khayri al-anāmi -‘alayhi al-salāmu- fī al-ḥadīthi* (Healing of Sickness through Visiting the Best of Mankind), 97 {7–8}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 324 (Karatay 2963), 775/1374 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Ed. Ḥasan Muḥammad ‘Alī Shukrī, Casablanca, 2010.
- 230b. Abū al-Ḥasan Taqī al-Dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Kāfi al-Subkī (d. 1355). *Kitābu al-sayfi al-maslūli ‘alā man sabba al-rasūli -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama- fī al-fiqhī* (Drawn Sword upon Those Who Insult the Prophet [Muhammad]), 97 {8–9}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Şehid Ali Paşa 790; SK, Reisülküttap 161; possibly at the end of TSMK, A. 324. EDITION: Ed. İyād Aḥmad al-Ghawj, Amman, 2000.
231. “*Risālatun fī bayāni alfāzi al-kufri min qibali al-fiqhī*” (Treatise on Utterances of Unbelief), 97 {9–10}. MANUSCRIPTS: There are a number of texts with the same title. Two well-known examples are by Quṭb al-Dīn zāda Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Iznīkī (SK, Ayasofya 2263) and Badr al-Rashīd Muḥammad b. Ismā’il b. Maḥmūd (SK, Ayasofya 1475/4).
232. *Fī mujalladin wāḥidin* / one volume containing:

- 232a. Abū Hāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu bidāyati al-hidāyati fī al-fiqhi* (Beginning of Guidance), 97 {10}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 1679, 1677 (seal of Bayezid II); SK, Ayasofya 1680, 1512, 1678/1 (copied in 824/1421).
- 232b. Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar b. Abī Bakr b. ‘Umar b. ‘Alī bin Hamza al-Nāshirī al-‘Adnānī al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 1418?). *Kitābu al-naṣā’ihī al-imāniyyati li-dhawī al-wilāyati al-sultāniyyati* (Instructions of Faith to Those Who Possess Sultanic Powers), 97 {11}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1678/2 (fols. 60a–153b), autograph copy, dated 825 (1421–22).
233. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Fārisī (fl. 15th–16th centuries). *Kitābu ‘umdati al-islām fī al-fiqhi* (Reliance of Islam), Persian, 97 {11–12}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1332 (seal of Bayezid II).
234. Ibn al-Malak ‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. Firishte ‘Izz al-Dīn b. Amīn al-Dīn (d. ca. 1418). *Kitābu munyati al-ṣayyādīna fī al-fiqhi [fī ta’allum al-iṣṭiyād wa-aḥkāmihī]* (The Wish of Hunters [in Learning Hunting and Its Rulings]), 97 {12}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1464, copied for the library of al-Malik al-Ajall Amīr-Silāḥ Timrāz al-Zāhirī; wrongly attributed to Mīrim Çelebi in the Süleymaniye Library catalogue. TSMK, A. 869 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Munyat al-ṣayyādīn fī ta’allum al-iṣṭiyād wa-aḥkāmihī*, followed by Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Ḥamzāwī, *Risālat fatwā al-khawāṣṣ fī ḥill mā ṣīda bi-al-raṣāṣ*, ed. Sa’īd Bakdāsh, Beirut: Dār al-Bashā’ir al-Islāmiyya, 1999.
235. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Tankabawī (d. ?). *Kitābu badā’i’i al-aḥkāmī fī al-fiqhi* (Marvels of Rulings), Persian, 97 {12–13}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1037; copied by Muḥammad b. Shāhanshāh.
236. Abū al-Hasan Amīr ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Balabān b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Miṣrī al-Fārisī (d. 1339). *Kitābu tuḥfati al-ḥarīṣi fī sharḥi al-Talkhīṣi [al-jāmi’i al-kabīri] fī al-fiqhi* (Book of Gifts for the Desirous in the Commentary on the *Epitome* [of *The Larger Compilation*]) [in two volumes], 97 {13–14}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1065 (seal of Bayezid II).
237. Abū al-Khayr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Jazarī al-Sulamī (d. 1429). *Kitābu al-darajāti al-‘aliyyati fī ṭabaqāti al-‘ulamā’i al-ḥanaḥfiyyati* (The Superior Ranks [Embodied] in the Biographies of Hanafi Scholars), 97 {14–15}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2831 is a unique manuscript copied for the library of Ulugh Bey (r. 1447–49), who is mentioned in the introduction. Karatay attributes the manuscript to Ibn al-Jazarī the Elder, who died in 1429; *Arapça Yazmalar*, vol. 3, 556 (no. 6455).
238. “*Kitābu tahdhībī ‘alā madhhabī Abī Ḥanīfa fī al-fiqhi*” (The Book of Adornment of the School of Abu Hanifa), 97 {15–16}.
239. Ismā‘īl b. Abī Bakr Ibn al-Muqrī (d. 1433). *Kitābun ‘ajībun mawsūmun bi-‘Unwāni al-sharafi fī al-fiqhi wa-al-ishārati ilā ‘ulūmin arba‘atin* (The Address of Honor in Law and Guide to the Four Sciences), 97 {16–17}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 1334 (seal of Bayezid II and ‘Atufi’s note); Ayasofya 1335 (copied for the library of the Mamluk sultan al-Amīr al-Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā b. ‘Irāq Dawādār); Ayasofya 1336 (seal of Bayezid II and ‘Atufi’s note); Ayasofya 1337; Ayasofya 1338. EDITION: *Unwān al-sharaf al-wāfi fī ‘ilm al-fiqh wa-al-‘arūḍ wa-al-tārīkh wa-al-naḥw wa-al-qawāfi*, ed. ‘Abd Allāh Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī, Beirut: al-Maktaba al-‘Aṣriyya, 1996.
240. Muḥammad Shīrīn b. ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Maghāribī? al-Bulgharī? (d. 1407). *Kitābu khazīnati al-‘ulamā’i [wa-zīnat al-fuqahā] fī al-fiqhi* (The Treasure of Scholars [and Adornment of Jurists]), 97 {17}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1777 (seal of Bayezid II and ‘Atufi’s notation, but *fī al-fiqh* is erased and the book is classified as a book on mysticism).
241. “*Risālatu ṣalāti al-raghā’ibi fī al-fiqhi*” (Treatise on the Prayer of al-Raghā’ib), 97 {17–18}.

242. Mullā Khusraw (d. 1480). *Risālatu mā nuqila min Ghurari al-aḥkāmī fi dukhūli waladi al-binti fi waladi al-waladi [awlādī] fi al-fiqhi* (Section from *The Finest Points of Rulings [Ghurar al-Aḥkām]* on the Consideration of Daughters under the Category of the Lexeme [awlād]), 97 {18–19}. Copies abound.
243. “*Kitābu masā’ili al-mu’āmalāti fi al-fiqhi*” (Legal Cases concerning Transactions), Persian, 97 {19}–98 {1}.
244. *Fī mujalladin wāḥidin* / one volume containing:
- 244a. ‘Alī b. Majd al-Dīn al-Shahrūdī, known as Muṣannifak (d. 1470). *Risālatu al-ḥudūdi* (The Epistle of Technical Definitions), 98 {1}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Esad Efendi 668, completed in 873/1468 in Hayrabolu, autograph. EDITION: Imām ‘Alī b. Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maṣ’ūd al-Shahrūdī al-Biṣṭāmī, *Kitāb al-ḥudūd wa-al-aḥkām*, ed. Ilyās Qablān, Istanbul: Irshād, 2010.
- 244b. Abū Qāsim al-Faryābī (d. 1210?). *Kitābu khālīṣati al-ḥa[qa]’iqi fi al-taṣawwufi* (Purity of Truth), 98 {1–2}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 1774-1776 (seal of Bayezid II).
- 244c. Same as 231, 98 {2}.
245. Fakhr al-Islām Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Shāshī, also known as al-Mustaẓhirī (d. 1113). *Kitābun marqūmun bi-Hiḳyati al-‘ulamā’i fi madhāhibi al-fuqahā’i fi al-fiqhi* (The Adornment of Scholars in the Schools of Jurists), 98 {3}. According to the manuscript, this book is also known as *Kitāb al-Mustaẓhirī*. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 1137, 1138, 1139.
246. Abū ‘Abd Allāh Raḍī al-Dīn Burhān al-Islām Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Sarakhsī al-Tūsānī (d. ca. 1174). *Wajīzu al-muḥīṭi fi al-fiqhi* (A Concise [Rendering] of *The Ocean*), 98 {3–4}. This book is an abridgement of *Muḥīṭ al-raḍawī* by the same author who previously wrote *al-Muḥīṭ* and *al-Wasīṭ*. In some of the manuscripts, the book is titled *al-Wajīz fi al-fatāwā*. MANUSCRIPTS: Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi, Beyazıt 2545; SK, Bağdatlı Vehbi 398; SK, Fatih 2209; SK, Hekimoğlu 393; Köprülü Library, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 684, 685; SK, Turhan Valide Sultan 161; SK, Süleymaniye 1003.
247. “*Kitābun fārisiyyun min qibali al-fiqhi*” (A Persian Book on Jurisprudence), 98 {4}.
248. Yūsuf b. Ḥusayn al-Kirmāstī (d. 1500). *Risālatu fi al-waqfi fi ‘ilmi al-fiqhi* (Endowment Law), 98 {5}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1176.
249. Naṣr b. Muḥammad Abū al-Layth al-Samarqandī al-Ḥanafī (d. 983). *Kitābu al-bustāni min qibali al-fiqhi* (The Book of the Garden) [= *Bustān al-‘arīfin* (The Garden of the Gnostics)], 98 {5–6}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 1686, copied in 557 (1161–62); SK, Ayasofya 1683/1 (seal of Bayezid and ‘Atufi’s note on fol. 1a).
250. “*Kitābu al-khulāṣati fi al-fiqhi*” (The Condensed Book), 98 {6}.
251. Ṣadr al-Sharī’a al-Thānī ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Maṣ’ūd b. Tāj al-Sharī’a ‘Umar b. Ṣadr al-Sharī’a al-Awwal ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Maḥmūd al-Maḥbūbī al-Bukhārī (d. 1346). *Kitābu al-niqāyati min al-wiqāyati [ay muntakhabun min al-wiqāyati] fi al-fiqhi* (Book of Purity: Selections from *The Protection*), 98 {7}. The abridgement for memorization of his grandfather and teacher Burhān al-Sharī’a’s *al-Wiqāya*. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 2218, copied in 758 (1356–57).
252. Same as 231 and 244c, 98 {7–8}.
253. “*Risālatun fi al-fiqhi ‘alā madhhabī Abī Ḥanīfa*” (A Treatise on Law in the School of Abu Hanifa), 98 {8–9}.
254. “*Kitābun jāmi’un fi al-khilāfiyyāti mawsūmun bi-al-ustuqsāti fi al-fiqhi*” (The Book on the Sciences of Legal Disputation), 98 {9–10}.
255. Nurbakhsh al-Ḥusaynī. *Kitābun mansūbun ilā al-Shaykh al-ma’rūfi bi-Nūr-bakhsh al-Ḥusaynī fi al-fiqhi* (A Book [attributed to Nurbakhsh al-Ḥusaynī] on Law), 98 {10–11}.

256. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu mā lā budda fī al-ṭahārati wa-al-ṣalāti wa-al-ṣawmi* (What You Must Know on Purity, Prayer, and Fasting), Persian, 98 {11–12}.
257. “*Risālatun fī aḥwāl al-madhāhibi al-fiqhiyyati*” (Treatise on the States of Legal Schools), 98 {12–13}. Possibly *al-Faraḥ wa-al-surūr fī bayān al-madhāhib* by al-Kāfiyaji; see below no. 258.
258. Muḥyi al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kāfiyaji (d. 1474). *Nashātu al-ṣudūri fī sharḥi al-Kitābi al-faraḥi wa-al-surūri fī bayāni al-madhāhibi fī furūʿi al-dīni min qibali al-fiqhi* (The Activity of the Heart in Commenting on the Book of Joy and Happiness in Explaining the Schools of Law), 98 {13–14}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 1477 (seal of Bayezid), copied for the library of Mahmud Paşa.
259. Mīrim Çelebi Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Qāḍizāda al-Rūmī (d. 1525). *ʿUmdat al-ṣayyādina fī al-fiqhi* (The Support of Hunters), translated into Arabic, 98 {14–15}.
260. Yūsuf b. Ḥusayn al-Kirmāstī (d. 1500). *Risālatun fī masʿalati rahn al-dāri bidūni al-matāʿi wa-huwa fihā fī al-fiqhi* (A Treatise on the House as a Collateral without Any Belongings), 98 {15–16}.
261. *Fī mujalladin wāḥidin* / one volume containing:
- 261a. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Iznīkī (d. 1418). *Muqaddimatu fī al-fiqhi* (Prolegomena), Turkish, 98 {16–17}. ‘Atufi attributes this book to his son Meḥmed, known as Quṭb al-Dīn Zāda. Copies abound.
- 261b. “*Dīwānu ʿĀshiq*” (Collected Poems of ʿĀshiq), 98 {17}.
- 261c. “*Gulshan-i rāz*” (Rosegarden of Secrets), 98 {17}.
- 261d. “*Khurshīdnāma*” (The Book of Khurshīd), 98 {18}.
- 261e. “*Khusraw [u] shīrīn*” (Khusraw and Shirin), 98 {18}.
- 261f. “*Kitābu al-malhamati min qibali al-nujūmi*” (Book on Weather Prognostications), Turkish, 98 {18}.
262. “*Asāsu al-islāmi fī al-fiqhi*” (Foundation of Islam), Persian, 98 {19}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1017 (seal of Bayezid II).
263. “*Majmūʿatun*” (A Collection), which contains:
- 263a. “*Rasāʾilu fī ʿilmi al-ḥisābi wa-ʿilmi al-waḥḥi wa-fī awākhirihā kitābun yashtamilu ʿalā al-masāʾili al-dawriyyati al-wāqʿati fī al-aḥkāmi al-sharʿiyyati fī al-fiqhi*” (A compilation of treatises on arithmetic and magic squares, ending with a book containing issues of circulations related to legal rulings), 98 {19}–99 {2}.
- 263b. “*Risālatu al-waṣāyā fī al-fiqhi*” (Treatise on Inheritances), 99 {2}.
- 263c. “*Risālatu sharḥi al-masāʾili min Kitābi al-dawri fī al-fiqhi*” (Commentary on issues from *The Book on Circulations*), 99 {2–3}.
264. No note of *fī mujalladin wāḥidin* (“one volume containing”), but item names separated with “wa- ~.”
- 264a. “*Miṣbāḥu al-mubtadī fī al-fiqhi*” (Lamp of the Novice), 99 {3}.
- 264b. “*Risālatu al-ḥajji fī al-fiqhi*” (Treatise on the Pilgrimage), 99 {4}.
- 264c. “*Risālatu sharḥi al-durrati al-alfiyyati fī al-fiqhi*” (A Treatise [containing] a Commentary on the Pearls of [the Book titled] *al-Alfiyya*), 99 {4}.
- 264d. “*Risālatun wajīzatu fī al-ṣalāt*” (A Concise Book on Prayer), 99 {4–5}.
- 264e. “*Kitābu al-fiqhi*” (A Book on Jurisprudence), 99 {5}.
- 264f. “*Kitābu al-nikāḥi fī al-fiqhi*” (The Book of Marriage), 99 {5}.
- 264g. “*Rasāʾilu ukhrā*” (Treatises), 99 {5}.
265. No note of *fī mujalladin wāḥidin* (“one volume containing”), but item names separated with “wa- ~.”

- 265a. Şaḫī al-Dīn al-Hindī? (d. 1315). *Hāshiyatun ‘alā Kitābi al-kitābatī fī al-kāfi wa-al-hidāyati fī al-fiqhi* (Marginal Gloss on the Books *The Sufficent* and *The Guidance*), 99 {5–6}. MANUSCRIPT: Unique autograph manuscript, SK, Ayasofya 1121.
- 265b. Şaḫī al-Dīn al-Hindī? (d. 1315). *Kitābu al-ḥawāshī ‘alā Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a fī al-fiqhi* (Glosses on Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a), 99 {6–7}. MANUSCRIPT: Unique autograph manuscript, SK, Ayasofya 1121.
266. “*Kitābu al-rumūzi ‘alā ikhtilāfāti al-fuqahā’i fī al-fiqhi*” (The Book of Signs on the Disagreements of Jurists), 99 {7–8}.
267. “*Safīnatun fihā Kitābu al-shurūṭi fī ghāyati al-naḫāsati min qibali al-fiqhi*” (A “Ship” [i.e., an oblong volume] containing a book of legal writings), 99 {8–9}. With a rare remark by ‘Atufi that it is “extremely precious.”
268. “*Kitābu asāsi al-islāmi fī al-fiqhi*” (Foundations of Islam), Persian, 99 {9}. See above, no. 262. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya, 1017.
269. *Fī mujalladin wāḥidin* / one volume containing:
- 269a. “*Kitābu al-muqaddimati fī al-fiqhi*” (The Prolegomena), 99 {10}. See above, no. 261a.
- 269b. Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān b. Thābit (d. 767). *Risālatu al-fiqhi al-akbari li-Abī Ḥanīfa* (The Greatest Understanding), 99 {10}. See Atçıl’s list for two copies of a commentary, possibly by Ilyās b. Ibrāhīm al-Sinobī (d. 1486?), on this work [67 {10–11}, 67 {11}].
270. “*Kitābu al-farā’idi fī al-fiqhi*” (Book on Inheritance Law), 99 {15}.
271. *Fī mujalladin wāḥidin* / one volume containing:
- 271a. “*Kitābun fī ‘ilmi al-farā’idi*” (A Book on the Science of Inheritance Law), 99 {15}.
- 271b. “*Rasā’ilu fī al-ḥisābi*” (Treatises on Arithmetic), 99 {15–6}.
272. *Fī mujalladin wāḥidin* / one volume containing:
- 272a. Abū Ḥafṣ Najm al-Dīn ‘Umar b. Muḥammad Al-Nasafi (d. 1142). *‘Aqā’idu al-nasafi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi* (The Creed), 99 {16}.
- 272b. “*Kitābu al-farā’idi fī al-fiqhi*” (Book on Inheritance Law) [Same as 270?], 99 {16–17}.
- 272c. Abū Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Umar b. Muḥammad al-Khabbāzī (d. 1292). *Kitābu al-mughnī fī uṣūli al-fiqhi* (Sufficient on Legal Theory), 99 {17}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 1007, 1008; SK, Turhan Valide 95 (seal of Bayezid II).
273. “*Risālatu farā’idi al-mukallafina fī al-fiqhi*” (Treatise on the Obligations of the Responsible Ones), Persian, 99 {17–18}.
274. “*Kitābu al-farā’idi al-manzūmati min qibali al-fiqhi*” (Versified Book on Inheritance Law), Turkish, 99 {18–19}.
275. No note of *fī mujalladin wāḥidin* (“one volume containing”), but item names separated with “wa- ~.”
- 275a. Same as above, Arabic, 99 {19}.
- 275b. “*Risālatu ḥikami aḫḫālī al-ṣalātī*” (A Treatise on the Wisdom of Prayer), 99 {19}–100 {1}.
276. No note of *fī mujalladin wāḥidin* (“one volume containing”), but item names separated with “wa- ~.”
- 276a. “*Kitābu al-farā’idi al-manzūmu*” (Versified Book on Inheritance Law), 100 {1}.
- 276b. “*Kitābu al-bihāri fī al-fiqhi*” (Book of Seas), 100 {1–2}.
277. “*Kitābu sharḥi al-Farā’idi*” (Commentary on *Inheritance Law*), 100 {5}.
278. *Fī mujalladin wāḥidin* / one volume containing:
- 278a. Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad al-Sajāwandī (d. ca. 1203). *Kitābu sharḥi al-Farā’idi li-Sirāj al-Dīn fī al-fiqhi* (Commentary on Sirāj al-Dīn’s *Inheritance Law*), 100 {5}.
- 278b. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu minhāji al-‘ābidina fī al-taṣawwufi* (The Course of Worshipers), 100 {6}.

279. "*Kitābu zayni al-shurūḥi fī sharḥi matni al-Farā'idī min qibali al-fiqhi*" (Adornment of Commentaries: Commentary on the Text of *Inheritance Law*), 100 {7}.
280. Muḥyi al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Adirnawī al-'Ajāmī (d. 1508–9?). *Ḥāshiyatun 'alā sharḥi al-Sayyid al-Sharīf li-l-Farā'idī al-sirājiyyati fī al-fiqhi* (Marginal Gloss on the Commentary of Sayyid Sharif on *Inheritance Law* of Sirāj [al-Dīn]), 100 {7–9}. MANUSCRIPTS: Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi, Veliyüddin Efendi 1590, 1601; SK, Ayasofya 1612 (seal of Bayezid II).
281. "*Majmū'atun fihā arba'atun wa-'ishrūna kitāban awwaluhā Farā'idu al-sirāji fī al-fiqhi*" (Compendium containing fourteen books, beginning with Sirāj al-Dīn's *Inheritance Law*), 100 {9–10}.
282. Same as 280, 100 {10–11}.
283. *Fī mujalladin wāhidin* / one volume containing:
 - 283a. "*Sharḥu al-Arba'ina ḥadithan*" (Commentary on Forty Hadith), 100 {11}.
 - 283b. "*Sharḥu al-Farā'idī min qibali al-fiqhi*" (Commentary on *Inheritance Law*), 100 {11–12}.
284. "*Majmū'atun*" (Collection), which contains several works by al-Bābartī (d. 1384):
 - 284a. "*Sharḥu al-Maqṣadi fī 'ilmi al-kalāmī*" (Commentary on *The Intention*), 100 {12}.
 - 284b. "*Kitābu ḥikmatī al-furūḍi min qibali al-fiqhi*" (Book of the Wisdom of Obligations), 100 {12–13}.
 - 284c. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-Akmal [al-Dīn] al-Bābartī? (d. 1384). *Kitābu al-irshādi fī al-fiqhi* (Book of Guidance), 100 {13}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1384, fols. 185b–203a; copied in 769 (1367–68).
 - 284d. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-Akmal [al-Dīn] al-Bābartī (d. 1384), *Mukhtaṣaru al-Daw'i al-sirāji fī sharḥi al-Farā'idī min qibali al-fiqhi* (Abridgement of *The Light of the Lamp* (= *The Light of Sirāj [al-Dīn]*): Commentary on *Inheritance Law*), 100 {13–14}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1384, fols. 102a–175b, copied in 762 (1360–61).
 - 284e. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-Akmal al-Bābartī (d. 1384). *Risālatun fī tarjiḥi ijtihādi Abi Ḥanīfa* (Treatise on Preferring the Ijtihad of Abu Hanifa), 100 {14–15}. MANUSCRIPT: Autograph copy, SK, Ayasofya 1384, fols. 204b–211a, copied in 776 (1374–75).
 - 284f. "*Risālatun fī 'adami jawāzi bay'i al-ḥaywān bi-al-ḥaywāni nasiyatan (nasi'atan) fī al-fiqhi*" (Treatise on the Impermissibility of Selling Animals by the Usurious Sale of Future Payment), 100 {15}.
 - 284g. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-Akmal [al-Dīn] al-Bābartī (d. 1384). *Sharḥu risālati al-akmalīyyati fī al-Farā'idī min qibali al-fiqhi* (Commentary on the Treatise of al-Akmal on *Inheritance Law*), 100 {16}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1384, fols. 289a–336b (seal of Bayezid II).
285. Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kardārī al-Bazzāzī (d. 1424). *Kitābun fī manāqibi al-Imām al-A'ẓam wa-mashāyikhihi wa-aṣḥābihi min qibali al-fiqhi* (Biography of Abu Hanifa and His Circle and Scholars Associated with His School), 101 {3}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2811.
 - 284a. Same as above, 101 {4}.
286. Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kardārī al-Bazzāzī (d. 1424). *Mukhtaṣarun fī Manāqibi al-Imām al-A'ẓam wa-mashāyikhihi wa-aṣḥābihi min qibali al-fiqhi* (Abridged Biography of Abū Ḥanīfa and His Circle and Scholars Associated with His School), 101 {4–5}.
287. Same as above, 101 {5–6}.
288. Same as above, 101 {6–7}.
289. Same as 285, 101 {7–8}.
290. Same as 285, 101 {8–9}.
291. "*Majmū'atun nafīsatun*" (An Exquisite Collection), which contains:

292. Same as 285, 101 {9–10}.
293. Abū al-Wafā al-Qurashī, ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad (d. 1373). *Kitābu al-jawāhiri al-muḍiyyati fī ṭabaqāti al-ḥanafīyyati min ‘ulamā’i al-islāmi* (The Book of Shining Jewels among the Biographies and Rankings of Scholars of the School of Abu Hanifa), 101 {11–12}. EDITION: *Al-Jawāhir al-muḍiyya fī ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyya*, ed. ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw, Giza: Hajr li-al-Ṭibā‘a wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī‘ wa-al-I‘lān, 1993.

NOTE

1. Also see nos. 178–81 below, where ‘Atufi gives both of the above titles for this work. Brockelmann, however, attributes “*Fuṣūl al-‘imādiyya*” to Jamāl al-Dīn b. ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī (d. 1253?), and treats “*Fuṣūl al-‘imādiyya*” and “*Fuṣūli al-aḥkāmī*” as two separate works that are often confused with one another (Brockelmann S II 496).

BOOKS ON ISLAMIC LEGAL THEORY (*UŞÛL AL-FIQH*)

The term *uṣūl al-fiqh* can be translated into English as “Islamic legal theory,” “jurisprudence,” “legal philosophy,” or “legal methodology.”¹ As a discipline, it aims to explain how Islamic normativity works out the relationship of divinely ordained rules expressed in the Qur’an and Sunnah of the Prophet to the mundane details of daily human life. Throughout this essay, I will refer to the discipline as “Islamic legal theory” or, simply, “jurisprudence.” The science or discipline of *uṣūl al-fiqh* emerged towards the end of the second century of Islam (in the late eighth and early ninth centuries) as the Islamic polity organized itself under the Abbasids. From the early seventh century CE onward, nascent legal and political requirements gave rise to the basic question of how Islamic norms, as expounded by the Prophet Muhammad between 610 and 632, were to be translated into law following his death. This brought about the emergence of various legal methodologies. Throughout the second century of Islam, the schools of Hijaz (Mecca and Medina) and Iraq (Kufa, Basra, and Baghdad), together with the schools of Egypt and Yemen, inaugurated a program of expounding Islamic norms vis-à-vis the changing times and circumstances. They systematically wove together a body of rules that would later be called *madhhab*, that is, a school of law. The schools of law aspired to provide a comprehensive scheme of Islamic normativity—religious, ethical, and legal—covering everything that a believing person would need to know and practice throughout his or her lifetime. The fact that such schools of law were intended to represent a complete program for Islamic life made it necessary for each school’s expounders to prove and explain the superiority of their scheme to the alternative schemes,

which generated various theoretical expositions of how the Qur’an and Sunnah are to be read, and how the revealed principles and rules should be adapted to the cases that emerged following the death of the Prophet Muhammad. Islamic legal theory assumes that the rules and principles taught by the Prophet are valid until the Last Day and that all human acts are subject to divine evaluation, which can only be known through the Revelation received by the Prophet. Thus, the whole endeavor of *‘ilm uṣūl al-fiqh* is nothing but an attempt to explain the relationship between the revealed truths and the mundane circumstances of human life.

Although both classical and contemporary scholars of law have debated the identity of the first work of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, it is certain that the earliest extant work dealing with the initial phases of the problems related to this discipline is *al-Risāla* (The Epistle) of Muhammad b. Idris al-Shafi‘i, the founder of one of the living schools of Islamic law, who lived between 767 and 820 (150–204). The survival of *al-Risāla* was accidental, as many of the works written at that time and up to a century and a half later have not come down to us. The earliest work in this field that survives in a nearly complete form is *al-Fuṣūl fī-l-uṣūl* (The Chapters in Jurisprudence) by Abu Bakr al-Razi al-Jassas (d. 981). Between al-Shafi‘i and al-Jassas, numerous works were written on *uṣūl al-fiqh*, which are mentioned in the sources but have only survived piecemeal, through quotations preserved in later works. Both *al-Risāla* and *al-Fuṣūl fī-l-uṣūl* survived in a single manuscript; had they not survived, we would have very little material to enlighten us about the history of this discipline from its inception to its maturation in the tenth century.²

TWO LITERARY TRADITIONS OF *UŞŪL AL-FIQH*

Islamic legal theory takes its theoretical inspiration from philosophical theology (*‘ilm al-kalām*), while the norms of religion (*al-ahkām al-shar‘iyyah*, or *furū‘ al-fiqh*) constitute its practical referential framework. Along with Arabic linguistics, these two foundational disciplines contributed to the development of both the method as well as the content of the discipline of *uṣūl al-fiqh*. That *‘ilm al-kalām* and *‘ilm al-fiqh* (more specifically *furū‘ al-fiqh*) were the main resources from which *uṣūl al-fiqh* drew is reflected in the scholarly works produced in this discipline from the eleventh century onward. According to the account given by Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406), who surveyed the history and condition of the scholarly disciplines of Islamic civilization up until his own lifetime, there are two genres of *uṣūl al-fiqh*: the juristic genre and the theological genre. The former began with the work *Taqwīm al-adillah* (Rectification of the Arguments) by the Bukharan Hanafi jurist Abu Zayd al-Dabusi (d. 1038), who kept the content of his account of *uṣūl al-fiqh* within the limits of substantive law (*furū‘ al-fiqh*), avoiding as much as possible the theological implications of the concepts and questions discussed in this discipline. Thus, the juristic genre conceives of legal theory as a kind of bare legal activity that mostly cites examples from substantive law and only rarely refers to their theological or philosophical implications pertaining to the field of *kalām*. By contrast, the theological genre considers legal theory as an extension of philosophical theology, and seeks to elaborate its concepts and arguments in theological abstraction. This genre therefore includes long chapters and discussions on issues that have no direct relevance to law. The juristic genre is also known as the Hanafi genre of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, since it was mainly adopted and developed by the Transoxanian (Central Asian) Hanafi jurists of the eleventh through fourteenth centuries. The other, theological genre seems to be modeled on the work *al-Mu‘tamad* (The Approved One) of Abu’l-Husayn al-Basri (d. 1044), a Basran Mu‘tazili theologian. Though initiated by the Mu‘tazili school, which was eventually considered unorthodox by the Sunnis, this genre was also adopted and further developed by the Ash‘ari school of theologian-jurists from the eleventh century onward.

Until the thirteenth century, the juristic style was restricted to eastern Iran and Transoxiana, while the theological genre prevailed in such central lands as Iraq, Damascus, Egypt, and North Africa, where Ash‘ari theology influenced the Shafi‘i and Maliki schools of law. The Hanafi theologian-jurists in these centers either adopted Ash‘arism, which is a rare phenomenon, or more generally espoused the alternative by developing the Maturidi theology of Transoxanian origin. However, in the field of *uṣūl al-fiqh* the Hanafis preserved their loyalty to the juristic genre from the thirteenth century onward. The Mongol invasion triggered massive population movements from Transoxiana to other Islamic lands, which brought the Hanafi legal tradition of Central Asia face-to-face with other Muslim traditions. An eclectic (*mamzūj*) genre was born out of this encounter, and the scholarly works from that period onward combined the juristic and theological genres of scholarship.

The palace library inventory of Sultan Bayezid II prepared by ‘Atufi reflects this historical account of scholarly development in its section on the discipline of *uṣūl al-fiqh* (73–80). Ottoman scholarship naturally inherited the legacies of previous Islamic states, in particular the Hanafi legacy of Central Asia, as well as that school’s new syntheses in Ayyubid (ca. 1171–1260) and Mamluk (1250–1517) Syria-Egypt. Before the emergence of the Ottomans (ca. 1299), intellectual life in the eastern Islamic lands was deeply influenced by Ash‘arism with a Ghazalian and Razian flavor (al-Ghazzali, d. 1111; al-Razi, d. 1210). The first group of works listed in the library inventory therefore belongs to this eclectic genre of *uṣūl al-fiqh* with its strong Hanafi emphasis: Sadr al-Shari‘a ‘Ubayd Allah b. Mas‘ud’s (d. 1346 or 1347) *al-Tawdīḥ fi uṣūl al-fiqh* (Elucidation in Jurisprudence, 73 {2–6}).

Sadr al-Shari‘a, a Bukharan Hanafi theologian and jurist who lived in Bukhara and Herat in the post-Mongol period, attempted to synthesize the prevalent Ash‘ari theological tradition with the Central Asian Hanafi juristic tradition. He focused in particular on the Hanafi *Uṣūl* work of al-Pazdawī (d. 1089), on the one hand, and the two most influential theological works of the period, the *al-Mukhtaṣar* (The Abbreviated) of Ibn al-Hajib (d. 1249) and *al-Maḥṣūl* (The Harvest) of al-Razi, on the other. Many commentaries were written on Sadr al-Shari‘a’s work, *al-Tawdīḥ*, itself a commentary

on *al-Tanqīh* (The Revision) by the same author. One such commentary, *al-Tabwīh* (The Alluding) by Sa'd al-din al-Taftazani (d. 1390), was so successful that it gained unrivaled prestige in *uṣūl al-fiqh* within the Ottoman intellectual circles up until modern times. The Central Asian Sa'd al-din al-Taftazani may be regarded as one of the most influential scholars within the Ottoman milieu. His works in three fields—rhetoric (*balāgha*), philosophical theology (*kalām*), and legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiqh*)—set the standard in Ottoman higher education. From the inception of the Ottoman madrasa until its closure in 1924, *al-Tabwīh* remained part of the syllabus at the most advanced stages.

Though *al-Tabwīh* was itself a complete super-commentary, many Ottoman and other scholars wrote super-commentaries on it, most of which are recorded in the library inventory's second group of entries under this title (74 {5–12}). These super-commentaries were usually composed by young scholars to demonstrate their learning. Among such super-commentaries, that of the renowned Ottoman scholar Molla Hüsrev (Maw-lana Khusraw, d. 1480) was highly popular (74 {5–6}).³

The third main group of entries in the library inventory of Bayezid II is *Fuṣūl al-badā'i* (Magnificent Chapters) by the influential Ottoman scholar Molla Fenari (d. 1431). This work belongs definitively to the eclectic school whose concern was to create a discourse combining the theological and juristic genres of *uṣūl al-fiqh* (74 {18}). At the same time, *Fuṣūl al-badā'i* also reflects the features of post-classical *uṣūl al-fiqh* works, which placed a particular emphasis on logic in their formulations of the subject matter as well as the arguments of the discipline. Molla Fenari's work on jurisprudence was particularly renowned for its sophistication, which mainly stemmed from the vast knowledge he acquired in various intellectual disciplines, including law, jurisprudence, philosophy, and Akbari-Qunawi Sufism, deriving from a synthesis of Ibn al-ʿArabi's (d. 1240) and Sadr al-Din al-Qunawi's (d. 1274) mystical works. *Fuṣūl al-badā'i* was not a textbook and hence was not widely circulated among madrasa students, but it won a high level of renown among scholars of the following centuries and was published in the early period of Ottoman printing during the nineteenth century.

The fourth group of entries in the inventory again lists a highly influential and extremely popular textbook, but this time one belonging to the theological genre of jurisprudence: Ibn al-Hajib's *al-Mukhtaṣar* (75 {4}). This work is, in fact, a summary of another work in the same tradition by the famous Shafi'i-Ash'ari theologian-jurist Sayf al-Din al-Amidi (d. 1233). According to Ibn Khaldun, al-Amidi was one of the two leading post-classical figures of the theological genre (the other being al-Razi). He contributed immensely to the reformulation of jurisprudence by later scholars (*muta'akhhirīn*) with attention to the Greek tradition, a period in which Greek philosophy and thought played a direct role in the field of legal theory, unlike its indirect role in the classical period. Ibn al-Hajib's *Mukhtaṣar Muntahā al-uṣūl wa-l-amal fī 'ilmay al-uṣūl wa'l-jadal* (Ultimate Temptation and Ambition on the Sciences of Jurisprudence and Art of Disputation) marks the start of a summary genre in the history of *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Such summaries in the post-classical era of Islamic scholarship aimed at expressing, in a formulaic manner, a discipline that had benefited from centuries-long developments and accumulations of expertise. Al-Amidi himself first expressed his ideas on *uṣūl al-fiqh* in his magnum opus titled *al-Iḥkām* (Fortification of the Sources of Laws; see below), and then composed a summary of this work, probably as a textbook intended for novices. Ibn al-Hajib's summary and *al-Mukhtaṣar* belong to the same tradition and represents an even more erudite summary. *Al-Mukhtaṣar* is certainly the most renowned textbook of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, as revealed by the commentaries made on this work by representatives of almost all the schools of law and theology. Despite the fact that Ibn al-Hajib was a Maliki-Ash'ari theologian-jurist, his *al-Mukhtaṣar* became the subject of works by Mamluk and Ottoman Hanafis, such as al-Babarti (d. 1384), al-Sayyid al-Sharif al-Jurjani (d. 1413), and Hocazade Muslih al-Din Mustafa (d. 1488). Al-Sayyid al-Sharif and Hocazade wrote super-commentaries on 'Adud al-Din al-Iji's (d. 1355) commentary on *al-Mukhtaṣar* (see below).

Among the commentaries on Ibn al-Hajib's *Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahā* recorded in the library inventory, one is particularly noteworthy: the abovementioned commentary by al-Iji (75 {9–10}), as it was subject to many super-commentaries. Al-Sayyid al-Sharif

al-Jurjani's super-commentary on al-Ijī's commentary is particularly notable, and the two works were published together several times.⁴ In the inventory, nine copies of al-Ijī's commentary and four copies of al-Sayyid al-Sharīf's super-commentary on it are recorded (76 {11–15}). There are also anonymous super-commentaries, most of which may have been by al-Sayyid as well. Another super-commentary that substantially impacted later jurisprudential thought was that of al-Taftazani, of which several copies are listed in the inventory (76 {8}). It is also noteworthy that these two jurists both competed in the same two fields of post-classical intellectual thought—namely, jurisprudence and philosophical theology, which had a significant influence in their lifetime and in subsequent centuries. Moreover, it is interesting to note that both were known for being commentators on two works by the same author, 'Adud al-Din al-Ijī.

The cataloguer 'Atufi next turns to the juristic genre of jurisprudence. The most influential works in this tradition are the *al-Uṣūl* by al-Pazdawī (d. 1089) and *al-Uṣūl* by al-Sarakhsī (d. 1090). The respective authors of these two works were contemporary jurists and colleagues in the circle of al-Halwani (d. 1060). They produced almost identical works, though al-Pazdawī's is more formal and concise, while al-Sarakhsī's is more voluminous and comprehensive. Several copies of *Uṣūl al-Pazdawī* are catalogued in MS Török F. 59 (77 {13–18}), but Sarakhsī's *al-Uṣūl* is missing, perhaps by some accident, as it was known and catalogued in many later Ottoman collections. *Uṣūl al-Pazdawī* became so prominent that it was taken to epitomize the classical Hanafi ideas on jurisprudence. Many commentaries were written on it, along with many abridgments. Al-Nasafi's (d. 1310) *al-Manār* (The Road-Star) and al-Akhsikati's (d. 1246–7) *al-Muntakhab* (The Selected), for example, are abridgments of this work. Likewise, the *Kashf al-asrār* (Discovery of the Secrets) of 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Bukhari (d. 1330), which is classified in the inventory immediately after al-Pazdawī's work (77 {11}), is the best known among the numerous commentaries. Copies of *al-Manār* by al-Nasafi come next in the inventory (78 {1–9}). This work, probably composed as a textbook for beginners in *uṣūl al-fiqh*, was widely circulated and well-received immediately after its composition. In his *Kashf al-zunūn*

(The Clearing of Suspicions), a multi-volume, mid-seventeenth-century bio-bibliographical compendium, Katip Çelebi (d. 1657) notes more than 80 works on *al-Manār*, either commentaries, abridgements, or poetic versions of the work.⁵ For example, one of the entries in the inventory is a versified version of *al-Manār* (78 {3}); the one that follows is a commentary on *al-Manār* by Ibn al-Malak, a fifteenth-century Ottoman jurist of the Anatolian town of Tire (78 {6}). The subsequent entry is also a commentary by the author of *al-Manār* himself, namely al-Nasafi, titled *Kashf al-asrār sharḥ al-musannif 'alā al-Manār* (Discovery of the Secrets: The Author's Own Commentary on the Road-Star), 78 {7–8}). *Al-Manār* is largely a summary of *Uṣūl al-Pazdawī* and has been used to instruct novices in Hanafi jurisprudence since its first composition.

The next entry in the inventory is another textbook summary of a larger classical text in the juristic genre of jurisprudence which, as mentioned above, is itself not included in the inventory: *Uṣūl al-Sarakhsī* (78 {12–16}). Its summary by al-Khabbazi (d. 1292), called *al-Mughnī fī uṣūl al-fiqh* (The Enricher in Jurisprudence), though widely known and circulated, did not reach the same level of popularity as *Uṣūl al-Pazdawī* and *al-Manār* in the post-classical period.

The other important abridgment of the juristic genre is *al-Muntakhab* by al-Akhsikathi. This work is missing from the inventory but was included as the subject of two commentaries: one by 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Bukhari, *al-Tahqīq fī sharḥ al-Muntakhab fī uṣūl al-madhhab* (Verification in the Commentary of the Selected Work according to the Jurisprudence of the School, 78 {18–19}, 79 {1–2}); and the other, *Miftāḥ al-uṣūl* (Key to Jurisprudence), by an unknown author (79 {2–3}).

'Atufi then turns to the famous work of jurisprudence by the Ottoman scholar Molla Hüsrev (Mawlana Khusraw) called *al-Mirqāt* (A Stairway), and its commentary *al-Mir'āt* (The Mirror) by the same author (79 {6–8}). Upon its composition, the work began to circulate in the Ottoman lands and soon became a textbook, translated into Ottoman Turkish and eventually also into Modern Turkish. Molla Hüsrev's *al-Mir'āt* is an eclectic work, though its emphasis is on the juristic genre. It has all the characteristics of the *muta'akkhirīn* period, including its particular concern with logical argumentation.

The next group of items in the inventory enumerates works related to the theological genre of jurisprudence, in particular al-Badakhshi's (d. 1517) commentary on *Minhaj al-uṣūl* of al-Baydawi (d. 1286, 79 {9}), which was a successful and well-known summary of the theological genre of jurisprudence and subject to many commentaries. Both al-Badakhshi and al-Baydawi belong to the post-classical period, but the following entry in the inventory cites one of the great classics of the theological genre: *al-Mustaṣfā min 'ilm al-uṣūl* (Selections from the Discipline of Jurisprudence) by al-Ghazzali (79 {10–11}). Al-Amidi's *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām* (Fortification of the Sources of Laws) follows next, on which we have already commented above and shall consider again further below (79 {11–14}).

The subsequent work in the inventory is by a certain Yahya b. Ilyas, about whom there is no information, but who must have been an Ottoman jurist, as the work was composed during the reign of Bayezid II. The book is not in fact a work of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, but one on *furū' al-fiqh* (substantive law, 79 {15–16}). Since it places a special emphasis on the jurisprudential arguments that lie behind substantive laws, however, it can be classified as a work belonging to the genre of *Takhrīj al-furū' alā al-uṣūl* (Exposition of Substantive Law according to Jurisprudence).⁶ Another work of jurisprudence by an Ottoman jurist, this time a known one, al-Kirmasti (d. 1494), is listed next with the title of *Risāla fī uṣūl al-fiqh* (79 {16–17}). Al-Kirmasti in fact wrote three works on *uṣūl al-fiqh*, two of which are small treatises not cited here. The next entry is on a widely discussed topic concerning the relationship between reason and revelation, titled *Risāla muta'alliqa bi-l-ḥusn wa-l-qubḥ al-aqliyyayn al-madkūrayn fī uṣūl al-fiqh* (A Small Treatise on the Issue of Rational Good and Evil Discussed in Jurisprudence) by an unidentified author; another copy is recorded below after three works (79 {17–18}, 80 {3–4}). The subsequent entry is a commentary by Ibn Qawān (d. 1484) called *al-Taḥqīqāt fī sharḥ alā Waraqāt fī uṣūl al-fiqh* (Examinations, Being a Commentary on the Pages in Jurisprudence, 79 {19}, 80 {1}) on a well-known short treatise on jurisprudence by al-Juwayni (d. 1085). There is another copy of this work, recorded a few lines later, by al-Makki titled *Idrākāt al-Waraqāt* (Apprehensions of the Pages) (80 {5–6}).

Like Ibn Khaldun, encyclopedists and historians of the Islamic sciences usually regarded the science of the art of disputation (*'ilm al-jadal*) as an exercise for students of *kalām* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*. The book that comes next in the list concerns the art of disputation, and was written by an unknown author: *'Ayn al-nazar fī sharḥ Muqaddima al-naẓar wa-sharḥihā fī 'ilm al-jadal al-muta'alliq bi-'ilm uṣūl al-fiqh* (The Book of the Essence of Contemplation, Being a Commentary on *Muqaddimah al-naẓar* and Its Commentary on the Science of the Art of Disputation Related to Jurisprudence, 80 {1–2}).

One of the turning points in the theological genre of *uṣūl al-fiqh* is exemplified by *al-Maḥṣūl* (The Harvest) of al-Rāzī, who not only deeply impacted this tradition but also inspired subsequent developments in the juristic genre. *Al-Maḥṣūl* was subject to commentary and summary in a number of works, one of which is *Taḥṣīl al-uṣūl min Kitāb al-Maḥṣūl* (simply known as *al-Taḥṣīl*) by Siraj al-Din al-Urmawī (d. 1283 in Konya). The entry that comes next in the inventory is a commentary on this work by Badr al-Din Muhammad b. As'ad al-Tustari (d. 1332), titled *Kitāb Ḥall 'aqd ('uqad) al-taḥṣīl fī sharḥ al-Taḥṣīl* (The Book of the Release of the Knot of Attainment, Being a Commentary on *al-Taḥṣīl*) (80 {2–3}). There is also a copy of *al-Taḥṣīl* itself within a compendium later in the list (80 {8–9}).

The following volume in the inventory is a collection of two works (80 {6–8}), one of which is titled *Muntahā al-su'l wa-l-amal fī 'ilmay al-uṣūl wa-l-jadal* (The Ultimate Temptation and Ambition on the Sciences of Jurisprudence and Art of Disputation). However, it should be the *Mukhtaṣar* (The Summary) of that work because 'Atufi identifies the author as Ibn al-Hajib, not al-Amidi. The second work in the same volume is *Sharḥ Taṣrīf al-Miftāḥ* (A Commentary on the Morphology Part of the Key), most probably the section on morphology from *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm* (The Key for the Sciences) of al-Sakkaki (d. 1289; see the inventory's linguistic section). The next volume is also a collection (80 {8–10}); it contains three works, the second of which, *al-Taḥṣīl*, is about jurisprudence. Though it is coined as a commentary of *al-Maḥṣūl*, the work is in fact an abridgement. The first work in the volume is on theology, while the third is on

logic. This grouping seems to make sense for a particular course of study.

The sixteenth-century Ottoman jurist al-Kirmasti is mentioned for a second time in the compendium with a commentary on an unknown work called *al-Nāfi'* (80 {10–11}). The subsequent entry is again an unidentified work on jurisprudence, called *Risāla al-Īrādāt al-bahthiyyah fī uṣūl al-fiqh* (A Treatise on the Discursive Advances on Jurisprudence). The next volume in the inventory is also a collection, but the cataloguer records only the first entry, which is another copy of *al-Taḥṣīl Muktaṣar Kitāb al-Maḥṣūl* by al-Urmawī (80 {12–13}; see above). The following volume contains two works (80 {13–14}), one of which is probably a super-commentary by an unknown author on al-Jurjani's famous commentary on the commentary written by Qutb al-din al-Razi on Siraj al-Din al-Urmawī's work on logic, titled *Maṭālī' al-anwar* (The Rising Places of the Lights). The other work in the same volume is a super-commentary on *al-Talwīḥ* by Ibn Sa'd al-Taftazani on jurisprudence (he must be the grandson of al-Taftazani, known as Hafid al-Taftazani). The cataloguer then records another volume containing two works (80 {15–16}), both of which are abridgments by Fakhr al-Din ar-Razi: one on the discipline of *kalām* and the other on *uṣūl al-fiqh*. These two works are known as *al-Ma'ālimayn* (The Two Milestones). The final volume also contains two works (80 {17–18}) without naming the author, one on *kalām* and the other on jurisprudence (80 {17–18}). The second work in the volume must be by the famous Shi'i jurist Ibn al-Mutahhar al-Hilli (d. 1325), as the only classical *uṣūl al-fiqh* work recorded with the title of *Mabādī al-wuṣūl ilā 'ilm al-uṣūl* (The Book of Principles for the Attainment of the Discipline of Jurisprudence) is ascribed to him in the library catalogues as well as in the biographical/bibliographical works.⁷

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE LEGAL THEORY SECTION OF THE INVENTORY

The entries of 'Atufi include many of the standard works on jurisprudence current in the scholarly circles of the eastern and central Islamic lands. The works, which belong to the two main genres of jurisprudence and eclec-

tic traditions, are well represented here. The inventory's focus is on the post-classical period, as it includes more works by the *muta'akhhirūn* (later scholars) than by the *mutaqaddimūn* (earlier scholars). Almost all of the standard textbooks are present in the inventory, including *al-Tawḍīḥ*, its commentary *al-Talwīḥ*, as well as the super-commentaries on the latter. Also listed are *Mukhtaṣar Ibn al-Hajīb* and the popular *al-Manār*, along with their respective commentaries. Similarly, popular Ottoman texts, such as the *al-Mirqāt* and *al-Mir'āt* of Molla Hüsrev and *Fuṣūl al-badā'ir* of Molla Fenari, are recorded. The fact that the summary textbooks are represented by several copies indicates that the palace library was principally furnished for teaching rather than research, although many classical works are also present.

Nevertheless, some of the early classical texts are conspicuous for their absence. The earliest work on jurisprudence, *al-Risāla* of al-Shafi'i, for example, has not been catalogued, nor has the *al-Fuṣūl* of al-Jassas. Similarly, Abu Zayd al-Dabusi's *Taqwīm al-adillah*, which instigated the juristic tradition of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, is not included in the inventory despite the fact that the work has survived in many manuscripts, most of which are preserved in Ottoman libraries. One of the pioneering works of the theological genre of jurisprudence is also missing, namely *al-Mu'tamad* by Abu al-Husayn al-Basri. Al-Juwayni's influential work *al-Burhān* is not listed, though his small treatise *al-Waraqāt* is represented by its two commentaries. More surprising is the absence of the *Uṣūl* work of al-Sarakhsi, the most influential Hanafi jurist. However, since the libraries of Istanbul and Turkey preserve several copies of many of these missing works, it is possible that the holdings of Bayezid II's palace library primarily functioned as a kind of school collection, rather than being a comprehensive collection for scholars. Of course, this is a tentative observation based only on the jurisprudence section of the inventory. Another feature supporting the hypothesis that the palace library was a teaching collection, however, is the absence of works by non-Sunni legal schools, the only exception being the last entry in the inventory, *Kitāb Mabādī' al-wuṣūl ilā 'ilm al-uṣūl al-fiqh* by the well-known Shi'i author, Ibn al-Mutahhar al-Hilli (d. 1325). This stands in contrast to prominent research libraries

such as Ahmed III, Fatih, Millet, and many others, which did include such works.

NOTES

1. For a general overview of *uṣūl al-fiqh* (Islamic legal theory), see Wael B. Hallaq, *A History of Islamic Legal Theories: An Introduction to Sunnī uṣūl al-fiqh* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
2. Abu ‘Abd Allah Muhammad b. Idris al-Shafi‘i, *al-Risāla*, ed. A. Muhammad Shakir (Cairo: Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi, 1358/1940); Abu Bakr Ahmad b. ‘Ali al-Jassas, *al-Fuṣūl fī’l-uṣūl*, ed. ‘Ujayl Jasim al-Nashami, 4 vols. (Kuwait: Wizarat al-awqaf wa al-shu‘un al-diniyyah, 1405/1993).
3. It is therefore published with a few other super-commentaries in the three-volume print edition; see Sadr ash-Sharī‘a ‘Ubayd Allah b. Mas‘ud al-Mahbubi, *Sharḥ al-Tawḍīḥ ‘alā al-Tanqīḥ* (Cairo: Maṭba‘ah al-Khayriyyah, 1322).
4. Abu’l-Fadl Adud al-din al-Iji, *Sharḥ al-Qāḍī ‘Aḍḍ al-milla wa’l-dīn ‘alā Mukhtaṣar al-muntahā li-Ibn al-Hājib* (Istanbul: Hasan Hilmi Rizevi, 1307/1888).
5. Katip Çelebi, Hacı Halife Mustafa b. ‘Abd Allah, *Kashf az-ẓunūn ‘an asāmī al-kutub wa’l-funūn*, 2 vols., ed. M. Şerafettin Yaltkaya and K. Rifat Bilge (Ankara: Maarif Vekaleti, 1941), vol. II, 1823–27.
6. For this genre, see Ahmad Atif Ahmad, *Structural Interrelations of Theory and Practice in Islamic Law: A Study of Six Works of Medieval Islamic Jurisprudence* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).
7. As an example, see the entry *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. “Hillî, İbnü’l-Mutahhar,” by Mustafa Öz. See also Jamal al-din Hasan b. Yusuf b. ‘Ali Ibn al-Hilli, *Mabādi’ al-wuṣūl ilā ‘ilm al-uṣūl*, ed. A. Muhammad Baqqal (Beirut: Dar al-Adwa, 1986).

LIST OF ENTRIES

SECTION ON BOOKS OF ISLAMIC LEGAL THEORY

(Taḥṣīlu kutubi uṣūli al-fiqhi)

1. Ṣadr al-Sharī'a 'Ubayd Allāh b. Mas'ūd b. Tāj al-Sharī'a 'Umar (d. 1347), *Kitāb al-Tawḍīḥ fī Ḥall Ghawāmiḍ al-Tanqīḥ* [wa-huwa Sharḥ al-Tanqīḥ] (Book of Elucidation on Solving the Ambiguities of the Revision [and this is a commentary on *Tanqīḥ al-Uṣūl* by the same author]), Arabic, 73 {2}. EDITIONS: For the edition with its famous commentary titled *al-Talwīḥ*, see the next entry. No critical editions. Walī al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Farfūr, 2 vols., Dimashq: Dār al-Farfūr, 2008.
 - 1.1. Same as above, 73 {2}.
 - 1.2. Same as above, 73 {3}.
 - 1.3. Same as above, 73 {3}.
 - 1.4. Same as above, 73 {4}.
 - 1.5. Same as above, 73 {4}.
 - 1.6. Same as above, 73 {5}.
 - 1.7. Same as above, 73 {5}.
 - 1.8. Same as above, 73 {6}.
2. al-Taftāzānī, Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar (d. 1390), *Kitāb al-Talwīḥ ilā Kashf Ḥaqā'iq al-Tanqīḥ* (Book of Alluding toward the Discovery of the Truths of the Revision); also known as *Ḥāshiyat al-Talwīḥ* (A Super-Commentary on the Alluding). Arabic, 73 {11}. MANUSCRIPTS: Topkapı Palace Museum Library (hereafter TSMK) A. 1285, copied in Ṣafar 854 (March–April 1450) and TSMK, A. 1293, copied in 871 (1466–67), stamped with Bayezid II's seal at the beginning and at the end of each volume. EDITION: M. 'Adnan Darwish, 2 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Arqam b. Abī'l-Arqam, 1998 (1419).
 - 2.1. Same as above, 73 {11}.
 - 2.2. Same as above, 73 {12}.
 - 2.3. Same as above, 73 {12}.
 - 2.4. Same as above, 73 {13}.
 - 2.5. Same as above, 73 {13}.
 - 2.6. *Kitāb al-Talwīḥ fī Sharḥ al-Tawḍīḥ* (The Book of Alluding on the Commentary of the Elucidation), 73 {14}. This is the same book as above.
 - 2.7. Same as above, 73 {14–15}.
In the same volume:
 - 2.7.1. *Sharḥ al-Mughnī* 73 {15–16}. [See the entry on *al-Mughnī* by 'Umar al-Khabbāzī below.]
 - 2.8. *Kitāb al-Talwīḥ Ḥāshiyat al-Talwīḥ li-Mawlānā Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī* (The Book of Alluding, the Super-Commentary of the Elucidation of Our Master Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī), 73 {16–17}.
 - 2.9. *Kitāb al-Talwīḥ fī Sharḥ al-Tawḍīḥ* (The Book of Alluding on the Commentary of the Elucidation), 73 {17–18}.
 - 2.9.1. Same as above, 74 {3}.
 - 2.9.2. Same as above, 74 {3–4}.
 - 2.9.3. Same as above, 74 {4}.
 - 2.9.4. Same as above, 74 {5}.

Works on *al-Talwīḥ*

The title *Ḥāshiyat al-Talwīḥ*, when used without ascription, may refer either to that of al-Taftāzānī himself or to one of the numerous super-super commentaries written on that work, for in the years following its composition, complete or partial commentaries were already being written on *al-Talwīḥ*.

- 2.10. Molla Hüsrev (Mawlānā Khusraw), Hüsrev Mehmed Efendi (d. 1480), *Ḥāshiyat al-Talwīḥ* (Super-Commentary on the Alluding), Arabic, 74 {5–6}. EDITIONS: Published in the margins of Şadr al-Sharī‘a, *Sharḥ al-Tawḍīḥ ‘alā al-Tanqīḥ*, 3 vols., Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Khayriyya, 1322.
- 2.11. Hüsamzade (Husāmzāda, or Ibn Husām), Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā b. Husām al-Dīn (d. ca. 1488), *Ḥāshiyat al-Talwīḥ* (Super-Commentary on the Alluding), Arabic, 74 {6–7}. MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye, Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa 153; Carullah 458; Laleli 2225. EDITIONS: None.
- 2.12. “*K. Ḥāshiyat al-Talwīḥ*” (Super-Commentary on the Alluding), Arabic, 74 {7}.

In the same volume:

- 2.12.1. “*Ḥāshiyat al-Talwīḥ*” (Super-Commentary on the Alluding), Arabic, 74 {7–8}.
- 2.12.2. “*Sharḥ Ādāb al-baḥṭh*” (Commentary on the Theory of Disputation), Arabic, 74 {8}.
- 2.12.3. “*Risālat al-Ṣalāt*” (Epistle on Prayer), Arabic, 74 {8}.
- 2.12.4. “*Ḥāshiyat Sharḥ al-Shamsiyya li-l-Sayyid*” (Super-Commentary on a Commentary on the *Shamsiyya* of al-Sayyid), Arabic, 74 {8–9}.
- 2.12.5. “*Matn Khulāṣa fī al-ḥadīth*” (The Summary Text in the Science of Prophetic Tradition), Arabic, 74 {9}.
- 2.12.6. “*Ḥāshiyat Sharḥ Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*” (A Super-Commentary on the Commentary on the Abridgment of the Key), Arabic, 74 {9–10}. See the section on Rhetoric (*‘Ilm al-Ma‘ānī*), Arabic, 270–74.
- 2.13. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *K. al-Dhukhr/al-Dhākhirah fī Radd Madhhab al-Falāsifa* (Stock for Refuting the School of Philosophers), Arabic, 74 {10}.

In the same volume:

- 2.13.1. *Ḥāshiyat al-Talwīḥ* (Super-Commentary on the Alluding), Arabic, 74 {11}.
- 2.13.2. *Ḥāshiyat Ḥāshiyat al-Sayyid ‘alā Sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh* (A Super-Commentary on the Super-Commentary on the Commentary of the Summa on Jurisprudence), Arabic, 74 {11–12}.
- 2.13.3. *Ḥāshiyat Sharḥ al-Mawāqif fī ‘Ilm al-Kalām* (A Super-Commentary on a Commentary on the Stations in the Science of Philosophical Theology), Arabic, 74 {12}.
3. Molla Fenari (al-Fanārī), Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. Muḥammad (d. 1431), *K. Fuṣūl al-Badā’i’ fī Uṣūl al-Sharā’i’* (Book of Magnificent Chapters on the Sources of Islamic Rulings), Arabic, 74 {18}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1231. Also Istanbul, Damad Ibrahim, 475 (it was read to the author: *al-maqrū‘a ‘alā al-muṣannif*); Hacı Beşir Ağa, 202 (also read in the presence of the author and copied by his disciple Molla Şa‘īd Qirimī). EDITION: Istanbul: Şeyh Yahya Efendi Matbaası, 1872.
- 3.1. Same as above, 74 {19}.
- 3.2. Same as above, 74 {19}–75 {1}.
- 3.3. Same as above, 75 {1}.
- 3.4. Same as above, two volumes, 75 {2–3}.
4. Ibn al-Ḥājjib, Abū ‘Amr Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Uthmān b. ‘Umar b. Abī Bakr (d. 1249), *Mukhtaṣar Muntahā al-Sūl wa-al-Amal fī ‘Ilm al-Uṣūl wa-al-Jadal* (The Summary of the Ultimate Temptation and Ambition on the Sciences of Jurisprudence and Art of Disputation), known simply as *al-Mukhtaṣar* or *Mukhtaṣar Ibn al-Ḥājjib*; this widely known textbook on which there are many

- commentaries is a summary of another, longer work by the author himself. Arabic, 75 {8}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1243 (copied in 870/1466); there are seals at the beginning and the end). Since it is a popular textbook that cuts through almost all of the Sunni legal traditions, it has hundreds of manuscript copies throughout the world. EDITIONS: Many editions have been made since the beginning of print, the earliest of which is probably the Istanbul edition of 1307/1888, Ḥasan Ḥilmi Rizevî, which was published with İjî's commentary, for which see below. A modern edition was prepared by Nadhîr Ḥamādû, Beirut: Dâr Ibn Ḥazm, 1427/2006.
- 4.1. Same as above, 75 {8–9}.
 - 4.2. Same as above, 75 {9–10}.
 5. Works on *al-Mukhtaṣar*
 - 5.1. Quṭb al-Dîn al-Shirâzî, Maḥmûd b. Mas'ûd b. Muṣliḥ (d. 710/1311), *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahâ* (Commentary on the Summary of the Ultimate), Arabic, 75 {13}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1310 (there are seals at the beginning and the end; the draft date: 676/1278, final revision: 677/1279). EDITIONS: 'Abd al-Laṭîf b. Su'ûd, Riyad: Jâmi'at al-Imâm Muḥammad b. Su'ûd al-Islâmiyya, 1435/2012.
 - 5.1.1. Same as above, 75 {13–14}.
 - 5.1.2. Same as above, 75 {14–15}.
 - 5.2. 'Aḍud al-Dîn al-İjî, Abu al-Faḍl 'Abd al-Raḥmân b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ghaffâr (d. 756/1355), *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahâ*, Arabic, 75 {15–16}. MANUSCRIPTS: This is the most popular commentary of *al-Mukhtaṣar*; hence, hundreds of manuscripts exist worldwide. TSMK, A. 1233 (copied in 884/1479), 1331 (copied in 876/1471) (seals at the beginning and the end of the vol.), 1337 (copied in 777/1375) (seals at the beginning and end); there are three works in this volume: first, *Sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar*; second, a three-page *Risâla* (Epistle) by the same author; and, third, *al-Mawâqif* (The Stations) again by the same author. EDITIONS: The earliest edition is that of Ḥasan Ḥilmi Rizevî, Istanbul, 1307/1888.
 - 5.2.1. Same as above, 75 {16–17}.
 - 5.2.2. Same as above, 75 {17}.
 - 5.2.3. Same as above, 75 {18}.
 - 5.2.4. Same as above, 75 {18–19}.
 - 5.2.5. Same as above, 75 {19}–76 {1}.
 - 5.2.6. Same as above, 76 {1–2}.
 - 5.2.7. Same as above, 76 {2–3}.
 - 5.2.8. Same as above, 76 {3}.
 - 5.3. 'Abd al-'Azîz b. Muḥammad b. 'Ali al-Ṭûsî (d. 706/1306), *Kāshif al-Rumûz wa-Muḥhir al-Kunûz fî Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahâ* (Discoverer of the Symbols and Revealer of the Hidden Treasures Being a Commentary on *Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahâ*), Arabic, 76 {4}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1232 (seals at the beginning and end). EDITIONS: There are many dissertations editing the work but none has been published yet.
 - 5.4. Same as 5.2, but there are a few missing pages from the beginning, 76 {5–6}.
 - 5.4.1. Same as above, 76 {6–7}.
 6. Works on *Sharḥ al-'Aḍud*
 - 6.1. Sa'd al-Dîn al-Taftâzânî, Mas'ûd b. 'Umar (d. 792/1390), *Hāshiya 'alâ Sharḥ 'Aḍud Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahâ* (A Super-Commentary on the Commentary of 'Aḍud al-Dîn al-İjî on *Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahâ*), Arabic, 76 {11}. MANUSCRIPTS: It was a popular super-commentary; hence there are

many copies. EDITIONS: The Istanbul 1307/1888 edition, cited above, includes the super-commentary of al-Taftāzānī. It seems that there is no other modern edition of it.

6.1.1. Same as above, 76 {12}.

6.1.2. Same as above, 76 {13}.

- 6.2. Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, Abu al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī (d. 816/1413), *Ḥāshiyat ‘alā Sharḥ ‘Aḍud ‘alā Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahā* (A Super-Commentary on the Commentary of ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī on *Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahā*), Arabic, 76 {14}. This is an even more popular super-commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājjib’s *al-Mukhtaṣar* than that of al-Taftāzānī. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1332 (copied in 870/1466) (seals at the beginning and the end); there are more than one hundred copies in Turkish libraries alone. The copy of Ayasofya 965 contains the Bayezid II seals. EDITIONS: The Istanbul 1307/1888 edition, cited above, also includes the super-commentary of al-Jurjānī.

6.2.1. Same as above, 76 {15}.

6.2.2. Same as above, 76 {16–17}.

6.2.3. Same as above, 76 {17–18}.

Super-Super Commentaries

- 6.3. Molla Efdalzāde, Ḥamīd b. Afḍal al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī (d. 908/1502), *K. Ḥāshiyat ‘alā al-Ḥāshiyat ‘alā al-Sharḥ al-‘Aḍudī* (Super-Commentary on the Super-Commentary on the Commentary by ‘Aḍud al-Dīn), Arabic, 76 {18–19}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1343 (the title is given as *Īdāh al-Mushkill wa-Ḥall al-Muqaffal*, no seal). EDITIONS: None.
- 6.4. *Kitāb Ḥāshiyat Sharḥ ‘Aḍud al-Dīn li-Sa’d al-Dīn fi Uṣūl al-Fiqh* (al-Taftāzānī’s Super-Commentary on the Commentary of al-Ījī), Arabic, 76 {19}–77 {1}.
- 6.5. *K. Ḥāshiyat al-Ḥāshiyat ‘alā Sharḥ ‘Aḍud al-Dīn li-l-Mukhtaṣar fi Uṣūl al-Fiqh* (Super-Commentary of the Super-Commentary on the Commentary of ‘Aḍud al-Dīn on *al-Mukhtaṣar* in Jurisprudence), Arabic, 77 {1–2}.
- 6.6. *K. Ḥāshiyat ‘alā al-Ḥawāshī ‘alā Sharḥ ‘Aḍud al-Dīn* (Super-Commentaries on the Commentary of ‘Aḍud al-Dīn on *al-Mukhtaṣar* in Jurisprudence), Arabic, 77 {2–3}.
- 6.7. Molla Hüsrev (Mawlānā Khusraw), Hüsrev Mehmed Efendi (885/1480), *K. al-Aswila wa-al-ajwiba* (The Book of Questions and Answers). In one volume with above title. Arabic, 77 {3–4}.
- 6.8. *K. Ḥāshiyat Sharḥ ‘Aḍud al-Dīn* (A Super-Commentary on al-Ījī’s Commentary); al-Abharī Sayf al-Dīn Aḥmad ‘Uthmān (d. ca. 800/1397) was marked as the author. Many copies exist in Turkish manuscript libraries. It was composed in 777/1375, Arabic, 77 {4–5}. MANUSCRIPTS: The copy in Süleymaniye Library, Fatih Collection 1295 contains Bayezid II’s seal on the last page. EDITIONS: None.
- 6.9. *Ḥāshiyat al-Sayyid ‘alā Sharḥ al-‘Aḍud* (A Super-Commentary by al-Jurjānī on al-Ījī’s commentary). See above 6.2, Arabic, 77 {5}.
- 6.10. *Ḥāshiyat ‘alā Ḥāshiyat Sharḥ al-‘Aḍud* (A Super-Commentary on al-Ījī’s Commentary), Arabic, 77 {5–6}.
- 6.11. *Ḥāshiyat Sharḥ al-‘Aḍud* (A Super-Commentary on al-Ījī’s Commentary), Arabic, 77 {6–7}.
- 6.12. *Ḥāshiyat al-Mukhtaṣar fi ‘Ilm al-Ma‘ānī* (A Super-Commentary on al-Taftāzānī’s *al-Mukhtaṣar* on the Science of Rhetoric), Arabic, 77 {7}. In one volume with above title. For the latter work, see section on Rhetoric (*‘ilm al-ma‘ānī*), Arabic, 274–75.
7. al-Pazdawī, Abu al-‘Usr Abu al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad (d. 482/1089), *Uṣūl al-Pazdawī* (Pazdawī’s Work on Jurisprudence), Arabic, 77 {13}. MANUSCRIPTS: This is a well-known classic work of Hanafī jurisprudence; hence, hundreds of copies are available worldwide. It is wrongly

known as *Kanz al-Wuṣūl ilā Maʿrifat al-Uṣūl*, and is recorded as such in many libraries. EDITIONS: There are several editions of the work, most of which were published with its commentaries, especially the most famous commentary of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Bukhārī. The earliest print edition was that of Istanbul, 1307/1890, with *Kashf al-Asrār* of al-Bukhārī, vols. I–IV. Two separate editions exist: one is that of Karachi (no date) and the other a more recent one, Mecca and Medina, 2014.

- 7.1. Same as above, 77 {14}.
- 7.2. Same as above, 77 {14}.
- 7.3. Same as above, 77 {15}.
- 7.4. Same as above, 77 {15}.
8. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Bukhārī, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Aḥmad (730/1330), *Kashf al-Asrār fī Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Pazdawī* (Discovery of the Secrets Being a Commentary on the Jurisprudence of al-Pazdawī), Arabic, 77 {16}. This was probably added later by a different copyist who also added another title, either *K. al-Aḥkām* or *al-Iḥkām* (the author was not identified).
- 8.1. “*K. Sharḥ al-Pazdawī*” (Commentary on the Jurisprudence of al-Pazdawī); the author is unnamed, so it is not clear whether this is the same title as above, Arabic, 77 {18}.
9. Abu al-Barakāt Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn ʿAbd Allah ʿAbd Allah b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310), *Manār al-Anwār fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh* (Road-Star of the Sacred Lights in Jurisprudence), Arabic, 78 {1}. MANUSCRIPTS: This is the most popular intermediate-level textbook of Hanafi jurisprudence, and there are hundreds of copies worldwide. It is strange that there are only three copies in this collection and one poetic version. EDITIONS: Several editions were made either separately or with one of its commentaries, especially that of Ibn Malak. The earliest publication is that of the Ottoman Imperial Printhouse in 1292/1876 with the Commentary of Ibn Malak; a more recent publication with the commentary of the author himself was made in 1979 in Beirut.
- 9.1. Same as above, 78 {1–2}.
- 9.2. Same as above, 78 {2}.
- 9.3. *K. al-Mughnī*, 78 {2–3}. See below no 11; this title is in one volume with the previous.
- 9.4. *K. Naẓm al-Manār fī Qaṣīda Lāmiyya maʿa Sharḥihī* (The Poem Version of *al-Manār* in the Form of a Qaṣīda Lāmiyya with Its Commentary).
10. Ibn Malak, ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (821/1418), *Sharḥ al-Manār fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh* (Commentary of Ibn Malak on *al-Manār*), Arabic, 78 {6}. MANUSCRIPTS: A widely used commentary of *al-Manār*, and hundreds of copies are available worldwide. TSMK, A. 1268, 1275, 1281 (copied in 888/1481). EDITIONS: There are many editions, the earliest of which is Istanbul: Matbaʿa-i ʿAmire, 1292 (1876).
- 10.1. Abu al-Barakāt Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Abdullah b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310), *Kashf al-Asrār Sharḥ al-Muṣannif ʿalā al-Manār* (Discovery of the Secrets: The Author’s Own Commentary on *al-Manār*), Arabic, 78 {6–7}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1278 (copied in 712/1312), 1279, 1280 (copied in 752/1351). EDITIONS: Two vols., Cairo: Bulaq, 1316; 2 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1986.
- 10.2. Same as above, 78 {7–8}.
- 10.3. “*K. Sharḥ al-Manār fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*” (A Commentary on *al-Manār* in Jurisprudence), no information on author, 78 {8–9}.
11. al-Khabbāzī, Abū Muḥammad ʿUmar b. Muḥammad (691/1292), *al-Mughnī fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh* (The Enricher in Jurisprudence), Arabic, 78 {12}. MANUSCRIPTS: Many copies; TSMK, A. 1261. EDITIONS: Mecca: Jāmiʿat Umm al-Qurā, 1983.
- 11.1. Same as above, 78 {12}.

- 11.2. Another book in the same volume with the previous entry, 78 {13}.
12. Abū Muḥammad Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad al-Khawārizmī al-Qa'ānī (d. 775/1373), *Sharḥ al-Mughnī fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh* (The Commentary of the Enricher in Jurisprudence), Arabic, 78 {15}. MANUSCRIPTS: 29 copies in ISAM catalogue alone. TSMK, A. 1262 (copied in ca. 800/1397); Köprülü, Fazıl Ahmet Paşa 507. EDITIONS: 2 vols., Mecca: al-Maktaba al-Makkiyya, 1426/2005.
- 12.1. Same as above, 78 {15–16}.
13. al-Bukhārī, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 730/1329), *K. al-Taḥqīq fī Sharḥ al-Muntakhab fī Uṣūl al-Madhhab* (The Book of Verification in the Commentary of the Selected Work according to the Jurisprudence of the School) (also known as *Ghāyat al-Taḥqīq* [Utmost Verification]), Arabic, 78 {18}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1226 (copied in ca. 850/1446), 1227 (copied in 835/1432), 1298 (copied in 868/1464). EDITIONS: There is only an old edition: Lucknow: Maṭba‘at al-‘Alī, 1293/1876.
- 13.1. Same as above, 78 {18}.
- 13.2. Same as above, 78 {18–19}.
- 13.3. Same as above, 78 {19}–79 {1}.
- 13.4. Same as above, 79 {1–2}.
- 13.5. *K. Miftāḥ al-Uṣūl fī Sharḥ al-Akhsikathī fī ‘Ilm al-Uṣūl al-Fiqh* (The Key for Jurisprudence Being a Commentary on the Jurisprudential Work of al-Akhsikathī), Arabic, 79 {2–3}. MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye, Laleli 744, contains Bayezid II’s seals at the beginning and end.
14. Molla Hüsrev (Mawlānā Khusraw), Muḥammad b. Farāmurz b. ‘Alī (885/1480), *Mirqāt al-Wuṣūl ilā ‘Ilm al-Uṣūl* (A Stairway to Jurisprudence). A very popular Ottoman textbook on jurisprudence, Arabic, 79 {6–7}. MANUSCRIPTS: Many copies. Köprülü, Fazıl Ahmet Paşa 528; Süleymaniye, Fatih 3367, 5369. EDITIONS: Several editions with its commentary, *al-Mir’āt*; the earliest is that of Istanbul: Matba‘a-i Amire 1267/1850. A recent edition was published in Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1433/2012.
- 14.1. Same as above, 79 {7}.
- 14.2. Also in the same volume: Molla Hüsrev (Mawlānā Khusraw), Muḥammad b. Farāmurz b. ‘Alī (885/1480), *K. Mir’āt al-Uṣūl fī Sharḥ Mirqāt al-Wuṣūl* (The Mirror of Sources Being a Commentary on a Stairway to Jurisprudence), Arabic, 79 {7–8}. MANUSCRIPTS: Many copies, e.g., Köprülü, Fazıl Ahmet Paşa 527. EDITIONS: It has been published several times with the text of *Mirqāt al-Wuṣūl*, the earliest of which is Istanbul: Matba‘a-i Amire, 1267/1850.
15. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Badakhshī (d. 923/1517), *Manāḥij al-Uqūl fī Sharḥ Minhāj al-Uṣūl* (The Methods of Intellects Being a Commentary on the Method of Jurisprudence), also known as *Sharḥ al-Badakhshī* (The Commentary of al-Badakhshī), Arabic, 79 {9}. The work is a commentary on a well-known textbook in the Shāfi‘ī school called *Minhāj al-Wuṣūl ilā ‘Ilm al-Uṣūl* by al-Qāḍī al-Bayḍāwī (d. 685/1286). MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye, Damad İbrahim Paşa 472. EDITIONS: 3 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1405/1985.
16. al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, Hujjat al-Islām (d. 505/1111), *al-Mustasfā min ‘Ilm al-Uṣūl* (Selections from the Discipline of Jurisprudence), Arabic, 79 {10–11}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1256 (copied in 596/1200), 1258 (copied in 617/1220); Süleymaniye, Fatih 1465. EDITIONS: Many editions, the earliest of which is Bulaq, Cairo 1322 in 2 vols.; a recent edition is that by Hamza b. Zuhayr Hafiz, 4 vols., Jeddah: Sharikat al-Madīna al-Munawwara li al-Tibā‘a, 1413 AH.
17. Ibn al-Sā‘ātī, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Baghdādī, *Badī‘ al-Niẓām al-Jāmi‘ bayna Kitābay al-Pazdawī wa-al-Iḥkām* (Marvelous System Combining the Books of al-Pazdawī and *al-Iḥkām*),

known simply as *al-Badī*, Arabic, 79 {11}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1241 (copied in ca. 800/1397), 1306 (the seals at the beginning and the end, copied in 768/1367). EDITIONS: There is a single edition (2 vols.) with the title of *Nihāyat al-Wuṣūl ilā ʿIlm al-Uṣūl* (Ultimate Destination for Jurisprudence), Mecca, 1419.

18. al-Āmidī, Abu al-Ḥasan Sayf al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad (631/1233), *al-Iḥkām fī Uṣūl al-Aḥkām* (Fortification of the Sources of Laws), Arabic, 79 {11–12}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1303 (copied in 714/1315), 1304, 1305 (679/1281). EDITIONS: 2 vols., Cairo: Dar al-Kutub al-Khidiwiyya, 1332/1914; 2 vols., Cairo: Muḥammad ‘Alī Subayh, 1968.
- 18.1. Same as above, 79 {12–13}.
- 18.2. Same as above, 79 {13–14}.
19. Yaḥyā b. Ilyās, *Natā’ij al-Uṣūl ma’a Sharḥihī Uṣūl al-Natā’ij ‘alā Tartīb al-Furū’ fī ʿIlm al-Fiqh wa-Masā’il al-Uṣūl* (The Results of the Sources with Its Commentary, The Sources of the Results according to the Arrangement of the Science of Law and the Topics of Jurisprudence), Arabic, 79 {15–16}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1352 (the seals exist). Note: no other manuscript is identified. The book is in fact a *furū’* text starting with *K. al-ṭahāra*, containing 23 chapters ending with *al-waṣāyā*, 254 fols. Yaḥyā b. Ilyās was named as the author in the colophon; the book was composed on Monday, Safar 900/November 1494; the copy was made on Friday, Jumada II 900/January 1495, two months later.
20. al-Kirmastī, Yūsuf b. Ḥusayn (d. 900/1494), *Risāla fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh* (A Small Treatise on Jurisprudence), Arabic, 79 {16–17}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1270 (copied in 893/1488); *Zubdat al-Wuṣūl ilā ʿUmdat ʿIlm al-Uṣūl* (The Best Way of Attaining the Foundation of Jurisprudence). No seal here; the name *Zubda* is specified. EDITIONS: Beirut: Dār Ṣadr, 1428/2008.
21. “*Risāla Mutaʿalliqā bi-al-Husn wa-al-Qubḥ al-Aqliyyayn al-Madhkūrayn fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*” (A Small Treatise on the Issue of Rational Good and Evil as Discussed in Jurisprudence). Author is unknown; Arabic, 79 {17–18}. MANUSCRIPTS: The copies in Süleymaniye, Ayasofya: 972 and 973 contain Bayezid II’s seal at the beginning and the end.
22. Molla Hüsrev (Mawlānā Khusraw), Muḥammad b. Farāmurz b. ‘Alī (885/1480), *K. Mir’āt al-Uṣūl fī Sharḥ Mirqāt al-Wuṣūl* (The Mirror of Sources Being a Commentary on a Stairway to Jurisprudence), 79 {18–19}.
23. Ibn Qāwān, Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Kilānī al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 889/1484), *al-Taḥqīqāt fī Sharḥ al-Waraqāt fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh* (Examinations Being a Commentary on *al-Waraqāt* [the Pages] in Jurisprudence), Arabic, 79 {19}–80 {1}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1344, copied in 1466 CE. This seems to be the only known copy in the world. EDITIONS: al-Sharīf Sa’d b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥusayn, ed., Amman: Dār an-Nafā’is, 1419/1999.
24. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ashraf al-Ḥusaynī al-Samarqandī (d. 702/1303), *ʿAyn al-Nazar fī Sharḥ Muqaddimat al-Nazar wa-Sharḥihā fī ʿIlm al-Jadal al-Mutaʿalliq bi-ʿIlm Uṣūl al-Fiqh* (The Book of the Essence of Contemplation Being a Commentary on *Muqaddimat al-nazar* and Its Commentary on the Science of the Art of Disputation Related to Jurisprudence), 80 {1–2}. This is not on *uṣūl al-fiqh*. The title of the work in the volume in TSMK, A. 1259 has only *al-Uṣūl*, not *uṣūl al-fiqh*. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1259: There are seals on fl. 2b and on the last page of the volume. However, unlike this entry, the volume of 1259 contains two works, both of which are commentaries on *Sharḥ al-Muqaddima* (The Commentary of the Introduction), on the discipline of dialectics and art of disputation by Burhān al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī (d. 687/1289). The first one is *ʿAyn al-nazar* by Muḥammad b. Somay (?) al-mawsūm bi-al-Shihāb al-Khassī (copied on Wednesday, 6 Rajab 716/September 23, 1316; the other is by ‘Abd al-Raḥīm

- b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Katli/Kili/al-Kirmānī; written in Jumādha I 799/March 1397 in Baghdad. For the latter, see the section on philosophy, logic, and disputation, 343 {7–9}.
25. al-Tustarī, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Asʿad (d. 732/1332), *K. Hall ʿAqd al-Taḥṣīl fī Sharḥ al-Taḥṣīl* (The Book of the Release of the Knot of Attainment Being a Commentary on *al-Taḥṣīl*), 80 {2–3}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1334 (copied in Dhu'l-Hijja 705, Tabriz; the seals exist).
 26. “*Risāla fī al-Ḥusn wa-al-Qubḥ al-Aqliyyayn fī Kutub al-Uṣūl*” (A Treatise on the Issue of Rational Good and Evil Discussed in Jurisprudence), 80 {3–4}. See no. 21 above.
 27. *K. Rumūz al-Asrār fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh* (The Book of Symbols of Secrets in Jurisprudence), 80 {4–5}. MANUSCRIPTS: There is a unique manuscript copy in Nuruosmaniye Library 1334, whose title is recorded by the copier on the title page as *K. Sharḥ Rumūz al-Asrār fī al-Uṣūl al-Musammā bi-Kunūz al-Anwār* (The Book of the Commentary on the Symbols of Secrets in Jurisprudence, which is known as Treasuries of the Lights) by ʿAlaʾ al-Dīn al-Aswad (Kara Hoca) ʿAlī b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī. The author of the original work is recorded in the preamble as Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm who is associated with the sultan’s court.
 28. al-Makkī (al-Hijāzī), ʿAlī b. Nāṣir al-Shāfiʿī (d. ca. 915/1509), *Idrākāt al-Waraqāt* (Apprehensions of the Pages), Arabic, 80 {5–6}. MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 997 (this is probably an autograph copy dated to the beginning of the tenth century, and is probably the only copy; seals at the beginning and end).
 29. Ibn al-Ḥājjib, Abū ʿAmr Jamāl al-Dīn ʿUthmān b. ʿUmar b. Abī Bakr (d. 646/1249), *Muntahā al-Sūl wa-al-Amal fī Ilmay al-Uṣūl wa-al-Jadal* (The Ultimate Temptation and Ambition on the Sciences of Jurisprudence and the Art of Disputation), Arabic, 80 {6–7}. For this see *al-Mukhtaṣar* of Ibn al-Ḥājjib mentioned in 4 above. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1333 (seals exist); 1254 (seals exist, copied in 895/1490).
 - 29.1. In the same volume: al-Muʾadhdhinī, Husām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Khwārizmī, *Sharḥ Taṣrīf al-Miftāḥ* (A Commentary on the Morphology Part of *al-Miftāḥ*), Arabic, 80 {7–8}. MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye, Fatih 4686.
 30. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ashraf al-Ḥusaynī al-Samarqandī (702/1303), *al-Ṣaḥāʾif al-Ilāhiyya* (The Divine Pages), Arabic, 80 {8}. MANUSCRIPTS: Millet, Feyzullah Efendi 1169 (fols. 1–102). EDITIONS: Aḥmad ʿAbd ar-Rahmān al-Sharīf, ed., Kuwait: Maktabat al-Falāḥ, 1405/1985.
 - 30.1. In the same volume: al-Urmawī, Sirāj al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr b. Aḥmad (d. 682/1283), *Taḥṣīl al-Uṣūl min Kitāb al-Maḥṣūl* (Attainment of Jurisprudence from the Book of the Harvest), Arabic, 80 {8–9}. MANUSCRIPTS: Millet, Feyzullah Efendi 1169 (fols. 108–260). EDITIONS: 2 vols., Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1408/1988.
 - 30.2. In the same volume: Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ashraf al-Ḥusaynī al-Samarqandī (702/1303), *Sharḥ al-Qistās fī ʿIlm al-Miqyās* (Commentary of the Criterion on the Science of Logic), Arabic, 80 {9–10}. MANUSCRIPTS: Millet, Feyzullah Efendi 1169 (fols. 264–444). EDITIONS: *al-Qistās* (The Criterion) was translated into Turkish and published.
 31. al-Kirmastī, Yūsuf b. Ḥusayn (d. 900/1494), *Sharḥ al-Nāfiʿ* (Commentary of *al-Nāfiʿ*), Arabic, 80 {10–11}.
 32. *Risālat al-Īrādāt al-Baḥthiyya fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh* (A Treatise on the Discursive Advances on Jurisprudence), Arabic, 80 {11–12}.
 33. A Compilation (*Majmūʿa*): The first work is *Taḥṣīl al-Uṣūl Mukhtaṣar K. al-Maḥṣūl*; see above 30.1., Arabic, 80 {12–13}.
 34. *Ḥāshiya ʿalā Ḥāshiyat al-Sayyid al-Sharīf ʿalā Sharḥ al-Maṭālīʿ* (A Super-Commentary on the Super-Commentary of al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī on the Commentary of *al-Maṭālīʿ*), 80 {13–14}.

- 34.1. In the same volume: *Hāshiyat al-Talwīḥ li-Ibn Sa'd al-Taftāzānī fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh* (Super-Commentary of *al-Talwīḥ* by Ibn Sa'd al-Taftāzānī on Jurisprudence), 80 {14–15}.
35. al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar (d. 606/1209), *Mukhtaṣar fī 'Ilm al-Kalām al-mawsūm bi-al-Ma'ālīm fī Uṣūl al-Dīn* (A Summa in the Science of Philosophical Theology [*Kalām*], known as Milestones in Islamic Theology), Arabic, 80 {15}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1302 (seals at the beginning). EDITIONS: Cairo: 1323/1905; Samiḥ Dughaym, ed., Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1992.
- 35.1. al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar (d. 606/1209), *al-Ma'ālīm fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh* (Milestones in Jurisprudence), Arabic, 80 {15–16}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1301 (the seal is at the end), copied in 609/1207. EDITIONS: Alī Muḥammad 'Awaḍ and 'Ādil Aḥmad 'Abd al-Mawjūd, eds., Cairo: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1414/1994.
36. "*Risālat Muqaddimat 'Ilm al-Kalām*" (A Treatise on the Introduction of the Science of Philosophical Theology), Arabic, 80 {17}.
37. Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf (d. 726/1325), *Kitāb Mabādī al-Wuṣūl ilā 'Ilm al-Uṣūl* (The Book of Principles for the Attainment of the Discipline of Jurisprudence), Arabic, 80 {17–18}. MANUSCRIPTS: Amasya Bayezid İl Halk, no. 519, fols. 163b–187b (TMSK, A. 1271 is another work by al-Ḥillī called *Nihāyat al-Wuṣūl ilā 'Ilm al-Uṣūl*, no seals). EDITIONS: A. M. 'Alī Baqqāl, ed., 2nd pr., Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā', 1986.

BOOKS ON SUFISM, LIVES OF SAINTS, ETHICS, AND SERMONS

The section on Sufism—with lives of saints, ethics, and homiletics also nested in it—constitutes the largest single classification in the palace library inventory, without even considering several dozen relevant works listed in other sections of the inventory by Bayezid II's librarian 'Atufi. Among the twenty sections (*tafşils*) or fields of learning that constitute the grid in which 'Atufi struggles to situate each and every volume in its appropriate discipline, Sufism takes pride of place in terms of numbers. The 1,084 titles in this section account for fifteen percent of the more than 7,200 works listed in the inventory as a whole.¹ By 1502–4, in other words, Sufism had arrived, at least in the lands of Rum and arguably also in many corners of the broader geography of Muslim communities in the Afro-Eurasian oikoumene.

The prominence of Sufism in the inventory is not simply a matter of numbers. For 'Atufi, or for Bayezid, who was presumably the prime audience for this text, there was obviously a touch of affection worth expressing toward certain authors in this otherwise dry list of titles, names, and subjects. Of the standard phrases of fond remembrance and wishes used for the deceased, “may his tomb be radiant” (*tāba tharāhu*) occurs regularly for members of the Ottoman imperial family and otherwise only fifty-two times in the whole text, thirty-nine of which (namely, three-quarters) appear in the Sufism section. The two names that dominate this section, Imam al-Ghazali (d. 1111) and Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 1240), receive the highest number of invocations with that phrase, eleven and eight times respectively.

The quantitative and qualitative prominence of Sufism must be considered in the context of its rising significance as a deep intellectual and social current in the post-Mongol world with sinews reaching into many dif-

ferent layers of life, including forms of popular entertainment like the shadow puppet theater, densely imbricated as it was with neoplatonic Sufi undergirdings. That process had clearly reached a certain maturity circa 1500, in a curious parallel to the unmistakable trend toward vernacularization in various spheres, including but not limited to language.² The library collection inventoried by 'Atufi boldly reflects some vibrant aspects of that trend. At the same time, like all collections, even this gigantic one is selective and partial. The absences, also to be discussed below, tell us that the court was not the crucible, or privileged site, where vernacular pieties woven around Sufism found an obvious platform for all milieux.

The inclusion of books on ethics (*akhlāq*) in this section of the inventory, and the treatment of ethics as a subcategory of Sufism, only enhances this sense of the expanding capaciousness of Sufism. In other words, 'Atufi was informed by the late-fifteenth-century attitude toward *taṣawwuf* as a vast body of and conduit for knowledge. The famous ethicist-philosopher Ibn Miskawayh (d. 1030) is well represented in this section, with his *Tahdhīb al-naḥs* (Purity in Perfecting the Soul), in four copies;³ his *Jāwidān-khirad* (Perennial Wisdom) in eight copies (without a language designation, hence presumably in Arabic), and a Persian translation, almost all of which are listed as “pertaining to Sufism” (*min qibali al-taṣawwufi*).⁴ Two of them (137 {19}, 141 {4}) are “selections,” and one of those two (137 {19}) is classified as being “on advice” (*fī al-naṣā'ihi*). As part of the same epistemological calculus, Ibn Miskawayh appears only twice in the section on philosophy with his *al-Fawzu al-aṣgharu* (The Lesser Felicity), a systematic work on metaphysics (360 {13}, 361 {18}).⁵

Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's (d. 1274) *Akhlāq-i Nāṣiri* (Nasirean Ethics), one of the most popular and influential books on ethics in Islamic history, is also well represented in the palace library and receives a similar classificatory treatment. Of its nine copies, six⁶ are classified under *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*, while one (136 {18}) is designated as being *min qibali al-naṣīḥati wa-al-taṣawwufi* (pertaining to advice and Sufism); another (140 {3}) is recorded simply as being in Persian, and one (146 {3}) is *fi al-naṣā'ihi*. In the case of Jalal al-Din Dawwani's (d. 1502–3) *Akhlāq-i Jalālī* (Jalalian Ethics), here given with the title *Makārim al-akhlāq* (The Book of Noble Character), each of the six copies is explicitly designated as being “in Persian” and *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*.⁷ Dawwani's work, which would quickly enjoy an enthusiastic reception in Ottoman lands and make a long-lasting impact on ethical and political thought there, is indeed deeply informed by Sufi ideas and ideals of the Late Middle period, including illuminationism, as implied in the full title of the book, *Lawāmi' al-ishrāq fi makārim al-akhlāq* (Lusters of Illumination on the Noble Virtues).⁸

Many other titles in this section, such as the pseudo-Aristotelian “advice for Alexander” (two copies, 145 {11}, 145 {11–12}, the latter identified as a Persian translation), or the *Pandnāma* (Book of Advice) attributed to the Sasanian emperor Anushirwan, might have been just as convincingly classified under other categories like advice for rulers, sermons, or philosophy, some of which would be closer to the expectations of the modern reader.⁹ Atufi even places al-Shayzari's well-known *Nihāyatu al-rutbatī fi ṭalabī al-ḥisbatī* (The Utmost Authority in the Pursuit of Ḥisba [namely, enforcing the Qur'anic injunction of “enjoining the right and forbidding the wrong”]) in this section, presumably because it, too, deals with morals, namely the morality of the marketplace and of public spaces like mosques (147 {9}).

ON SUFISM, STRICTLY SPEAKING

Having decided to list the books on Sufism (*taṣawwuf*), ethics (*ilm al-akhlāq*), homiletics (*naṣīḥa / maw'izā*), and hagiography of saintly figures (*manāqib al-mashāyikh wa al-awliyā'*) all together, Atufi clearly did not attempt to sort the books in this composite category

into discreet sections and instead simply cited them indiscriminately. It is possible that the organization of books on shelves, or their size, i.e., some criteria independent of their content, informed Atufi's decisions. It is, of course, also likely that he was at times genuinely fuzzy about the proper designation for particular works or was limited by the categories with which he was working, particularly if he started to pay less attention as he got weary of handling the books. In this laborious process, Atufi must have also been frustrated with volumes that contained several titles falling into different categories, of which there are a good many in this section of the inventory, as well as with many other works that defied his attempts to identify either the title or the author, which he proceeded to describe in the most general terms (“a work on Sufism”). Also, Atufi did pay some attention to the question of language, specifically by identifying works written in Persian and Turkish (though he sometimes noted Arabic as well, in only eleven instances, for no apparent reason), but it is not possible to know how consistent he was in this regard. It appears that if he did not indicate the language at all (the majority of cases), then the work in question was in Arabic, though there are occasions in which he neglects to designate certain works as Persian, even though they most certainly were. Evidently, he was more careful with Turkish, presumably because overall there were very few works on Sufism in Turkish, to be discussed below.

EARLY SUFISM (BEFORE THE ELEVENTH CENTURY)

Predictably, the earliest phase of Sufi history, roughly from the early or mid-ninth century until the appearance of the first major Sufi manuals in the mid-tenth century, is not represented in the inventory at all, with the sole exception of a short selection: the last chapter, titled *Bustān al-ma'rifa* (The Garden of Gnosis, 133 {10–11}), from the famous work of al-Husayn b. Mansur al-Hallaj (d. 922), *Kitāb al-ṭawāsīn* (The Book of *Ṭawāsīn*).¹⁰ The almost total absence of works from this early phase in the palace library collection is not surprising, primarily because the manuscript evidence for that period of Sufism, which is very thin today, was evidently already scarce even in pre-Ottoman times. This silence

extends well into the eleventh century, and it is broken only by the presence of six copies of what is quite possibly the most popular “classical” Sufi manual of all time in Islamic history, Abu’l-Qasim al-Qushayrī’s (d. 1072) *Risāla* (Treatise).¹¹ The same author’s Qur’ān commentary, *Laṭā’if al-ishārāt* (Subtleties of Signs), is also present in a single copy.¹² There is only one other manual from the formative period of Sufi tradition in the tenth and eleventh centuries, al-Kalabadhi’s (d. 990s) *Kitāb al-ta’arruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf* (Book of Introduction to the Way of the People of Sufism).¹³ However, ‘Atufi does not cite the author’s name in either of its two mentions, and one suspects that this work found its way into the collection not on its own merit, as it were, but because it was bound together with another work in both cases, one of them with a very popular manual from a slightly later time, namely, ‘Awārif al-ma’ārif (Gifts of Spiritual Knowledge, 108 {14–15}) by Abu Hafs ‘Umar al-Suhrawardi (d. 1234), discussed below. Another seminal work of early Sufi thought, Hujwiri’s (d. between 1073 and 1077) *Kashf al-mahjūb* (The Unveiling of the Veiled, 179 {5}), also appears as part of a multi-text volume and is listed without an author’s name. Noticeably absent are other now-famous early manuals and biographical compilations such as al-Sarraj’s (d. 988) *Kitāb al-luma’ fī al-taṣawwuf* (Book of Light Flashes on Sufism), al-Makki’s (d. 996) *Qūt al-qulūb* (Nourishment of Hearts), and al-Sulami’s (d. 1021) *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya* (Generations of Sufis).

‘ABDULLAH ANSARI, THE GHAZALI BROTHERS, AND SUHRAWARDI AND KUBRAWI LINEAGES

Three prominent figures from the eleventh century, all from Khorasan, are well represented in the collection: ‘Abdullah Ansari (d. 1089), Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d. 1111), and Ahmad al-Ghazali (d. 1126). Five copies of Ansari’s short Arabic work, *Manāzil al-sā’irīn* (Stations of Wayfarers), and a few commentaries on it, most notably *Mir’āt al-nāẓirīn* (Mirror for Observers), are accompanied by his Persian *Munājāt* (Intimate Conversations [with God]).¹⁴ Apart from some selections of Ansari’s preaching, another Persian work titled *Ṭabaqāt al-mashāyikh* (Generations of Shaykhs, 113 {8–9}), which

might have been the *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya*, a biographical compendium compiled by Ansari’s circle, is represented in the inventory; *Zād al-‘arīfīn* (Provisions of Gnostics) attributed to Ansari in manuscripts after the fourteenth century, also makes an appearance in three copies.¹⁵

As one would expect, the prolific writer and authoritative thinker Abu Hamid al-Ghazali is front and center in the inventory. His name is always preceded by the honorific title *imām* and followed by a pious eulogy such as “may his tomb be radiant” (*ṭāba tharāhu*) or “may his mystery be blessed” (*quddisa sirruhu*). His renowned Arabic masterpiece *Ihyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn* (Revival of Religious Sciences), which foregrounds practical Sufi piety, and the Persian synopsis of this work, *Kīmīyā-yi sa‘ādat* (Elixir of Happiness), are both present in multiple copies: nine (including one condensed and one incomplete version) and eleven, respectively, which appear at the very top of the list as the first nine entries (between 105 {17} and 106 {6}) and then from the nineteenth to the twenty-ninth entries (between 107 {14–15} and 108 {3–4}), interrupted by the works of the other dominant figure in this section, i.e., Ibn al-‘Arabi (see below). Many of al-Ghazali’s other works also feature in the collection, but it is difficult to single them out as exclusively or even primarily Sufi in any way. Yet it may be revealing that ‘Atufi includes them in this section; evidently, Abu Hamid’s name was, at least for ‘Atufi, essentially associated with Sufism.

Abu Hamid al-Ghazali’s younger brother Ahmad, who was a key figure in the development of Sufi lineages, is also well represented. His treatise on the metaphysics of love titled *Sawāniḥ* (Auspicious Signs, 142 {8–9}) is present in a single copy, but there are at least two, possibly three, untitled and anonymous commentaries on this work, including *Kitābu sharḥi kalimāt Aḥmad al-Ghazālī fī al-‘ishqī* (Commentary on Ahmad al-Ghazali’s Discourse on Love, 125 {4–5}), as well as four copies of his theological treatise *Kitāb al-tajrīd fī kalimat al-tawḥīd* (Commentary on the Profession of God’s Unity, 118 {1–2}, 120 {2–3}, 120 {7}, 129 {10–11}). Ahmad al-Ghazali, too, receives a good share of supplications for his afterlife. Ahmad’s most celebrated disciples, ‘Ayn al-Qudat al-Hamadani (d. 1131) and Abu Najib al-Suhrawardi (d. 1168), are mentioned by name. ‘Ayn al-Qudat, who faced charges of heresy and was brutally

executed at the age of thirty-three by order of the Saljuq sultan Mahmud (r. 1118–31), is listed as the author of the now-famous Persian work *Zubdat al-ḥaqāʾiq* (Essence of Truths, 113 {7–8}), better known as *Tamhīdāt* (Facilitations), and a collection of treatises also attributed to him is categorized as “pertaining to homiletics” (141 {1–2}). In addition, one or more of the several works cited without attribution under the title *Lawāʾih* (Lights) might also be copies of ‘Ayn al-Qudat’s Persian *Risāla-yi lavāyih*.¹⁶ Clearly, heretics of another time and place could be admired, even lionized, under new circumstances, even if their legacy remained controversial, as in the case of al-Hallaj.

Abu Najib Suhrawardi, often regarded as the initiator of the Suhrawardi lineage of Sufis linked to each other across generations through chains of transmission of authority descending from the first master, is duly included with five copies of his popular treatise on Sufi etiquette, *Ādāb al-murīdīn* (Etiquette of Disciples).¹⁷ His nephew and disciple Abu Hafs ‘Umar al-Suhrawardi (d. 1234), an energetic promoter of Sufi causes during the reign of the ‘Abbasid caliph al-Nasir li-din Allah (r. 1180–1225), authored one of the most definitive manuals of Sufism titled *‘Awārif al-ma‘ārif*, which appears in the inventory in six copies of the original Arabic and one Persian translation unidentified either by title or translator.¹⁸ There is also a short epistle on poverty by Abu Hafs ‘Umar al-Suhrawardi, *Risāla fī sharḥ al-faqr* (120 {4–5}), as well as a collection of treatises that include one or more of his works.

The main Suhrawardi lineages thrived mostly in South Asia from the late thirteenth century onwards, and their literary heritage is largely invisible in the inventory aside from the works of the uncle and nephew Suhrawardis, as well as two titles by Amir Husayni Sadat al-Ghuri al-Harawi (d. after 1329), a second-generation disciple of Abu Hafs ‘Umar. Amir Husayni Sadat’s *Nuzhat al-arvāḥ* (Invigoration of Souls, in five copies) and *Qalandarnāma* (Book of Wandering Dervishes, possibly two copies) are recorded;¹⁹ on one of those occasions, the author is referred to in familiar terms as simply “Husayn.”

The Kubrawi line, on the other hand, a major offshoot of the original Suhrawardi core, occupies a very prominent place in the collection, bearing the legacy of Najm al-Din Kubra (d. 1221), a most influential master who was connected to Abu Najib via his own spiritual director

‘Ammar al-Bidlisi (d. between 1194 and 1207–8). Kubra’s own well-known works, *Fawāʾih al-jamāl wa fawātiḥ al-jalāl* (Scents of Beauty and Signs of Majesty, one copy, 114 {8}), *Risāla ilā al-hāʾim al-khāʾif min lawmat al-lāʾim* (Epistle for the Perplexed and Fearful of the Blamers’ Reproach, two copies, 114 {8–9}, 131 {18}), and his Qurʾan commentary (recorded as *Tafsīru Najm al-dīn Kubrā*),²⁰ are accompanied by a book of prayers (46 {17}) and four untitled collections by him.²¹ Works of Kubra’s leading disciples also appear in the collection: Majd al-Din Baghdadi’s (d. 1219) *Tuḥfat al-barara fī masāl al-‘ashara* (Reverent Gift in Answer to Ten Questions, two copies, 112 {14–15}, 120 {11–12}), Sa’d al-Din Hamuya’s (or Hamuwayi, d. 1252) *Miṣbāḥ fī al-taṣawwuf* (The Lantern on Sufism, one copy, 139 {3}), as well as his *Kitāb al-maḥbūb* (Book of the Beloved, two copies, 110 {19}–111 {1} and 111 {9–10}, all three of which are listed without the author’s name), and most importantly, because of its popularity in the lands of Rum, Najm al-Din Razi Daya’s (d. 1256) seminal *Mirṣād al-‘ibād* (The Path of God’s Bondsmen) in Persian (in no less than five copies).²² Aziz Nasafi (d. after 1282), a second-generation disciple of Kubra via Sa’d al-Din Hamuya who was also highly influential in Anatolian Sufi thought, has a conspicuous presence as well with several of his Persian works: *Kashf al-ḥaqāyiq* (Unveiling of Truths, three copies, 113 {12–13}, 129 {14}, 138 {5–6}, only one identified as Persian), *Maqṣad-i aqṣā* (four copies, 116 {3}, 119 {19}–120 {1}, 130 {6–7}, 135 {11–12}; only one identified as Persian), *Mabūd va ma‘ād* (Origin and Return, two copies in Persian, 118 {1} and 68 {9–10}, the second listed under *‘ilm al-qalām*; perhaps also 121 {12–13}).

Later Kubrawi-affiliated Sufis from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries do not have much of a presence in the inventory. Of these, the noteworthy ones include ‘Ali Hamadani (d. 1385) with several treatises,²³ and ‘Ala’ al-Dawla al-Simnani (d. 1336), also with several treatises.²⁴

Also significant is the presence of Muhammad Nurbakhsh (d. 1465) with two treatises (124 {6–7} and 125 {11–12}, the latter on physiognomy) and a cryptic listing of a *Risālatun nurbakhshiyyatun fī al-taṣawwufi* (a Nurbakhshi treatise on Sufism, 120 {18}). His disciple Muhammad al-Lahiji (d. 1506) appears with a commentary on *Gulshan-i Raz* (Rose Garden of Secrets, 111 {7–8}).

Although ‘Abdullah Ansari, the Ghazali brothers, and the earliest cores of the Suhrawardi and Kubrawi

lineages dominate the scene of eleventh- and twelfth-century Sufism in the inventory, it should be noted that there are also some signs of other less popular, albeit not insignificant, figures from this formative period. Ahmad-i Jam (d. 1141), an early Hanafi Sufi from Khorasan who left behind a rich legacy of eight works in Persian as well as a major shrine cult, is mentioned, admittedly only once, but with his full name, as the author of an untitled Persian treatise (117 {16–18}). This confirms the impression that the early Hanafi Sufism of Khorasan and Central Asia remained largely obscured from view for subsequent generations in central and eastern Iran as well as in Anatolia. Rashid al-Din Maybudi's (d. after 1126) famous Persian Qur'an commentary, *Kashf al-asrār wa 'uddat* [curiously misspelled by 'Atufi as *'umdat*] *al-abrār* (Unveiling of Secrets and Provision for the Righteous), which preserves a rich layer of Sufi exegesis, is present in three full copies.²⁵

Shams al-Din Daylami Abu Thabit Muhammad (d. ca. 1197), who appears to have drifted to Sufism later on in life from his erstwhile grounding in philosophy, is not mentioned by name, but his *Ghāyat al-imkān fī dirāyat al-makān* (The Limits of Possibility in the Comprehension of Space) is recorded twice by 'Atufi (131 {13–14}, 132 {16–17}), once identified as *fī al-tawhīdī*, and once as *fī al-taṣawwufī*. The idiosyncratic visionary and prolific author Ruzbihan Baqli (d. 1209), also not cited by name, is represented by his Persian treatise on mystical love, *'Abhar al-'āshiqīn fī aḥwāl al-'ishq* (Lovers' Jasmine on Love's States, 126 {5–6}), as well as his *Risālat al-quḍs li-ahl al-uns* (Sacred Treatise for the People of Intimacy, 121 {8}) and *Kitāb Sayr al-arwāḥ* (A Treatise on the Conduct of Spirits, 120 {2}, spelled as *siyar al-arwāḥ?*). None of these three figures, today recognized as major Sufi authors, was ever embedded in later Sufi lineages. This may explain their obscured, oblique presence in the palace library collection. To be sure, Baqli was a Kazaruni, and this lineage did have a presence in Anatolia, particularly during the fifteenth century under the name *Ishāḳī*, but it did not leave behind a literary legacy there.

Also noteworthy is 'Atufi's classification of no less than seven works, some with multiple copies, by "Shaykh al-Ishraq" (Illumination) Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi (d. 1191) as belonging to Sufism, even though he categorizes some other works by this prominent figure as "wisdom" (*ḥikma*) and lists them under the category of

philosophy. The shaykh is also known as *Maqtūl* (The Executed), and is thus mentioned in the inventory on several occasions. His works cited in the chapter on Sufism include *Ṣaḡīr-i Sīmurgh* (The Song of the Griffin, three copies, 126 {7}, 128 {19}–129 {1}, 148 {14–15}), *Munājāt* (Supplications, 126 {3}), *Alwāḥ al-'imādiyya* (Tablets of 'Imad ad-Din Qara Arslan [the Artuqid prince who was Suhrawardi's patron at the time], 130 {8–9}), *Hayākil al-nūr* (Edifices of Light, 130 {9}), *Mūnis al-'ushshāq* (Lovers' Companion, 143 {3–4}), *Risālatun fī ṭarīqi al-sulūki* (Treatise on the Path to [Good] Conduct, 126 {2–3}), and *Ma'ārij al-albāb* (Rising Places of Hearts, in four copies, 121 {3–4}, 131 {9–10}, 133 {8–9}, 134 {10–11}). 'Atufi's placement of Suhrawardi's "illuminationist" school of thought somewhere in between philosophy and Sufism is indicative of the wide reach that illuminationism had in both philosophical and Sufi circles after the twelfth century.

IBN AL-'ARABI AND AKBARIANS

It would be fair to state that the most prominent position in the collection belongs to works by Ibn al-'Arabi—the singularly influential Andalusian Sufi whose extensive travels took him to Seljuk Konya where he resided for a while—and more substantively, to works penned by an ever-growing community of his disciples and commentators, representing a deep and sprawling intellectual tradition called Ibn al-'Arabian or Akbarian. 'Atufi always uses the name Muhyi al-Din al-'Arabi to refer to the great mystic, also known by the epithet al-Shaykh al-Akbar, "supreme shaykh," and, as in the case of Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, routinely tags his name with a pious eulogy. 'Atufi lists many works of Ibn al-'Arabi, from the well-known *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* (Meccan Revelations, twelve full or partial copies) and *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (Bezels of Wisdom, four copies) to numerous unidentified or partially identified collections of treatises, including entries like *Thalāthūna kitāban aktharuhā li-l-Shaykh Muhyi al-Dīn al-'Arabī fī al-taṣawwufī fī mujal-ladīn wāḥidīn* (Thirty books on Sufism in one volume, most of them by Shaykh M., 131 {16–17}).²⁶

The "supreme shaykh's" main disciple and adoptive son Sadr al-Din al-Qunawi (d. 1274), a native of Konya who attempted to place Ibn al-'Arabi's teachings on a

more explicitly philosophical footing, is well represented with his own works and later commentaries on them, particularly commentaries on his *al-Nuṣūṣ* (Texts, five copies) and *Miftāḥ al-ghayb* (Key to the Unseen, three copies).²⁷ The latter was Qunawi's key work, which elicited much attention from commentators in Anatolia, including commentaries by the later famous Ottoman scholars Molla Fenari (d. 1431) and Kutbeddinzade Izniki (d. 1480), both of which are recorded in the inventory (two and three copies, respectively).²⁸ Qunawi's own students, Fakhr al-Din 'Iraqi (d. 1289), Mu'ayyad al-Din al-Jandi (d. ca. 1300), and Sa'id al-Din Muhammad al-Farghani (d. 1300), also make their appearance: Iraqi with eleven copies of his *Lama'āt* (Divine Flashes), al-Jandi with two copies of his commentary on *Fuṣūṣ* (109 {3–4} [summary], 109 {19}–110 {1}), and al-Farghani with one copy each of his *Manāḥij al-'ibād* (The Paths of God-Servants, 112 {5–6}) and *Mashāriq al-darār* (Rising Places of Glittering Stars, 138 {4–5}).²⁹ 'Iraqi's *Lama'āt* clearly enjoyed a special place in the deep and long-lasting currents of thought and attitude inspired by Shaykh al-Akbar.

Yet, in the representation of Akbarian thought in the collection, the works of Qunawi's students are matched by those of 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Kashani (d. ca. 1330) and his student, Dawud al-Qaysari (d. 1350), who was a native of Kayseri in Anatolia. 'Abd al-Razzaq's popular works on Akbarian terminology, his *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya* (Sufi Terminology) in three or perhaps five copies, and its expanded version, *Rashḥ al-zulāl* (Splash of Fresh Water), are in the inventory.³⁰ Also listed are the definitive commentaries on Ibn al-'Arabi's *Fuṣūṣ* that 'Abd al-Razzaq and his scholarly student Dawud al-Qaysari, who received his higher education in Cairo and in Tabriz and returned to Anatolia to become müderris in the first Ottoman madrasa in Iznik in 1336, produced in quick succession (both are also in the collection).³¹ These works contributed greatly to the construction and spread of an expansive body of Akbarian mystical-philosophical writing in Muslim intellectual and spiritual circles during the fourteenth century. Other works in the collection that fall into this category include 'Abd al-Karim al-Jili's (d. 1428) *Marātib al-wujūd* (Stages of Being, 127 {6})³² and the great Persian Sufi poet 'Abd al-Rahman Jami's (d. 1492) Ibn al-'Arabian *Ashi'atu*

Lama'āt (Gleams of the Flashes, commentary on 'Iraqi's *Lama'āt*, 114 {11–13}), *Naqd al-Nuṣūṣ* (Critical Examination of Texts, a Persian commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ*, 109 {10}, 120 {17–18}), and at least one (possibly more) copies of his *Lavāyih*. 'Atufi attributes one copy of *Lavāyih* (139 {9}) to Jami but lists several other anonymous copies with the same title.³³

More literary manifestations of the burgeoning Akbarian upsurge, of which 'Iraqi's *Lama'āt* can be considered a prime example, proliferated in this period. Mahmud Shabistari's (d. 1337) concise masterpiece *Gulshan-i rāz* (Rose Garden of Secrets, in four copies in this section and seven more under Persian literature)³⁴ and its commentaries, notably *Mafātiḥ al-i'jāz* (Keys of Wonder, 111 {7–8}) by Muhammad al-Lahiji (d. 1506), adequately testify to an uptick in Akbarian literary production in Persian. On the other hand, the many *sharḥs* or commentaries (some in multiple copies, more than a dozen altogether) on *qaṣīdas* of Ibn al-Farid (d. 1235) stand witness to the urge to appropriate the famous Arab Sufi poet's voice for Akbarian causes.³⁵ Many prominent Ibn al-'Arabi enthusiasts composed such commentaries through Ibn al-'Arabian lenses. Even though 'Atufi does not cite the names of the commentators, he does identify Dawud al-Qaysari as the author of a commentary on *Naẓm al-durr* (Verse of Pearls, 113 {4–5}). Many of the anonymous Ibn al-Farid commentaries in the inventory were likely ones penned by such Akbarian figures as Sa'id al-Din al-Farghani and 'Afif al-Din al-Tilimsani (d. 1291), as well as Jami (whose *Lawāmī*, a commentary on the "Wine Poem," 126 {8–10}, 128 {9}, however, is listed with the author's name).

PERSIAN "LITERARY" SUFISM

Starting around the twelfth century, Sufism became mainstream, then grew increasingly popular in Muslim communities and polities in the eastern Mediterranean basin and southwest Asia. Sufi identities began to proliferate, and it became ever more difficult to differentiate "professional," full-time Sufi adepts from "amateur" part-timers and supporters who cultivated the Sufi mode of piety to some level in their lives. In literature, this state of affairs was reflected by the growth, on the

one hand, of a specialized corpus of texts that catered to the needs of the core inner group of Sufi practitioners (practically all of the titles discussed so far fit into this category) and, on the other hand, of literary compositions inspired by and infused with Sufi thought and practice. The latter were often produced by professional writers and poets and addressed to a broad audience. This development was especially conspicuous in Persian, eventually to be paralleled in Turkish and other vernaculars of the Islamic world, with many major poets adopting or affecting Sufi or Sufi-inflected personas in their literary careers, starting most notably with Majdud b. Adam Sana'i (d. 1131) and continuing in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries with such prominent poets as Farid al-Din 'Attar (d. 1221 or 1229), Muslih al-Din Sa'di (d. 1291), Muhammad Hafiz (d. ca. 1390), and the aforementioned Jami. 'Atufi rightly lists works of such professional *littérateurs*, especially their *divans*, under "Persian Literature," but a few of these poets and writers were first and foremost practicing Sufis, and as such they should be noted here briefly.

Fakhr al-Din 'Iraqi has already been mentioned in relation to his Akbarian work *Lama'at*, but two other thirteenth-century Persian figures who spent much of their lives in Anatolia deserve particular attention: "Mawlana" Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 1273) and Awhad al-Din Kirmani (d. 1237–38). The latter, a prominent thinker in the thirteenth century, is known for his *rubā'īs* (quatrains), which are represented in the collection in one copy (243 {13–14}), and his *Miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ* in two copies (Lamp of Souls, 243 {19}–244 {1}).³⁶

Rumi, who is of course one of the most famous Anatolian Sufi poets of all time, has a large footprint in the palace library, with nineteen copies, five "selections," and four partial commentaries of his magisterial *Maṣnavī*.³⁷ The fact that almost all of the selections and commentaries are not identified by author signals the enormous popularity of this work as opposed to the more limited circulation of Rumi's *Dīvān*, recorded in only one copy.³⁸ A collation of the sayings of Rumi's enigmatic partner Shams-i Tabrizi (d. ca. 1247) is also included (118 {17–18}), as well as *Tarjī' nafīs* (Precious Strophic Poem).³⁹ 'Atufi does not tire of eulogizing Rumi with the phrase *quddisa sirruhu* upon almost each mention of his *Maṣnavī*. Remarkably, however, there is no

sign of the Mevlevi lineage that took shape around the life and legacy of Mawlana, except for the *dīvān* and an unidentified work (110 {14–15} and 110 {15–16}, respectively) of his son Sultan Walad (d. 1312).⁴⁰ Not to be overlooked, though, is a hagiography of Rumi that remains anonymous (149 {3–4}; see below).

One final name that comes up only in the Persian literature section but should be mentioned here is Qasim-i Anvar (d. ca. 1433), a second-generation disciple of the progenitor of the Safavid lineage, Shaykh Safi al-Din (d. 1334). He is noted for his *Anīs al-ʿarīfīn* and *Anīs al-ʿāshiqīn* (Companion of Gnostics and Lovers).⁴¹

NAQSHBANDI AND ZAYNI WORKS

The lineages of the Naqshbandi and Zayni Sufi orders emerged through the activities of Baha al-Din Naqshband (d. 1389) and Zayn al-Din al-Khvaḥi (d. 1435), respectively, in Central Asia and Khorasan. Both began to take root in Anatolia during the second half of the fifteenth century. The first Naqshbandi establishment in Istanbul dates to 1490 during the reign of Bayezid II, whereas the presence of Zaynis was already more extensive in Ottoman Anatolia and Istanbul during the time of Mehmed II. Not surprisingly, therefore, some prominent Naqshbandi and Zayni figures of the fifteenth century are represented in the collection.

Baha al-Din Naqshband (d. 1389) is not known to have composed any works, but some of his "utterances" are the subject of three entries: *Risāla fī nafā'is kalimāt al-shaykh al-ma'rūf bi-Naqshband* (Book of Precious Sayings of the Shaykh known as Naqshband), *Majmū'atun min kalimāti al-shaykh al-ma'rūf bi-Naqshband* (Compilation of Sayings of the Shaykh known as Naqshband), and *Wāridāt* (Inspirations); 122 {13–14}, 125 {10–11}, 136 {17}, respectively.⁴² Muhammad Parsa (d. 1420), one of the chief disciples of Baha al-Din and a key early Naqshbandi author, is not cited by name, but his important texts *Risāla-yi qudsiyya* (Sacred Treatise; 118 {4}, 118 {9}, 132 {11–12}) and *Faṣl al-khiṭāb* (Definitive Judgment; 118 {5–6}, 118 {6–8}, 118 {8–9}) appear in three copies each, twice bound together in a single volume. Khvaja 'Ubaydullah Ahrar (d. 1490), a second-generation disciple who was one of the most socially consequential Sufi figures

of his time, makes only a cameo appearance with his untitled commentary (138 {11–12}) on the meaning of the *rubāʿīs* (quatrains) attributed to Abu Saʿid Abū l-Khayr (d. 1049).

As for ʿAbd al-Rahman Jami, the famous Naqshbandi Persian poet and author whose Ibn al-ʿArabian works have already been discussed above, two other titles of his are cited: his hagiographical compendium *Nafaḥāt al-uns min ḥazarāt al-quds* (Fragrances of Intimacy from the Gardens of Sanctity, 150 {15–16}, 150 {18–19}), and a commentary on the *Maṣnavī* of Rumi in three copies (136 {3}, 145 {9–10}, 147 {6–7}). One of these is simply titled *Sharḥu mushkilāt-i maṣnavī* (Commentary of the Difficulties of the *Maṣnavī*), which was likely a copy of Jami's *Naynāma* (Book of the Reed Flute). Just as significant is an item conspicuous by its absence in the inventory. The work Jami composed at the request of Mehmed II as an adjudication of the views of Sufis, theologians, and philosophers, titled *al-Durrah al-fākhira* (The Precious Pearl), would certainly make for fascinating reading, then or now, but it likely never arrived at the palace. Taşköprülüzade (d. 1561) relates, on the authority of his colleague Muhyiddin Fenari (d. 1548), that it was Kadiasker ʿAlaeddin ʿAli Fenari (d. 1497?), Muhyiddin's father, who whispered the name of Jami into the sultan's ear as the ideal author of such a book. Before it was completed in Herat and sent to "Rūm," however, the sultan passed away, and the book seems to have been delivered to the elder Fenari, in whose hands it remained for some time.⁴³

The book recorded as *Risālatu ʿAraḍiyyatin bi-al-fārisiyyati li'l-Shaykh al-Ilāhī* (Treatise on Accidentals by Shaykh al-Ilahi, in Persian, 122 {1–2}) could have been penned by ʿAbdullah-i Ilahi (d. 1491), the first prominent Naqshbandi figure of Anatolia who was instrumental in establishing that lineage in Ottoman territories and who, unlike his chief disciple Emir Buhari—another well-known Naqshbandi of the same period (d. 1516) in Anatolia and Istanbul—left behind a robust written legacy in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. None of his known works bears that title, however. It is also possible that the work under consideration could have been written by Ahmed-i Ilahi (d. after 1481), another Naqshbandi figure of the same era, who too is known for some Persian treatises. One of the latter, a commentary on

Gulshan-i Raz, is certain to have been included in the inventory (111 {8–9}), but without the author's name.⁴⁴

Zayn al-Din al-Khvafi (d. 1435), the grand master of the Zayni lineage, is represented by his major works *Waṣāyā* (Counsels, in four copies)⁴⁵ and *Silsila al-ṣūfiyya* (Genealogies of Sufis, 117 {14–15}). ʿAbd al-Latif Qudsi (d. 1452), a disciple of Zayn al-Din's who traveled to Anatolia twice from his native Jerusalem and died in Bursa, must be the author of a work recorded as *Risālatu ʿAbd al-Laṭīf quddisa sirruhu fī al-ṭarīqat al-ṣūfiyya al-zayniyya* (The Treatise of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf—may his mystery be blessed—on the Sufi Path of impressive *Zayniyya*, 145 {13}), as well as of *Wāhib al-mawāhib* (The Giver of Gifts, 133 {8}, with perhaps a second copy, 129 {7}, listed as *Kitābu tuḥfati al-wāhibi*). ʿAtufi's characterization of ʿAbd al-Latif's treatise deserves to be underlined since it constitutes the singular instance of the designation of a specific Sufi order in the whole inventory, i.e., the impressive Zayniyya that would, ironically, be overtaken by other orders in the course of the sixteenth century in terms of significance and eventually be absorbed by them.

ʿAbd al-Latif Qudsi's disciple Muslihuddin Mustafa, known as Şeyh Vefa/Vefazade (d. 1491), emerged as a key figure in the establishment of the Zayniyya order in Ottoman Istanbul. He was a major inspirational figure for many prominent intellectuals of his time, who seem to have turned to Sufism under his influence. ʿAtufi records his Turkish divan and his litanies (*awrād*) in several copies, as well as his Turkish work *Sāz al-irfān* (The Long-Necked Lute of Gnosis, in two copies).⁴⁶ Şeyh Vefa's disciples among Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals included the scholar and vizier Sinan Paşa (d. 1486), whose *Taẓarruʿnāme* (Book of Supplication), which became an early classic in Turkish, is cited in the inventory in one copy and in this section (143 {13}).

MANĀQIB AND TADHKIRAS

The inventory records various biographical accounts and hagiographies of Sufi figures, but in no particular order as usual. Well-known examples include the *Tadhkirat al-awliyā* (Memorial of Saints) of ʿAttar in multiple copies and the two copies of *Nafaḥāt al-uns*

(Fragrances of Intimacy) by Jami already noted above.⁴⁷ Others, described in generic terms or by titles that are otherwise unknown, remain obscure. *Manāqib Bahā' al-Dīn* (The Vita of Baha' al-Din, 151 {2}) is one such title. Neither Baha al-Din Naqshband nor Rumi's father Baha al-Din Valad, the two figures by that name who immediately come to mind for their relevance in Anatolia, are known to have had dedicated biographies, and it is impossible to determine the subject of this work. *Kitāb asrār manāqib al-abrār* (Book of Secrets on the Feats of the Pious, 119 {18–19}) is another enigmatic title. Could this have been a copy of *Manāqib al-abrār wa mahāsīn al-akhyār* (Feats of the Pious and Charms of the Devout) by Majd al-Din al-Mawsili (d. 1157)?⁴⁸ And what exactly is the work described by 'Atufi as the *Manāqib Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn* (149 {3–4})? Could it be the *Risāla* of Faridun Sipahsalar (d. ca. 1312), or the better-known *Manāqib al-ārifīn* (Feats of Gnostics) of Shams al-Din Aflaki (d. 1360), or yet another hagiography of Rumi that is lost to us today (even though this third possibility is rather unlikely)? Such titles remain cryptic for us.

Finally, if the work titled *Kitābu manāqibi al-Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn* (227 {15–17}) and listed in the section on literature refers to the eponym of the Safavids—and it seems difficult to attribute it to anyone else—we might note that there is also a copy of Safi al-Din's (d. 1334) vita in the inventory, curiously tucked in the middle of a compilation containing works on poetry and "other treatises." If so, the shaykh, whose descendants would engage in a bitter rivalry with the Ottomans soon after the compilation of our inventory, is respectfully remembered by 'Atufi with wishes for his mystery to be blessed (*quddisa sirruhu*). The palace library eventually included at least two copies of the well-known hagiography of the shaykh, titled *Ṣafvat as-Ṣafā* (The Quintessence of Purity), but this manuscript is not necessarily one of those; it is not even clear that we are dealing with the same work.⁴⁹

Some of the other hagiographic titles listed in this section call for brief comment:

Manāqib Abī Zayd Bisṭāmī (The Vita of Abi Zayd Bisṭami, 137 {5–6}), noted only with this generic title and with no indication of authorship, was possibly Abu al-Fadl al-Sahlaji's (d. 1083) biographical monograph devoted to Abu Yazid (Bayazid) al-Bisṭami (d. 875), entitled

al-Nūr fī kalimāt Abī Ṭayfūr (The Light in the Words of Abu Ṭayfur).

Tadhkira Ibrāhīm Adham (The Biography of Ibrahim Adham, 150 {16–17}), also recorded without any further specification of title or language, was likely not in Arabic (no such work in Arabic is known to us) but probably a hagiographical narrative in Persian or Turkish.

Sīratnāma li-al-Shaykh al-Kabīr (The Life of the Great Shaykh, 114 {10}) was possibly the hagiography of the early Sufi Ibn Khafif (d. 982) titled *Sīrat-i Ibn Khafif* in its Persian translation; the Arabic original is not extant.

The collection of treatises in Persian and Turkish on the vita of "al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Kabīr" (141 {19}–142 {1}) was likely about Ahmad al-Rifa'i (d. 1182); if so, this is one of only two reflections of al-Rifa'i in the collection.

What is listed by 'Atufi as the hagiography of Abu Ishak Ibrahim b. Shahriyar Kazaruni (d. 1033), without title or language specification (111 {12}), is now identified also as a vita of al-Rifa'i, written by somebody with the nisba al-Kazaruni, which must have confused our librarian.⁵⁰

Ibn 'Ata Allah al-Iskandari's (d. 1309) *Laṭā'if al-minan fī manāqib al-Shaykh Abū'l-'Abbās wa-Shaykhihi* [Abū'l-Ḥasan] (Subtleties of Divine Favors in the Feats of the Shaykh Abu'l-'Abbas and His Shaykh [Abu'l-Ḥasan], 139 {1}) is a rare Shadhili work in the collection. The inventory is otherwise largely devoid of any signs of Egyptian and Maghribi Sufism, except perhaps for a piece that might be attributed to Ibn Sahl al-Ishbili (d. 1251), the famed Andalusian poet and convert from Judaism to Islam, tucked in the middle of various works by Ibn al-'Arabi, the ultimate gift of the Maghrib to Sufism everywhere (134 {8–9}).

TURKISH AND RUMI/ANATOLIAN WORKS

Altogether, there are a total of thirteen Turkish works in this section, which lists more than one thousand titles. The inventory as a whole includes a few other relevant Turkish titles that could also be considered as belonging to the category of Sufism but are listed in other sections, primarily under "Turkish divans and versified literature."⁵¹ This low count does not increase by much if we expand our criterion from strictly Turkish to Rumi/

Anatolian in order to include those authors who wrote exclusively or primarily in Arabic or Persian even though they were born Rumi, or had become “naturalized” in the geography that was coming fully under the sway of the Ottomans (“Ottomanizing,” to use the term Cornell Fleischer so aptly coins in his introduction to this volume) during ‘Atufi’s lifetime. The most prominent authors in Turkish have already been mentioned: they are the Zayni figures Şeyh Vefa and Sinan Paşa; the former is also cited with his Arabic *awrād* in three copies.⁵² The well-known intellectuals and Sufis of the lands of Rum, some of whom did write in Turkish even though their Turkish works are not recorded in the palace library collection, include the famous Bayrami Sufi scholar Muhammed b. Hamza Akşemseddin (d. 1459), some of whose Arabic writings appear in the inventory: *Risāla fī taḥqīq al-madhhab al-ṣūfiyya wa daḥ al-maṭā’in fihi* (Treatise Authenticating the Sufi Path and Refuting Accusations against It, 127 {17–18}); *Risāla al-nūrīyya* (Luminous Treatise, 117 {6–7}); and a generic *Risāla fī t-taṣawwuf* (117 {18–19}), where he is explicitly called *al-Shaykh al-Rūmī* and is remembered with the phrase *ṭāba tharāhu*. Bedreddin b. Qadi al-Simavni (d. 1416?) is also mentioned, though his name is not accompanied by any remarks, with an Arabic treatise titled *Risāla ‘alā khilāf taṣawwuf* (Treatise on Divergent Views in Sufism, 119 {10–11}, possibly his well-known *Wāridāt*).

The Ottoman scholars Molla Fenari and Kutbeddinzade Izniki have already been noted above for their (Arabic) commentaries on Sadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī’s *Miftāḥ al-ghayb*. ‘Atufi seems to have had particular reverence for Kutbeddinzade, who appears in several sections of the inventory for his learned works in different areas and almost always receives a pious wish for his afterlife; in fact, he is one of the most visible Ottoman-Rumi authors in the inventory. His name also appears in the only entry that is highlighted by the use of red ink (148 {19}–149 {3}). ‘Atufi wants to make sure that the reader knows who this is: he writes that the work titled *Risālatun fī aḥwāl al-ṣā’imi* (On the States of the One Who Fasts) is by “Muḥammad bin Quṭb al-Dīn al-Izniqī” and adds parenthetically, with a note in the same hand written upside-down on the top of the line, that “he is known as Shaykh Qutb al-Din-zada—may his mystery be blessed” (*wa-huwa al-ma’rūfu bi-Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn-*

zāda -quddisa sirruhu). Kutbeddinzade is also mentioned in this section on Sufism as “Ibn Mawlānā Quṭb al-Dīn al-Izniqī” with reference to his work “in Turkish” on *tarāwīḥ* (Special Night Prayers in Ramadan, 127 {10–11}) in a compendium. Other traces of this author in the inventory include his book of prayers and a work on oneirocriticism.⁵³

If the title *Awrād al-Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn* (preserved in three copies) belongs to Şeyh Hamidüddin Aksarayı known as Somuncu Baba (d. 1412), who is widely assumed to be the master of Hacı Bayram (d. 1430), this would be one more key Anatolian figure represented in the collection.⁵⁴ Yet another trace of the Bayrami school in the inventory is the poetry of Akbıyık (d. 1455–56), the ecstatic dervish said to have taken part in the siege and conquest of Istanbul, who is cited with his *mathnawīyyāt* in Turkish (263 {13}).⁵⁵ Considering this item together with the likes of Şeyh Vefa’s “Long-Necked Lute of Gnosis” and several other titles listed among Turkish divans, we can well imagine that Turkish literature was experiencing a transformation similar to, if somewhat later than, the one observed above with respect to Persian “literary” Sufism.

On the flip side, mention can be made of two Persian works that are definitely Rumi/Anatolian but whose authors remain elusive; both had previously been erroneously attributed to Sadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī: *Tabṣirat al-mubtadī wa tadhkirat al-muntahī* (Clarifications for Beginners and Reminders for the Advanced, in six copies) and *Maṭālī‘ al-īmān* (Rising Places of Faith, 125 {19}–126 {1}).⁵⁶

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

How was Sufism reflected in the palace collection as a whole? Putting aside questions related to ‘Atufi’s own conception of his categories (“how did he conceptualize Sufism?”) and working only with the titles themselves, it is possible to make a few general observations.

First, the inventory is very thin on pre-twelfth-century materials. Major figures of the earliest phase of Sufism are totally absent: missing are names such as Sahl al-Tustari (d. 896), Abu Sa’id al-Kharraz (d. 899 or slightly earlier), Abu’l-Husayn al-Nuri (d. 907), Junayd

al-Baghdadi (d. 910), al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi (d. between 905 and 910), al-Sarraj (d. 988), Abu Talib al-Makki (d. 386/996), and Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami (d. 1021). Early works of Sufism are simply not represented but for the very few examples mentioned above. As noted before, this state of affairs is not really surprising. There appears to have been a clear hiatus between the formative era of Sufism in the tenth and eleventh centuries and its flourishing during the thirteenth century, with the result that the first major Sufi works never entered into wide circulation, even among Sufis themselves, until their rediscovery by modern scholars. The Ottomans were not exempt from this rupture in cultural transmission.

Second, as documented above, the eleventh century is marked in the collection mainly by the literary output of a few high-profile individuals (in particular, 'Abdullah Ansari and the Ghazali brothers). For the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries the Suhrawardi, Kubrawi, and Akbarian works are most prominent, while titles by Naqshbandi and Zayni figures rise to the surface for the fifteenth century. This suggests that, apart from the homegrown Ibn al-'Arabian legacy they cherished and avidly cultivated, the Ottoman Sufi/intellectual circles were nourished mostly from an easterly direction with works coming in from Iran and Central Asia. By contrast, leaving aside some of the obvious Suhrawardi and Akbarian connections, there are practically no detectable signs in the inventory of Sufi works produced in Syria, Palestine, Egypt, or Arabia during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This lack of connectivity with Arabic-speaking lands is also not surprising, especially since effective Ottoman control of south, central, and eastern Anatolia was still unfolding at the time 'Atufi compiled his inventory. Connections with the religious cultures of predominantly Arab environments, while not inconsiderable (and even significant, in the case of several top scholars), were on the whole never as extensive as ties with Iran.

Third, it is worth pointing out that, considered as a whole, the collection bears no signs of what might be called "tariqa consciousness." To state the obvious, the inventory was not organized according to Sufi affiliation, nor did 'Atufi arrange his entries in a way that could

be construed as demonstrating any awareness on his part that Sufi collectivities called *tariqas* existed, were it not for that one reference to the Zayniyya and a cryptic mention of the Nurbakhshiyya (120 {18}). Indeed, with the exception of the litanies of Şeyh Vefa and possibly of Şeyh Hamidüddin Aksarayi, as well as a few later *manā-qib* works, there is precious little in the collection that could be called *tariqa* literature, that is to say, textual production devoted to the construction and preservation of a collective identity. This is a timely reminder that it would be a mistake to view the history of Sufism in general and Ottoman Sufism in particular before the sixteenth century through the prism of later, post-fifteenth-century *tariqa* identities. As a matter of fact, many of these identities are conspicuous only by their absence in the inventory: there is no sign of Bayrami, Bektashi, Khalveti, Qadiri, Mevlevi, Naqshbandi, or Rifa'i affiliations as such.

Fourth, the inventory only partially reflects the growing Sufi literature in the western Turkish vernacular, which came into its own in Anatolia and western Iran during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Today, household names of this early period of Sufi-inflected Turkish literature include Gülşehri, Yunus Emre, 'Aşık Paşa, brothers Ahmed and Mehmed Yazıcızade, and Eşrefoğlu, but these key figures and their works do not appear in the inventory of the palace library. Perhaps some of this is to be explained by the fact that the burgeoning Sufi corpus in Turkish was cultivated mostly in Anatolian provinces that remained beyond Ottoman control until the reign of Mehmed II. Moreover, even when such works were produced in Ottoman towns (as in the case of the books composed by the Yazıcızade brothers in Gelibolu in the 1450s and 1460s), this literary production was normally patronized not by prominent figures in the court but by second- and third-tier members of the Turkish-speaking political class, who threw in their lot with the Ottomans during the reign of Murad II or later. Perhaps equally important was the fact that the Turkish vernacular had not yet fully attained cultural and intellectual respectability; the higher register of Ottoman Turkish, which was to assume imperial status during the first half of the sixteenth century, was still in its formative stage. Under these circumstances, Sufi

works in Arabic and Persian would have naturally carried more prestige than their homegrown Turkish counterparts.

Finally, there is in the inventory no sign of the *babas* and *dedes* of Islamizing Turkish populations or the “dervish piety” they epitomized. Turkish-speaking popular saints of Anatolia and the Balkans are not in evidence, either directly (say, through the works of Kaygusuz Abdal) or indirectly (through the *manāqib* literature devoted to the lives of leading popular saints such as Abdal Musa, Koyun Baba, and Otman Baba). The one exception, *Tarjuma kalimāt Shaykh Barāq*, which is most likely the learned Persian commentary on some of Baraq Baba’s (d. 1307–8) ecstatic expressions in Kipchak Turkish, written by a certain Qutb al-‘Alavi in 1355, only serves to confirm the rule that the Ottoman court was rather removed from the “heady” world of vernacular Turkish Islam already at the end of the fifteenth century (118 {3–4}). While *abdālān-i Rūm* (the *abdāls* of the lands of Rum) constituted a distinct layer of the dervish milieu in medieval Anatolia and Rumelia, as represented in the popular names of several charismatic figures and poets, the word *abdāl* appears only in the titles of two books and never as part of someone’s name: Ibn al-‘Arabi’s popular short treatise, *Ḥilyat al-abdāl* (The Adornment of the Spiritually Transformed, in four copies)⁵⁷ and *Kitābu Badhīghūrūs fī abdāli al-adwiyati* (The Book of Pythagoras on Substitute Drugs, 153 {13}), a medical work. None of the actual *abdāls* of the lands of Rum is mentioned in an entry.

Popular Turkish saints were by all accounts ubiquitous in urban and rural settings alike in late-fifteenth-century Ottoman society, and they had certainly struck deep roots among Turkish speakers of all social strata. But these saints and their cults were evidently not welcome at the palace, where, one suspects, proper imperial decorum and courtly piety of the scholarly type conspired to block out undesirable elements of popular Turkish religiosity. The Ottomans had come a long way from their modest origins in the small-town northwestern Anatolia of the early fourteenth century, and in keeping with the dynasty’s ever-growing imperial ambitions, the palace library harbored mostly academically-vetted works on Sufism.

Yet, it would be erroneous to imagine that the emerging courtly and madrasa-educated elites were categorically removed from the currents of cultural life that were weaving vibrant popular traditions. One of the most precious items in the palace collection, in terms of combining these various trends in learned but still surprisingly demotic Turkish, is the exquisite text *Taẓarru’nāme* (Book of Supplication) of Sinan Paşa, whose family of jurists and scholars was believed to descend from none other than Nasreddin Hoca (allegedly fl. thirteenth century in central Anatolia), the central character of an ever-growing corpus of immensely popular humorous tales. If there is one author who anticipated Sinan Paşa’s famously unpretentious rhymed prose, it must be Kaygusuz Abdal (d. 1444?), whose work of compelling affective range and depth Sinan may have encountered in his family setting or in Sufi circles. In any case, ‘Atufi evidently did not hesitate to place Sinan Pasha’s *Taẓarru’nāme* among books on Sufism, even if today one may not necessarily characterize it as a Sufi text, or as a book of ethics, even though it contains elements of both and much more. Sinan Paşa’s description of his own book is worth bearing in mind here: “Its base is struck with the principles of the shaykhs of the Truth and its edifice is placed on the tenets of the people of the (Sufi) path.”⁵⁸ The word “path” is still used generically here, but soon after ‘Atufi completed his inventory, it would quickly acquire specific connotations within clearly designated Sufi orders.

NOTES

1. The number 7,200 is an approximation reached by Miklós Maróth, “The Library of Sultan Bayazıt II,” in *Irano-Turkic Cultural Contacts in the 11th-17th Centuries*, ed. Éva M. Jeremiás, Acta et Studia I (Piliscsaba, Hungary, 2003), 111–32, at 112. As Gülru Necipoğlu indicates in her introduction to this volume, the actual number of titles is higher, since some compilations include many more works than those listed by ‘Atufi. The same is true for the section on Sufism. For instance, the current catalogue of the Süleymaniye Library lists 42 items under Ayasofya 3857, while ‘Atufi gives only one title (the *Khamsa* of Nizami) for that specific manuscript and then summarizes the contents of the rest of the volume as “virtuous treatises in its middle and noble ghazals and rubais of the great ones at its end” (120 {1}). This is a compilation that includes some Sufi-izing poetry as

- well as certain classics of Sufism such as the *Ilāhī-nāmāh* of ‘Attār; for this work, see H. Ritter, *Ilahi-Name: Die Gespräche des Königs mit seinen sechs Söhnen. Eine mystische Dichtung von Faridaddin ‘Aṭṭār*, Bibliotheca Islamica 12 (Leipzig and Istanbul, 1940). Moreover, there is at least one missing folio in MS Török between pages 129 and 130 (folios 63b–64a), implying that there must have been several dozen additional titles in this section of the inventory. The larger proportion of books on Sufism is already noted by Maróth.
2. The contribution by Ferenc Csirkés in this volume deals directly with the theme of linguistic vernacularization.
 3. 122 {15–16}, 122 {17–18}, 123 {1–2}, 140 {11–12}; only the last one is recorded with its better known name as *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq*. ‘Atufi uses that phrase as part of the title for al-Nawawī’s (d. 1277) *Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn min kalām Sayyid al-mursalīn* (The Gardens of the Righteous from the Speech of the Master of the Messengers), listed in the section on hadith; see the list by Göktaş in this volume.
 4. 111 {2–3}, 111 {4}, 111 {5}, 122 {19}–123 {1}, 123 {3}, 137 {19}, 141 {4}, 145 {3}; the Persian translation is on 111 {3–4}.
 5. See the list of entries by Dimitri Gutas in this volume. Critical edition by A. F. A. Fuad (Benghazi, 1974), and another by Ṣāliḥ ‘Uzayma (Tunis, 1984); English trans. in John W. Sweetman, *Islam and Christian Theology* (London, 1945), 93–185. See the article by Mehmet Bayrakdar, *TDVİA*, s.v. “İbn Miskeveyh.”
 6. 112 {10–11, 11, 12, 12–13}, 113 {1}, 114 {1–2}.
 7. 114 {2–7}. This work is better known by its full title: *Lawāmi‘ al-ishrāq fī makārim al-akhlāq* (Lusters of Illumination on the Noble Virtues). On the fifteen or more books with the title *Makārim al-aḥlāq*, mostly in Arabic, some of which are not extant, see the introduction in Bilal Orfali and Ramzi Baalbaki, *The Book of Noble Character: Critical Edition of Makārim al-akhlāq wa-maḥāsīn al-ādāb wa-badā‘i‘ al-awṣāf wa-gharā‘ib al-tashbihāt, Attributed to Abū Maṣṣūr al-Tha‘ālibī* (d. 429/1039) (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016). Of Naysaburi’s (d. 1204?) Persian work known by the title *Makārim al-akhlāq*, which had once been considered lost, three copies were found by the editor of the text, but this cannot be our author; the only one located in Turkish libraries is in Burdur; see Raḡī al-Dīn Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad Nishābūrī and Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Tūsī, *Du Risāla dar akhlāq*, ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh (Tehran, 1962).
 8. *TDVİA*, s.v. “Devvani,” by Harun Anay. For a full discussion of Dawwani’s oeuvre and thought, see Anay’s brilliant but, sadly, unpublished work, “Celaleddin Devvani, Hayatı, Eserleri, Ahlak ve Siyaset Düşüncesi” (PhD diss., Istanbul University Institute of Social Sciences, 1993).
 9. Several of those titles have been covered in the essays and lists of other writers in this volume; see the contributions by Sooyong Kim, Hüseyin Yılmaz, and Abdurrahman Atçıl in particular. By the same token, there are several relevant books listed in other sections of the inventory, such as the one on history, that include some hagiographic and biographical materials related to Sufism; see the essay and list by Fleischer and Şahin in this volume. On the attributions to Aristotle and Anushirwan, see F. C. W. Doufikar-Aerts, “Aristotle and Alexander: The Never-Ending Question(s),” and G. R. van den Berg, “Wisdom Literature in the *Safina-yi Tabriz*: Notes on the *Pandnāma-yi Anūshirvān*,” in *The Treasury of Tabriz: The Great Ilkhanid Compendium* (Amsterdam, 2007), 245–55 and 171–83, respectively. Also see the seminal article by Garth Fowden, “Pseudo-Aristotelian Politics and Theology in Universal Islam,” in *Universal Empire: A Comparative Approach to Imperial Culture and Representation in Eurasian History*, ed. Peter Fibiger Bang and Dariusz Kolodziejczyk (Cambridge, England, 2012), 130–48.
 10. *Ṭawāsīn* is the plural of *Ṭā* and *Sīn*, the first two letters of the Qur’anic verse 27, surah *Naml*. On prominent figures and books of the early period of Sufism, see Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *Sufism: The Formative Period* (Edinburgh, 2007).
 11. 108 {10}, 108 {11}, 110 {2–3}, 111 {11}, 120 {1}, 143 {16}.
 12. See 142 in the list by Goudarzi.
 13. In two copies: 108 {15–16} and 96 {7–8}; the latter is bound together with a volume on *fiqh* and listed in that section. There is also a work of hadith by al-Kalabadhi, 40 {12–13}, where the author is mentioned by name.
 14. 118 {10–11}, 130 {5}, 135 {14–15}, 135 {19}–136 {1–2}, 137 {7}; the commentaries are on 113 {3}, 114 {14–15}, 122 {10–11}, 130 {5–6}; *Munājāt* is on 127 {12}, 138 {1–2}. On *Mir‘āt al-nāẓirīn*, see GAL-S, 1:77.
 15. 115 {19}–116 {1}, 126 {12–13}, 129 {3}.
 16. 109 {12}, 120 {16}, 122 {6–7}, 125 {4}, 128 {1–2}, 128 {3–4}, 130 {16}, 131 {5–6}, 143 {18}; but these may instead be copies of a work with the same title by ‘Abd ar-Rahman Jami (d. 1492), who is well represented in the inventory (see below).
 17. 118 {11–12}, 120 {5–6}, 134 {6–7}, 135 {17}, 144 {14–15}.
 18. 108 {14–15}, 108 {17–18}, 108 {18}, 110 {4–5}, 133 {2–3}, 136 {7}, 136 {10–11}; Persian trans. 108 {16–17}. By the late fifteenth century, there were already more than one Persian translation of this work, perhaps the most well known being ‘Izz ad-Dīn Mahmūd ibn ‘Alī al-Kāshānī’s (d. 1335) *Miṣbāḥ al-hidāya wa-miftāḥ al-kifāya*; see GAL-S, 1:789.
 19. 128 {17–18}, 137 {13}, 141 {8}, 141 {9}, 144 {13}; for the *Qalandarnāma*, see 141 {13–14}, 145 {2}.
 20. See 171 in the list by Goudarzi; the attribution to N. Kubra is questioned.
 21. 120 {6}, 128 {6–7}, 132 {18–19}, 134 {3–4}); the three latter collections, one of which is identified as *Risālatun naḥṣatun li-l-Shaykh Najm al-Dīn fī al-sulūki wa al-taṣawwufi* (Shaykh N.’s Precious Treatise on Comportment and Sufism, 128 {6–7}), are likely copies of Kubra’s *Ādāb al-ṣūfiyya* (Sufi Rules of Conduct).
 22. 108 {8}, 108 {8–9}, 108 {9–10}, 113 {15–16}, 138 {6–7}.
 23. 117 {19}–118 {1}, 120 {9–10}, 120 {19}–121 {1}, 124 {8–9}, 131 {2}, 140 {15}, 141 {11}, 145 {16–17}, 146 {5}, 120 {19}–121 {1}; these are not always well identified, making it difficult to distinguish them from one another.
 24. 121 {11–12}, 122 {3}, 122 {3–4}, 122 {4}, 122 {4–5}, 122 {5}, 122 {5–6}.
 25. Items 92, 93, and 94 in the list by Goudarzi.

26. The full text of the *Futūḥāt*, or parts thereof, are identified in twelve entries: 106 {14–15}, 106 {15–16}, 106 {16–17}, 106 {17–18}, 106 {19}–107 {1}, 107 {1–3}, 107 {3–4}, 107 {5–6}, 107 {6–7}, 130 {18–19}, 139 {11}, 149 {4–5}; for *Fuṣūṣ*, see 109 {1–2}, 109 {5}, 121 {2–3}, 142 {13}, including one summary.
27. Nuṣūṣ: 109 {6–7}, 109 {9–10}, 125 {18}, 126 {14–15}, 142 {6–7}, and *Miftāḥ al-ghayb*: 110 {5–6}, 139 {17–18} (with commentary by Fenari), 142 {5–6}.
28. For Fenari's text, see 110 {10–11}, 139 {17–18}; for that of Kutbuddinade, see 110 {6–7}, 11 {14–15}, 110 {15–16}.
29. For copies of *Lama'at*, see 114 {18}, 123 {18–19}, 127 {2}, 130 {7}, 130 {12}, 134 {4–5}, 137 {10–11}, 143 {7}; and three copies in the list by Kim.
30. 118 {16–17}, 118 {19}–119 {1}, 124 {10–11}?, 130 {19}?, 140 {10}; and 118 {14–15}, 131 {7–8}, respectively.
31. 109 {2–3}, 109 {18–19}, and 109 {16}, 119 {9–10} (only introduction), respectively.
32. 'Atufi does not record the name of the author; perhaps al-Jili was not well known in Ottoman lands at the time.
33. 109 {12}, 120 {16}, 122 {6–7}, 125 {4}, 128 {1–2}, 128 {3–4}, 130 {16}, 131 {5–6}, 143 {18}.
34. 119 {11–12}, 131 {14}, 134 {5–6}, 135 {9}; also see list by Kim.
35. 109 {11}, 109 {11–12}, 111 {12–13}, 111 {13–14}, 111 {14–15}, 111 {16}, 111 {17}, 111 {18–19}, 111 {19}–112 {1}, 112 {1–2}, 112 {2–3}, 112 {9–10}, 117 {7–8}, 119 {8–9}, 120 {15–16}, 126 {8–10}, 133 {9–10}, 136 {2}, 137 {7–8}, 143 {19}–144 {1}.
36. Items 60 and 59, respectively, in the list by Kim.
37. Items 140–43 in the list by Kim.
38. Item 139 in the list by Kim.
39. Item 348 in the list by Kim. Shams's sayings are here titled *Mujalladun min kalāmin fārisiyyin marqūmun bi-annahū min kalimāti Mawlānā Sh[amsi] Tabrīzī fī al-taṣawwufi*; this is the same work that is now known under the name *Maqālāt* (Sayings).
40. Items 71 and 72 in the list by Kim.
41. Item 280 in the list by Kim.
42. The first two may have been about the “eight—later eleven—principles” of the Naqshbandi path that were sometimes recorded in the form of Baha al-Din's conversations.
43. Taşköprülüzade, *Eş-şekā'īku'n-nu'māniyye fī ulemā'i'd-Devleti'l-'Osmāniyye*, ed. A. Subhi Furat (Istanbul, 1985), 262. Hamid Algar, who uses a different edition of the text, correctly underlines the uncertainty in the biographer's account, as one of the key sentences starts with *'azunnu*, but this only concerns the whereabouts of *al-Durra* at the “now” (*al-'ān*) of the conversation between Taşköprülüzade and Muhyiddin Fenari. The previous sentence asserts: “that *risāla* remained with my father,” referring to the moment of Mehmed II's demise. Algar's speculation that 'Alī Fenari turned the work over to his son and that “it may have passed into the possession of Bāyezīd II when he assumed the throne” is not convincing since Muhyiddin was an infant at the time of that sultan's accession. See p. 72 and note 33 in Algar, “Jāmī and the Ottomans,” in *Jāmī in Regional Contexts: The Reception of 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī's Works in the Islamicate World*, ca. 9th/15th–14th/20th Century, ed. Thibaut d'Hubert and Alexandre Papas (Leiden and Boston, 2019), 63–135. Jāmī's expanded version of this work is known and edited: *The Precious Pearl = al-Jāmī's al-Durrah al-fākhiraḥ: Together with His Glosses and the Commentary of 'Abd al-Ghāfir al-Lārī*, ed. and trans. Nicholas Heer (Albany, NY, 1979). The inventory contains two copies of another work with that title in the sections on epistolography and lexicography, respectively: *Kitāb mawsūm bi-al-durra al-fākhiraḥ fī al-amthāl al-sā'ira* (A Book Entitled “The Precious Pearl on Other Proverbs”), 220 {11–12} (see item 64 in list by Markiewicz) and 294 {17–18}).
44. For a biography of 'Abdullah-i İlahi, a survey of his works, and the texts of his works in Turkish, see Abdürrezzak Tek, *Nakşiliğin Osmanlı Topraklarına Gelişi: Molla Abdullah İlahi* (Bursa, 2012). Could *Risālatu araḍiyyati* be a mistaken rendering of his *Risālatu aḥadiyyati*, known to have been written in Persian? On Ahmed-i İlahi, see A. Tek, “Tekkeler Kapatılmadan Önce Nakşiliğin Bursa'daki Tarihi Süreci,” *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 16 (2007): 211–40. One of the manuscripts in the palace library (TSMK, R. 474), the relevant commentary by Ahmed-i İlahi, is clearly the copy 'Atufi handled, judging by the presence of the two seals of Bayezid II as well as the perfect match between the entry in the inventory and the title given both on page 1a of the ms. and the sticky label on the binding.
45. 117 {15–16}, 133 {12}, 134 {2–3}, 137 {8–9}.
46. Items 37 and 39 in the list of Turkish and Turkic *dīwāns* by Csirkés.
47. For copies of 'Attar's book, see 150 {14} in verse, 150 {15}, and four copies in Persian: 150 {17}, 150 {18}, 150 {19}–151 {1}, 151 {1}. Jāmī's work is on 150 {15–16}, 150 {18–19}. The contiguity of these manuscripts in our list cannot be coincidental.
48. GAL, 1:434.
49. The full entry (227 {15–17}) is given as follows: *~ Ḥadā'iqu al-ḥaqā'iqi fī 'ilmi al-'arūdi wa- ~ Anīsu al-'ushshāqi min qibali 'ilmi al-shi'ri wa- ~ Kitābu manāqibi al-Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn -quddisa sirruhu- wa-rasā'ilu ukhrā fī mujalladin wāḥidin*. Neither of the two known copies of *Ṣafvat as-Ṣafa* from the age of Bayezid II, both in the Süleymaniye Library (Ayasofya 2123 and Ayasofya 3099), fits this description. For more on those manuscripts, which do not appear in the inventory, see the introductory essay by Kafadar.
50. This hagiographic work by al-Kazaruni is now known as *Shifā al-askām*, and the copy that 'Atufi misidentified is the one at the Süleymaniye library (Ayasofya 3461). The presence of the order of Kazaruniyye in Bursa, and the legacy of Shaykh Abu Ishak Ibrahim b. Shahriyar Kazaruni (d. 1033) must have been known to 'Atufi and confused him. See Arberry, “The Biography of Shaikh Abu Ishaq al-Kazaruni,” *Oriens* 3 (1950): 163–82; and M. F. Köprülü, “Abū İshāk Kāzrūnī ve Anadolu'da İshāki Dervişleri,” *TTK Belleten* 33 (1969): 225–36.
51. 113 {11}, 113 {12}, 124 {2–3}, 127 {10–11}, 138 {18}, 139 {18–19}, 141 {19}–142 {1}, 143 {4}, 143 {13}, 146 {11–12}, 146 {18}, 147 {2}, 147 {12–13}.
52. Items 61, 77, and 161 in the list by Burak.

53. 50 {19} (see item 174 in the list by Burak); and another one on oneirocriticism: 302 {13}, 302 {14}.
54. Items 67, 69, and 137 in the list by Burak.
55. Item 43 in the list by Csirkés.
56. *Tabşıra* in six copies: 116 {11–12}, 116 {12}, 123 {13}, 125 {18–19}, 133 {1}, 148 {10–11}. For both of these texts and the question of attribution, see William Chittick, *Faith and Practice of Islam: Three Thirteenth Century Sufi Texts*, SUNY Series in Islam (Albany, NY, 1992). Mikail Bayram has argued that the *Tabşıra* is by Ahi Evren; see Bayram, *Ahi Evren: Tasavvufi Düşüncenin Esasları* (Ankara, 1995).
57. 269a=122 {11}, 376d=130 {12–13}, 387k=132 {7–8}, and 579g=146 {1}; the last one seems to be mistakenly attributed to Imam Ghazali.
58. “*esâsı ‘uşûl-i meşâyih-i hakîkat üzerine vurulupdur ve binâsı*

kavâ'id-i ehl-i tarikat üzerine konulupdur.” This is Sinan Paşa’s own description of his *Tazarru’nâme* in a later work of his: *Ma’ârifnâme*, ed. Mertol Tulum (Ankara, 2013), 64. His descent from the line of Nasreddin Hoca is questionable, but it was deemed credible already in the early sixteenth century, as attested in the collection of humorous tales by the learned and popular Sufi, Lami’i Çelebi (d. 1531). For discussions of the evidence, see Pertev Naili Boratav, “Nasreddin Hoca’nın Gerçek Kişiliğini Saptama Yolunda Girişilen Denemeler Üzerine,” in idem., *Nasreddin Hoca* (Istanbul, 1996), 17–20; and Mustafa Duman, *Nasreddin Hoca ve 1555 Fıkrası* (Istanbul, 2008), 38–43. Mustafa Said Yazıcıoğlu, in his *TDVİA* entry on “Hızır Bey,” Sinan Paşa’s father, simply asserts: “Information on his mother as the daughter of Nasreddin Hoca is dubious.”

LIST OF ENTRIES

CO-AUTHORED BY EDA ÖZEL

SECTION OF BOOKS ON SUFISM, BOOKS OF ADVICE AND COUNSEL, AND HAGIOGRAPHIES OF SHEIKHS AND SAINTS—MAY THEIR SECRETS BE SANCTIFIED—AND ON THE SCIENCE OF ETHICS

(*Taḥṣīl kutubi al-taṣawwufi wa-kutubi al-naṣā'ihī wa-al-mawā'izi wa-kutubi al-manāqibī al-mashāyikhī wa-al-awliyā'i -quddisa sirruhum- wa-kutubi 'ilmi al-akhlāqī*)

Notes for the readers:

1. When authorship could not be ascertained, titles are given in quotation marks.
2. Generic titles, such as *Risālatun fī al-taṣawwufi*, are not designated “same as” if they can be attributed to several different authors.

1. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu ihyā' 'ulūmi al-dīni fī al-taṣawwufi* (Revival of Religious Sciences), 105 {17}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1448 (Karatay: A 4713) (seal of Bayezid II); Süleymaniye Fatih 2552 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITIONS: *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, ed. 'Abd Allāh al-Khālīdī, 5 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Arqam, 1998); *Revival of Religion's Sciences*, trans. Mohammad Mahdi al-Sharif, 4 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 2011).
2. Same as above, 105 {18}.
3. Same as above, 105 {18–19}.
4. Same as above, 105 {19}–106 {1}.
5. Same as above [summary edition, also known as *Talkhīṣi al-ihyā' fī al-taṣawwufi*], 106 {1–2}.
6. Same as above, 106 {2–3}.
7. Same as above [selections], 106 {4}.
8. Same as above [volume one (of two) until the fifth book of the third quarter: *Rub' al-muhlikātī* (The Ways to Perdition)], 106 {4–5}.
9. Same as above [volume two (of two)], 106 {6}.
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12. Same as above [chapter on *waṣāyā*], given as *Kitābu al-waṣāyā fī al-taṣawwufi* (Book of Counsel), 106 {16–17}. EDITION: *Al-waṣāyā* (Damascus: Dār al-Imān, 1988).
13. Same as above [from the 363rd chapter until the end of the book], 106 {17–18}.
14. Same as above [from the 392nd chapter until the end of the book], 106 {19}–107 {1}.
15. Same as above [from the 62nd chapter until the end of the 269th chapter], 107 {1–3}.
16. Same as above [from the 270th chapter until the end of the 362nd chapter], 107 {3–4}.
17. Same as above [from the 497th chapter until the end of the book], 107 {5–6}.
18. Same as above (except with the note *min qibali al-taṣawwufi* instead of *fī al-taṣawwufi*) [from the 560th chapter until the end of the book], 107 {6–7}.
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20. Same as above, Persian, 107 {15}.
 21. Same as above, Persian, 107 {16}.
 22. Same as above, Persian, 107 {16–17}.
 23. Same as above, Persian, 107 {17–18}.
 24. Same as above, Persian, 107 {18–19}.
 25. Same as above, Persian, 107 {19}.
 26. Same as above [in two volumes], Persian, 108 {1}.
 27. Same as above, Persian, 108 {2}.
 28. Same as above, Persian, 108 {2–3}.
 29. Same as above (except no note of *bi-al-fārisiyyati*), 108 {3–4}.
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 32. Same as above, Persian, 108 {9–10}.
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 34. Same as above, 108 {11}.
 35. "*Kitābun fārisiyyun 'alā 'asharati abwābin fī al-taṣawwufi*" (Persian Book in Ten Chapters on Sufism), 108 {11–12}.
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40. Same as 39a, in translation with the title *Kitābu tarjamati 'Awārifi al-ma'ārifi fi al-taṣawwufi*, Persian, 108 {16–17}.
 41. Same as above, 108 {17–18}.
 42. Same as above, 108 {18}.
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 - 49b. Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Qunawī (d. 1274). *Kitābu al-fukūki fi sharḥi al-Fuṣūṣi fi al-taṣawwufi* (The Book of Solutions in Commenting on [Ibn al-'Arabī's] *al-Fuṣūṣ*), 109 {5–6}. EDITIONS: *Kitāb al-fukūk*, ed. Muḥammad Khvājavi (Tehran: Intisharat-i Mawlā, 1992–93); also printed on the margin of Qāshānī, *Sharḥ manāzil al-sā'irīn* (Tehran, 1315/1897–98).
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 51. "*Kitābu sharḥi al-Nuṣūṣi fi al-taṣawwufi*" (Commentary on al-Qunawī's *Nuṣūṣ*), Persian, 109 {8–9}.
 52. Same as 49c, 109 {9–10}.
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57. Same as above (?), 109 {16–17}.
58. Same as above (?), 109 {17–18}.
59. Same as 46, 109 {18–19}.
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61. Same as above (?), 110 {1}.
62. “*Kitābu sharḥi Kitābi nuṣūṣi fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Commentary on al-Qunawī’s *Nuṣūṣ*), 110 {1–2}.
63. Same as 33, 110 {2–3}.
64. “*Kitābu waṣāyā Amūr al-Mu’minīn ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib li-ibnihī Muḥammad bin al-Ḥanafīyya min qibali al-naṣīḥati*” (Counsels of the Commander of the Faithful ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib for His Son Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyya), 110 {3–4}.
65. Same as 39a, 110 {4–5}.
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71. Same as 67, 110 {14–15}.
72. Same as above, 110 {15–16}.
73. "Kitābu sharḥi Miftāḥi al-ghaybi fī al-taṣawwufi" (Commentary on al-Qunawī's *Miftāḥ al-ghayb*), 110 {16–17}.
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80. Same as 78, 111 {4}.
81. Same as above, 111 {5}.
82. Abū al-Faraj Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1201). *Kitābu talbīsī Iblīs min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (The Devil's Delusion), 111 {5–6}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Esad Efendi 1641 (seal ?). EDITIONS: *Talbīs Iblīs*, ed. Khayr al-Dīn 'Alī (Beirut: Dār al-Wa'ī al-'Arabī, 1970); "The Devil's Delusion," trans. D. S. Margoliouth, *Islamic Culture* 9 (1935): 1–21, 187–308, 377–99, 533–77; 10 (1936): 20–39, 169–92, 339–68, 633–47; 11 (1937): 267–73, 382–92, 529–33; 12 (1938): 109–18, 235–40, 352–64, 447–58; 19 (1945): 69–81, 171–88, 272–89, 376–83; 20 (1946): 58–71, 181–90, 297–310, 408–22; 21 (1947): 73–79, 174–83, 394–402; 22 (1948): 188–91.
83. "*Kitābun fārisīyyun fīhi as'ilatun muta'alliqatun bi-al-Qur'āni min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (A Persian Treatise Containing Questions about the Qur'an), Persian, 111 {6–7}.
84. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. 'Alī al-Gilānī al-Lāhijī (d. 1506). *Kitābu mafātīhi al-i'jāzi fī sharḥi Gulshan-i rāz fī al-taṣawwufi* (Keys of Wonder in the Commentary on *Gulshan-i rāz*), Persian, 111 {7–8}. EDITION: *Mafātīh al-i'jāz fī sharḥ Gulshan-i rāz*, ed. Muḥammad Riḍā Barzgar Khāliqī and 'Iffat Karbāsī (Tehran: Zavvār, 1992).
85. Mollā Aḥmad Ilāhī (d. after 1475). *Kitābu sharḥi Gulshan-i rāz al-mawsūmu bi-Shaqā'iqi al-haqā'iqi fī al-taṣawwufi* (Commentary on *Gulshan-i rāz*, Titled *Tulips of Truths*), Persian, 111 {8–9}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, R. 474 (Karatay: F 52) (seal of Bayezid II).
86. Same as 76a [volume two (of two)], 111 {9–10}.
87. Māwardī, 'Alī ibn Muḥammad (d. 1058). *Kitābu adabi al-dīni wa-al-dunyā min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Refinement of Religion and the World), 111 {10–11}. EDITION: *Ādāb al-dunyā wa-al-dīn*, ed. 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad Abū Zayna (Cairo: Mu'assasat Dār al-Sha'b li-al-Ṣiḥāfa wa-al-Ṭibā'a wa-al-Nashr, 1979).
88. Same as 33, 111 {11}.
89. "*Kitābu manāqibi al-Shaykh al-Kāzarūnī min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (Hagiography of *Shaykh Kāzarūnī*), 111 {12}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 3461 (seal of Bayezid II).
90. "*Kitābun fī sharḥi qaṣīdati Ibn al-Fāriḍ fī al-taṣawwufi*" (Commentary on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Poem), 111 {12–13}.
91. Same as above (?) [summary], Persian. 111 {13–14}.
92. Same as above (?), Persian, 111 {14–15}.
93. Idrīs b. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Bidlīsī (d. 1520). *Kitābu sharḥi qaṣīdatin khamriyyatin li-Ibn al-Fāriḍ fī al-taṣawwufi* (Commentary on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Wine Poem), Persian, 111 {16}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4092, fols. 1a–82a, (produced in "*ṣūfiya al-Rūm*," seal of Bayezid II).
94. Same as 90 (?), Persian, 111 {17}.
95. Kātībī Turshīzī (d. 1435). *Kitābu majma'i al-baḥrayni fī al-taṣawwufi* (Confluence of the Two Seas), Persian, 111 {18}.
96. Same as 90, 111 {18–19}.
97. Same as 90, 111 {19}–112 {1}.
98. Same as 90 (?), Persian, 112 {1–2}.
99. Same as 90, 112 {2–3}.
100. "*Kitābu junūni al-majānīni min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (The Madness of Madmen), Persian, 112 {3}.

101. “*Kitābun fī taṣḥīḥi dīwāni Ibn al-Fāriḍ fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Book of Corrections for the Collection of Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s Poetry), 112 {3–4}. For this item, see the list of entries of Qutbuddin in this volume: “An annotation above the first listing says this work is the *Dīwān* (Collection of Poetry) itself, and that the misleading title of ‘Corrections,’ though well known, is erroneous.”
102. “*Kitābun murattabun ‘alā khamsati abwābin fī al-taṣawwufi*” (A Book Organized into Five Chapters on Sufism), Persian, 112 {4–5}.
103. Sa‘īd al-Dīn Abū ‘Uthmān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Kāsānī al-Farghānī (d. 1300). *Kitābu manāhijī al-‘ibādī ilā ma‘ādi min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (The Paths of Godservants from Origin to Return), Persian, 112 {5–6}. EDITIONS: “Manāhij al-‘ibād ilā-l-ma‘ād” in *Durrat al-tāj li-ghurrat al-dabāj*, ed. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (Tehran, 1912); *Manāhij al-‘ibād ilā al-ma‘ād: mukhtaṣar fiqh bar chahār mazhab bizabān-i Fārsī*, ed. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Ḥamīd Allāh al-Dahlawī (Istanbul: Hakikat Kitabevi, 1994).
104. Same as 100, Persian, 112 {6–7}.
105. ‘Afīf al-Dīn Sulaymān b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn al-Kūmī al-Tilimsānī (d. 1291). *Kitābu sharḥi al-Mawāqifi fī al-taṣawwufi* (Commentary on al-Niffārī’s *Mawāqif*), 112 {7–8}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1936 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Sharḥ Mawāqif al-Niffārī*, ed. Jamāl al-Marzūqī (Cairo: Markaz al-Maḥrūsah, 1997).
106. Same as above, 112 {8}.
107. Abū Mu‘īn Nāṣir-i Khusraw b. Ḥārith al-Qubādhiyānī (d. after 1073). *Kitābu khwāni al-ikhwāni min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (A Banquet for the Brethren), Persian, 112 {8–9}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye Ayasofya 1778–001 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITIONS: *Khvān al-ikhvān*, ed. Yahyā al-Khashāb (Cairo, 1959); *Kitāb-i khvān al-ikhvān*, ed. ‘Alī Qawīm (Tehran, 1959); *Dostlar Sofrası*, ed. Mehmet Kanar (Istanbul, 1995).
108. Same as 90, 112 {9–10}.
109. Nāṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 1274). *Kitābu akhlāq-i Nāṣirī min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (The Nasirean Ethics), Persian, 112 {10–11}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, R. 395 (Karatay: F 208) (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Muḥtabā Mīnuvī (Tehran: Khavārazmi, 1982).
110. Same as above, 112 {11}.
111. Same as above, 112 {12}.
112. Same as above, 112 {12–13}.
113. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu minhājī al-‘ābidīna fī al-taṣawwufi* (Methodology for the Worshipers), 112 {13}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2116 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn*, ed. Khālīd Aḥmad Ḥasanayn ‘Alī Ḥarbī (Alexandria: Dār al-Wafā’ li-Dunyā al-Ṭibā‘ah wa-al-Nashr, 2007).
114. Same as above, with slight variation in title, 112 {14}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2114 (seal of Bayezid II).
115. Abū Sa‘īd Majd al-Dīn Sharaf b. Mu‘ayyad b. Abī al-Faṭḥ al-Baghdādī (d. 1219). *Kitābu tuḥfati al-bararati fī aḥwibati al-as‘ilati al-‘asharati fī al-taṣawwufi* (Reverent Gift in Answer to Ten Questions), 112 {14–15}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1695, 1697 (seal ?). EDITION: *Tuḥfat al-Bararah fī Masā’il al-‘Asharah*, ed. Ḥusayn Ḥaydar Khānī Mushtāq ‘Alī and trans. Muḥammad Bāqir Sā‘idī Khurāsānī (Tehran: Marvī, 1989).
116. Ibn al-‘Arabī. *Kitābu muḥāḍarati al-abrārī wa-musāmarati al-akhyārī [wa-huwa al-ma‘rūfu bi-al-Musāmarati] min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Presentations of the Pious and Conversations of the Devout), 112 {15–16}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2415 (Karatay: A 8291) (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Muḥāḍarat al-abrār wa-musāmarat al-akhyār*, ed. Muḥammad Mursī al-Khulī (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-Jadīd, 1972).

117. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1665 (seal ?).
- 117a. “*Kitābun fi al-mawā’izi ismuhū Inkāru al-ma’ārifī*” (Book of Sermons, Titled *Rejection of Gnosis*), 112 {17}.
- 117b. “*Kitābu al-qalā’idi wa-al-farā’idi fi al-naṣā’ihi min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Necklaces and Pearls), 112 {17–18}.
118. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2106 (seal ?).
- 118a. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu al-munqidhi min al-dalālī* (Deliverance from Error), 112 {18–19}. EDITIONS: *al-Munqid min al-dālāl wa-al-muwaṣṣil ilā dhī al-‘izzah wa-al-jalāl / Erreur et délivrance*, ed. and trans. Farīd Jabr (Beirut: al-Lajnah al-Duwalīyah li-Tarjamat al-Rawā’i 1959); *Deliverance from Error*, trans. R. J. McCarthy (Louisville, KY: Fons Vitae, 1980).
- 118b. Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ismā’īl b. ‘Othmān Mollā Gūrānī (d. 1488). *Kitābu rayḥāni al-qulūbi fi al-taṣawwufi* (Sweet Basil of the Hearts), 112 {19}–113 {1}.
119. Same as 109, 113 {1}.
120. “*Kitābun fi al-taṣawwufi*” (Book on Sufism), Persian, 113 {2}.
121. Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī (d. 1108). *Kitābu al-dharī’ati ilā makārimi al-sharī’ati fi al-taṣawwufi* (Means to the Noble Qualities of the Sharī’a), 113 {2–3}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1417 (Karatay: A 5035) (dedication to Mehmed II, seal of Bayezid II). EDITIONS: *Kitāb al-Dharī’ah ilā Makārim al-Sharī’ah*, ed. Abū al-Yazīd Abū Zayd al-‘Ajāmī (Cairo: Dar al-Salam, 2007); *The Path to Virtue: The Ethical Philosophy of al-Raghib al-Isfahani. An Annotated Translation, with Critical Introduction, of Kitāb al-Dharī’ah ilā Makārim al-Sharī’ah*, trans. Yasien Mohamed (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 2006).
122. ‘Abd al-Razzāq Kamāl al-Dīn b. Abū al-Ghanā’im al-Qāshānī (d. 1329–35). *Kitābu sharḥi Manāzili al-sā’irīna fi al-taṣawwufi* (Commentary on al-Anṣārī al-Harawī’s *Manāzil al-Sā’irīn*), 113 {3}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1935 (seal of Bayezid II).
123. Multi-text volume.
- 123a. Same as 54, 113 {4}.
- 123b. Dāwud b. Maḥmūd al-Qayṣarī (d. 1350). *Kitābu al-muqaddimati min Sharḥi Naẓmi al-durri fi al-taṣawwufi* (Introduction from the Commentary on [Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s] *Naẓmi al-durr*), 113 {4–5}.
124. Same as 87, 113 {5–6}.
125. “*Kitābu Qāḍī al-Qirim (Kırım) fi ‘ilmi al-akhlāqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (The Book of the Judge of Crimea on the Science of Ethics), 113 {6–7}.
126. Ḥakīm Abū al-Ma’ālī ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr al-Miyānaji ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt al-Hamadānī (d. 1131). *Kitābun ismuhū al-Zubdatu min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (The Essence [of Truths]), Persian, 113 {7–8}. EDITION: *Zubdat al-ḥaqā’iq*, ed. ‘Afif ‘Usayrān (Tehran: Maṭba‘at Jāmi‘at Tīhrān, 1961).
127. “*Kitābu ṭabaqāti al-mashāyikhi -quddisa sirruhum- min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Generations of Shaykhs), Persian, 113 {8–9}.
128. “*Kitābun fi bayāni sulūki ṭarīqi al-dīni fi al-taṣawwufi*” (A Book on Wayfaring on the Path of Religion), Persian, 113 {9–10}.
129. Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan al-Khwārizmī al-Kubrawī al-Dhahabī (?) (d. 1433–36). *Kitābu naṣiḥatnāmah-i shāhī fi al-taṣawwufi* (Royal Book of Counsel), Persian, 113 {10–11}.
130. Multi-text volume.
- 130a. “*Kitābu jawāhiri nufūsi al-‘arīfīna fi al-taṣawwufi*” (Jewels from the Souls of the Saints), Turkish, 113 {11}.
- 130b. “*Kitābu aṭwāri al-qalbi fi al-taṣawwufi*” (States of the Heart), Turkish, 113 {12}.

131. ‘Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī (d. after 1282). *Kitābu kashfī al-ḥaqā’iqī fī al-taṣawwufī* (Unveiling of Truths), Persian, 113 {12–13}.
132. Ibn al-‘Arabī. *Kitābu mawāqī‘i al-nujūmi fī al-taṣawwufī* (The Twilight of the Stars), Arabic, 113 {13–14}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2119 (seal of Bayezid II); Ayasofya 2120 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Mawāqī‘ al-Nujūm wa-Maṭālī‘ Ahillat al-Asrār wa-al-‘ulūm*, ed. Muḥsin Qāsim al-Ṭihirānī (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Nūr lil-Maṭbū‘āt, 2005).
133. Same as 113, with slight variation in title, 113 {14–15}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2115 (seal of Bayezid II).
134. Same as 30, Persian, 113 {15–16}.
135. Same as 132, 113 {16–17}.
136. “*Majmū‘atun mushtamilatun ‘alā anwā‘i min al-manẓūmi wa-al-manthūri min qibali al-taṣawwufī*” (Compendium Comprising a Variety of Verse and Prose Works on Sufism), 113 {17–18}.
137. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu yawāqūti al-‘ulūmi fī anwā‘i al-‘ulūmi min qibali al-taṣawwufī* (Rubies of Sciences on a Variety of Sciences), Persian, 113 {18–19}.
138. Same as above, Persian, 113 {19}–114 {1}.
139. Same as 109, 114 {1–2}.
140. Abū ‘Abd Allāh Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. As‘ad b. Muḥammad al-Dawwānī al-Ṣiddīqī (d. 1502). *Kitābu makārimi al-akhlāqi min qibali al-taṣawwufī* (Ethical Virtues), Persian, 114 {2}.
141. Same as above, Persian, 114 {3}.
142. Same as above, Persian, 114 {3–4}.
143. Same as above, Persian, 114 {4–5}.
144. Same as above, Persian, 114 {5–6}.
145. Same as above, Persian, 114 {6–7}.
146. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2117 (seal of Bayezid II).
- 146a. Same as 113 [summary], 114 {7}.
- 146b. Shaykh Abū al-Jannāb Aḥmad b. ‘Umar Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (d. 1221). *Kitābu fawātiḥi al-jamālī fī ṭarīqi al-taṣawwufī* (Openings of Beauty [Full title: *Fawā’ih al-jamāl wa fawātiḥ al-jalāl* / Scents of Beauty and Signs of Majesty]), 114 {8}. EDITION: *Fawā’ih al-Jamāl wa-Fawātiḥ al-Jalāl*, ed. Yūsuf Zaydān (Kuwayt: Dār Su‘ād Ṣabāḥ, 1993).
- 146c. Shaykh Abū al-Jannāb Aḥmad b. ‘Umar Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (d. 1221). *Risālatu al-hā’imi al-khā’iqi* [read: *al-khā’ifi*] *min lawmati al-lā’imi min qibali al-taṣawwufī* (Epistle for the Perplexed and Fearful of the Blamers’ Reproach), 114 {8–9}. EDITION: *Risālah-‘i ilā al-Hā’im al-Khā’if min Lawmat al-Lā’im*, ed. Tawfiq Subḥānī (Tehran: Sāzmān-i Intishārāt-i Kayhān, 1985).
- 146d. “*Rasā’ilu ukhrā*” (Other Treatises), 114 {9}.
147. Abu al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Daylamī (?) (d. 1311–12), *Kitābu sīratnāma li-l-Shaykh al-Kabūr min qibali al-taṣawwufī* (Biography of the Great Shaykh [Ibn Hafif (?) (d. 982)]), 114 {10}. EDITION: *Ibn Hafif: Sīrat-i Abū ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Hafīfaṣ-Ṣirāzi*, ed. Anne-Marie Schimmel (Ankara, 1955).
148. Muḥammad b. Ghāzī al-Malaṭī (d. first quarter of 13th c.), *Kitābu barīdi al-sa‘ādati fī sharḥi Kalīmāti al-naṣā’ihī min qibali al-taṣawwufī* (Harbinger of Happiness, Commentary on *Kalīmāti al-naṣā’ih*), Persian, 114 {10–11}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1682 (seal ?). EDITION: *Barīd al-Sa‘āda*, ed. Muḥammad Shīrwānī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tihirān, 1972).

149. Abū al-Barakāt Nūr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Aḥmad al-Jāmī (d. 1492). *Kitābu ashi‘ati al-lama‘ati fi sharḥi Lama‘at-i ‘Irāqī fi al-taṣawwufi* (Gleams of the Flashes, Commentary on *Lama‘at* of Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Irāqī), 114 {11–13}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1772 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Ashi‘at al-Lama‘at*, ed. Hādī Rastgār Muqaddam Gūharī (Qom: Būstān-i Kitāb-i Qum, 2004).
150. “*Kitābu farā‘idi al-sulūki fi al-naṣā’iḥi min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Pearls on Wayfaring), 114 {13}.
151. Same as 87, 114 {14}.
152. Al-Qāshānī. *Kitābu mir‘āti al-nāzirīna fi sharḥi Manāzil al-sā’irīna fi al-taṣawwufi* (Mirror for Observers, Commentary on [al-Anṣārī al-Harawī’s] *Manāzil al-Sā’irīn*), 114 {14–15}. Same as 122 (?).
153. “*Kitābu al-intizā‘ati min āyi al-Qur’āni al-‘aẓīmi li-naṣā’iḥi al-nāsi min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Gleanings of Qur’anic verses), 114 {15–16}.
154. “*Kitābu tarjamati kitābi al-Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī fi al-taṣawwufi*” (Translation of a Book of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī), Persian, 114 {16–17}.
155. Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Irāqī (d. 1289). *Kitābu al-lama‘ati fi al-taṣawwufi* (Divine Flashes), Persian, 114 {18}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 2032 (seal ?); Ayasofya 1456 (seal ?). EDITION: *Lama‘at*, ed. Muḥammad Khwājavi (Tehran: Mawla, 1992).
156. “*Kitābun fi umūrīn dīniyyatin bi-āyāti al-Qur’āni al-‘aẓīmi min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Book on Religious Matters in Qur’anic Verses), Persian, 114 {18–19}.
157. Same as 54, 114 {19}–115 {1}.
158. Abū Zakariyyā Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī (d. 1277). *Kitābun fi al-adhkārī wa-al-da‘wātī ismuhū Ḥilyatu al-abrārī min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Book on Prayers and Remembrances, Called *Depiction of the Righteous*), 115 {1–2}. MANUSCRIPTS: At least eight copies in TSMK with a date prior to the preparation of the inventory. EDITION: *Ḥilyat al-abrār wa-shi‘ār al-akhyār fi talkhīṣ al-da‘awāt wa-al-adhkār al-mustaḥabba fi al-layl wa-al-nahār, al-ma‘rūf bi-al-Adhkār al-Nawawīyya*, ed. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Arnā’ūt (Damascus: Dār al-Mallāḥ, 1971).
159. Shukr Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Zayn al-Dīn Shukr Allāh al-Amāsī (d. 1489). *Kitābu manḥajī al-rashādi min qibali al-fiqhi wa-al-taṣawwufi* (Path of Integrity), 115 {2–3}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2112 (seal of Bayezid II).
160. “*Kitābu ‘ahdi Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib -karrama Allāhu wajhahū- ilā Mālīk bin al-Ashtar fi al-naṣīḥati min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Letter of the Commander of the Faithful ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib to Mālīk bin al-Ashtar), 115 {3–5}.
161. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2019 (seal ?).
- 161a. Sitt al-‘Ajam bint al-Nafīs b. Abī al-Qāsim al-Baghdādiya (d. 1448). *Kitābu kashfi al-kunūzi li-l-mar‘ati al-sayyidati al-‘ālimati al-rabbāniyyati fi al-taṣawwufi* (Discovering the Treasure, by the Noble [sayyida] Learned Holy Lady), 115 {5–6}.
- 161b. Sitt al-‘Ajam bint al-Nafīs b. Abī al-Qāsim al-Baghdādiya (d. 1448). *Kitābu sharḥi al-Mashāhidi al-qudsiyyati allatī li-l-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-‘Arabī li-tilka al-mar‘ati al-‘ālimati ayḍan fi al-taṣawwufi* (Commentary on *al-Mashāhidi al-qudsiyya* of Ibn al-‘Arabī, by that Learned Lady), 115 {6–7}. EDITION: *Sharḥ Mashāhid al-asrār al-Qudsīyah wa-maṭālī‘ al-anwār al-Ilāhiyah li-l-Shaykh al-Akbar Ibn ‘Arabī*, ed. Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyah, 2006).
162. “*Kitābu maqāmāti al-shaykhi al-ma‘rūfi bi-Naqshband-ṭāba tharāhu- min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Book of Stations of the Shaykh Known as Naqshband [Amīr Kulāl ?]), 115 {8}.
163. “*Kitābu al-dā‘irati al-muḥammadiyyati fi al-taṣawwufi*” (Muhammadan Circle), 115 {9}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1781 (seal ?).

164. “*Kitābu ḥalli al-rumūzi fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Explanation of Symbols), 115 {9–10}.
165. Ibn al-‘Arabi (?) “*Kitābu al-tajallī al-manẓūmi min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Manifestation, in Verse), 115 {10}.
166. Abū al-Majd Ḥakīm Majdūd b. Ādam Sanā’ī al-Ghaznawī (d. 1131). *Kitābu sayri al-‘ibādi ilā al-ma‘ādi min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Journey of the Faithful to the Place of Return), 115 {10–11} [two more copies on 242 {4, 7–8}; see list by Kim]. EDITIONS: *Sayr al-‘Ibād ilā al-Ma‘ād*, ed. Maryam al-Sādāt Ranjbar (Isfahan: Mānī, 1999); David Pendlebury, ed., abr., and trans., “The Way of the Seeker,” in *Four Sufi Classics*, ed. I. Shah (London: Octagon Press, 1980), 161–83.
167. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Jilī (d. 1329). *Kitābu minhāji al-wuzarā’i fī al-naṣīḥati min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Way of Viziers), 115 {12}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2907 (seal of Bayezid II).
168. Yār ‘Alī b. Siyāwush al-Iṣfihānī al-Shirāzī. *Kitābu al-lamaḥāti fī sharḥi al-Lama‘āti fī al-taṣawwufi* (The Flashes of Light in Commenting on al-Iraqī’s *Lama‘āt*), Persian, 115 {12–13}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2031 (seal of Bayezid II).
169. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Esad Efendi 1309 (seal ?).
- 169a. ‘Alī b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥamad al-Badakhshānī (d. after 1450). *Kitābu akhlaṣi al-khālīṣati fī al-taṣawwufi* (Purest of the Pure), 115 {13–14}.
- 169b. “*Risālatun ukhrā fī al-naṣīḥati*” (Another Treatise), 115 {14}.
- 169c. “*Qaṣīdatun mustakhrajatun min Zabūri Dāwud -‘alayhi al-salāmu- min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Ode Extracted from the Psalms of David), 115 {14–15}.
170. “*Kitābu sharḥi al-ṣadri fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa-al-taṣawwufi*” (Book on “the Splitting Open of the Chest” [or heart, of the Prophet Muhammad]), 115 {15–16}.
171. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nasr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Adawī al-Shayzarī (d. 1193). *Kitābu al-nahji al-maslūki fī siyāsati al-mulūki min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (The Paved Way on the Governance of Kings), Arabic, 115 {16–17}. EDITION: *al-Manhaj al-Maslūk fī Siyāsāt al-Mulūk*, ed. ‘Alī ‘Abd Allāh al-Mūsā (Zarqā: Maktabat al-Manār, 1987).
172. “*Kitābu murshidi al-‘ibādi min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Guide of Godservants), 115 {17–18}.
173. Same as 132, 115 {18–19}.
174. Multi-text volume.
- 174a. Abū Ismā‘īl ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Anṣārī al-Harawī (d. 1089). *Kitābu zādi al-‘arifina min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Provisions of Gnostics), Persian, 115 {19}–116 {1}. EDITION: *Zād al-‘Ārifin*, ed. Murād Awrang (Tehran: Khānaqāh-i Ni‘mat Allāhī, 1974).
- 174b. “*Risālatun ukhrā min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Another Treatise), Persian, 116 {1}.
175. “*Kitābu maqṣadi al-sā’irina ilā Allāhi ta‘ālā fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Destination of Wayfarers to God), 116 {2}.
176. ‘Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī (d. after 1282). *Kitābu al-maqṣadi al-aqṣā fī al-taṣawwufi* (The Farthest Destination), 116 {3}.
177. “*Kitābu sirri al-asrāri fī naṣīḥati al-mulūki min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Secret of Secrets in Counseling Kings), 116 {3–4}.
178. “*Kitābu badri al-ahillati min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Full Moon of New Moons), 116 {4}.
179. Same as 121 (except with the note *min qibali al-taṣawwufi* instead of *fī al-taṣawwufi*), 116 {5}.
180. Ibn al-‘Arabī. *Kitābu al-dawā’iri wa-al-ashkālī fī al-taṣawwufi* (Book of Circles and Forms), 116 {5–6}.
181. “*Risālatun fī taḥqīqi madhāhibi al-ṣūfiyyati wa-al-mutakallimīna wa-al-ḥukamā’i min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (An Epistle Examining the Factions of Sufis, Theologians, and Philosophers), 116 {6–7}.

182. "*Risālatun fī al-ḥikmatī al-ʿamaliyyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (Treatise on Practical Philosophy), 116 {8} [another copy on 166 {4}; see list of Varlık].
183. "*Kitābu al-munāzarāti fī al-taṣawwufi*" (Disputation), 116 {8–9}.
184. Same as above, 116 {9}.
185. "*Mukhtaṣarun fī ʿilmi al-akhlāqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (Short Book on Ethics), 116 {9–10}.
186. Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʿmin b. Hibat Allāh al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1203). "*Kitābu aṭbāqi al-dhahabi fī al-naṣiḥati min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (Golden Trays), 116 {10–11}. EDITION: *Aṭbāq al-dhahab*, ed. Muḥammad Munīr ʿAbd al-Qādir (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Miṣr, 1907).
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188. Same as above, 116 {12}.
189. "*Kitābun fī al-taṣawwufi*" (Book on Sufism), 116 {13}.
190. Ibn al-ʿArabī. *Kitābu sharḥi Kitābi khalʿi al-naʿlayni min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Commentary on Ibn Qasī's *Khalʿ al-naʿlayn*), 116 {13–14}. EDITION: *Sharḥ kitāb Khalʿ al-naʿlayn lil-Shaykh al-Akbar Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʿArabī al-Ḥātimī*, ed. Muḥammad al-Amrānī (Marrakesh: Muʿassasat Āfāq lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Ittiṣāl, 2013).
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192. Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā b. Ḥusām al-Dīn [Hüsamzade] al-Bursawī (d. after 1488). *al-Risālatu al-dhawqiyyatu fī al-taṣawwufi* (A Treatise on Mystical Taste), 116 {15–16}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1474 (Karataş: F 66) (seal of Bayezid II).
193. Ibn al-ʿArabī (?). *al-Risālatu al-muntabihīyyatu fī sharḥi qawlihi ʿalayhi al-salāmu- al-nāsu niyāmun fa-idhā mātū intabahū min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (A Perceptive Treatise on the Saying "People Are Asleep and They Awake When They Die"), 116 {16–17}.
194. "*Risālatun fī sharḥi al-Insāni min qibali al-firāsati wa-al-taṣawwufi*" (A Treatise on Human Beings), 116 {17–18}.
195. "*Risālatu maqālāti ʿAlī-karrama Allāhu wajhahū fī al-naṣiḥati min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (Sayings of ʿAlī), 116 {18–19}.
196. Same as 183, 116 {19}.
197. Same as above, 117 {1}.
198. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī al-Bukhārī (d. 1437). *Kitābu fāḍiḥati al-mulḥidīna min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Exposing the Irreligious), 117 {1}.
199. "*Risālatu tuḥfati al-ʿaqli min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (Gift of the Intellect), 117 {2}.
200. "*Risālatun fī kayfiyyati al-sulūki fī al-taṣawwufi*" (Treatise on the Conditions of Wayfaring), Persian, 117 {2–3}.
201. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Risālatu al-ʿaqīdati al-qudsiyyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Divine Creed), 117 {3–4}.
202. "*Risālatu asrāri al-khiṭābi fī qawlihi taʿālā idhā qumtum ilā al-ṣalāti fa-[i]ghsilū wujūhakum al-āyata min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (On the Secrets of the Divine Word "When You Rise to Pray, Wash Your Faces"), 117 {4–6}.

203. Āq Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥamza (d. 1459). *al-Risālatu al-nūriyyatu fī sharḥi Risālati al-asrārī al-nāriyyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Luminous Treatise in Commenting on Fiery Secrets), Arabic, 117 {6–7}. MANUSCRIPT: Ayasofya 4092, fols. 84a–148b (seal of Bayezid II).
204. Same as 53c, 117 {7–8}.
205. “*Risālatun ‘ajibatun fī ‘ajā’ibi al-qulūbi fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Wondrous Treatise on the Wonders of the Hearts), 117 {8}.
206. “*Kitābu sharḥi dibājati mathnawī min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Commentary on the Exordium of [Rumī’s] *Mathnavī*), 117 {9}.
207. “*Kitābu zaḡri al-naḡsi al-mansūbu ilā Hurmus min qibali ‘ilmi al-akhlāqī wa-al-taṣawwufi*” (Restraining the Lower Soul, Attributed to Hermes), 117 {9–10}.
208. Sa’d al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Amīn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Yaḥyā Shabistarī (d. 1317). *Kitābu ḥaqqi al-yaqīni min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (True Certainty), Persian, 117 {11}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1473 (Karatay: F 53) (seal of Bayezid II).
209. Ibn al-‘Arabī. *Kitābu inshā’i al-dawā’iri min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (The Book of the Description of the Encompassing Circles), 117 {11–12}. EDITIONS: “*Inshā’ al-dawā’ir*,” in *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-‘Arabī*, ed. Henrik S. Nyberg (Leiden: Brill, 1919), 3–38; “The Book of the Description of the Encompassing Circles,” trans. Paul Fenton and Maurice Gloton, in *Muhyiddin Ibn ‘Arabī: A Commemorative Volume*, ed. S. Hirtenstein and M. Tiernan (Shaftesbury, Dorset: Element, 1993), 12–43.
210. Multi-text volume.
- 210a. Abū al-Ḥasan Sayyid Sharīf A’lī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Jurjānī (d. 1413). *Risālatun li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (A Treatise of Sayyid Sharīf), Persian, 117 {13}.
- 210b. Al-Jurjānī. *Risālatun ukhrā lahū ayḍan min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Another Treatise of Sayyid Sharīf), 117 {13–14}.
211. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2155 (seal of Bayezid II).
- 211a. “*Risālatu silsilati al-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn al-Khwāfi* (Khwāfi)” (Lineage of Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn al-Khwāfi), 117 {14–15}.
- 211b. Shaykh Abū Bakr Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khwāfi Muḥammad al-Khwāfi (d. 1435). *Kitābu al-waṣāyā min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Book of Counsel), 117 {15–16}.
212. Al-Shaykh Abī al-Naṣr Aḥmad bin Abī al-Ḥasan al-Nāmiqī (?). *Risālatun fī al-taṣawwufi* (Treatise on Sufism), Persian, 117 {16–18}.
213. Āq Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥamza (d. 1459). *Risālatu fī al-taṣawwufi* (Treatise on Sufism), 117 {18–19}.
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216. Majd al-Dīn Abū al-Futūḥ Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 1126). *Risālatu al-tajridi [fī kalimati al-tawḥīdi] fī al-taṣawwufi* (Commentary [on the Profession of God’s Unity]), 118 {1–2}. EDITIONS: *al-Tajrid fī kalimat al-tawḥīd*, ed. Aḥmad Mujāhid (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tihrān, 2005–6); *Der reine Gottesglaube: das Wort des Einheitsbekenntnisses: Aḥmad al-Ghazzalis Schrift At-Taḡrid fī kalimat at-tawḥīd*, trans. Richard Gramlich (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1983).

217. “*Kitābu qurrati al-‘ayni min qibali al-naṣiḥati wa-al-taṣawwufi*” (Pleasure for the Eye), Persian, 118 {2–3}.
218. “*Kitābu tarjamati kalimāti al-Shaykh al-Barrāqi (Barāk) -ṭāba tharāhu- min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Commentary on the Utterances of Shaykh Baraq), 118 {3–4}. EDITION: Turkish translation in Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre ve tasavvuf* (Istanbul, 1961), 255–79 (with original Persian in facsimile, 455–72).
219. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1979 (seal ?).
- 219a. Abū al-Faṭḥ Jalāl al-Dīn Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓī al-Bukhārī (d. 1420). *al-Risālatu al-qudsiyyatu* (Sacred Treatise), 118 {4}.
- 219b. Abū al-Faṭḥ Jalāl al-Dīn Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓī al-Bukhārī (d. 1420). *Kitābu faṣli al-khiṭābi fī ‘aqā’idi al-kubarā’i al-jāmi’ina bayna ‘ulūmi al-sharī’ati wa-al-ṭariqati min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Definitive Judgment on the Tenets of Great Authorities Encompassing the Sciences of the Sharī’a on the Sufi Path), 118 {5–6}.
220. Same as 219b, 118 {6–8}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1976 (seal of Bayezid II).
221. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1977 (seal of Bayezid II).
- 221a. Same as above, with slight variation in title, and no note of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*, 118 {8–9}.
- 221b. Same as 219a (except with the note *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 118 {9}.
222. Multi-text volume.
- 222a. Abū Ismā’īl ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Anṣārī al-Harawī (d. 1089). *Kitābu manāzili al-sā’irina fī al-taṣawwufi* (Stations of Wayfarers), 118 {10–11}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2101 (?) (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Stations of the Wayfarers*, trans. Hishām Rifā’ī (Paris: Albouraq, 2011).
- 222b. Abū al-Najīb Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Qāhir b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ammūya al-Bakrī al-Suhrawardī (d. 1168). *Kitābu ādābi al-murīdina fī al-taṣawwufi* (Etiquette of Disciples), 118 {11–12}. EDITIONS: *Adāb al-murīdīn*, ed. Ṭāhā ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf Sa’d (Cairo: al-Maktabah al-Azhariyah lil-Turāth, 2002); *A Sufi Rule for Novices* = *Kitāb ādāb al-Murīdīn of Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī*, abridged, trans., and introd. Menahem Milson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975).
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- 223a. Athīr al-Dīn al-Mufaḍḍal b. ‘Umar al-Abharī (d. 1264). *Kitābu al-hidāyati fī al-mantiqi* (The Guidance in Logic), 118 {12}.
- 223b. “*Risālatu taqṣīmi al-ḥikmati*” (Divisions of Wisdom), 118 {12–13}.
- 223c. Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī (d. 1108). *Kitābu tafṣīli al-nash’atayni min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Elaboration on the Two Worlds), 118 {13–14}. EDITION: *Kitāb Tafṣīl al-Nash’atayn wa-Taḥṣīl al-Sa’adatayn*, ed. Aḥmad Dakār (Oran: Dār al-Gharb lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī’, 2006).
224. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1654 (seal of Bayezid II).
- 224a. ‘Abd al-Razzāq Kamāl al-Dīn b. Abū al-Ghanā’im al-Qāshānī (d. 1329–35). *Kitābu rashḥi al-zulāli fī sharḥi al-alfāzi al-mutadāwilati bayna arbābi al-aḥwālī* (Splash of Fresh Water on Terms Commonly Used by People of Mystical States), 118 {14–15}. EDITION: *Rashḥ al-Zulāl fī Sharḥ al-Alfāz al-Mutadāwalah bayn Arbāb al-Adhwāq wa-al-Aḥwāl*, ed. Sa’īd ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ (Cairo: al-Maktabah al-Azhariyah lil-Turāth, 1995).
- 224b. “*Risālatu al-uṣṭurlābi*” (Treatise on the Astrolabe), 118 {15}.
- 224c. Mu’ayyad al-Dīn al-‘Āmirī al-Dimashqī al-‘Urḍī (d. ca. 1266). *Risālatu ma’rifati kayfiyyati al-arṣādi al-‘amali bi-dhāti al-ḥalaqi* (Treatise on the Knowledge of Celestial Observation and

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- 224d. ‘Abd al-Razzāq Kamāl al-Dīn b. Abū al-Ghanā’im al-Qāshānī (d. 1329–35). *Kitābu al-iṣṭilāḥātī fi al-taṣawwufi* (Sufi Terms), 118 {16–17}. EDITION: *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣufiyyah*, ed. Muwaffaq Fawzī al-Jabr (Damascus: al-Ḥikmah, 1995).
225. “*Mujalladun min kālāmin fārisiyyin marqūmun bi-annahū min kalimāti Mawlānā Sh[amsi] Tabrizī fi al-taṣawwufi*” (Volume in Persian that Contains the Words of Shams-i Tabrizī), 118 {17–18}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 2788 (seal of Bayezid II).
226. Multi-text volume.
- 226a. “*Risālatu al-ḥisābi bi-‘aḥd al-aṣāb’i*” (Treatise on Counting by Fingers), 118 {18–19}.
- 226b. ‘Abd al-Razzāq Kamāl al-Dīn b. Abū al-Ghanā’im al-Qāshānī (d. 1329–35). *Risālatun nūriyyatun* (Treatise of Light), 118 {19}.
- 226c. Same as 224e (except no note of *fi al-taṣawwufi*), 118 {19}–119 {1}.
- 226d. ‘Abd al-Razzāq Kamāl al-Dīn b. Abū al-Ghanā’im al-Qāshānī (d. 1329–35). *Risālatun zamāniyyatun* (Treatise on Time), 119 {1}.
- 226e. ‘Abd al-Razzāq Kamāl al-Dīn b. Abū al-Ghanā’im al-Qāshānī (d. 1329–35). *Risālatun fi taḥqīqi al-kalāmi* (Treatise on Kalam), 119 {1–2}.
- 226f. “*Risālatun fi mas’alatin kullīyyatin fi al-ḥaqā’iq*” (A Treatise on a General Problem concerning the Truths), 119 {2}.
- 226g. “*Risālatun fi jawābi al-masā’ili al-madhkurati*” (A Treatise Containing the Answer to the Aforementioned Problem), 119 {3}.
- 226h. “*Risālatun fi sharḥi su’āli Kumayl bin Ziyād ‘an Amīr al-Mu’minīn ‘Alī-raḍīya Allāhu ‘anhu- min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Treatise on Kumayl’s Question to ‘Alī [What Is the Truth?]), 119 {3–4}.
227. Multi-text volume.
- 227a. “*Risālatu al-nuzḥati al-sāsāniyyati fi bad’i nash’ati al-‘ālam ilā ṣūratī al-insāniyyati*” (A Sasanian Diversion on the Origin of the World to the [Formation of] the Human Form), 119 {5–6}.
- 227b. Shīrīn Muḥammad b. ‘Izz al-Dīn b. ‘Ādil b. Yūsuf al-Maghribī (?) (d. 1406). *Kitābu al-durrī al-farīdī fi al-taṣawwufi* (Unique Pearl), 119 {6}.
- 227c. “*Mir’ātu al-‘arīfīna fi taḥqīqi fāṭihati al-kitābī*” (Mirror of Gnostics on the True Meaning of the Opening Chapter of the Book [the Qur’an]), 119 {6–7}.
- 227d. “*Kitābu al-mukāshafāti fi al-taṣawwufi*” (Book of Unveiling), 119 {7}.
228. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1898 (seal of Bayezid II).
- 228a. “*Risālatu al-muqaddimāti min awā’ili sharḥi al-Qaṣīdati al-tā’iyyati*” (Introduction from the Beginning of the Commentary on Ibn al-Fāridī’s Poem Rhyming in T), 119 {8–9}.
- 228a. Dāwud b. Maḥmūd al-Qayṣarī (d. 1350). *Risālatu al-muqaddimāti min awā’ili sharḥi al-Fuṣūṣi fi al-taṣawwufi* (Introduction from the Beginning of Dāwud al-Qayṣarī’s Commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ*) [Introduction to entry 56, above], 119 {9–10}.
- 228a. Badr al-Dīn al-Qādī al-Sīmāw[n]ī (d. 1420?). *Risālatu ‘alā khilāfi al-taṣawwufi* (Treatise on Divergent Views in Sufism), 119 {10–11}.
229. Multi-text volume.
- 229a. “*Risālatu fawā’idi al-ḥikamī*” (Utility of Aphorisms), 119 {11}.
- 229b. Shaykh Sa’d al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Amīn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Yaḥyā Shabistarī (d. 1320). *Kitābu gulshan-i rāz* (Rose Garden of Secrets), Persian, 119 {11–12}. EDITION: *Gulshan-i rāz*, ed. Farshīd Iqbāl (Tehran: Īrān’yārān, 2003).
- 229c. Abū al-Ḥasan Sayyid Sharīf A’lī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Jurjānī (d. 1413). *al-Risālatu al-shawqiyyatu fi al-taṣawwufi* (Treatise of Longing), 119 {12}.

230. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1683 (seal of Bayezid II).
- 230a. Abū al-Layth Naṣr b. Muḥammad al-Samarqandī (d. ca. 983). *Kitābun fī muḥimmāti al-umūri al-dīniyyati* (A Book on Significant Matters of Religion), 119 {13}.
- 230b. Same as 169a, 119 {13–14}.
- 230c. “*Risālatu al-basmalati*” (Treatise on the Basmala), 119 {15}.
- 230d. Abū Ishāq Rukn al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿil al-Ṣaffār al-Anṣārī al-Bukhārī (d. 1139?). *Risālatun ʿalā madhhabī ahli al-sunnati wa-al-jāmāʿati* (Treatise on the Path of the People of the Prophetic Custom and Community), 119 {14–15}.
- 230e. Abū Ishāq al-Bukhārī. *Risālatun fī al-rūḥi wa-al-naḥsi wa-ḥālī al-nāʿimi min kitābi al-Shaykh al-ʿAllāma Abī Ishāq al-Bukhārī min qibali ʿilmi al-kalāmi wa-al-taṣawwufi* (A Treatise on the Spirit and the Soul and the State of the Person Who Is Asleep), 119 {15–16}.
231. Multi-text volume.
- 231a. “*Risālatun gharrāʾu fī umūrin shattā*” (A Beautiful Treatise on Various Matters), 119 {17}.
- 231b. Same as 169a, 119 {17–18}.
232. Multi-text volume.
- 232a. “*Kitābu ḥilyati al-nāsiki min qibali al-fiqhī*” (Ornament of the Renunciant), 119 {18}.
- 232b. “*Kitābu asrāri manāqibi al-abrāri min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Book of Secrets on the Feats of the Pious), 119 {18–19}.
233. Same as 176, Persian, 119 {19}–120 {1}.
234. Same as 33, 120 {1}.
235. Multi-text volume.
- 235a. Ṣadr al-Dīn Rūzbihān Abū Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr al-Fasāʾī al-Daylamī al-Baqlī al-Shīrāzī (d. 1209). *Risālatun fī siyari al-arwāḥi* (A Treatise on the Conduct of Spirits), 120 {2}. EDITION: *Mashrab al-arwāḥ: alf maqām wa-maqām min maqāmāt al-ʿarifīn billāh taʿālā*, ed. ʿĀṣim Ibrāhīm al-Kayyālī al-Ḥusaynī al-Shādhilī al-Darqāwī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyah, 2005).
- 235b. Same as 216 (except without the note *fī al-taṣawwufi*), 120 {2–3}.
- 235c. Imāmzāda Sadīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Bukhārī (d. 1177). *Kitābu shirʿatu al-islāmi fī al-ḥadīthi* (Laws of Islam), 120 {3}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 766 (Karatay 3570) (seal?). EDITION: *Shirʿat al-Islām*, ed. Muḥammad Raḥmat Allāh Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāẓim al-Nadwī (Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmiyah, 2007).
- 235d. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Ḥajjāj al-Sighnāqī (d. after 1310). *Kitābu dāmighati al-mubtadiʿina wa-nāṣirati al-muhtadīna fī al-taṣawwufi* (Refutation of Innovators and Victory of the Rightly-Guided), 120 {3–4}.
- 235e. Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 1234). *Risālatu fī sharḥi al-Faqrī fī al-taṣawwufi* (Epistle on Poverty), 120 {4–5}.
236. Multi-text volume.
- 236a. Same as 222b, 120 {5–6}.
- 236b. Shaykh Abū al-Jannāb Aḥmad b. ʿUmar Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (d. 1221). *Risālatu* (Treatise), 120 {6}.
- 236c. Same as 216, 120 {7}.
- 236d. Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn Abū Bakr Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qaysī al-Dimashqī (d. 1438). *Kitābu bardī al-akbādī ʿan faqdi al-awlādī* (Coldness of Livers upon Losing Children), 120 {8}. EDITION: *Bard al-akbād ʿan faqd al-awlād*, ed. ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-ʿAṭā al-Bakrī (Damascus: Dār al-Bashāʾir, 1992).

- 236e. “*Kitābun fi sharḥi Aḥwālī al-awliyyā’i min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (A Book on Biographies of Saints), 120 {8–9}.
237. Multi-text volume.
- 237a. ‘Alī b. Shihāb al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Hamadānī (d. 1385). *al-Risālatu al-qudsīyyatu fi asrāri al-nuḡṭati al-ḥissīyyati* (Sacred Treatise on the Secrets of the Subtle Point), 120 {9–10}.
- 237b. Same as 208, 120 {10}.
- 237c. “*Risālatu al-‘asharati al-kāmilati fi al-riyā’i min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Ten Complete Treatises on Hypocrisy), 120 {10–11}.
238. Multi-text volume.
- 238a. Same as 115, 120 {11–12}.
- 238b. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *al-Risālatu al-laduniyyatu* (Treatise on Knowledge Directly Bestowed by God), 120 {12}. EDITION: Che Zarrina Sa’ari, *al-Ghazālī and Intuition: An Analysis, Translation and Text of al-Risāla al-Laduniyya* (Kuala Lumpur: Akademi Pengajian Islam, Universiti Malaya, 2007).
- 238c. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu mi’rājī al-sālikīna fi al-taṣawwufi* (Ascension of Wayfarers), 120 {13}. EDITION: *Mi’rāj al-sālikīn* (Cairo: Dār al-Thaqāfah al-‘Arabīyah, 1964).
- 238d. “*Kitābu maḥakki nafsi al-insāni fi al-taṣawwufi*” (Touchstone of the Human Soul), 120 {13–14}.
- 238e. “*Kitābu ma’ārijī al-nufūsi fi al-taṣawwufi*” (Rising Places of Souls), 120 {14}.
239. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4804 (seal of Bayezid II).
- 239a. Same as 53b, 120 {15–16}.
- 239b. Same as 53d, 120 {16}.
- 239c. Same as 53e, 120 {16–17}.
- 239d. Same as 53a, 120 {17–18}.
240. “*Risālatun nūrbakhshīyyatun fi al-taṣawwufi*” (A Nūrbakhshī Book), 120 {18}.
241. “*Kitābu tanbīhi al-‘arīfīna fi al-taṣawwufi*” (Counsel of Gnostics), 120 {19}.
242. ‘Alī b. Shihāb al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Hamadānī (d. 1385). *Kitābu mir’āti al-tā’ibīna fi al-taṣawwufi* (Mirror of Repenters), 120 {19}–121 {1}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1852 (seal of Bayezid II).
243. “*Risālatu wirḍi al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (The Litany of Shaykh Ibrāhīm), 121 {1}.
244. Shīrīn Muḥammad b. ‘Izz al-Dīn b. ‘Ādil b. Yūsuf al-Maghribī (d. 1406). *Risālatu jāmi-jihān-numāy fi al-taṣawwufi* (World-Showing Cup), 121 {2}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, H. 270 (Karatay: F 915) (seal of Bayezid II).
245. Same as 45, 121 {2–3}.
246. Abū al-Futūḥ Shihāb al-Dīn Yahyā b. Ḥabash b. Amīrak al-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl (d. 1191). *Kitābu ma’ārijī al-albābi fi kashfi marātibi al-afrādi wa-al-aqtābi min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Rising Places of Hearts in Unveiling the Stages of Unique Ones and Poles), 121 {3–4}.
247. “*Risālatun mawsūmatun bi-Asrāri al-qulūbi fi al-taṣawwufi*” (Secrets of Hearts), 121 {4–5}.
248. Same as above, 121 {5–6}.
249. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu kāshifi al-anwāri fi al-taṣawwufi* (Unveiler of Lights), 121 {6–7}. EDITION: *The Niche of Lights* = *Mishkāt al-anwār: A Parallel English-Arabic Text*, ed., trans., and introd. David Buchman (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1998).
250. Abū al-Ḥasan Sayyid Sharif ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Jurjānī (d. 1413). *Risālatu al-wujūdi min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Treatise on Existence), 121 {7}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, R. 472 (Karatay:

- F 81) (dedication to Mehmed II, seal of Bayezid II); SK, Ayasofya 2266 (dedication to Mehmed II, seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Risālat al-wujūd*, ed. Naṣr Allāh Taqavī (Tehran: Chāp-i Rangīn, 1942).
251. Ṣadr al-Dīn Rūzbihān Abū Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr al-Fasā'ī al-Daylamī al-Baqlī al-Shīrāzī (d. 1209). *Risālatu al-quḍsi li-ahli al-unsī fi al-taṣawwufi* (Sacred Treatise for the People of Intimacy), 121 {8}. EDITION: *Risālat al-quḍs va Risālah-i ghalaṭāt al-sālikīn*, ed. Javād Nūrbakhsh (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Yaldā Qalam, 2002).
252. Multi-text volume.
- 252a. "*Risālatu sirri al-salṭanati*" (Treatise on the Secret of Government), 121 {8}.
- 252b. "*Risālatu sirri al-wujūdi fi al-taṣawwufi*" (Treatise on the Secret of Existence), 121 {9}.
253. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2130 (seal ?).
- 253a. Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Ḥanafī al-Barghamī al-Kāfiyaji (d. 1474). *Kitābu al-rawḥi fi 'ilmi al-rūhi* (The Book of [Spiritual] Refreshment in the Science of the Soul), 121 {9–10}.
- 253b. al-Kāfiyaji (d. 1474). *Kitābu al-nuzhati fi al-rūhi wa-al-naḥsi* (Book of Delight about the Spirit and the Soul), 121 {10}.
- 253c. al-Kāfiyaji (d. 1474). *Kitābu al-raḥmati fi 'ālamī al-barzakhi min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Book of Mercy about the Intermediate World), 121 {10–11}.
254. Rukn al-Dīn Abū al-Makārim 'Alā' al-Dawla Aḥmad b. Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-biyābānaki al-Simnānī (d. 1336). *Risālatu sirri bāli al-bāli li-dhawī al-ḥālī bi-khaṭṭi al-Qutb al-Shīrāzī fi al-taṣawwufi* (The Secret of the Heart of Hearts on the Possessors of the Mystic State), 121 {11–12}.
255. "*Risālatu taḥqīqi al-mabda'i wa-al-ma'ādi min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (The Truth about Origin and Return), 121 {12–13}.
256. "*Kitābun fi sharḥi kalimāti Amīr al-Mu'minīn Abi Bakr al-Ṣiddīq min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (On the Utterances of Abū Bakr), 121 {13–14}.
257. "*Risālatun mawsūmatun bi-Laṭā'ifi al-tawḥīdi fi al-taṣawwufi*" (Subtleties of Unity), 121 {14–25}.
258. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Kāshī (?). *Risālatun muntakhabatun min kalāmi Allāhi ta'ālā wa-al-nabī-'alayhi al-salāmu wa-al-walī wa-al-'ulamā'i wa-al-fuṣaḥā'i ma'rūfatun bi-Rawḍati al-nāẓiri fi al-laṭā'ifi wa-al-taṣawwufi* (Garden for Seers of Subtleties), 121 {15–17}. MANUSCRIPT: BnF, Arab 3365 (?) (seal of Bayezid II).
259. "*Kitābu al-badri al-munīri min qibali al-kalāmi wa-al-fiqhi wa-al-taṣawwufi*" (Luminous Full Moon), 121 {17–18}.
260. Multi-text volume.
- 260a. "*Kitābu al-ṣiḥāhi fi al-fursī*" (Book of Correct Persian), 121 {18}.
- 260b. "*Risālatun fi al-hay'ati*" (Treatise on the Configurations [of the Heavens]), 121 {18–19}.
- 260c. Same as 217, here designated *min qibali al-laṭā'ifi wa-al-taṣawwufi*, 121 {19}.
261. Multi-text volume.
- 261a. "*Risālatu sirri al-ma'yyati fi al-taṣawwufi*" (Secrets of Being with God), 122 {1}.
- 261b. 'Abdullāh-i Ilāhī (?) (d. 1490–91), *Risālatu 'arḍiyyatin li-l-Shaykh al-Ilāhī fi al-taṣawwufi* (A Memorial Treatise by Shaykh al-Ilāhī), Persian, 122 {1–2}.
262. Same as 260c (or 217?), 122 {2–3}.
263. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: Nuruosmaniye 5007 (seal ?).
- 263a. Same as 254, 122 {3}.

- 263b. Rukn al-Dīn Abū al-Makārim ‘Alā’ al-Dawla Aḥmad b. Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-biyābānākī al-Simnānī (d. 1336). *Risālatu zayni al-mu’taqadi fī al-taṣawwufi* (The Beauty of Doctrine), 122 {3–4}.
- 263c. Rukn al-Dīn Abū al-Makārim ‘Alā’ al-Dawla Aḥmad b. Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-biyābānākī al-Simnānī (d. 1336). *Risālatu al-arwāri fī al-taṣawwufi* (Lights), 122 {4}.
- 263d. Rukn al-Dīn Abū al-Makārim ‘Alā’ al-Dawla Aḥmad b. Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-biyābānākī al-Simnānī (d. 1336). *Risālatu ṣadā’ifi al-laṭā’ifi fī al-taṣawwufi* (Seashells of Subtleties), 122 {4–5}.
- 263e. Rukn al-Dīn Abū al-Makārim ‘Alā’ al-Dawla Aḥmad b. Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-biyābānākī al-Simnānī (d. 1336). *Risālatu bayāni al-dhikri al-khaṭfi fī al-taṣawwufi* (Explanation of the Silent Invocation), 122 {5}.
- 263f. Rukn al-Dīn Abū al-Makārim ‘Alā’ al-Dawla Aḥmad b. Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-biyābānākī al-Simnānī (d. 1336). *Risālatun fiha arba’atu fuṣūlin fī al-taṣawwufi* (A Book in Forty Chapters), 122 {5–6}.
264. Multi-text volume.
- 264a. “*Kitābu lawā’ihi fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Splendors), Persian, 122 {6–7}.
- 264b. “*Risālatun fī sharḥi awā’ili mathnawī [li-]Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn -ṭāba tharāhu- fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Commentary on the Exordium of the *Mathnawī* of Jalāl al-Dīn [Rūmī]), 122 {7–8}.
265. Sirāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Ḥanafī al-Ḥalabī (d. 1453). *Risālatu al-manhajī al-sadīdi ilā kalimati al-tawḥīdi min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Correct Path to the Profession of Faith), 122 {8–9}. EDITION: *al-Manhaj al-sadīd fī sharḥ Jawharat al-tawḥīd*, ed. Muḥammad Mujāhid Sha‘bān (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2003).
266. “*Kitābu ḥadā’iqi al-ḥaqā’iqi fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Gardens of Truths), 122 {9}.
267. Same as 214 (?) (except no note of *bi-al-fārisiyyati*), 122 {9–10}.
268. Same as 122, 122 {10–11}.
269. Multi-text volume.
- 269a. Ibn al-‘Arabī. *Risālatu ḥilyati al-abdālī fī al-taṣawwufi* (Adornment of Saints), 122 {11} [another copy on 64 {4}; see list of Atçıl]. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 2200 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITIONS: *La Parure des Abdāl*, trans. Michel Vâlsan (Paris: Les Éditions Traditionnelles, 1951); *The Four Pillars of Spiritual Transformation: The Adornment of the Spirituality Transformed* (Ḥilyat al-Abdāl), ed. and trans. Stephen Hirtenstein (Oxford: Anqa Publishing, 2008).
- 269b. “*Risālatun naḥīsatur fī al-taṣawwufi*” (A Precious Treatise on Sufism), 122 {11–12}.
270. Multi-text volume.
- 270a. al-Khujandī, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn (n.d.). *Sharḥu qaṣīdatin lāmiyyatin fī al-taṣawwufi* (Commentary on a Qasida Rhyming in L), by Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Sāwī (d. 1454), 122 {12} [another copy on 225 {1}; see list by Qutbuddin]. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2662 (Karataş A 8568) (seal of Bayezid II).
- 270b. “*Risālatun fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Treatise on Sufism), 122 {13}.
271. “*Risālatun fī naḥā’isi kalimāti al-Shaykh al-ma’rūfi bi-Naqshband -ṭāba tharāhu- fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Book of Precious Sayings of the Shaykh known as Naqshband), 122 {13–14}.
272. “*Risālatun fī munāzarati al-layli wa-al-nahāri min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Debate between Night and Day), 122 {14–15}.
273. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2818 (seal of Bayezid II).
- 273a. Abū ‘Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb b. Miskawayh² (d. 1030). *Kitābu al-tahārati fī tahdhībī al-naḥsi min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (The Purity in Perfecting the Soul), 122 {15–16}. EDITION: *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, ed. Constantine K. Zurayk (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1967).

- 273b. Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Fārābī (d. 950). *Kitābu min qibali al-akhlāqi wa-al-taṣawwufi* (Book on Ethics and Sufism), 122 {16–17}.
274. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 1957 (seal of Bayezid II).
- 274a. Same as 273a, 122 {17–18}.
- 274b. Same as 273b, 122 {18–19}.
- 274c. Same as 78, 122 {19}–123 {1}.
275. Multi-text volume.
- 275a. Same as 273a, 123 {1–2}.
- 275b. Same as 273b, 123 {2}.
- 275c. Same as 78, 123 {3}.
- 275d. “*Risālatun mashḥūnatun bi-kalimāti ‘Alī-radīya Allāhu ‘anhu-fi-naṣā’ihi al-mulūki wa-ghayrihim min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Treatise Containing the Words of ‘Alī, May God be Pleased with Him, on Counsels for Kings and Other Subjects), 123 {3–4}.
276. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4133 (seal ?).
- 276a. Amīr Fakhr al-Sādāt Rukn al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. ‘Ālim b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Ghūrī al-Ḥusaynī (d. after 1329). *Kitābu ṭarabi al-majālisi min qibali al-naṣā’ihi* (Joy of Assemblies), 123 {4–5} [another copy on 251 {16}; see list by Kim]. EDITION: *Ṭarab al-Majālis*, ed. Mīr Ḥusaynī Haravī and ‘Alī Ridā Muḥtahidzādah (Mashhad: Kitābfurūsh-i Bāstānī, 1975).
- 276b. Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Khāfī (d. ?). *Kitābu rawḍati khuldin min qibali al-mawā’izi wa-al-taṣawwufi* (Eternal Garden), 123 {5–6}.
277. Multi-text volume.
- 277a. “*Risālatun fi ḡilli al-miqyāsi min qibali al-hay’ati wa-al-nujūmi*” (Treatise on the Shadow [of the Instrument] of the Measurement), 123 {6–7}.
- 277b. Same as 117b (except with the note *min qibali al-naṣā’ihi wa-al-taṣawwufi* instead of *fi al-naṣā’ihi min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 123 {7–8}.
278. Multi-text volume.
- 278a. “*Kitābu iqtinā’i al-fawā’idi min qibali al-wafqi wa-al-ad’iyati*” (Satisfaction of Benefits), 123 {8}.
- 278b. “*Kitābu sharḥi al-abyāti al-nasībīyyati ‘alā ṭarīqi al-taṣawwufi*” (Sufism-Inspired Commentary on Some *Nasīb* Couplets), 123 {8–9}.
279. Multi-text volume.
- 279a. [Attributed to] Ibn al-‘Arabī. *Kitābu tanazzuli al-amlāki alladhī nusiba ilā al-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-‘Arabī-ṭāba tharāhu-fi al-taṣawwufi* (Book of the Descent of Kings Attributed to Muḥyī al-Dīn al-‘Arabī), 123 {9–10}. EDITION: *Tanazzul al-amlāk min ‘ālam al-arwāḥ ilā ‘ālam al-aflāk aw laṭā’if al-asrār*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī ‘Atīyah and Ṭāhā ‘Abd al-Bāqī Surūr (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr, 1961).
- 279b. “*Kitābu tabṣirati al-mulūki fi naṣā’ihi al-mulūki min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (The Book of Guidance for Kings on Counsels for Kings), 123 {11}.
- 279c. Amīr Fakhr al-Sādāt Rukn al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. ‘Ālim b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Ghūrī al-Ḥusaynī (d. after 1329). *Kitābu kanzi al-rumūzi fi al-taṣawwufi* (Treasury of Mysteries), 123 {11–12}.
280. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1691 (seal ?).
- 280a. Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Qunawī (d. 1274). *Risālatun fi al-tawajjuh al-atammī ilā Allāhi ta’ālā fi al-taṣawwufi* (Complete Attention to God), 123 {12–13}. EDITION: *Jamālīyāt al-ta’bīr wa-al-muḥtawā fi al-risālah al-Ṣūfiyyah: Risālat Kayfiyat al-tawajjuh al-atamm al-awwalī naḥwa al-Ḥaqq jalla wa-‘alā li-Abī al-Ma’ālī Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī unṡudḥajan*, ed. Amīn Yūsuf ‘Awdah (Irbid: ‘Ālam al-Kutub al-Ḥadīth, 2015).
- 280b. Same as 187 (except with the note *fi al-taṣawwufi* instead of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 123 {13}.

281. Multi-text volume.
- 281a. "*Kitābu zubdati al-ṭarīqi ilā Allāhi ta'ālā fi al-taṣawwufi*" (The Choicest of Paths to God), 123 {14}.
- 281b. "*Risālatun fi ṣifati al-nabī-ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama- 'alā mā ruwiya 'an 'Alī-raḍīya Allāhu 'anhu-*" (Description of the Prophet as Related by 'Alī), 123 {14–15}.
- 281c. "*Risālatun naḥṣatun fi al-sulūki wa-al-taṣawwufi*" (Precious Treatise on Wayfaring and Sufism), 123 {15–16}.
282. "*Kitābu sayri al-sulūki fi al-tawhīdi wa-al-taṣawwufi*" (Wayfaring, on Unity and Sufism), 123 {16–17}.
283. "*Kitābun mawsūmun bi-Dāri mulki al-ma'ānī min qibali al-ma'ārifi wa-al-taṣawwufi*" (The Lower World), Persian, 123 {17–18}.
284. Multi-text volume.
- 284a. Same as 244, 123 {18}.
- 284b. "*Kitābu al-lama'āti fi al-'ishqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (Divine Flashes), 123 {18–19}.
285. "*Kitābun mawsūmun bi-Mudām-i jān-fazā fi sharḥi Jām-i jihān-numā fi al-'ishqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (Refreshing Wine, Commentary on World-Revealing Cup), 123 {19}–124 {1}.
286. Same as 244 (except with the note *fi al-'ishqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi* instead of *fi al-taṣawwufi*), 124 {1–2}.
287. "*Kitābu ishārāti al-ilhāmī fi sharḥi al-abyāti min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (Inspired Pointers as Commentary on [some] Couplets), Turkish, 124 {2–3}.
288. Multi-text volume.
- 288a. "*Al-Risālatu al-naṣīriyyatu allatī hiya fi sharḥi kitābin fi al-asrāri al-rabbāniyyati wa-al-daqa'iqi al-ḥikmiyyati wa-al-'ulūmi al-dhawqiyyati*" (The Nasirean Treatise, Which Is a Commentary on a Book that Is on Divine Secrets, Philosophical Minutiae, and Intuitive Sciences), 124 {3–4}.
- 288b. "*Risālatun fi al-taṣawwufi*" (Treatise on Sufism), Persian, 124 {5}.
289. Burhān al-Dīn al-Zarnūjī (fl. late 12th to early 13th c.). *Kitābu ta'līmi al-muta'allimi min qibali al-naṣā'ihi wa-al-taṣawwufi* (Instructions for the Student), 124 {5–6}. EDITION: *Ta'līm al-muta'allim ṭarīq al-ta'allum*, ed. 'Abd al-Laṭīf Muḥammad al-'Abd (Cairo: Dār al-Nahḍah al-'Arabīyah, 1977).
290. Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Nūrbakhsh (d. 1464). *Risālatu fi al-taṣawwufi* (Treatise on Sufism), 124 {6–7}.
291. Same as 237b, 124 {7}.
292. Same as 117b (except with the note *min qibali al-naṣā'ihi wa-al-taṣawwufi* instead of *fi al-naṣā'ihi min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 124 {7–8}.
293. 'Alī b. Shihāb al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Hamadānī (d. 1385). *Risālatu fi al-taṣawwufi* (Treatise on Sufism), 124 {8–9}.
294. "*Risālatun fi al-maḥabbati fi al-taṣawwufi*" (Treatise on Love in Sufism), 124 {9}.
295. Multi-text volume.
- 295a. "*Risālatun fi al-masā'ili al-thalāthi*" (Treatise on Three Questions), Persian, 124 {10}.
- 295b. "*Risālatun fi iṣṭilāḥāti al-ṣūfiyyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (Treatise on Sufi Terminology), Persian, 124 {10–11}.
296. Multi-text volume.
- 296a. "*Risālatun fi al-istikhārati*" (Treatise on Divination), 124 {11}.
- 296b. "*Risālatun manẓūmatun fi al-wafqi*" (Treatise on Magic Squares in Verse), 124 {11–12}.
- 296c. "*Risālatun fi al-īmāni wa-al-islāmi 'alā ṭarīqi al-taṣawwufi*" (Treatise on Faith and Islam in a Sufi Vein), 124 {12}.

297. "*Risālatun fihā ishārātun ilā uṣūli ahli al-wuṣūli fī al-taṣawwufi*" (Treatise Containing Pointers on the Principles of the People of Attainment in Sufism), Persian, 124 {13–14}.
298. Multi-text volume.
- 298a. Same as 161a, 124 {14}.
- 298b. Same as 161b, 124 {14–15}.
299. Multi-text volume.
- 299a. Ibn Naṣūḥ (d. 1391). *Risālatu maḥabbat nāma fī al-taṣawwufi* (Book of Love), 124 {15–16} [another copy on 257 {4}; see list by Kim].
- 299b. "*Risālatun fī sharḥi kalimati Man 'arafa naḥsahū fa-qad 'arafa rabbahū fī al-taṣawwufi*" (Commentary on the Saying "He Who Knows Himself Knows His Lord"), 124 {16–17}.
- 299c. "*Risālatun fī shaqqi al-qamari*" (Treatise on Splitting the Moon), 124 {17}.
- 299d. "*Risālatun marqūmatun bi-Tuḥfati al-aṣḥābi*" (Gift for Companions), 124 {17}.
- 299e. [Attributed to] Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). *Qaṣīdatun fī al-naḥsi* (An Ode on the Soul), 124 {18}. EDITION: *Aḥwāl al-naḥs: risālah fī al-naḥs wa-baqā'ihā wa-ma'ādiḥā*, ed. Aḥmad Fu'ād al-Aḥwānī (Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabīyah, 1952).
- 299f. Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 1274). *Risālatun marqūmatun bi-Sīrati al-mulūki* (Lives and Manners of Kings), 124 {18–19}.
- 299g. "*Kitābu tuḥfati al-mulūki fī al-naṣā'ihī*" (The Book of Gifts for Kings), 124 {19}.
300. "*Risālatun fī al-sulūki al-khaḥwati bi-al-asmā'i fī al-taṣawwufi*" (On the Wayfaring of the Khalwatis), 125 {1}.
301. "*Kitābu al-munāzarāti fī al-'ishqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (Debate on Love), 125 {1–2}.
302. Multi-text volume.
- 302a. Same as above, 125 {2–3}.
- 302b. "*Risālatun fī al-qābiliyyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (Treatise on Aptitude), 125 {3}.
- 302c. "*Risālatun fī al-firāsati*" (Treatise on Discernment), 125 {3}.
303. "*Kitābu al-lawā'ihī fī al-taṣawwufi*" (Splendors), Persian, 125 {4}.
304. Multi-text volume.
- 304a. "*Kitābu sharḥi kalimāti Aḥmad al-Ghazālī -ṭāba tharāhu- fī al-'ishqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (Commentary on Aḥmad al-Ghazālī's Discourse on Love), 125 {4–5}.
- 304b. 'Izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. 'Alī Naṭanzī Kāshānī (d. 1334). *Risālatu kunūzi al-asrāri fī al-'ishqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Treasures of Secrets of Love), 125 {5–6} [another copy on 254 {2–3}; see list by Kim].
305. "*Al-Risālatu al-quṭbiyyatu min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (Treatise on the Pole of Sainthood), Persian, 125 {6–7}.
306. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1943 (seal ?).
- 306a. Zayn al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Muẓaffar b. 'Umar b. Abi al-Fawāris Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Wardī al-Ḳurashī al-Bakrī al-Shāfi'ī (d. 1349). *Kitābu al-shihābi al-thāqibi fī naḥyi al-bid'ati al-ma'rūfati bi-al-Futuwwati min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Piercing Sword in Eradicating [Reprehensible] Innovations), 125 {7–8}.
- 306b. Zayn al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Muẓaffar b. 'Umar b. Abi al-Fawāris Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Wardī al-Ḳurashī al-Bakrī al-Shāfi'ī (d. 1349). *Risālatun fī naḥyi al-bid'ati al-ma'rūfati bi-al-Futuwwati min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Treatise on the Eradication of Reprehensible Innovations Known as Futuwwa), 125 {8–9}.
307. "*Kitābu tazkiyati al-arwāḥi fī al-akhlāqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (Purification of Souls [on Ethics]), 125 {9–10}.

308. “*Risālatun majmū‘atun min kalimāti al-Shaykhi al-ma‘rūfi bi-Naqshband fi al-taṣawwufi*” (Compilation of Sayings of the Shaykh Known as Naqshband), 125 {10–11}.
309. Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh Nūrbakhsh (d. 1464). *Risālatun fi al-firāsati min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Treatise on Discernment), 125 {11–12} [two more copies on 163 {19} and 172 {3–4}, the latter in Persian; see list by Varlık].
310. “*Kitābu maḥrami al-arwāhi fi al-laṭā‘ifi wa-al-naṣā’ihi min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Confidant of Souls), 125 {12–13}.
311. “*Kitābun fi iṣtilāḥāti al-mashāyikhi fi al-taṣawwufi*” (A Book on the Terminology of Saints), 125 {13}.
312. “*Kitābun fihi al-ma‘arifu wa-al-lāṭā‘ifu wa-al-naṣā’ihu min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Book Containing Spiritual Teachings and Subtle Points and Advice), 125 {14}.
313. “*Risālatun fi takwīni al-‘ālamī ‘alā al-ṭarīqati al-ṣūfiyyati*” (Treatise on the Creation of the World), 125 {14–15}.
314. Same as 118a (except with the note *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 125 {15–16}.
315. Multi-text volume.
- 315a. “*Risālatu tahayyujī al-‘ishqi ilā al-ma‘rifati wa-ṭawr al-walāyati fi al-taṣawwufi*” (Excitement of Love Leading to Spiritual Knowledge and the Station of Sainthood), 125 {16–17}.
- 315b. “*Risālatun fi al-muthuli al-Aflātūniyyati ‘alā ṭarīqati al-taṣawwufi*” (Treatise on the Platonic Archetypes), 125 {17–18} [another copy on 359 {9}; see list by Gutas].
- 315c. Same as 49c, 125 {18}.
- 315d. Same as 187 (with the note *fi al-taṣawwufi* instead of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 125 {18–19}.
- 315e. “*Risālatu maṭālī‘i al-īmāni min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Rising Places of Faith), 125 {19}–126 {1}.
316. Multi-text volume.
- 316a. “*Risālatun fi al-mu‘ammā*” (Treatise on Logogriphs), 126 {1} [another copy on 248 {3}; see list by Kim].
- 316b. “*Risālatun fi al-iṣtilāḥāti al-ṣūfiyyati*” (Treatise on Sufi Terminology), 126 {1}.
- 316c. “*Risālatun fi al-maqāmāti al-ṣūfiyyati*” (Treatise on Sufi Stations), 126 {2}.
- 316d. Abū al-Futūḥ Shihāb al-Dīn Yahyā b. Ḥabash b. Amīrak al-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl (d. 1191). *Risālatun fi ṭarīqi al-sulūki fi al-taṣawwufi* (Treatise on the Path of Wayfaring), 126 {2–3}.
317. “*Risālatun fi al-taṣawwufi*” (Treatise on Sufism), 126 {3}.
318. “*Risālatun sharīfatun fi iṣtilāḥāti al-ṣūfiyyati*” (A Noble Treatise on Sufi Terminology), Persian, 126 {4}.
319. Same as 229c, 126 {4–5}.
320. Ṣadr al-Dīn Rūzbihān Abū Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr al-Fasā‘ī al-Daylamī al-Baqlī al-Shīrāzī (d. 1209). *Kitābu ‘abhari al-‘āshiqīna fi aḥwālī al-‘ishqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Lovers’ Jasmine on Love’s States), 126 {5–6}. EDITION: *Abhar al-‘āshiqīn*, ed. Javād Nūrbakhsh (Tehran: Yaldā Qalam, 2001).
321. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4815 (seal ?).
- 321a. Kamāl al-Dīn Mas‘ūd b. Ḥusayn al-Shirwānī al-Rūmī (?) (d. 1499). *Kitābu sharḥi Ādābi al-baḥthi fi ‘ilmi al-jadali* (Commentary on al-Samarqandī’s Art of Disputation), 126 {6–7}. EDITION: *Sharḥ Ādāb al-Samarqandī* [= *al-Mas‘ūdī*], in Adem Güney, “Kemālüddīn Mes‘ūd B. Hüseyin Eṣṣīrvānī’nin (905/1500) Şerhu Ādābi’ssemerkandī Adlı Eserinin Tahkik ve Değerlendirmesi” (master’s thesis, Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2010).
- 321b. Abū al-Futūḥ Shihāb al-Dīn Yahyā b. Ḥabash b. Amīrak al-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl (d. 1191). *Risālatun mawsūmatun bi-Ṣafīr-i sīmurgh fi al-taṣawwufi* (The Cry of the Phoenix), 126 {7}. EDITION: *Ṣafīr-i sīmurgh*, ed. Ḥusayn Mufid (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Mawlā, 2003).

- 321c. "Risālatun fi al-ʿishqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi" (A Treatise on Love), 126 {7–8}.
322. "Risālatun fi al-taṣawwufi" (A Treatise on Sufism), 126 {8}.
323. Same as 53b, with variation in title: *Kitābu sharḥi al-Qaṣīdati al-mīmīyyati al-khamriyyati al-fāriḍiyyati al-musammā bi-al-Lawāmiʿi min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Commentary on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Wine Poem Rhyming in M, also known as *Lawāmiʿi*), 126 {8–10}.
324. Same as 276a (except with the note *min qibali al-taṣawwufi* instead of *min qibali al-naṣāʾihī*), 126 {10}.
325. "Kitābu waṣīyyati Amīr al-Muʾminīn ʿAlī -raḍiya Allāhu ʿanhu- li-waladihī al-Ḥusayn -raḍiya Allāhu ʿanhu- fi al-naṣāʾihī min qibali al-taṣawwufi" (Counsel of the Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī—May God Be Pleased with Him—for His Son al-Ḥusayn), 126 {11–12}.
326. Multi-text volume.
- 326a. Same as 174a, 126 {12–13}.
- 326b. Abū Ismāʿīl ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Anṣārī al-Harawī (d. 1089). *Risālatu al-waʿziyyati ayydan min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (A Treatise on Preaching), 126 {13}.
327. Multi-text volume.
- 327a. Same as 49c, 126 {14–15}.
- 327b. Ibn al-ʿArabī. *Kitābun fi al-taṣawwufi* (Book on Sufism), 126 {15}.
328. "Risālatun fi al-taṣawwufi" (Treatise on Sufism), Persian, 126 {16}.
329. "Risālatun fi al-taṣawwufi" (Treatise on Sufism), 126 {17}.
330. "Risālatun fi kalimāti al-Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī min al-naṣāʾihī wa-al-taṣawwufi" (A Treatise on the Utterances of Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī), 126 {17}.
331. Dāwud b. Maḥmūd al-Qayṣarī (d. 1350). *Kitābun fi al-muqaddimāti li-sharḥi al-Nuṣūṣi fi al-taṣawwufi* (Book on the Introductions to the Commentary on al-Qunawī's *Nuṣūṣ*), 126 {18}.
332. "Risālatun fi ḥadīthi al-ʿamāʾi fi al-taṣawwufi" (Treatise on the Hadith of Heavy Clouds), 126 {19}.
333. "Risālatun fi al-taṣawwufi" (Treatise on Sufism), Persian, 126 {19}.
334. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Risālatun maʾrūfatun bi-Ayyuhā al-waladi fi al-taṣawwufi* (Oh My Son), 127 {1}. EDITION: *Ayyuhā al-walad*, ed. Aḥmad Maṭlūb (Baghdad: Wizārat al-Awqāf wa-al-Shuʾun al-Dīniyah, 1986).
335. Same as 155, Persian, 127 {2}.
336. "Risālatun marqūmatun bi-Shifāʾi al-jinān fi al-naṣīḥati min qibali al-taṣawwufi" (Intercessors of Paradise), 127 {2–3}.
337. "Risālatun fi naṣīḥati al-mulūki min qibali al-taṣawwufi" (Treatise on Counsel for Kings), 127 {3–4}.
338. "Risālatun fi sharḥi al-kalimāti al-ʿalawīyyati al-maʾrūfati bi-Ṣad kalima min al-taṣawwufi" (Commentary on the Sayings of ʿAlī, also known as *A Hundred Sayings*), 127 {4–5}.
339. "Kitābun fi al-naṣāʾihī wa-al-akhlāqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi" (A Book of Counsels and Ethics), 127 {5}.
340. ʿAbd al- Karīm al-Jīlī (d. 1428). *Risālatun fi marātibi al-wujūdi min qibali ʿilmi al-kalāmi wa-al-taṣawwufi* (A Treatise on Stages of Being), 127 {6}.
341. "Risālatun fi mukātabāt baʿḍi al-mashāyikhi min qibali al-taṣawwufi" (A Treatise on Correspondences of Some Shaykhs), 127 {6–7}.
342. "Kitābu shabistān-i nukāt min qibali al-taʾmīyyati wa-al-naṣāʾihī wa-al-taṣawwufi" (Bedchamber of Subtle Points), 127 {7–8}.
343. "Risālatun fi al-sulūki wa-al-taṣawwufi" (A Treatise on Wayfaring), 127 {8}.
344. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: Nuruosmaniye 2398 (seal of Bayezid II).

- 344a. “*Risālatun sharīfatun fī taḥqīqi subḥānaka mā ‘araḥnāka ḥaqqā ma‘rifatika min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (A Noble Treatise Probing [the Saying] “Praise Be to You, We Do Not Know You [with] True Knowledge of You), 127 {9}.
- 344b. “*Risālatun fī taḥqīqi al-ḥaqqi wa-al-suḥūri min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (A Treatise on Expediting Fast-Break and Pre-Dawn Breakfast [in Ramadan]), 127 {10}.
- 344c. Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Quṭb al-Dīn Iznīqī [Quṭb al-Dīn-zāda] (d. 1480). *Risālatun muta‘allaqatun bi-al-tarāwīhi [kulluhā ṣaḥḥ] min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (A Treatise Related to Evening Prayers in Ramadan), Turkish, 127 {10–11}.
345. Abū Ismā‘īl ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Anṣārī al-Harawī (d. 1089). *Risālatun fihā munājātu min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (A Treatise Containing Intimate Conversations [with God]), 127 {12}. EDITION: *Munājāt va maqālāt-i Khvājah ‘Abd Allāh Anṣārī*, ed. Ḥāmid Rabbānī (Tehran: Ganjīnah, 1975).
346. “*Risālatun fī taḥqīqi al-wujūdi al-wājibiyyi ‘alā madhhabī al-mutakallimīna wa-al-ḥukamā’i al-mutaqaddimīna wa-al-ṣūfiyyati*” (A Treatise Examining the Necessary Being Following the Methods of Theologians, Philosophers, and Sufis), 127 {13–14}.
347. Same as 192 (?), with the title “*Risālatun dhawqīyyatun sirriyyatun fī al-taṣawwufi*” (A Treatise on Intuitive Secrets), 127 {14}.
348. Same as 250, Persian, 127 {14–15}.
349. Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Abū Bakr al-Kirmānī. *Risālatun fī al-munāqaḍāti al-wāqī‘ati fī al-Tawrāti wa-al-Injīli min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa-al-taṣawwufi* (A Treatise on Contradictions Contained in the Torah and the Gospels), 127 {15–16}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2188 (seal ?).
350. [Attributed to] Āq Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥamza (d. 1459). *Risālatun fī taḥqīqi madhhabī al-ṣūfiyyati wa-daf‘i al-maṭā‘ini fihī fī al-taṣawwufi* (A Treatise Examining Sufism and Refuting Its Critics), 127 {17–18}.
351. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1442 (Karatay: A 5180) (seal of Bayezid II).
- 351a. “*Risālatun sirriyyatun fī al-taṣawwufi*” (A Treatise on [Inner] Secrets), 127 {18–19}.
- 351b. Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā b. Ḥusām al-Dīn (Husāmzāda or Ibn Husām) (d. after 1488). *Risālatun shawqīyyatun fī al-inshā‘i* (The Treatise of Amicable Wishes), 127 {19}.
352. Multi-text volume.
- 352a. “*Risālatun fī al-rubā‘iyyāti fī waḥdati al-wujūdi*” (Treatise on Quatrains on Unity of Being), 128 {1}.
- 352b. Same as 53d, with slight variation in title, 128 {1–2}.
353. Multi-text volume.
- 353a. Same as 352a, 128 {2–3}.
- 353b. Same as 53d, with slight variation in title, 128 {3–4}.
354. “*Kitābun fī sharḥi alfāzi al-tawḥīdi al-wāqī‘ati fī kalāmi Allāhi al-majīdi fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Commentary on Words of Unity Contained in the Discourse of Glorious God), 128 {4–5}.
355. “*Kitābu sharḥi Sayri al-‘ibādi ilā al-ma‘ādi fī al-ḥikmati wa-al-taṣawwufi*” (Commentary on Journey of the Faithful to the Place of Return), 128 {5}.
356. Same as 321c, 128 {6}.
357. Shaykh Abū al-Jannāb Aḥmad b. ‘Umar Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (d. 1221). *Risālatun naḥīyatun fī al-sulūki wa-al-taṣawwufi* (A Precious Treatise on Wayfaring and Sufism), 128 {6–7}.
358. Multi-text volume.
- 358a. “*Kitābu al-‘awāmili fī al-naḥwi*” (A Treatise on Agents in Syntax), 128 {7}.

- 358b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Nasr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Adawī al-Shayzarī (d. 1193). *Kitābu rawḍati al-qulūbi fī al-taṣawwufi* (Garden of the Hearts), 128 {7–8}.
- 358c. “*Sharḥu ba‘ḍi kalimāti Ibn Sīnā*” (Commentary on Some Sayings of Ibn Sīnā), 128 {8}.
359. “*Kitābu al-naḥāḥātī al-nashriyyati fī al-wizārati min qibali al-naṣiḥati wa-al-taṣawwufi*” (Spreading Fragrances, on Being a Vizier), 128 {9}.
360. Multi-text volume.
- 360a. “*Risālatun mawsūmatun bi-Āyīnah-i ṣafā fī al-sulūki*” (Mirror of Purity, on Wayfaring), 128 {9–10}.
- 360b. “*Khamsu rasā’ila fī al-sulūki wa-al-taṣawwufi*” (Five Treatises on Wayfaring and Sufism), 128 {10–11}.
361. Same as 250 (except with the note *fī al-taṣawwufi* instead of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 128 {11}.
362. Same as above, 128 {12}.
363. Multi-text volume.
- 363a. Same as 229c, 128 {12–13}.
- 363b. Same as 250 (except with the note *fī al-taṣawwufi* instead of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 128 {13–14}.
- 363c. Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 1274). *Risālatāni fī al-hikmati* (Two Treatises on Philosophy), 128 {14}.
- 363d. Galen (d. ca. 216). *Risālatun fī asbābi al-ra’di* (A Treatise on the Causes of Symptoms), 128 {14}; this treatise by Galen also appears as part of a collection of his works on 154 {13–15}; see list by Varlık.
- 363e. “*Risālatu al-mukātabati bayna Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Nisābūrī wa-al-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fī ba‘ḍi al-masā’il*” (Treatise on the Correspondance between Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Nisābūrī and Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī on Some Topics), 128 {15–16}.
- 363f. Same as 250 (except with the note *fī al-taṣawwufi* instead of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 128 {16}.
364. Multi-text volume.
- 364a. “*Ad’iyyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab’ati*” (Prayers for the Seven Days), 128 {16–17}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2765 (seal of Bayezid II).
- 364b. “*Risālatun fī ‘ilmi al-badī’*” (A Treatise on Rhetoric), Persian, 128 {17}.
- 364c. Amīr Fakhr al-Sādāt Rukn al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. ‘Ālim b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Ghūrī al-Ḥusaynī (d. after 1329). *Kitābu nuzhati al-arwāhi fī al-taṣawwufi* (Invigoration of Souls), 128 {17–18} [two more copies on 251 {15} and 254 {16}; see list by Kim]. MANUSCRIPT: Sotheby’s, London, October 22, 1993, lot 68, 1425 (seal of Bayezid II); SK, Fatih 4134, 1479 (seal of Bayezid II).
365. Multi-text volume.
- 365a. “*Risālatu al-sulūki*” (Treatise on Wayfaring), 128 {18}.
- 365b. “*Risālatu al-sayri fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Treatise on Traveling on the Path in Sufism), 128 {18–19}.
- 365c. Same as 321b, 128 {19}–129 {1}.
- 365d. “*Thalāthu rasā’ila fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Three Treatises on Sufism), 129 {1}.
366. Multi-text volume.
- 366a. Same as 250 (except with the note *fī al-taṣawwufi* instead of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), Persian, 129 {1–2}.
- 366b. Same as 250 (except no note of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), Arabic, 129 {2}.
367. Multi-text volume.
- 367a. Sa’id b. Hammād al Ṣanhājī al Buṣīrī (d. ca. 1294), *Qaṣīdatu burdata* (Ode of the Mantle), 129 {3} [eleven more copies on 210 {1–10} and four copies of a work with the same title by Ibn Zuhayr; see list by Qutbuddin].
- 367b. Same as 174a, 129 {3}.

- 367c. Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Ibn Sinā (d. 1037). *Risālatu fī al-ta’wīli al-bāṭili* (Treatise on the Explanation of Falsehood), 129 {3–4}.
- 367d. “*Risālatun fī awā’ili wāḍi’i al-muḥdathāti*” (Treatise on the Beginning of the Creator of Created Beings), 129 {4}.
- 367e. Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Sanjanī (?) (d. ?). *Īdāḥu maḥajjati al-ilāji fī al-ṭibbi* (Clarifying the Method of Treatment), 129 {4–5} [another copy on 167 {11}; see list by Varlık].
- 367f. “*Risālatun fī al-inshā’i*” (A Treatise on Composition), 129 {5}.
- 367g. “*Risālatun fī ‘azmi kitfi al-ghanami*” (A Treatise on Sheep Shoulder Blades), 129 {5}.
- 367h. Same as 264b (except no note *fī al-taṣawwufi*), 129 {5–6}.
- 367i. “*Risālatun fī al-rūḥi al-insānī wa-al-ḥayawānī*” (A Treatise on the Human and Animal Soul), 129 {6}.
- 367j. Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Rāmī Tabrizī (d. 1393?). *Kitābu anīsi al-ushshāqi* (Comfort for Lovers), 129 {6–7} [eight more copies on 225 {13–15}, 226 {6, 18}, 227 {1–2, 16–18}; see list by Qutbuddin].
368. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4802 (seal ?).
- 368a. (possibly) ‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Qudsī (d. 1452). *Kitābu tuḥfati al-wāhibi fī al-taṣawwufi* (Gift of the Giver), 129 {7}.
- 368b. Same as 295b (except with the note *fī al-taṣawwufi* instead of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 129 {7–8}.
- 368c. “*Risālatun fī sharḥi al-baytayni awwaluhumā kunnā ḥurūfan ‘āriyātin munqalatan*” (A Commentary on Two Couplets, the First of Which Starts “We Were a Naked Letter Transplanted”), 129 {8–9}.
- 368d. “*Risālatun fī sharḥi al-baytayni awwaluhumā kunnā ḥurūfan ‘āliyātin lam nuqal fī al-taṣawwufi*” (A Commentary on Two Couplets, the First of Which Starts “We Were a Naked Letter Transplanted”), 129 {9–10}.
- 368e. Same as 216, 129 {10–11}.
369. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2053 (seal ?).
- 369a. Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī b. Bahā’ al-Dīn Sulṭān al-‘Ulamā’ Walad b. Ḥusayn al-Balkhī b. Aḥmad Khaṭībī (d. 1273). *Kutubun khamsatun min ḥaqā’iqi Mawlānā Khudāwandigār -quddisa sirruhū- fī al-taṣawwufi* (Five Books from the Truths [Conveyed by] Mawlānā Khudāwandigār [Rumi]), 129 {11–12}.
- 369b. Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī. *Kitābu al-buḥūri al-arba’ina min ḥaqā’iqihī fī al-taṣawwufi* (Forty Seas), 129 {12}.
- 369c. “*Risālatun fī ba’di manāqibihī*” (A Treatise Containing Some of His Vītae), 129 {12–13}.
- 369d. Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī. *al-Arba’una ḥadīthan* (Forty Hadith), 129 {13}.
- 369e. Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī. *Abyātun kathīratun mutanawwi’atun min ḥaqā’iqihī fī al-taṣawwufi* (Numerous Miscellaneous Couplets Containing Sufi Truths), 129 {13–14}.
370. Same as 131 (except for omission of *bi-al-fārisiyyati*), 129 {14}.
371. Multi-text volume.
- 371a. [Attributed to] Abū al-Futūḥ Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Ḥabash b. Amīrak al-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl (d. 1191). *Munājātun mansūbatun ilā al-Shaykh Shahāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī al-maqtūli* (Intimate Conversations [with God] Attributed to the Martyred Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī), 129 {15} [another copy on 51 {9–10}; see list by Burak].
- 371b. “*Sharḥu al-Munājāti*” (Commentary on the Intimate Conversations), 129 {15}.
- 371c. Jār Allāh Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Zamakhsharī³ (d. 1144). *Risālatun musammātun bi-Aṭwāqi al-dhahabi fī al-naṣā’ihī* (Treatise Named Collars of Gold), 129 {15–16}. EDITION:

- Aṭwāq al-dhahab fī al-mawā'iz wa-al-khuṭab*, ed. Asmā' Abū Bakr Muḥammad (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1994).
- 371d. Same as 186 (except no note of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), with variant title: *al-maqālātu al-mi'atu al-musammātu bi-Aṭbāqi al-dhahabi fī al-naṣā'ihī* (One Hundred Epistles, Titled *Collars of Gold*), 129 {16–17}.
- 371e. Jār Allāh Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī (d. 1144). *Kitābun fī al-naṣā'ihī* (A Book of Advice), 129 {17}.
- 371f. Jār Allāh Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī (d. 1144). *Risālatun fī al-naṣā'ihī* (A Book of Advice), 129 {18}.
- 371g. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). *Risālatun mawsūmatun bi-al-jumānati manzūmatun fī al-ḥikmatī* (Treatise Titled *The Divine Pearl*, in Verse), 129 {18–19} [another copy on 363 {11–12}; see list by Gutas]. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 3355 (Karatay: A 6652) fols. 185b–212b, (seal of Bayezid II).
372. Ibn al-'Arabī (?). *Kitābu al-isrā'i fī [al-taṣawwuf]*⁴ (The Book of the Night Journey), 129 {19}. EDITION: *Kitāb al-Isrā' ilā al-maqām al-asrā: 'arūj-i rūḥānī yā sayr va sulūk-i 'irfānī*, ed. Ja'far Sajjādī (Tehran: Kitābkhānah-i Ṭahūrī, 1993–94). Missing folio [between 129 and 130] in MS Török F. 59
373. Multi-text volume.
- 373a. Ibn al-'Arabī. Unidentified title due to missing folio, {...}–130 {1}.
- 373b. Ptolemy (d. 170). *Kitābu al-Baṭlamyūs fī al-ḥikmatī wa-kalimāt al-iqlishtī* (The Book of Ptolemy on Philosophy and the Words of *Iqlishtī*), 130 {1}.
- 373c. [Attributed to] Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). *Risālatu al-ṭayrī* (The Bird), 130 {2}. EDITION: *Tarjamah va matn-i Risālat al-ṭayr*, trans. Nāṣir Ṭabāṭabā'ī (Tehran: Mawlā, 2010–11).
- 373d. [Attributed to] Aḥmad bin Sa'īd (d. ?). *Risālatu al-ṭayrī* (The Bird), 130 {2}.
- 373e. [Attributed to] Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Risālatu al-ṭayrī min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (The Bird), 130 {3–4}. EDITION: "Risālat al-ṭayr," in *Majmū'at rasā'il al-Imām al-Ghazzālī*, ed. Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn, 7 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1994), 4:44–48.
374. Multi-text volume.
- 374a. "*Risālatu sharḥi al-Nazari fī al-alfāzi al-ṣūfiyyati*" (A Treatise on the Commentary on the "Gaze" in Sufi Terminology), 130 {4}.
- 374b. "*Risālatun fī al-alfāzi al-ṣūfiyyati*" (A Treatise on Sufi Terminology), 130 {4–5}.
- 374c. "*Risālatun fī mas'alati al-samā'i*" (A Treatise on the Question of [the Sufi] Audition), 130 {5}.
- 374d. Same as 222a (except no note of *fī al-taṣawwufi*), 130 {5}.
- 374e. Same as 122, 130 {5–6}.
375. Multi-text volume.
- 375a. Same as 176, 130 {6–7}.
- 375b. "*Risālatun fī 'ilmi al-ma'ānī*" (A Treatise on the Science of Rhetoric), 130 {7}.
- 375c. Same as 155 (except no note of *bi-al-fārisiyyati*), 130 {7}.
- 375d. Same as 367j (except with the note *fī al-iṣṭilāḥātī*), 130 {7–8}.
376. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2384 (seal ?).
- 376a. Abū al-Futūḥ Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Ḥabash b. Amīrak al-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl (d. 1191). *Kitābu al-alwāḥi al-'imādiyyati fī al-ḥikmatī* ([Philosophical] Tablets for 'Imādaddīn Qara Arslān), 130 {8–9} [for four other copies, see list by Gutas]. EDITION: *al-Mu'allafāt al-falsafīyah wa-al-*

- Şūfīyah: al-Alwāḥ al-ʿImādīyah, Kalimat al-Taṣawwuf, al-Lamaḥāt*, ed. Najafqulī Ḥabībī (Beirut: Manshūrāt al-Jamal, 2014).
- 376b. Abū al-Futūḥ Shihāb al-Dīn Yahyā b. Ḥabash b. Amīrak al-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl (d. 1191). *Ḥayākilu al-nūri min qibali al-ḥikmatī* (Temples of Light), 130 {9} [another copy on 348 {19}–349 {1}; see list by Gutas]. EDITION: *Hayākil al-nūr*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAlī Abū Rayyān (Cairo: al-Maktabah al-Tijārīyah al-Kubrā, 1957).
- 376c. Abū al-Futūḥ Shihāb al-Dīn Yahyā b. Ḥabash b. Amīrak al-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl (d. 1191). *Risālatu al-abrāji min qibali al-ḥikmatī* (The Treatise of Towers, on Philosophy), 130 {9–10}.
- 376d. Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭīb al-Rāzī (?) (d. 1210). *Kitābun fi iṣṭilāḥātī al-ʿilmīyyati* (A Book on Specialized Terminology), 130 {10}.
- 376e. Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). *Kitābu al-ḥudūdī fi al-iṣṭilāḥātī* (The Book of Definitions, on Terminology), 130 {10–11}. EDITION: *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd–Livres des définitions*, ed. Amélie Marie Goichon (Cairo: al-Maʿhad al-ʿIlmī al-Faransī lil-Āthār al-Sharqīyah, 1963).
377. Multi-text volume.
- 377a. “*Nuqūshu fuṣūṣi al-ḥikamī fi al-taṣawwufī*” (Figures of Ibn al-ʿArabī’s *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*), 130 {11}.
- 377b. Ibn al-ʿArabī. *Kitābu al-jalālī wa-al-jamālī fi al-taṣawwufī* (The Book of [Divine] Majesty and Beauty), 130 {11–12}. EDITION: *al-jamāl wa-al-jalāl*, ed. Maysam al-Ṣawwāf (Damascus: Maktabat Dār al-Daqqāq, 2015).
- 377c. Same as 155 (except no note of *bi-al-fārisīyyati*), 130 {12}.
- 377d. Same as 269a, 130 {12–13}.
- 377e. “*Risālatun fi ishārātī al-ḥurūfi fi al-taṣawwufī*” (A Treatise on the Symbolic Meanings of Letters, in Sufism), 130 {13}.
- 377f. “*Risālatun fi al-iṣṭilāḥātī min qibali al-taṣawwufī*” (A Treatise on Sufi Terminology), 130 {13–14}.
- 377g. “*Risālatun fi al-iṣṭilāḥātī min qibali al-taṣawwufī*” (A Treatise on Sufi Terminology), 130 {14–15}.
378. Multi-text volume.
- 378a. “*Sharḥu Fuṣūṣi al-ḥikamī fi al-taṣawwufī*” (Commentary on Ibn al-ʿArabī’s *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*), 130 {15}.
- 378b. “*Kitābu tafsīri kalāmi Allāhi wa-taʿwīli al-āyātī*” (A Book of Qurʾan Interpretation), 130 {15–16}.
- 378c. Same as 53d, 130 {16}.
- 378d. “*Sharḥu bayti Mawlānā Khudāwandigār fi al-taṣawwufī*” (Commentary on a Verse of Mawlānā Khudāwandigār [Rumi]), 130 {16–17}.
379. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4817 (seal ?).
- 379a. Ibn al-ʿArabī. *Kitābu al-ʿabādīlatī* (The Book of the Four Close Companions of Muhammad Named ʿAbdullāh), 130 {17}. EDITION: *al-ʿAbādīlah*, ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir Aḥmad ʿAṭā (Cairo: Maktabat al-Qāhira, 1969).
- 379b. Ibn al-ʿArabī (?). *Kitābu al-shāhīdī wa-al-mashāhīdī* (The Book of the Upright Tombstone and Holy Shrines), 130 {17}. EDITION (?): *Kitāb al-Shāhid*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Mārdīnī (Damascus: Dār al-Maḥabbah, 2003).
- 379c. Ibn al-ʿArabī (?). *Kitābun marqūmun bi-Tājī al-tarājīmī*⁵ (A Book Titled *Crown of Biographies*), 130 {8}. EDITION: “*Tāj al-tarājīm wa-al-qism al-Ilāhī wa-al-aḥādīyah wa-ḥīyat al-abdāl wa-rasāʾil ukhrā*,” in *Rasāʾil Ibn ʿArabī*, ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, 7 vols. (Beirut: al-Intishār al-ʿArabī, 2002), vol. 5.
- 379d. Ibn al-ʿArabī (?). *Sharḥu al-asmāʾi al-ḥusnā min al-Futūḥātī al-makkiyyati fi al-taṣawwufī* (Commentary of the Beautiful Names of God from *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah*), 130 {18–19}. EDITION: “*Maʾrifat al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā*” in *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah*, 4 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1968), 4:196–326.

380. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4807 (seal ?).
- 380a. "*Kitābun fī al-ḥikmatī*" (A Book on Philosophy), 130 {19}.
- 380b. 'Abd al-Razzāq Kamāl al-Dīn b. Abū al-Ghanā'im al-Qāshānī (?) (d. 1329–35). *Risālatun fī iṣṭilāḥātī al-ṣūfīyyati* (A Treatise on Sufi Terminology), 131 {1}.
- 380c. Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (?) (d. 1274). *Kitābu awṣāfī al-ashrāfī fī al-taṣawwufī* (The Description of the Grandees), 131 {1}.
- 380d. Same as 237a, with slight variation in title, 131 {2}.
- 380e. "*Risālatānī fī al-taṣawwufī*" (Two Treatises on Sufism), 131 {2}.
- 380f. "*Risālatun fī al-mu'ammā*" (A Treatise on Riddles), 131 {2}.
- 380g. Ḥusayn b. Ḥaydar Wahīd Tabrīzī (?) (d. 1535–36). *Risālatun mawsūmatun bi-jam'i mukhtaṣarīn fī 'ilmi al-'arūḍī* (A Treatise Titled *Synoptic Collection* on Prosody), 131 {3}.
- 380h. Abū al-Barakāt Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Jāmī (?) (d. 1492). "*Risālatun fī 'ilmi al-qawāfī*" (A Treatise on Rhyme), 131 {3}.
- 380i. Sharaf al-Dīn Abu al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Ḳaysī al-Tifashī (?) (d. 1253). "*Risālatun fī ma'rīfati al-jawāhiri al-ma'daniyyati*" (A Treatise on the Knowledge of Mineral Jewels), 131 {3–4}. EDITION: *Azhār al-afkār fī jawāhir al-aḥjār*, ed. Muḥammad Yūsuf Ḥasan and Maḥmūd Basyūnī Khafājī (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1977).
381. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1982 (?) (seal of Bayezid II).
- 381a. "*Thalāthu rasā'ila fī al-taṣawwufī*" (Three Treatises on Sufism), 131 {4}.
- 381b. Dāwud b. Maḥmūd al-Qayṣarī (?) (d. 1350). *Kitābun fī sharḥi ma'ānī naqshi al-Fuṣūṣi fī al-taṣawwufī* (A Book of Commentary on the Meanings of the Figure in Ibn al-'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*), 131 {4–5}.
- 381c. Same as 53d, 131 {5–6}.
382. Multi-text volume.
- 382a. Same as 373e, 131 {6}.
- 382b. "*Sittu rasā'ila fī al-ḥikmatī*" (Six Treatises on Philosophy), 131 {6–7}.
383. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1694 (seal of Bayezid II).
- 383a. Ibn al-'Arabī. *Kitābu al-tajalliyātī fī al-taṣawwufī* (The Book of [Divine] Self-Disclosure), 131 {7}. EDITION: *Kitāb al-Tajalliyāt*, ed. Ayman Ḥamdī (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 2002).
- 383b. Same as 224a, 131 {7–8}.
- 383c. "*Kitābun fī aḥwālī al-ḥurūfī*" (A Book on the States of Letters), 131 {8–9}.
- 383d. Same as 246, with slight variation in title, 131 {9–10}.
- 383e. "*Kitābu rashfī al-ma'īn⁶ fī kashfī ma'nā al-nubuwwati wa-sharḥu Ḥukmi al-wilāyati*" (Drinking the Surface Water in Discovering the Meaning of Prophethood and Commentary on the Jurisdiction of Sovereignty), 131 {10}.
- 383f. "*Risālatu al-lā'ihati al-'ulwīyyati fī al-taṣawwufī*" (Celestial Decree, on Sufism), 131 {11}.
384. Multi-text volume.
- 384a. "*Risālatun fī qawlihi ta'ālā wa-nafakhtu fīhi min rūḥī*" (A Treatise on the Divine Saying "And I Breathed in Him from My Spirit"), 131 {11–12}.
- 384b. Same as 373e, 131 {12–13}.
- 384c. "*Risālatu tafṣīlī aḥli al-bida'i*" (Detailed Account on Heretics), 131 {13}.
- 384d. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Ṣūfī Abū Thābit al-Daylamī (d. ca. 1197). *Risālatu ghāyati al-imkānī [fī dirāyat al-makān] fī al-tawḥīdī* (The Limits of Possibility [in the Comprehension of Space]), 131 {13–14}.

- 384e. “*Risālatu al-‘ilm*” (A Treatise on Knowledge), 131 {14}.
- 384f. Same as 229b (except with the note *fi al-taṣawwufi*, but no note of *bi-al-fārisiyyati*), 131 {14}.
- 384g. “*Risālatu nuzhati al-‘āshiqīna*” (Excursion of Lovers), 131 {14–15}.
- 384h. “*Riṣālatu nazmi Ibn al-Fāriḍ fi al-taṣawwufi*” (Treatise on the Verse of Ibn al-Fāriḍ), 131 {15}.
- 384i. “*‘Asharu rasā’ila min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Ten Treatises on Sufism), 131 {15–16}.
385. “*Thalāthūna kitāban aktharuhā li-l-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-‘Arabī fi al-taṣawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin*” (Multi-Text Volume Containing Thirty Books, Mostly of Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-‘Arabī on Sufism), 131 {16–17}.
386. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4837 (seal of Bayezid II).
- 386a. “*Kitābun fi lughāti al-Qur’āni*” (A Book on Qur’anic Terms), 131 {17}.
- 386b. “*Risālatu sharḥi al-asmā’i al-ḥusnā*” (Commentary on the Beautiful Names of God), 131 {17–18}.
- 386c. Same as 146c, with slight variation in title and with the note *fi al-taṣawwufi* instead of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*, 131 {18}.
- 386d. “*Kitābu kashfi al-asrāri fi al-taṣawwufi*” (Discovery of the Secrets), 131 {18–19}.
- 386e. Same as 380c, 131 {19}.
- 386f. “*Kitābu farā’ida manthūratin min maqālāti ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib -raḍīya Allāhu ‘anhu-*” (Book of Dispersed Pearls, of the Sayings of ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib), 131 {19}–132 {1}.
- 386g. Amīn al-Dīn Abū ‘Alī al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī (d. 1153–54). *Kitābu nathri al-la’ālī min kalimāti ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib -raḍīya Allāhu ‘anhu-* (Scattering the Pearls from the Words of ‘Alī), 132 {1–2} [for seven other copies, see lists by Gökteş and Qutbuddin]. EDITION: *Manẓūmah-i Nasr-i al-lā’ālī: ganj-i gawhar*, ed. Ḥamīd Rahbar and Fāṭimah Ruḥānī (Qom: Majma‘-i Zakhā’ir-i Islāmī, 2010).
- 386h. “*Kitābun fi al-lughati*” (A Book on Language), 132 {2}.
- 386i. “*Risālatun fi ādābi al-khaṭṭi*” (A Treatise on the Etiquette of Calligraphy), 132 {2–3}.
- 386j. “*Kitābu qānūni al-sa’ādati fi šinā’ati al-muḥāsabāti*” (The Law of Happiness in the Profession of Bookkeeping), 132 {3}.
387. “*Risālatun fi al-laṭā’ifi wa-al-aḥwālī al-taṣawwufiyyati*” (A Treatise on Subtleties and Spiritual States), 132 {4}.
388. Multi-text volume containing books mostly of Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-‘Arabī on Sufism. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 5298 (seal ?).
- 388a. Ibn al-‘Arabī. *Kitābu al-fanā’i fi al-mushāhadati* (Annihilation in Direct Witnessing), 132 {4}. EDITION: *Kitāb al-Fanā’ fi al-mushāhadah* (Hyderabad: Dā’irat al-Ma’ārif al-‘Uthmāniyah, 1942).
- 388b. Ibn al-‘Arabī. *Kitābu al-qismi al-ilāhī* (The Divine Section), 132 {5}. EDITION: “*Tāj al-tarājim wa-al-qism al-ilāhī wa-al-aḥadīyah wa-ḥilyat al-abdāl wa-rasā’il ukhrā*,” in *Rasā’il Ibn ‘Arabī*, ed. Sa’īd ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ, 7 vols. (Beirut: al-Intishār al-‘Arabī, 2002), vol. 5.
- 388c. Ibn al-‘Arabī. *Kitābu inshā’i al-jadāwili* (Composition of Drawings), 132 {5}. EDITION: *Kitāb inshā’ al-dawā’ir wa-al-jadāwil*, ed. Yūsuf Sifr Faṭṭūm (Damascus: Dār Ḥūrān lil-Ṭibā’ah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī’, 2001).
- 388d. Ibn al-‘Arabī. *Risālatu al-amri [al-muḥkami] al-marbūṭi* (The Firm Command), 132 {5}. EDITION: “*al-Amr al-Muḥkam al-Marbūṭ fi mā Yalzam Ahl Ṭarīq Allāh min al-Shurūṭ*,” in *Dhakhā’ir al-A’lāq Sharḥ Turjumān al-Ashwāq*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kurdī (Cairo, 1968).
- 388e. Ibn al-‘Arabī. *Kitābu al-‘aṣamati* (Trusted Friends), 132 {6}. EDITION: “*Kitāb al-‘Aṣama*” in *Rasā’il Ibn ‘Arabī*, ed. Sa’īd ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ, 7 vols. (Beirut: al-Intishār al-‘Arabī, 2002), 1:71–118.

- 388f. Ibn al-‘Arabī. *Kitābu maqāmi al-qurbati* (Station of Closeness), 132 {6}. EDITION: “Kitāb Maqām al-Qurba,” in *Rasā’il Ibn ‘Arabī*, ed. Sa’īd ‘Abd al-Fattāh, 7 vols. (Beirut: al-Intishār al-‘Arabī, 2002), 1:233–46.
- 388g. Ibn al-‘Arabī. *Kitābu mafātīhi al-ghaybi* (Keys to the Unseen), 132 {6}.
- 388h. Ibn al-‘Arabī. *Risālatun fī sharhi al-alfāzi* (Commentary on [Some] Terms), 132 {6–7}.
- 388i. Ibn al-‘Arabī. *Kitābu al-yā’i* (Book of the Letter Y), 132 {7}. EDITION: “*Kitāb al-Yā’*,” in *Rasā’il Ibn ‘Arabī*, 2 vols. (Hyderabad: Dā’irat al-Ma’ārif al-‘Uthmāniyah, 1948), vol. 1, treatise 10.
- 388j. Same as 379d, with slight variation in title, 132 {7}.
- 388k. Same as 269a (except no note of *fī al-taṣawwufi*), 132 {7–8}.
- 388l. Ibn al-‘Arabī. *Kitābu al-tadbīrāti al-ilāhiyyati* (Divine Governance), 132 {8}. EDITION: “*Kitāb al-Tadbīrāt al-Ilāhiyya fī Iṣlāḥ al-Mamlaka al-Insāniyya*,” in *Rasā’il Ibn ‘Arabī*, ed. Sa’īd ‘Abd al-Fattāh, 7 vols. (Beirut: al-Intishār al-‘Arabī, 2002), 2:288–406.
- 388m. Ibn al-‘Arabī. *Risālatu ashkālī dawā’iri al-‘awālimi* (The Book of Circular Drawings of the Worlds), 132 {8–9}.
- 388n. “*Rasā’ilu mukhtaṣaratun aktharuhā li-l-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-‘Arabī min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Short Treatises, Mostly by Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-‘Arabī), 132 {9}.
- 388o. “*Risālatu malḥamati al-sanati allati allafahā Dhū-al-Qarnayn fī aḥkāmi al-sanati min qibali al-nujūmi*” (Treatise on Annual Weather Prognostications Attributed to Dhū-al-Qarnayn [Alexander the Great]), 132 {10–11}.
389. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1980 (seal of Bayezid II).
- 389a. “*Kitābu fuṣūlin fī al-taṣawwufi*” (A Book [Containing] Sections, on Sufism), 132 {11}.
- 389b. Same as 219a, 132 {11–12}.
- 389c. Mawlānā Sa’d al-Dīn al-Kāshgharī (d. 1456). *Risālatu fī kayfiyyati al-dhikri wa-al-tawajjuhi fī al-taṣawwufi* (On the Conditions of Invocation and Focusing [on the Sufi Master]), 132 {12–13}.
- 389d. “*Sharḥu rubā’i al-Shaykh ‘Aṭṭār*” (Commentary on the Quatrains of ‘Aṭṭār), 132 {13}.
- 389e. “*Risālatun mawsūmatun bi-Mir’āti al-‘āshiqīna*” (Mirror for Lovers), 132 {13}.
- 389f. “*Risālatun fī faḍli al-du‘ā’i*” (A Treatise on the Virtues of Free Prayer), 132 {14}.
- 389g. “*Risālatun fī ‘ilmi al-khaṭṭi*” (A Treatise on Calligraphy), 132 {14}.
- 389h. Ṣadr al-Sharī’a al-Thānī ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Mas’ūd b. Taj al-Sharī’a ‘Umar al-Maḥbūbī al-Bukhārī (d. 1346). *Risālatu ta’wīli Qiṣṣati Yūsuf-‘alayhi al-salāmu- fī al-taṣawwufi* (Commentary of the Story of Yusuf), 132 {14–15}.
- 389i. “*Qaṣīdatun mawsūmatun bi-Waḍa’i’i al-ashḥār fī ṣanā’i’i al-ash‘ār*” (Dawn’s Deposit on the Art of Poetry), 132 {15–16}.
- 389j. Abū Mu’in Nāṣir b. Khusraw b. Ḥārith al-Qubādhiyānī al-Marwazī (d. after 1073). *Qaṣīdatu al-āfāqi wa-al-anfusi* (Ode of Horizons and Souls), 132 {16}.
390. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4819 (seal ?).
- 390a. Same as 384d (except with the note *fī al-taṣawwufi* instead of *fī al-tawḥīdi*), 132 {16–17}.
- 390b. “*Risālatu al-arba’ina al-ilāhiyyati*” (Treatise on the Divine Forty), 132 {17}.
- 390c. Abū Sa’īd Faḍl Allāh b. Abī al-Khayr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mayhanī (d. 1049). *Risālatu maqāmāti arba’ina fī al-taṣawwufi* (Forty Stations), 132 {17–18}.
- 390d. “*Risālatun mawsūmatun bi-Jihād-nāma*” (Book of Jihad), 132 {18}.
- 390e. Shaykh Abū al-Jannāb Aḥmad b. ‘Umar Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā⁸ (d. 1221). *Risālatun naḥḥisatun fī al-taṣawwufi* (Precious Treatise on Sufism), 132 {18–19}. EDITION (?): *Die Fawā’ih al-ḡamāl wa-fawātiḥ al-ḡalāl des Naḡm ad-dīn al-Kubrā: eine Darstellung mystischer Erfahrungen im Islam aus der Zeit um 1200 n. Chr.*, ed. Fritz Meier (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1957).

- 390f. “*Risālatun fī al-ma‘ārifi*” (A Treatise on Spiritual Knowledge), 132 {19}.
- 390g. “*Risālatu yazdān-shinākh*” (Knower of God), 132 {19}.
- 390h. Same as 187, with slight variation in title and with the note *fī al-taṣawwufi* instead of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*, 133 {1}.
- 390i. “*Al-Abyātu al-‘arabiyyatu wa-al-fārisiyyatu*” (Arabic and Persian Couplets), 133 {1–2}.
391. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Süleymaniye 1028 (seal ?).
- 391a. Same as 113, 133 {2}.
- 391b. Same as 39a (?), 133 {2–3}.
- 391c. Al-Shaykh al-Imām Abī Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad ibn Yazdānyār al-Anbarī (fl. 11th c.). *Kitābu rawḍati al-murīdīna^o fī al-taṣawwufi* (Garden for Aspirants), 133 {3}. EDITION: “*Rawdat al-Muridin* of Shaykh Abu Ja‘far Ibn-Yazdanyar,” ed. and trans. John Alden Williams (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1959).
- 391d. “*Risālatun fī firaqī ahli al-taṣawwufi*” (A Treatise on the Sects of Sufis), 133 {3–4}.
- 391e. Shaykh Abū al-Jannāb Aḥmad b. ‘Umar Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (?) (d. 1221). *Risālatu al-sā‘iri fī al-taṣawwufi* (The Wayfarer), 133 {4}.
- 391f. “*Risālatun qudsiyyatun fī ziyārati al-mazūri ‘alā ra’si qabrihi*” (A Sacred Treatise on Visiting the Visited at the Head of His Grave), 133 {4–5}.
- 391g. “*Risālatun fī fawā’idi al-ḥurūfi*” (A Treatise on the Benefits of Letters), 133 {5}.
- 391h. Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Jalīl al-Waṭwāt al-Balkhī (?) (d. 1182). *Risālatu sharḥi mi‘ati kalimatin li-‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib -raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhu-* (Commentary on One Hundred Sayings of ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib), 133 {5–6}.
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- 391j. “*Risālatun fī al-mashyakhatī*” (A Treatise on Sufi Masters), 133 {7}.
- 391k. “*Risālatun fī bayāni anwā’i al-mawti fī al-taṣawwufi*” (A Treatise Explaining the Different Kinds of Death according to Sufism), 133 {7–8}.
- 391l. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Qudsī (d. 1452). *Risālatu wāhibi al-mawāhibi* (The Giver of Gifts), 133 {8}.
- 391m. Same as 246, with slight variation in title and no note of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*, 133 {8–9}.
- 391n. Dāwud b. Maḥmūd al-Qayṣarī (?) (d. 1350). *Risālatu sharḥi al-Qaṣīdati al-mīmīyyati al-musammāti bi-al-Khamriyyati fī al-taṣawwufi* (Commentary on Ibn al-Fārid’s Poem Rhyming in M, Also Named Wine Poem), 133 {9–10}.
- 391o. “*Risālatu taḥarruki al-‘ishqi*” (Excitement of Love), 133 {10}.
- 391p. “*Risālatun fī khawāṣṣi al-ḥurūfi*” (A Treatise on the Special Qualities of Letters), 133 {10}.
- 391q. “*Risālatu bustāni al-ma‘rifati min kalāmi Maṣṣūr al-ma‘rūfi bi-al-Ḥallāḡ*” (The Garden of Gnosis), 133 {10–11}.
- 391r. “*Risālatu al-najāti fī ṭarīqi al-taṣawwufi*” (Salvation on the Sufi Path), 133 {11–12}.
- 391s. Same as 211b (except with the note *fī al-taṣawwufi* instead of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 133 {12}.
- 391st. “*Rasā’ilu mukhtaṣaratun*” (Short Treatises), 133 {13}.
392. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasfya 2055 (seal ?).
- 392a. “*Kitābun fī faḍā’ila min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (On Virtues), 133 {13}.
- 392b. “*Kitābu waṣīyyati rasūli Allāhi -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama- min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Last Will of the Messenger of God), 133 {14}.
- 392c. “*Risālatu al-futuwwati*” (On Generosity), 133 {14–15}.
- 392d. “*Risālatun fī al-wājibāti wa-[al-]abwābi fī al-faḍā’ili min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (A Treatise on [Religious] Obligations and Chapters on Virtues), 133 {15}.

393. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 5426 (seal ?).
- 393a. "Iḥdā wa-thalāthūna risālatan fī al-taṣawwufi wa-ghayrihi" (Thirty-One Treatises on Sufism and Other Subjects), 133 {16}.
- 393b. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Tūsī al-Ghazālī (?) (d. 1111). "*Al-Munājāt awwaluhā risālatun fī ḥamāqati ahli al-ibāḥati*" (Intimate Conversations, the First of Which Is a Treatise on the Folly of the Libertines), Persian, 133 {16–17}.
394. Multi-text volume.
- 394a. "*Risālatun fī al-akhlāqi wa-al-siyāsati*" (A Treatise on Ethics and Government), 133 {17–18}.
- 394b. "*Kitābun fī qawānīni al-mulūki*" (A Book on the Rules of Kings), 133 {18}.
- 394c. "*Risālatun manzūmatun fī al-‘aqā’idi*" (A Versified Treatise on Creed), 133 {18}.
- 394d. "*Qaṣīdatun naḥṣatun fī al-wujūdi min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (A Wonderful Ode on Being), 133 {19}.
- 394e. "*Kitābun marqūmun bi-al-ṣuḥufi al-yūnāniyyati*" (A Book Marked as Greek Tracts), 133 {19}–134 {1}.
- 394f. Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). *Kitābun mawsūmun bi-al-Jamānati al-ilāhiyyati li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikmati* (The Divine Pearl), 134 {1}. Same as 371g (?).
- 394g. Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb b. Ishāq al-Kindī (d. between 861 and 866). *Risālatun fī daḥī al-aḥzāni* (A Treatise on Dispelling Sorrow), 134 {1–2}. EDITIONS: "*al-Ḥila li-Daḥī al-Aḥzān*," in *al-Fikr al-Akhlāqī al-‘Arabī: al-Falāsifa al-Khuluqīyyīn*, ed. Majīd Fakhry (Beirut: al-Ahliyah lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī, 1979), 16–26; "The Epistle of Ya‘qūb Ibn Ishāq al-Kindī on the Device for Dispelling Sorrows," trans. Ghada Jayyusi-Lehn, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 29, no. 2 (2002): 121–35.
- 394h. "*Thalāthu rasā’ila*" (Three Treatises), 134 {2}.
395. Multi-text volume.
- 395a. Same as 211b (with the note *fī al-taṣawwufi* instead of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 134 {2–3}.
- 395b. Same as 118b, 134 {3}.
- 395c. Same as 390e (?), 134 {3–4}.
396. Multi-text volume.
- 396a. Same as 155 (except for omission of *bi-al-fārisiyyati*), 134 {4–5}.
- 396b. "*Sharḥu al-Lama’āt*" (Commentary on al-Iraqī’s *Lama’āt*), 134 {5}.
- 396c. "*Risālatu al-munāzarāti al-khamsi*" (Five Debates), 134 {5}.
- 396d. Same as 229b (except with the note *fī al-taṣawwufi*, and no note of *bi-al-fārisiyyati*), 134 {5–6}.
- 396e. "*Khamsu rasā’ila*" (Five Treatises), 134 {6}.
397. Multi-text volume. All texts on Sufism (*kulluhā fī al-taṣawwufi*). MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1644 (seal ?).
- 397a. Same as 222b (except no note of *fī al-taṣawwufi*), 134 {6–7}.
- 397b. Same as 388l, 134 {7–8}.
- 397c. Ibn al-‘Arabī. *Kitābu al-naqabā’i* (Book of Principal [Saints]), 134 {8}. EDITION: "*Kitāb al-Quṭb wa-al-nuqabā’*," in *Rasā’il Ibn ‘Arabī*, ed. Sa’īd ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ, 7 vols. (Beirut: al-Intishār al-‘Arabī, 2002), 2:18–61.
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- 397f. Ibn al-‘Arabī. *Kitābu al-ḥujubī* (Veils), 134 {9}. EDITION: *Kitāb al-ḥujub*, ed. Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Fattāh (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfa al-Dīniyya, 2004).
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398. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2144 (seal ?).
- 398a. Abū al-Futūḥ Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Ḥabash b. Amīrak al-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl (d. 1191). *Kitābu al-wāridātī wa-al-taqdīsātī min qibali al-ṭilsimātī* (Inspired Thoughts and Consecrations, on Talismans), 134 {10–11}. EDITION: “The Arabic text of *al-Wāridāt wa’l-Taqdīsāt*” in Łukasz Piątak, “Between Philosophy, Mysticism, and Magic: A Critical Edition of Occult Writings of and Attributed to Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi (1156–1191)” (PhD diss., University of Warsaw, 2018), 90–163.
- 398b. Abū Maṣṣūr ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Tha‘ālibī (d. 1039). *Kitābu al-yawāqūtī fī al-laṭā’ifī* (Book of Rubies), 134 {11}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1462 (Karatay: A 5018) (seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, A. 2535 (Karatay: A 5019) (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *al-Ẓarā’if wa-al-Laṭā’if wa-al-Yawāqūt fī ba‘ḍa al-Mawāqūt*, ed. Nāṣir Muḥammadī Muḥammad Jād, introd. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub wa-al-Wathā’iq al-Qawmiyyah, 2006).
- 398c. “*Risālatun fī al-khawāṣṣi al-Qur’āniyyati*” (A Treatise on Qur’anic Properties), 134 {11–12}.
- 398d. “*Kitābu al-ṣuḥufī al-yūnāniyyati*” (Greek Books), 134 {12}.
- 398e. “*Risālatun fī al-laṭā’ifī al-musajja’ati*” (A Treatise on Jokes in Rhymed Prose), 134 {12–13}.
- 398f. Abū ‘Alī al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. ‘Alī b. al-Sa‘īd al-Laḥmī al-Ḥasan al-‘Asqalānī (d. 1200). *Risālatun fī rasā’ila ansha’ahā al-Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Raḥīm* (A Treatise Containing Epistles Written by Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Raḥīm), 134 {13}.
- 398g. Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abdallāh Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). *Risālatun fī al-ṣalātī ‘alā zu‘mi Ibn Sīnā* (A Treatise on Prayer according to Ibn Sina), 134 {13–14}.
- 398h. “*Abwābun wa-kalimātun fī al-mawā’izī*” (Chapters and Utterances on Preaching), 134 {14}.
399. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4806 (seal ?).
- 399a. Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Qunawī (d. 1274). *Tafsīru fātiḥati al-kitābi min qibali al-taṣawwufī* (Commentary on the Opening Chapter of the Qur’an), 134 {15}. EDITION: *al-Tafsīr al-ṣūfī lil-Qur’ān, dirāsah wa-taḥqīq li-Kitāb I’jāz al-bayān fī ta’wīl umm al-Qur’ān*, ed. ‘Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad ‘Aṭā (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthah, 1969).
- 399b. Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Qunawī (d. 1274). *Kitābu al-naḥāḥātī al-ilāhiyyati fī al-taṣawwufī* (Divine Fragrances, on Sufism), 134 {15–16}. EDITION: *al-Naḥāḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah*, ed. Muḥammad Khvājavi (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Mawlā, 2005).
- 399c. Same as 49b, 134 {16}.
- 399d. “*Risālatun fī al-ḥaqā’iqī wa-al-asrārī*” (A Treatise on Truths and Secrets), 134 {17}.
- 399e. Same as 383a, 134 {17–18}.
400. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4875 (seal of Bayezid II).
- 400a. [AUTHOR] “*Kitābun min kalimāti Amīr al-Mu’minīn ‘Alī -raḍīya Allāhu ‘anhu-*” (Book of the Maxims of Commander of the Faithful ‘Alī—May God Be Pleased with Him), 134 {18–19}.
- 400b. “*Kitābun fī al-maḥabbati min qibali al-taṣawwufī*” (A Book on Love), 134 {19}.
- 400c. ‘Abd al-Razzāq Kamāl al-Dīn b. Abū al-Ghanā’im al-Qāshānī (d. 1329–35). *Risālatun fī tafṣīli al-qaḍā’i wa-al-qadari* (Treatise on the Details of the [Divine] Decree and Predestination), 134 {19}–135 {1}. EDITION: *Traité sur la prédestination et le libre arbitre* = [*al-Risālah fī al-qaḍā’ wa-al-qadar*], ed. and trans. Stanislas Guyard, introd. Gérard Leconte (Paris: Éditions orientales, 1978).

- 400d. "*Kitābu ishārāti al-Qurʾāni fī ʿilmī² al-insāni fī al-taṣawwufi*" (Qurʾanic Allusions, on Knowledge of Human Beings), 135 {1}.
- 400e. Ibn al-ʿArabī. *Kitābu natāʾiji al-adhkārī* (Effects of Invocations), 135 {2}.
- 400f. Ibn al-ʿArabī. *Kitābu tāji al-rasāʾilī* (Crown of Treatises), 135 {2}. EDITION: "*Tāj al-Rasāʾil wa Minhāj al-Wasāʾil*," in *Rasāʾil Ibn ʿArabī*, ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, 7 vols. (Beirut: al-Intishār al-ʿArabī, 2002), 2:233–87.
- 400g. Same as 379a, 135 {2}.
- 400h. Ibn al-ʿArabī. *Risālatu al-ifādati fī al-taṣawwufi* (Benefit), 135 {2–3}.
- 400i. Same as 397e, 135 {3–4}.
- 400j. Same as 388d with slight variation in title, 135 {4}.
- 400k. "*Thamānu³ rasāʾila*" (Eight Treatises), 135 {4–5}.
401. Multi-text volume. All texts by Ibn al-ʿArabī, on Sufism (*kulluhā li-l-Shaykh Muḥyi al-Dīn al-ʿArabī fī al-taṣawwufi*). MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2063 (seal ?).
- 401a. Ibn al-ʿArabī. *Kitābun fī martabati al-quṭbi wa-al-imāmayni* (On the Rank of the Pole [of Saints] and the Two Imams), 135 {5}. EDITION: "*Kitāb al-quṭb wa-al-imāmayni wa-al-mudlījīn*," in *Rasāʾil Ibn ʿArabī*, ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, 7 vols. (Beirut: al-Intishār al-ʿArabī, 2002), 1:207–32.
- 401b. Ibn al-ʿArabī. *Risālatu al-intiṣārī* (Triumph), 135 {5}. EDITION: "*Risālat al-Intiṣār*" in *Rasāʾil Ibn ʿArabī*, 2 vols. (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʾārif al-ʿUthmāniyah, 1948), vol. 2, treatise 20.
- 401c. Ibn al-ʿArabī. *Risālatu al-anwārī fīmā yumnaḥu ṣāhibu al-khalwati min al-asrārī* (Lights of Secrets Emitted by One Who Is in a Retreat), 135 {6}. EDITION: "*Risālat al-Anwār fī mā Yumnaḥu Ṣāhib al-Khalwa min al-Asrār*" in *Rasāʾil Ibn ʿArabī*, ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, 7 vols. (Beirut: al-Intishār al-ʿArabī, 2002), 3:146–231.
- 401d. Same as 388d with variant title: *Kitābu al-amri al-muḥkami al-marbūṭi fīmā yalzamu ahla ṭarīqi Allāhi min al-shurūṭi* (The Firm Command), 135 {6–7}.
- 401e. Ibn al-ʿArabī. *Risālatun fī mukātabatin ilā Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī* (Treatise on the Correspondance to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī), 135 {7–8}. EDITION: "*Risālat al-Shaykh ilā al-Imām al-Rāzī*" in *Rasāʾil Ibn ʿArabī*, 2 vols. (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʾārif al-ʿUthmāniyah, 1948), vol. 1, treatise 15.
402. Multi-text volume.
- 402a. "*Kitābu ḥaqqi al-yaqīni fī al-taṣawwufi*" (The Certain Truth), 135 {9}. Same as 208 (?) (except for omission of *bi-al-fārisiyyati*).
- 402b. Same as 229b (except with the note *fī al-taṣawwufi*, but no note of *bi-al-fārisiyyati*), 135 {9}.
- 402c. Same as 279c, 135 {9–10}.
- 402d. "*Qaṣīdatu Firdawsī min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (Ode of Firdawsī), 135 {10}.
- 402e. Ḥusayn b. Ḥaydar Wahīd Tabrizī (?) (d. 1535–36). "*Kitābu jamʿi mukhtaṣarin fī ʿilmi al-ʿarūḍi*" (A Treatise Titled *Synoptic Collection* on Prosody), 135 {11}. Same as 380g (?).
- 402f. "*Kitābun fī al-ṣalāti*" (A Book on Prayer), 135 {11}.
- 402g. Same as 176, 135 {11–12}.
- 402h. "*Risālatu fāli al-kawākibi*" (Treatise on Fortune-Telling Based on the Stars), 135 {12}.
- 402i. "*Arbaʿu rasāʾil*" (Four Treatises), 135 {12}.
403. Multi-text volume.
- 403a. Ibn al-ʿArabī.¹⁴ *Risālatun fī iṣṭilāḥāti al-ṣūfiyyati* (A Treatise on Sufi Terminology), 135 {13}. EDITION: "*Kitāb Iṣṭilāḥ al-Sūfiyya*," in *Rasāʾil Ibn ʿArabī*, 2 vols. (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʾārif al-ʿUthmāniyah, 1948), vol. 2, treatise 29.

- 403b. Ibn al-‘Arabī. *Kitābu al-maqṣadi al-asmā’ fi al-ishārāt al-Qur’āniyyati* (The Lofty Destination, on Qur’anic Allusions), 135 {14}. EDITION: “*Kitāb al-Madkhal ilā al-Maqṣad al-Asmā’ fi al-Ishārāt*,” in *Rasā’il Ibn ‘Arabī*, ed. Sa’id ‘Abd al-Fattāh, 7 vols. (Beirut: al-Intishār al-‘Arabī, 2002), 1:247–64.
- 403c. Same as 222a, 135 {14–15}.
- 403d. “*Risālatun musammātun bi-‘Umdati al-ṣūfiyyati*” (Support of Sufis), 135 {15}.
- 403e. Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abdallāh Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). *Risālatun fi al-qadā’i wa-al-qadari* (On the [Divine] Decree and Predestination), Arabic, 135 {15–16}.
- 403f. Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abdallāh Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). *Risālatun fi al-kalāmi fi al-fātiḥati ‘alā zu‘mi Ibn Sīnā* (A Theological Treatise on the Opening Chapter of the Qur’an according to Ibn Sina), 135 {16}.
- 403g. Same as 222b, 135 {17}.
- 403h. Same as 280a with slight variation in title, 135 {17–18}.
- 403i. “*Kitābu bulbulnāma al-manẓūmu*” (Book of the Nightingale, in Verse), 135 {18–19}.
- 403j. “*Khamṣa ‘asharata rasā’ilā¹⁵*” (Fifteen Treatises), 135 {19}.
404. Multi-text volume containing twenty-three treatises (*Mujalladun mulaqqabun bi-al-safīnati fīhi thalāthun ‘ishrūna risālatan*).
- 404a. Same as 222a, 135 {19}–136 {1–2}.
405. Multi-text volume.
- 405a. Same as 53b with variation in title: *Kitābu al-lawāmi‘i fī sharḥi al-Qaṣīdati al-mīmīyyati al-fāriḍiyyati* (Lawāmi‘ on the Commentary on Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s Poem Rhyming in M), 136 {2}.
- 405b. “*Sharḥu kalimatin ṭayyibatin*” (Commentary on a Good Word), 136 {2–3}.
- 405c. Abū al-Barakāt Nūr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Jāmī (d. 1492). *Sharḥu mushkilāt-i mathnawī* (Commentary on the Difficult Verses of the *Mathnawī*), 136 {3}.
- 405d. Abū al-Barakāt Nūr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Jāmī (d. 1492). *Rasā’ilu kulluhā li-l-Jāmī ba’ḍuhā fī ḡhayri al-taṣawwufi* (Treatises by al-Jāmī, Some of Them on Topics Other Than Sufism), 136 {3–4}.
406. ‘Izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ‘Alī Naṭanzī al-Kāshānī (d. 1334). *Kitābu kashfi al-wujūhi al-ghurri li-ma‘ānī Naẓmi al-durri wa-huwa sharḥu qaṣīdati Ibn Fāriḍ allatī sammāhā bi-Naẓmi al-durri fī al-taṣawwufi* (Unveiling the Finest Faces, Commentary on Ibn Fāriḍ’s *Naẓm al-Durr*), 136 {4–5}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1466 (Karatay: A 8503) (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Sharḥ-i Tā’ryat-i ibn Fāriḍ: Kashf al-wujūh al-ghurr li-ma‘ānī naẓm al-Durr*, ed. Muḥammad Bahjat (Qom: Intishārāt Āyat Ishrāq 2010).
407. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābun fi naṣā’ihī al-salāṭīni mawsūmun bi-al-Tibri al-masbūki fī naṣīḥati al-mulūki bi-al-aḥādīthi min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Book on Advice to Rulers, Titled Ingots of Gold on Advice to Kings), Persian, 136 {5–7}. EDITION: *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Humā’ī (Tehran: Anjuman-i Āthār-i Millī, 1972).
408. Same as 39a, 136 {7}.
409. Abū al-Wafā’ Maḥmūd al-Dawla al-Amīr al-Mubashshir b. Fātik al-Qā’id al-Āmīrī (d. before 1094). *Kitābu mukhtārī al-ḥikami fī al-faḍā’ili wa-al-shiyami min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Selected Aphorisms on Virtue and Character), 136 {7–8}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 3249 (Karatay: A 6680) (seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, A. 2598 (Karatay: A 6681) (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalim*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī (Madrid: al-Ma’had al-Miṣrī lil-Dirāsāt al-Islāmīyah, 1958).
410. “*Sharḥu Kitābi miftāḥi al-ghaybi fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Commentary on al-Qunawī’s *Miftāḥ al-ghayb*), 136 {8–9}.

411. Kamāl al-Dīn Abū Sālim Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b. Muḥammad al-Jaffār al-Naṣībī (al-Naṣībīnī) (d. 1254). *Kitābu nafā'isi al-'anāshiri li-majālisi al-maliki al-nāshiri fī al-akhlāqi wa-al-diyānāti bi-al-aḥādīthi min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Priceless Pieces for al-Malik al-Nāshir, on Ethics and Religious Matters), 136 {9–10}.
412. Same as 39a, 136 {10–11}.
413. “*Kitābu asrāri al-ḥukamā'i bi-khaṭṭi Yāqūt min qibali al-naṣīḥati wa-al-taṣawwufi*” (Secrets of the Sages), 136 {11–12}. MANUSCRIPT: Copyist Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī.
414. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4798 (seal of Bayezid II).
- 414a. Ābū Bakr Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Qastallānī (d. 1287). *Kitābun yaḥtawī 'alā kalāmi al-Shaykh Abī 'Abd Allāh al-Qurashī⁶ al-Hāshimī* (A Book That Contains the Sayings of al-Shaykh Abī 'Abd Allāh al-Qurashī), 136 {12–13}.
- 414b. Afīf al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh Abū al-Sa'āda b. As'ad b. 'Alī al-Yamanī al-Yāfi'ī (d. 1367). *Kitābu al-irshādi wa-al-taṭrīdi fī faḍli dhikri wa-tilāwati kitābihī al-'azīzi wa-faḍli al-awliyā'i wa-al-nāsikīna wa-al-fuqarā'i wa-al-masākīni min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Book of Guidance and Rejection, on the Benefit of Invocation and Recitation of the Noble Book and on the Merits of Saints, Ascetics, Dervishes, and Voluntary Poor), 136 {13–14}.
415. Same as 113, 136 {15}.
416. “*Kitābu al-salwati fī sharā'iṭi al-khalwati fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Book of Solace on the Conditions of Seclusion), 136 {15–16}.
417. “*Kitābu sharḥi fuṣūṣi al-ḥikami fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Commentary on *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*), 136 {16–17}.
418. “*Kitābu wārīdāti al-Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Inspirations of al-Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn), 136 {17}.
419. Same as 109 (except with the note *min qibali al-naṣīḥati wa-al-taṣawwufi* instead of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 136 {18}.
420. Shaykh Sa'd al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Amīn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Karīm b. Yaḥyā Shabistārī (?) (d. 1320). *Risālatu mir'āti al-muḥaqqiqīna min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Mirror of Those Who Realize the Truth), 136 {18–19}.
421. Multi-text volume. All texts on Sufism (*kulluhā min qibali al-taṣawwufi*). MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2854 (seal ?).
- 421a. Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Waṭwāt al-Balkhī (?) (d. 1182). *Kitābu tuḥfati al-ṣiddīqi fī sharḥi kalimāti Abī Bakr -raḍīya Allāhu 'anhu-* (Gift of the Righteous, Commentary of the Sayings of Abū Bakr), 136 {19}–137 {1}.
- 421b. Rashīd al-Dīn al-Waṭwāt(?). *Kitābu faṣli al-khiṭābi fī sharḥi kalimāti 'Umar -raḍīya Allāhu-* (Clear Judgment, Commentary on the Sayings of 'Umar), 137 {1}.
- 421c. Rashīd al-Dīn al-Waṭwāt(?). *Kitābu al-lahfāni fī sharḥi kalimāti 'Uthmān -raḍīya Allāhu 'anhu-* (Book of Sorrows, Commentary on the Sayings of 'Uthmān), 137 {2}.
- 421d. Rashīd al-Dīn al-Waṭwāt(?). *Kitābu maṭlūbi kulli ṭālibin fī sharḥi kalimāti 'Alī -raḍīya Allāhu 'anhu-* (The Book Desired by all Seekers, Commentary on the Sayings of 'Alī), 137 {2–4}.
422. “*Kitābu laṭā'ifi al-ma'ārifi fī waṣā'ifi shuhūri al-sanati min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Subtle Knowledge, on Litanies Associated with Months of the Year), 137 {4}.
423. “*Risālatun fī al-taṣawwufi wa-asālibi al-tawḥīdi*” (A Treatise on Sufism and Manners of Unification), 137 {5}.
424. “*Kitābu manāqibi Abī Zayd al-Bisṭāmī -quddisa sirruhū-*” (Hagiography of Abū Zayd al-Bisṭāmī), 137 {5–6}.

425. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu bidāyati al-hidāyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi wa-al-fiqhi* (The Beginning of Guidance), 137 {6–7}. EDITION: *Bidāyat al-hidāyah*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Darwīsh (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1998).
426. Same as 222a, 137 {7}.
427. Same as 53b with variation in title: *Kitābu lama‘āt-i Jāmī fi sharḥi al-Qaṣīdati al-mīmīyyati li-Ibn al-Fāriḍ fi al-taṣawwufi* (Book of Flashes of Light of Jāmī on the Commentary on Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s Poem Rhyming in M), 137 {7–8}.
428. Same as 211b (except with the note *fi al-taṣawwufi* instead of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 137 {8–9}.
429. Multi-text volume.
- 429a. “*Risālatu tarjamati Ṣad kalimah-i ‘Alī -raḍīya Allāhu ‘anhu-*” (Translation of the Hundred Sayings of ‘Alī), Persian, 137 {9–10} [four more copies on 259 {3, 4, 5, 6}; see list by Kim]. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4129 (seal ?); SK, Ayasofya 1453 (seal of Bayezid II).
- 429b. Nāṣir al-Dīn Wā’iz (?) (d. after 1300). *Risālatu futuwwatnāmah-i ‘Alī -raḍīya Allāhu ‘anhu-*” (Treatise of the Chivalry of ‘Alī), 137 {10} [another copy on 242 {15} (?); see list by Kim].
- 429c. Same as 155 (except for omission of *bi-al-fārisiyyati*), 137 {10–11}.
- 429d. “*Rasā’ilu ghayrihā*” (Other Treatises), 137 {11}.
430. Same as 409, 137 {11–12}.
431. “*Kitābu faḍā’ili shahri ramadān min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (On the Virtues of the Month of Ramadan), 137 {12–13}.
432. Same as 364c, 137 {13}.
433. Same as 429a with variation in title: *Kitābu tarjamahi Ṣad kalimah-i ‘Alī -karrama Allāhu wajhahū- al-manthūrati wa-al-manẓūmati min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Translation of the Hundred Sayings of ‘Alī in Prose and Verse), Arabic and Persian, 137 {14–15}.
434. Multi-text volume.
- 434a. Same as 401e with slight variation in title, 137 {15–16}.
- 434b. “*Risālatu qismati al-rub‘i al-maskūni naqlan ‘an Baṭlamyūs*” (Treatise on the Inhabited Quarter, Transmitted from Ptolemy), 137 {16–17}.
435. Same as 205 with slight variation in title (except with the note *min qibali al-taṣawwufi* instead of *fi al-taṣawwufi*), 137 {17}.
436. “*Risālatu waṣīyyati ‘Alī -karrama Allāhu wajhahū- fi al-taṣawwufi*” (Counsel by ‘Alī), 137 {17–18}.
437. “*Risālatun fi faḍā’ili ba‘ḍi al-aḥwālī bi-khaṭṭin gharībīn min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (A Treatise on the Merits of Certain States, in a Strange Calligraphic Hand), 137 {18–19}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4012 (seal of Bayezid II).
438. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2033 (seal of Bayezid II).
- 438a. Same as 78 [Selections] (except with the note *fi al-naṣā’ihī* instead of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 137 {19}.
- 438n. “*Risālatu al-aḥādīthī*” (A Treatise of Hadith), 138 {1}.
- 438c. Same as 345 (except for addition of *bi-al-fārisiyyati*), Persian, 138 {1–2}.
439. Same as 223c, 138 {2}.
440. Same as 289 (except with the note *fi al-naṣīḥati min qibali al-taṣawwufi* instead of *min qibali al-naṣā’ihī wa-al-taṣawwufi*), 138 {3}.
441. Same as 38 (except with the note *fi al-taṣawwufi* instead of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 138 {3–4}.
442. Sa’id al-Dīn Abū ‘Uthmān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Kāsānī al-Farghānī (d. 1300). *Mashāriqu al-darārī fi sharḥi Naẓmi al-durri li-Ibn al-Fāriḍ fi al-taṣawwufi* (Rising Places of Glittering Stars, Commentary on *Naẓm al-Durr* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ), 138 {4–5}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, H. 232 (Karatay: F 932) (seal of Bayezid II).

443. Multi-text volume.
- 443a. Same as 131 (except for omission of *bi-al-fārisiyyati*), 138 {5–6}.
- 443b. “*Qurratu al-‘uyūni min qibali al-mawā‘izī*” (Delight of the Eyes, on Preaching), 138 {6}.
444. Same as 30, Persian, 138 {6–7}.
445. “*Kitābu mukhtārī al-ḥikami wa-al-ādābi min qibali al-naṣīḥati*” (Selected Aphorisms and Points of Etiquette), 138 {7–8}.
446. Same as 75 (except with the note *min qibali al-naṣīḥati* instead of *fī al-naṣā‘ihī wa-al-ṭarā‘ifī min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 138 {8–9}.
447. “*Kitābu nakhlistān min qibali al-naṣīḥati*” (Palm Grove), 138 {9}.
448. “*Kitābu laṭā‘ifī al-ma‘ārifi fīmā li-mawāsimi al-‘āmmi min al-waṣā‘ifī min qibali al-naṣīḥati*” (Subtle Knowledge on Litanies), 138 {9–10}.
449. Same as 37, 138 {10–11}.
450. Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a al-Thānī ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd b. Tāj al-Sharī‘a ‘Umar al-Maḥbūbī al-Bukhārī (?) (d. 1346). *Risālatu Khawāja ‘Ubayd Allāh fī sharḥi al-rubā‘ al-mashhūr min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (A Treatise of Khawāja ‘Ubayd Allāh, Commentary on the Famous Quatrain [?]), 138 {11–12}.
451. “*Risālatun fī naṣā‘ihī al-mulūki min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Advice for Kings), Persian, 138 {12–13}.
452. “*Risālatun fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Treatise on Sufism), Persian, 138 {13}.
453. Same as 186 (except with the note *fī al-taṣawwufi* instead of *fī al-naṣīḥati min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 138 {14}.
454. Multi-text volume.
- 454a. Ibn al-Qāṣi Abī al-Baqā‘ ‘Alī ibn ‘Uthmān al-Muqrī (?). *Risālatu qurrati al-‘ayni fī al-amthālī min qibali al-naṣīḥati* (Pleasure for the Eye, Pertaining to Proverbs), Arabic, 138 {14–15} [another copy on 221 {4–5}; see list by Markiewicz].
- 454b. “*Awāmilu fī al-naḥwi*” (Agents in Syntax), 138 {15}. Same as 358b (?).
- 454c. “*Miṣbāḥun fī al-naḥwi*” (Lamp, on Syntax), 138 {15–16}.
455. Multi-text volume.
- 455a. Same as 43 (except with the note *fī al-ṭurafi min qibali al-naṣā‘ihī* instead of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 138 {16}.
- 455b. “*Munsha‘ati ba‘ḍi al-afāḍilī*” (Letters of Some Learned Men), 138 {17}.
- 455c. “*Rasā‘ilu ukhrā*” (Other Treatises), 138 {17–18}.
456. Multi-text volume.
- 456a. “*Hibatu al-ḥaqā‘iq bi-al-mughūliyyati fī al-naṣīḥati wa-al-taṣawwufi*” (Gift of Truths), 138 {18}.
- 456b. “*Risālatu ḥurūfi al-suryānī ‘alā naw‘in min khuṭūṭihim wa-huwa alladhī yuktabu al-Injilu bihī*” (A Treatise in Syriac letters, in a Special Calligraphic Hand of Theirs, Which Is What They Write the Gospels In), Syriac?, 138 {18–19}.
457. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm Tāj al-Dīn Ibn ‘Atā Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 1309). *Kitābu laṭā‘ifī al-minani fī manāqibi al-Shaykh Abī al-‘Abbās wa-shaykhihī min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (The Subtle Blessings in the Sainly Lives of Abū al-‘Abbās al-Mursī and His Master), 139 {1}. EDITIONS: *Laṭā‘if al-minan fī manāqib al-Shaykh Abī al-‘Abbās al-Mursī wa-shaykhihī al-Shādhilī Abī al-Ḥasan*, ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyah, 1998); *The Subtle Blessings in the Sainly Lives of Abū al-‘Abbās al-Mursī and His Master Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, the Founders of the Shādhilī Order = Laṭā‘if al-minan* (Louisville, KY: Fons Vitae, 2005).

458. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Naḥḥās al-Dimishqī al-Dimyāṭī (d. 1411). *Kitābu mashārī'i al-ashwāqi min qibali al-naṣā'ihi* (Drinking Place of Desires), 139 {2}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 648 (Karatay: A 2994) (seal of Bayezid II, erased).
459. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 3832 (seal ?).
- 459a. Fakhr al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭīb al-Rāzī (d. 1210). *Kitābu jāmi'i al-'ulūmi*, 139 {2}. EDITION: *Jāmi' al-'ulūm*, ed. 'Alī Āl Dāwud (Tehran: Bunyad-i Muwqūfāt Duktār Maḥmūd Afshār, 2003).
- 459b. Sa'd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mu'ayyad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī Hamawiyya Baḥrābādī Juwaynī (d. after 1272). *Risālatu al-miṣbāhi fi al-taṣawwufi* (The Lantern, on Sufism), 139 {3}.
- 459c. Same as 53e, 139 {3–4}.
460. "*Kitābu tāji al-sa'ādati fi al-naṣiḥati al-malikiyyati*" (Crown of Felicity), 139 {4}.
461. Multi-text volume.
- 461a. Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Fārābī (d. 950). *Kitābun fi al-siyāsati al-mulūkiyyati wa-al-akhlāqi al-ikhtiyāriyyati min qibali al-naṣiḥati* (Governance of Kings and Voluntary Ethics), 139 {4–5} [two more copies on 197 {11}, 198 {8}; see list by Yılmaz]. EDITION: *Risālah fi al-siyāsah*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad Isbir (Damascus: al-Takwīn, 2006).
- 461b. "*Risālatu al-ṣuḥufi li-l-Shaykh al-Akmal fi al-taṣawwufi*" (Books of al-Shaykh al-Akmal), 139 {5–6}.
462. Multi-text volume.
- 462a. 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-Salām b. Aḥmad b. Ghānim al-Maqdisī (d. 1280). *Kashfu al-asrāri 'an ḥikami al-tuyūri wa-al-azhāri min qibali al-mawā'izi wa-al-naṣā'ihi* (Unveiling of Secrets about Birds and Flowers), 139 {6–7}. EDITION: *Kashf al-asrār fi ḥikam al-tuyūr wa-al-azhār*, ed. 'Alā' 'Abd al-Waḥhāb Muḥammad (Cairo: Dār al-Faḍīlah, 1995).
- 462b. "*Risālatun gharibatun*" (A Strange Treatise), 139 {7–8}.
463. Same as 462a, 139 {8–9}.
464. Same as 53d (except for omission of *bi-al-fārisiyyati*), 139 {9}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 4062 (seal of Bayezid II).
465. "*Sharḥu rubā' Abī al-Khayr Ḥawrā' be-naṣārat-i nigāram ṣaf'zad min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (Commentary on the Quatrain of Abū al-Khayr, "Black-Eyed Houris Lined up to See My Sweetheart"), 139 {10}.
466. Same as 12, 139 {11}.
467. Multi-text volume. All texts between 466a–466f (?) by Ibn al-'Arabī (*Kulluhā li-l-Shaykh al-'Arabī*). MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1862 (seal ?).
- 467a. Same as 379d with slight variation in title, 139 {12}.
- 467b. Same as 383a, 139 {12}.
- 467c. Same as 397f (except with the note *fi al-taṣawwufi*), 139 {12–13}.
- 467d. Same as 397g, 139 {13}.
- 467e. Same as 397d, with slight variation in title: *Risālatu al-mu'awwalu 'alayhi fi al-taṣawwufi* (Reliable Treatise), 139 {13–14}.
- 467f. Same as 223c (?) (except for omission of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 139 {14}.
- 467g. "*Risālatun fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi*" (A Treatise on Theology), 139 {14–15}.
468. "*Kitābu tawṭi'ati al-mihādi fi faḍli al-jihādi fi al-naṣiḥati al-mulūkiyyati*" (Preparation of the Resting Place, on the Merits of Jihad), 139 {15–16}.
469. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Farḥ al-Anṣārī al-Qurṭubī Ibn Ṭalla' (d. 1273). *Kitābu al-tadhkirati bi-umūri al-ākhirati li-l-Qurṭubī min qibali al-naṣiḥati* (Reminder of Matters Relating to the Other World), 139 {16–17}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1453 (Karatay: A 5114) (seal

- of Bayezid II). EDITION: *al-Tadhkirah fī aḥwāl al-mawtā wa-umūr al-ākhirah*, ed. Yūsuf ‘Alī Badiwī, 3 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1999).
470. Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Qunawī (d. 1274); Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. Muḥammad al-Fanārī (d. 1431). *Kitābu miṭṭāḥi al-ghayb li-Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī ka-taba ‘alayhi sharḥu Mawlānā al-Fanārī fī al-taṣawwufi* (Commentary by Fanārī on *Miṭṭāḥ al-Ghayb* of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī), 139 {17–18}. Same as 66 and 70a.
471. Multi-text volume.
- 471a. “*Kitābun al-manẓūmati li-Wafā-zāda -quddisa sirruhū- fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Verses by Wafā-zāda), Turkish, 139 {18–19}.
- 471b. “*Risālatun fī faḍli Makka -sharrafahā Allāhu ta‘ālā-*” (A Treatise on the Virtues of Mecca), 139 {19}–140 {1}.
472. “*Kitābu al-muḥāḍarāti fī al-mawā‘izi wa-gharā’ibi al-ka[lī]māt*” (Lectures, on Preaching and Peculiar Words) [in four volumes], 140 {1–2}.
473. “*Kitābun fī al-naṣā’ih*” (Book on Counsels), Persian, 140 {2}.
474. “*Kitābun fī ‘ilmi al-akhlāq*” (Book on Ethics), 140 {2–3}.
475. Same as 109 (except for omission of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), Persian, 140 {3}.
476. Multi-text volume.
- 476a. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Samarqandī (d. 1303). *Kitābu al-ṣaḥā’ifi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi* (Pages on the Science of *Kalām*), 140 {3–4} [two more copies on 64 {6–7, 7}; see list by Atçıl]. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1864 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITIONS: *al-Ṣaḥā’if al-Ilāhiyya*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Sharīf (Kuwait: Maktabat al-Falāḥ, 1985); *al-Ṣaḥā’if al-Ilāhiyya*, ed. Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazidī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2007).
- 476b. Same as 209, 140 {4–5}.
- 476c. Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Mas‘ūd b. Muṣliḥ al-Shīrāzī (d. 1311). *Sharḥu Ḥikmat al-ashrāfi* [read: *ishrāfi*] (Commentary on the Philosophy of Illumination), 140 {5} [for seven other copies, see list by Akbulut and el-Rouayheb]. MANUSCRIPTS: A. 3229 (Karatay, 6700) (seal of Bayezid II); A. 3236 (Karatay, 6701) (seal of Bayezid II); A. 3280 (Karatay, 6702) (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Sharḥ-i Ḥikmat al-ishrāq-i Suhravardī*, ed. ‘Abd Allāh Nūrānī and Maḥdī Muḥaqqiq (Tehran: Mu‘assasah-i Muṭāla‘āt-i Islāmī, Dānishgāh-i Tihārān, Dānishgāh-i Makgīl, 2001).
477. Same as 53e (except for addition of *bi-al-fārisiyyati*), Persian, 140 {6}.
478. “*Tuḥfatu al-mulūki fī al-naṣā’ih al-‘ajībat*” (Gift for Kings), 140 {6–7}. Same as 299g (?).
479. “*Thalāthu rasā’ila min qibali al-taṣawwufi*” (Three Treatises on Sufism), 140 {7}.
480. “*Kitābu al-ḥikami wa-al-mawā‘izi*” (Aphorisms and Sermons), 140 {7–8}.
481. “*Kitābu ghurari al-ḥikami fī mawā‘izi Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib -raḍīya Allāhu ‘anhu-*” (Finest Aphorisms, on the Counsels of ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib), 140 {8–9}.
482. Same as 54, 140 {9–10}.
483. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1411 (Karatay A 8675) (seal of Bayezid II).
- 483a. Same as 224e, 140 {10}.
- 483b. Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). *Kitābu al-ishārāti fī al-ḥikmat al-falsafiyyati* (Remarks [and Admonitions]), 140 {11}.
484. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1957 (seal of Bayezid II).
- 484a. Same as 273a with slight variation in title: *Kitābu al-ṭahārati li-Ibn Miskawayh¹⁷ fī tahdhībi al-akhlāqi* (The Purity in Perfecting Morals), 140 {11–12}.
- 484b. Same as 273b with slight variation in title: *Risālatun fī al-akhlāqi* (Treatise on Ethics), 140 {12–13}.

485. “*Tuḥfatu al-wuzarā’i fī al-mawā’izī*” (Gift for Viziers), 140 {13}.
486. Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Mubārak b. Mawhūb (fl. 12th c.). *Tarjamatu Kitābi naṣīhati al-mulūki* (Translation of [al-Ghazālī’s] Counsel for Kings), Arabic, 140 {13–14} [Persian original in 407, above]. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2868 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: al-Ghazālī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī naṣīhat al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Damaj (Beirut: Mu’assasat ‘Izz al-Dīn, 1996).
487. Same as above (?), Arabic, 140 {14}.
488. ‘Alī b. Shihāb al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Hamadānī (d. 1385). *Dhakhīratu al-mulūki fī al-naṣā’ihī* (Treasure of Kings), 140 {15}. EDITION: *Dhakhīrat al-Mulūk*, ed. Sayyid Maḥmūd Anwārī (Tabriz: Mu’assasah-i Tārīkh va Farhang-i Irān, 1979).
489. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu naṣīhati al-mulūki* (Book of Counsel for Kings), Persian, 140 {15–16}. EDITION: *Naṣīhat al-mulūk*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Humā’ī (Tehran: Bābak, 1982).
490. Same as 488, 140 {16–17}.
491. “*Kitābu al-naḥāḥātī min qibali al-taṣawwufī*” (Book of Scents), 140 {17}.
492. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu siyari al-mulūki fī al-naṣā’ihī al-‘ajībati* (Lives and Manners of Kings), 140 {18–19}.
493. Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Ishāq al-Ṭūsī Nizām al-Mulk (d. 1092). *Kitābu siyari al-mulūki fī al-naṣā’ihī al-‘ajībati* (Lives and Manners of Kings), 140 {19} [another copy on 197 {9}; see list by Yılmaz]. EDITION: Nizām al-Mulk. *Siyar al-Mulūk (Siyāsatnāma)*, ed. Hubert Darke (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bungāh-i Tarjumah va Nashr-i Kitāb, 1968).
494. Same as above, 141 {1}.
495. Ḥakīm Abū al-Ma’ālī ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr al-Miyānaji ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt al-Hamadānī (d. 1131). *Majmū’atu rasā’ili min qibali al-mawā’izī* (Collection of Treatises), 141 {1–2}.
496. “*Kitābu al-siyāsati al-mulūkiyyati fī al-akhlāqī al-marḍiyyati*” (Government of Kings), 141 {2–3}.
497. “*Risālatu al-akhlāqī al-ḥamīdatī*” (Good Manners), Persian, 141 {3}.
498. Same as 78 [Selections] (except with the note *fī al-naṣā’ihī* instead of *min qibali al-taṣawwufī*), 141 {4}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4304 (seal of Bayezid II).
499. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4245 (seal ?).
- 499a. “*Maḥāsīnu al-shiyami tarjamatu sirāji al-mulūki*” (Beauties of Character, Translation of *Lamp for Kings*), Persian, 141 {4–5}.
- 499b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. ‘Alā al-Dīn al-Miṣrī al-Qaraḥīṣarī (?) (d. after 1483). “*Risālatu ash-rāṭī al-sā’atī*” (Portents of Judgment Day), 141 {5}.
- 499c. “*Rāḥatu al-insāni fī al-mawā’izī*” (Human Being’s Comfort), 141 {5–6} [possibly three other copies on 198 {4}, 255 {6}, and 255 {17}; see list by Yılmaz].
500. “*Kitābu al-kalimi al-rūḥāniyyati fī al-ḥikami al-yūnāniyyati fī al-mawā’izī*” (Spiritual Utterances on Greek Wisdom), 141 {6}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 4041 (seal of Bayezid II).
501. Same as 461a with slight variation in title, 141 {7}.
502. “*Zafarnāma min qibali al-naṣā’ihī*” (The Book of Victory), 141 {8} [two more copies with same title on 251 {3, 4}; see list by Fleischer and Şahin].
503. Same as 364c, 141 {8}.
504. Same as above, 141 {9}.
505. “*Kitābu al-qalā’idi fī al-naṣā’ihī al-musajja’atī*” (Book of Necklaces, Advice Literature in Rhymed Prose), 141 {9}. Same as 117b (?).
506. Same as above, 141 {10}.

507. Abū al-Barakāt Nūr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Jāmī (d. 1492). *Sharḥu al-rubā‘iyyāti* (Commentary on Quatrains), Persian, 141 {10–11}. EDITION: *Sih risālah dar taṣawwuf lavāmi‘ va lavāyih dar sharḥ-i Qasīdah-i Khamrīyah-i ibn Fāriḍ, va dar bayān-i ma‘ārif va ma‘ānī-i ‘irfānī, bi-inzimām-i sharḥ-i rubā‘iyyāt dar vahdat-i vujūd* (Tehran: Kitābkhānah-i Manūchihri, 1981).
508. ‘Alī b. Shihāb al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Hamadānī (d. 1385). *Thalāthu rasā’ila fī al-taṣawwufi* (Three Treatises on Sufism), 141 {11}.
509. Multi-text volume.
- 509a. Same as 505, 141 {11–12}.
- 509b. “*Risālatu kāghidnāma*” (The Book of Paper), 141 {12} [another copy on 194 {1}; see list by Fleischer and Şahin].
510. Multi-text volume.
- 510a. Same as 380c (except for omission of *fī al-taṣawwufi*), 141 {13}.
- 510b. Şā’in al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Turka al-Işfahānī (d. 1427). *Risālatun fī al-marātibi al-thalāthi al-şūfiyyati* (Treatise on the Three Ranks of Sufis), 141 {13}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1914, fols. 34a–49b (seal of Bayezid II).
- 510c. Amīr Fakhr al-Sādāt Rukn al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. ‘Ālim b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Ghūrī al-Ḥusaynī (d. after 1329). *Risālatu qalandarnāma* (Book of Wandering Dervishes), Persian, 141 {13–14}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1914, fols. 50b–52a (undated and without copyist’s name; illuminated title; Ottoman period; 15 lines, 169 x 100, 108 x 50 mm; seal of Bayezid II). EDITION:
511. Multi-text volume.
- 511a. “*Risālatun fī al-manṭiqi*” (Treatise on Logic), 141 {14}.
- 511b. “*Risālatun fī al-taṣawwufi wa-ghayrihimā*” (Treatise on Sufism and Other [Topics]), 141 {14–15}.
512. Multi-text volume.
- 512a. [starting with] “*Risālatun fī al-taṣawwufi*” (starting with Treatise on Sufism), 141 {15}.
- 512b. [ending with] “*Bustānu al-maqlūbi*” (and at the end is Inverted Garden), 141 {15–16}.
513. Multi-text volume.
- 513a. “*‘Aynu al-fawā’idi min qibali al-naṣā’ihī*” (Fountainhead of Benefits), 141 {16}.
- 513b. “*Risālatun fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Treatise on Sufism), 141 {17}.
514. Multi-text volume.
- 514a. “*Kitābu ghamgusār min qibali al-naṣā’ihī*” (Book of the Dear Friend), 141 {17–18}.
- 514b. “*Risālatun fī al-naṣā’ihī wa-al-muḥāḍarātī*” (A Treatise of Counsel and Admonition), 141 {18}.
515. “*Majmū‘atun min rasā’ila fī manāqibi al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Kabīr -quddisa sirruhū-*” (Compendium of Treatises on the Epic Deeds of al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Kabīr—May His Secret Be Sanctified), Turkish and Persian, 141 {19}–142 {1}.
516. “*Majmū‘atun min al-kalimāti al-mutafarriqati aktharuhā min qibali al-mawā’izi*” (A Collection of Disparate Sayings, Mostly Religious Counsel), 142 {1–2}.
517. *Majmū‘atun min ...* Multi-text volume.
- 517a. “*Rasā’ila fī al-ḥikamīyyāti al-falsafīyyati wa-ghayrihā*” (Treatises on Philosophical Maxims and Other Topics), 142 {2}.
- 517b. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu al-maḍnūni bihī ‘alā ghayri ahlihī fī al-taṣawwufi* (What is Shunned from the Dilettante), 142 {3} [another copy on 64 {2–3}; see list by Atçıl]. EDITIONS: “*al-Maḍnūn bihī ‘alā Ghayr Ahlihī*,” in *Majmū‘a Rasā’il al-Imām al-Ghazālī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1994); *al-Maḍnūn bihī ‘alā Ghayr Ahlihī*, ed. Muṣṭafā ‘Abd Allāh (Damascus: al-Ḥikma, 1996); *The Mysteries of the Human Soul*, trans. Abdul Qayyum Shafaq Hazarvi (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1981).

518. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1724 (seal ?).
- 518a. Ibn al-‘Arabī. *Kitābu al-dhakhā’iri wa-al-aghhlāqi fī sharḥi Tarjumāni al-ashwāqi fī al-taṣawwufi* (Book of Treasures and Locks, Commentary on *Tarjumān al-Ashwāq*), 142 {4–5}. EDITION: *Dhakhā’ir al-a’lāq, sharḥ Turjumān al-ashwāq*, ed. Khalīl ‘Umrān al-Manṣūr (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyah, 2000).
- 518b. Same as 66, 142 {5–6}.
- 518c. Same as 49c, 142 {6–7}.
- 518d. Same as 49b, 142 {7–8}.
519. Multi-text volume, containing a compendium of treatises (*Majmū‘atun min rasā’ila fihā*).
- 519a. Majd al-Dīn Abū al-Futūḥ Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 1126). *Kitābu al-sawānihi fī al-‘ishqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Auspicious Thoughts), 142 {8–9}. EDITION: *Sawāniḥ*, ed. Helmut Ritter (Istanbul: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1942).
520. Multi-text volume, containing a compendium of treatises (*Majmū‘atun min rasā’ila fihā*).
- 520a. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Risālatu al-naḥkhi wa-al-taswiyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Book of Swelling Up and Leveling), 142 {9–10}. EDITION: *Naḥkh al-rūḥ wa-al-taswiyah*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥijāzī al-Saqqā (Cairo: Maktabat al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah, 1979).
- 520b. Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭīb al-Rāzī (d. 1210). *Risālatu fī tafsīri al-suwari al-arba‘i fī al-maṭālibi al-arba‘ati* (Commentary on Four Qur’anic Verses), 142 {11–12} [another copy on 340 {7–10}; see list by Gutas].
521. Multi-text volume, containing a compendium (*Majmū‘atun*).
- 521a. [starting with] “*Sharḥu al-alfāzi al-ṣūfiyyati*” (Commentary on Sufi Terms), 142 {12}.
- 521b. Same as 45 [summary], 142 {13}.
- 521c. “*Naḥā’isu taṣānifi al-Shaykh Muḥyi al-Dīn al-‘Arabī-quddisa sirruhū*” (Delicacies of the List of Works of Shaykh Muḥyi al-Dīn al-‘Arabī—May His Secret Be Sanctified), 142 {13–14}.
522. Multi-text volume, containing a compendium of treatises (*Majmū‘atun min rasā’ila*).
- 522a. [starting with] “*Risālatun fī tarakkubi jasadi al-insāni*” (A Treatise on the Composition of the Human Body), 142 {14–15}.
- 522b. [second] Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭīb al-Rāzī (d. 1210). *Nuskhatu Waṣīyyati min qibali al-mawā’izi* (Copy of [His] Testament), 142 {15–16}.
523. Multi-text volume, containing a compendium of treatises (*Majmū‘atun min rasā’ila*).
- 523a. [starting with] “*Risālatu al-mahdi*” (Treatise on the Messiah), 142 {16–17}.
- 523b. Ṣā’in al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Turka b. Dāwud al-Iṣfahānī (?) (d. 1427). *Ḍaw’u al-lama’āti fī al-‘ishqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Brilliant Flashes of Light, on Love), 142 {17}.
524. Multi-text volume, containing a compendium of treatises (*Majmū‘atun min rasā’ila*).
- 524a. [starting with] “*Risālatun fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Treatise on Sufism), Persian, 142 {18}.
- 524b. “*Risālatun fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Treatise on Sufism), Persian, 142 {19}.
525. Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭīb al-Rāzī (d. 1210). *Kitābun mawsūmun bi-Asrāri al-tanzīli min qibali al-naṣā’iḥi* (Book Titled *Secrets of Revelation*), 142 {19}–143 {1}. EDITION: *Asrār al-tanzīl wa-anwār al-ta’wīl*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥijāzī al-Saqqā (Cairo: al-Maktabah al-Azhariyah lil-Turāth, 2014).
526. Same as above, 143 {1–3}.
527. “*Risālatun fī al-naṣiḥati*” (Treatise on Advice Literature), 143 {3}.
528. Abū al-Futūḥ Shihāb al-Dīn Yahyā b. Ḥabash b. Amīrak al-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl (d. 1191). *Risālatu mūnisi al-‘ushshāqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Lovers’ Companion), 143 {3–4}. EDITION:

- Mu'nis al-'ushshāq li-Shaykh al-Ishrāq*, ed. Muḥammad 'Alā' al-Dīn Maṣṣūr (Cairo: Markaz Jāmi'at al-Qāhirah, 1997).
529. "*Mir'ātu al-qulūbi min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (Mirror of the Hearts), Turkish, 143 {4}.
530. "*Risālatu farā'idī Allāhi wa-hiya arba'atun wa-khamsūna farīdatan min qibali al-taṣawwufi*" (Treatise on God's Precepts, Which Are Fifty-Four Precepts), 143 {5}.
531. Multi-text volume.
- 531a. Same as 443b, 143 {6}.
- 531b. Same as 266 (except with the note *fi 'ilmi al-shi'ri* instead of *fi al-taṣawwufi*), 143 {6}.
- 531c. "*Risālatun fi al-naṣā'ihī*" (A Treatise on Advice Literature), 143 {7}.
- 531d. Same as 155 (except for omission of *fi al-taṣawwufi*), 143 {7}.
- 531e. Same as 199 (except with the note *min qibali al-naṣā'ihī* instead of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 143 {7–8}.
532. Multi-text volume.
- 532a. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). *Risālatun fi ummahāti al-faḍā'ili wa-al-akhlāqi* (A Treatise on Principal Virtues and Good Manners), Arabic, 143 {8–9}.
- 532b. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). *Risālatu mukātabātihī ma'a Abī Sa'īd* (Treatise on Ibn Sina's Correspondence with Abū Sa'īd), 143 {9}.
533. Multi-text volume. All texts by al-Ghazālī, on Sufism (*Kulluhā li-Ḥujjat al-Islām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhū- min qibali al-taṣawwufi*). MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4810 (seal ?).
- 533a. Same as 118a, 143 {10}.
- 533b. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Risālatu al-'ilqī⁸* (Treatise of the Precious Object), 143 {10}.
- 533c. Same as 517b (except with the note *min qibali al-taṣawwufi* instead of *fi al-taṣawwufi*), 143 {10–11}.
- 533d. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu al-farqi bayna al-zandaqati wa-al-īmāni* (Distinction between Heresy and Faith), 143 {11–12} [two more copies on 63 {9–10}, 64 {1–2}; see list by Atçıl]. EDITIONS: *Fayṣal al-Tafrīqa bayna al-Islām wa-al-Zandaqa*, ed. Sulaymān Dunyā (Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, 1961); Sherman A. Jackson, *On the Boundaries of Theological Tolerance in Islam: Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī's Fayṣal al-Tafrīqa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); *Le Critère de distinction entre l'islam et l'incroyance*, ed. and trans. Mustapha Hogga (Paris: J. Vrin, 2010).
534. "*Kitābun min qibali al-naṣā'ihī*" (A Book of Advice Literature), Persian, 143 {12–13}.
535. Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf Pasha Khiḍr Beg b. Qāḍī Jalāl al-Dīn 'Arif (d. 1486). *Taḍarru'nāmah-i Sinān Pāshā al-marḥūmi min qibali al-mawā'izi* (Book of Entreaty), 143 {13}. EDITION: *Tazarru'nāme = Yakarışlar kitabı*, ed. Mertol Tulum (Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2014).
536. "*Kitābu al-laṭā'ifi fi al-naṣā'ihī al-mulūki wa-ghayrihim*" (Book of Pleasant Stories, [Meant] as Advice for Kings and Others), 143 {14}.
537. Multi-text volume.
- 537a. "*Kitābu 'Abd al-Raḥīm mimmā samī'ahū min wālidihī fi al-taṣawwufi*" (Book of 'Abd al-Raḥīm, as Recorded by His Son), 143 {14–15}.
- 537b. "*Risālatu al-farqi bayna 'ilmi al-sharī'ati wa-al-ḥaqīqati*" (Treatise on the Difference between the Knowledge of the Divine Law and the Knowledge of the Truth), 143 {15–16}.
- 537c. Same as 33, 143 {16}.

538. Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. 932). *Kitābu al-furūqi wa-hiya mi’atun wa-arba’atun wa-sittūna farqan min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (Book of [Legal?] Differences, Which Are One Hundred and Sixty-Four [in Number]), 143 {17–18}. EDITION: *al-Furūq wa-man’ al-tarāduf*, ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Juyūshī (Cairo: Maktabat al-Īmān, 2005).
539. “*Kitābu al-lawā’ihī fi al-taṣawwufi*” (Splendors) [in one volume], 143 {18}. Same as 264a (?). MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2033 (seal of Bayezid II).
540. Same as 53b with slight variation in title: *Lawāmi’u fi sharḥi al-Qaṣidati al-mīmiyyati al-khamriyyati al-fāridiyyati fi al-taṣawwufi* (Light Rays, Commentary on the Wine Ode in M of Ibn al-Fārid), 143 {19}–144 {1}.
541. Multi-text volume.
- 541a. Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn ‘Alī Ibn al-Fārid (d. 1235). *Dīwānu Ibn al-Fārid fi al-taṣawwufi* (Collection of Poetry), 144 {1}. Same as 101 (?). MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 3877, (seal of Bayezid II, Mahmud I’s endowment seal); TSMK, R. 707 (Karatay: A 8496) (seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, A. 1569 (Karatay: A 8497) (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Dīwān Ibn al-Fārid*, ed. Mahdī Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1990).
- 541b. “*Kitābu manṭūqāti al-‘abādilati fi al-taṣawwufi*” (Book of Utterances of the Four ‘Abdullāhs, All Companions of the Prophet), 144 {1–2}.
542. Same as 443b (except with the note *min qibali* [al-amthāl wa-ṣaḥḥ] al-mawā’izi instead of *min qibali al-mawā’izi*), 144 {2}.
543. “*Kitābun fi al-ma’ārifi al-taṣawwufiyyati*” (A Book of Sufi Knowledge), Persian, 144 {3}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 2859 (seal of Bayezid II).
544. Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ḥujjat al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Ḍafar al-Ṣiqillī al-Makkī (d. 1169). *Kitābu sulwān al-muṭā’i fi al-mawā’izi* (Consolation for the Ruler during the Hostility of Subjects), Arabic, 144 {3–4} [another copy on 197 {4–5}; see list by Yılmaz]. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2565 (Karatay: A 8279) (dedication to Mehmed II, seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Sulwān al-Muṭā’ fi Udwan al-Atbā’*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Damaj (Beirut: Mu’assasat ‘Izz al-Dīn, 1995).
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546. Ḥakīm al-Dīn Idrīs b. Ḥusām al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Bidlīsī (d. 1520). *Mir’ātu al-jamālī fi al-taṣawwufi* (Mirror of Beauty), Persian, 144 {4–5}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Şehid Ali Paşa 2149 (seal ?).
547. Same as 544, 144 {5–6}.
548. Same as 75 (except for omission of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 144 {6–7}.
549. Abū ‘Umar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Rabbih (d. 940). *Kitābu al-‘iqdi al-farīdi fi al-naṣā’ihī wa-al-faḍā’ili* (The Book of the Unique Necklace on Counsels and Virtues), 144 {7}. EDITION: *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, ed. Mufīd Muḥammad Qumayḥa and ‘Abd al-Majīd al-Tarḥīnī, 9 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1987).
550. Multi-text volume, containing a compendium (*Majmū’atun fihā*).
- 550a. Same as 249 with slight variation in title: *Mishkātu al-anwāri fi al-taṣawwufi* (Niche of Lights), 144 {8}.
- 550b. Abū Muṭīr Makḥūl al-Mu’in Maymūn b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī al-Ḥanafī (d. 930). *Kitābu Abī Muṭīr Makḥūl fi al-taṣawwufi* (Book of Abū Muṭīr Makḥūl, on Sufism), 144 {9}.

551. Abū al-Faḍl Jaʿfar b. Shams al-Khilāfa (d. 1225). *Kitābu al-ādābi fī ʿilmi al-akhlāqi* (The Book of Refined Manners in Science of Ethics), Arabic, 144 {9–10}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2838 (seal ?).
552. “*Kitābu al-taṣfiyati fī ʿilmi al-akhlāqi*” (The Book of Purification on the Science of Ethics), 144 {10}.
553. Same as 486 with variation in title: *Kitābu al-tibri al-masbūki fī naṣiḥati al-mulūki wa-huwa tarjumatu kitābi al-Imām al-Ghazālī bi-al-ʿarabiyyati min al-fārisiyyati*, Arabic, 144 {11–12}.
554. “*Al-Risālatu al-sharīfatu bi-khaṭṭin dīwāniyyin fī al-taṣawwufi*” (A Noble Treatise in the Dīwāni Calligraphic Hand), Persian, 144 {12–13}.
555. Same as 364c, 144 {13}.
556. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1656 (seal ?).
- 556a. Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 1234). *Kitābu aʿlāmi al-hudā fī al-taṣawwufi* (Signposts of Right Guidance), 144 {14}. EDITION: *Aʿlām al-hudā wa-aqīdat arbāb al-tuqā*, ed. al-Ṭablāwī Maḥmūd Saʿd (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Amānah, 2004).
- 556b. Same as 222b, 144 {14–15}.
557. “*Kitābu fawāʿidi al-sulūki fī faḍāʿili al-mulūki fī al-mawāʿizi*” (Benefits of the Path on the Virtues of Kings), 144 {15–16}.
558. Multi-text volume, containing a compendium (*Majmūʿatun fī*).
- 558a. [starting with] “*Mukhtaṣarun fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Short Work on Sufism), Persian, 144 {16–17}.
- 558b. [also included] “*rasāʾilu fī al-muruwwati wa-al-futuwwati min qibali al-naṣāʾiḥi*” (Treatises on Manliness and Young-Manliness), 144 {17}.
559. Same as 499 (except with the note *jamaʿahū Abū al-Faraj fī al-naṣāʾiḥi* instead of *fī al-mawāʿizi*) (Spiritual Words and Aphorisms of Greek Wisdom), 144 {18}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2452 (?).
560. Same as 113, 144 {19}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2118 (seal of Bayezid II).
561. Same as 214 with slight variation in title (except for omission of *bi-al-fārisiyyati*), 145 {1}.
562. Same as 169a, 145 {2}.
563. Same 510c (except with the note *min qibali al-naṣāʾiḥi* and omission of *bi-al-fārisiyyati*), 145 {2}.
564. Same as 78 with variation in title: *Kitābu al-ādābi al-mulaqqabu bi-Jāwidān-khirad fī al-naṣāʾiḥi wa-al-ḥikami*, 145 {3}.
565. “*Awraqun mujtamiʿatun min kitābin muḥāḍarati al-abrār wa-huwa al-maʿrūfu bi-al-musāmarati li-l-Shaykh al-ʿArabī -quddisa sirruhū- jullidat ghayra murattabatin min qibali al-tawārīkhi wa-al-naṣāʾiḥi*” (Collected Leaves from a Book of Lectures by Shaykh al-ʿArabī, Bound Without Any Order, on History and Counsel), 145 {3–5}.
566. Same as 462a, in translation with the title *Kashf al-asrārī ʿalā lisāni al-tuyūri wa-al-azhāri min qibali al-mawāʿizi wa-al-ʿitibāri* (Translation of Unveiling the Secrets, on the Languages of Birds and Flowers), 145 {5–6}.
567. “*Kitābu al-ṣaḥāʾifi fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Book of Pages on Sufism), 145 {7}.
568. Jalāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Aḥrāz al-Khujandī (d. 1400–01). *ʿAynu al-sharābi al-ṭahūri fī al-taṣawwufi* (Finest Pure Wine), 145 {7–8}.
569. “*Kitābi al-dharīʿati fī makārimi al-akhlāqi wa-al-naṣāʾiḥi*” (The Book of Means to Ethical Virtues and Counsels), 145 {8}.
570. Multi-text volume.
- 570a. “*Sharḥu abyāti Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn*” (Commentary on Couplets of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn), 145 {9}.

- 570b. Abū al-Barakāt Nūr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Aḥmad al-Jāmī (d. 1492). *Risālatu sharḥi Ma’nī-yi nay fi al-taṣawwufi* (Treatise Commenting on the Meaning of the Reed Flute), 145 {9–10}. Same as 405c (?).
571. Same as 168, 145 {10}.
572. “*Kitābu Aristāṭālīs¹⁹ fi naṣīḥati al-Iskandar*” (The Book of Aristotle’s Counsel for Alexander), 145 {11}.
573. “*Risālatun mutarjamatun min Kitābi Aristāṭālīs fi naṣīḥati al-Iskandar Dhī al-Qarnayn*” (A Translated Treatise from the Book of Aristotle’s Counsels for Alexander the Two-Horned), Persian, 145 {11–12}.
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575. Same as 461a with slight variation in title, 145 {14}.
576. “*Risālatu al-‘aqli wa-al-‘ilmi wa-al-‘adli fi al-naṣā’ihī*” (A Treatise on Intellect, Knowledge, and Justice), 145 {14–15}.
577. “*Risālatu naṣā’ihī al-ḥukamā’i*” (Treatise of Advice by Sages), 145 {15}.
578. Same as above in translation, Persian, 145 {15–16}.
579. ‘Alī b. Shihāb al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Hamadānī (d. 1385). *Risālatu Bahrām-shāhiyya min qibali al-naṣīḥati* (Treatise of Bahrām Shāh), 145 {16–17}.
580. Multi-text volume. All texts by Ibn al-‘Arabī, on Sufism (*kulluhā²⁰ li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhū- min qibali al-taṣawwufi*). MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2246 (seal ?).
- 580a. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu al-raddi al-jamīlī ‘alā ṣariḥi al-Injil* (Exquisite Refutation of the Outward Meaning of the Gospels), 145 {17}. EDITION: *al-radd al-Jamīl li-Ilāhiyyāt*, ed. Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Salafī al-Dānī ibn Munīr Āl Zahwī (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-‘Aṣriyyah lil-Ṭibā‘ah wa-al-Nashr, 1999).
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- 580c. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu al-ta’wīlātī* (Book of [Qur’an] interpretation), 145 {18}.
- 580d. Same as 118a with slight variation in title, 145 {18–19}.
- 580e. Same as 517b, 145 {19}.
- 580f. Same as 520a with slight variation in title: *Kitābu al-futūḥi fi nafkhi al-rūḥi* (The Book of Openings on the Soul’s Inflation), 145 {19}.
- 580g. Same as 269a, 146 {1}.
581. Same as 465 with slight variation in title, 146 {2}.
582. “*Daḥīnatu kitābi Anūshirwān fi al-naṣā’ihī*” (The Buried Book of Anūshirwān), 146 {2–3}.
583. Same as 109 (except with the note *fi al-naṣīḥati* instead of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 146 {3}.
584. Same as 461a with slight variation in title, 146 {3–4}.
585. “*Kashfu asrāri al-Tawrah fi al-naṣā’ihī*” (Unveiling the Secrets of the Torah), Arabic, 146 {4–5}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 3522 (Karatay: A 5723) (seal of Bayezid II).
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588. [AUTHOR] "*Risālat-i Ghawthiyya fī al-taṣawwufi*" (Treatise of Succor), 146 {6–7}.
589. Same as 462a (except with the note *min qibali al-naṣāʾihī* instead of *min qibali al-mawāʿizi wa-al-naṣāʾihī*), 146 {7–8}.
590. "*Rāḥatu al-insāni fī al-naṣīḥati*" (Human Being's Comfort), 146 {8}. Same as 499c (?).
591. Multi-text volume.
- 591a. "*Risālatun min kalimāti al-anbiyāʾi -ʿalayhi al-salāmu- wa-ghayrihim fī al-naṣāʾihī*" (A Treatise of Statements by Prophets and Others), 146 {9}.
- 591b. "*Risālatu Buzurjimihr²¹*" (Treatise of Buzurgmihr), 146 {10}.
592. [AUTHOR] "*Kitāb-i Fattāḥī min qibali al-naṣāʾihī*" (Book of Fattāḥī), 146 {10}.
593. "*Kitābu al-muḥāḍarāti fī mujalladayni min qibali al-naṣāʾihī*" (Book of Lectures, in Two Volumes), 146 {10–11}. Same as 471 (?).
594. "*Kitābun min qibali al-naṣāʾihī*" (Book of Advice), Turkish, 146 {11–12}.
595. "*Risālatun naḥṣatun fī al-taṣawwufi*" (A Precious Treatise on Sufism), 146 {12}.
596. "*Risālatun sharīfatun fī al-taṣawwufi*" (A Noble Treatise on Sufism), Persian, 146 {12–13}.
597. Muḥammad b. Yahyā Sībak Fattāḥī (d. 1448). *Shabistān min qibali al-naṣāʾihī* (The Hall), 146 {13–14}.
598. "*Risālatu Muḥammad bin ʿImād al-Subḥānī fī al-naṣāʾihī*" (Treatise of Muḥammad bin ʿImād al-Subḥānī), 146 {14}.
599. Multi-text volume, containing a compendium of treatises.
- 599a. Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdallāh Ibn Sīnā (?) (d. 1037). *Risālatun fī ithbāti nubuwwati rasūlina Muḥammad -ʿalayhi al-ṣalāti wa-al-salāmu-* (A Treatise Proving the Prophethood of Our Messenger Muḥammad), 146 {14–16}.
- 599b. [minhā] ʿAbd Raḥmān b. Aḥmad ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Ijī (?) (d. 1355). *Risālatu jawāhiri al-kalāmi fī al-naṣāʾihī* (Treatise on Gems of *Kalām*), 146 {16} [three more copies on 56 {17–18}, 65 {5}, and 66 {17}; see list by Atçıl]. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1801 (Karatay: A 4876) (seal of Bayezid II); SK, Ayasofya 2281 (seal of Bayezid II).
- 599c. "*Kitābu nukati al-wuzarāʾi*" (Book of Pointers for Viziers), 146 {16–17}.
- 599d. "*Kitābu maʿyibi al-naḥṣi fī al-naṣāʾihī*" (Defects of the Soul), 146 {17}.
600. "*Sirrūn qalbīyyun li-Gulḥanī (Gülḥānī) fī al-taṣawwufi*" (A Secret of the Heart, by *Gülḥānī*), Turkish, 146 {18}.
601. "*Sharḥu rubāʿiyyāti Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī min qibali al-naṣāʾihī*" (Commentary on the Quatrains of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī), Persian, 146 {18–19}.
602. "*Waṣīyyatu al-Manṣūr li-waladihī al-Mahdī -raḥimahumā Allāhu taʿālā- fī al-naṣāʾihī*" (Testament of al-Manṣūr to His Son al-Mahdī), 147 {1}.
603. Multi-text volume.
- 603a. "*Risālatun bi-khaṭṭin muḡhūliyyin*" (A Treatise in Mongolian Script), 147 {2}.
- 603b. Same as 244, 147 {2}.
604. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 3780 (seal ?).
- 604a. Same as 371c (except for omission of *fī al-naṣāʾihī*), 147 {3}.
- 604b. Same as 186 with variation in title: *Risālatu miʿati maqālatin ʿalā uslūbihī²² fī al-naṣīḥati al-musajjaʿati* (Treatise of One Hundred Lectures in the Style of Counsels in Rhymed Prose), 147 {3–4}.
- 604c. "*Pandnāmah-i Nūshirwān*" (Anushirwan's Book of Counsel), 147 {4}. Same as 499c (?).

- 605. Multi-text volume.
- 605a. Same as 371c, 147 {4–5}.
- 605b. “*Risālatu al-laḥni fī al-lughati*” (Treatise of Grammatical Mistakes, on Language), 147 {5}.
- 606. Multi-text volume.
- 606a. “*Risālatun fī sharḥi abyātin*” (A Treatise of Commentary on a Couplet), Persian, 147 {5–6}.
- 606b. Abū al-Barakāt Nūr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Jāmī (d. 1492). *Risālatun fī bayāni ma’nā nay min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (A Treatise Expounding the Meaning of the Reed Flute), 147 {6–7}. Same as 405c / 570b (?).
- 607. “*Risālatun naḥḥisatun fī al-taṣawwufi*” (A Precious Treatise on Sufism), Persian, 147 {7}.
- 608. Multi-text volume, containing a compendium of treatises.
- 608a. [starting with] Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Tuḥfatu al-mulūki -quddisa sirruhū- fī al-naṣā’iḥi* (Gift for Kings), Persian, 147 {7–9}. Same as 407 (?).
- 609. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Shayzarī (d. 1193?), *Nihāyatu al-rutbatī fī ṭalabī al-ḥisbatī fī naṣā’iḥi al-muḥtasibī* (The Ultimate Degree in the Pursuit of Calculation), 147 {9}.
- 610. “*Risālatu sharḥi mā amara biḥi Amīr al-Mu’minīn ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib -raḍīya Allāhu ‘anhu Mālik bin al-Ḥarth²³ al-Ashtar fī al-naṣā’iḥi*” (Treatise on the Commands of ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib), 147 {10–11}.
- 611. Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī b. Bahā’ al-Dīn Sulṭān al-‘Ulamā’ Walad b. Ḥusayn al-Balkhī b. Aḥmad Khaṭībī (d. 1273). *Kitābun ‘azīmu al-sha’ni fī al-naṣā’iḥi marqūmun bi-annahū li-Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn -quddisa sirruhū-* (A Renowned Book of Counsel by Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn), 147 {11–12}.
- 612. “*Risālatu faḍīlati al-jihādi min qibali al-naṣā’iḥi*” (Treatise on the Merits of Jihad), Turkish, 147 {12–13}.
- 613. Multi-text volume, containing five treatises.
- 613a. [second] Same as 289 (except for omission of *muta’allimi min qibali al-naṣā’iḥi wa-al-taṣawwufi*), 147 {13–14}.
- 614. “*Ṭarabnāma min qibali al-naṣā’iḥi*” (Book of Joy), 147 {14}.
- 615. Multi-text volume.
- 615a. Same as 388l (except with the note *fī islāḥi al-mamlakati al-insāniyyati fī al-taṣawwufi*), 147 {15}.
- 615b. “*Sharḥu al-arba’ina ḥadīthan ‘alā ṭarīqati al-taṣawwufi*” (Commentary on Forty Hadith), 147 {16}.
- 616. Same as 604c (except for omission of *fī al-naṣā’iḥi*), 147 {16–17}.
- 617. “*Irṭiyāḍu al-sāliki fī riyāḍi al-masāliki*” (Practice of the Wayfarer in the Gardens of Paths), 147 {17}.
- 618. Same as 523b with variation in title: *Sharḥu Lama’āt-i ‘Irāqī al-mawsūmu bi-Ḍaw’i al-lama’āti fī al-taṣawwufi* (Commentary on ‘Irāqī’s *Lama’āt* Known as Brilliance of Light Flashes), 147 {17–18}.
- 619. “*Mukhtārūn min kalāmi al-ḥukamā’i al-arba’ati al-akābiri min qibali al-naṣā’iḥi*” (Selections from the Sayings of Four Great Sages), 147 {18–19}. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2460 (seal ?).
- 620. “*Barī’u al-azhārī mukhtaṣaru rabī’i al-abrārī min qibali al-naṣā’iḥi*” (Outstanding Flowers, Abbreviation of *Spring of the Pious*), 147 {19}–148 {1}. Same as 75 [Summary] (?).
- 621. Same as 462a (except with the note *min qibali al-naṣā’iḥi* instead of *min qibali al-mawā’izi wa-al-naṣā’iḥi*), 148 {1–2}.
- 622. Multi-text volume.
- 622a. Same as 121 (except for omission of *fī al-taṣawwufi*), 148 {2}.
- 622b. Same as 223c, 148 {2–3}.

623. Same as 397d with variation in title: *Naṣā'ihū* (Counsels), 148 {3–4}.
624. Multi-text volume.
- 624a. “*Risālatun manẓūmatun fī al-manṭiqi*” (A Treatise in Verse on Logic), Arabic, 148 {4}.
- 624b. Same as 394f [and 371g (?)] (except no note of *fī al-ḥikmati*), 148 {4–5}.
- 624c. “*Risālatu miʿati maqālatin fī al-naṣā'ihī wa-rasā'ilu ukhrā*” (Treatise of One Hundred Essays), 148 {5}.
625. “*Wasīlatu al-tā'ibīna fī al-naṣā'ihī al-muta'alliqatu bi-Taḥrīmi al-khamr*” (Tool for Repenters, Related to the Prohibition of Wine), 148 {6}.
626. Multi-text volume. *Maǧmūʿatun*
- 626a. [starting with] “*Qiṣṣatu al-khaybar*” (Story of Khaybar), 148 {6–7}.
- 626b. [second] Same as 517b with variation in title: *Risālatu al-ʿilqī al-naḥṣi al-maḍnūni biḥī fī al-naṣā'ihī*, 148 {7–8}.
627. “*Risālatu mujībī al-sā'ilīna li-l-Muḥibbī fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Response to Questioners, by Muḥibbī), 148 {8}.
628. Multi-text volume. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1711 (seal ?).
- 628a. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Kitābu asrāri al-anwāri al-ilāhiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi* (Book of the Secrets of Divine Lights), 148 {9}. Same as 249 (?).
- 628b. Same as 439 (except for omission of *min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 148 {10}.
- 628c. Same as 187 with slight variation in title, 148 {10–11}.
629. Multi-text volume.
- 629a. “*Kitābu al-fiqḥi al-manẓūmati*” (Book on Jurisprudence in Verse), Persian, 148 {11}.
- 629b. “*Kitābu al-madkhali al-manẓūmi fī al-nujūmi*” (On the Propitious Hours for the Beginning of Various Undertakings), 148 {12} [for four more copies, see list by Fleischer and Şen].
- 629c. “*Sharḥu al-Farrā' al-lāmiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi*” (Commentary of al-Farrā' [Rhyming] in L), 148 {12}.
630. Ḥunayn b. Ishāq al-'Ibādī (d. 873). *Nuqūshu fuṣūṣi khawātimi al-ḥukamā'i wa-ādābihim min qibali al-naṣā'ihī* (Signet Rings of the Philosophers, Their Sayings and Congregations), 148 {13} [another copy on 362 {18–19}; see list of Gutas].
631. “*Riyāḍu al-qulūbi fī al-ʿulūmi al-[muta]ʿadditati awwaluhā al-taṣawwufi*” (Gardens of Hearts, on Various Sciences), 148 {13–14}.
632. Multi-text volume.
- 632a. Same as 321b, 148 {14–15}.
- 632b. “*Risālatun ukhrā*” (Another Treatise), 148 {15}.
633. Same as 386g (except for addition of *ʿalā tartībī al-ḥurūfi min qibali al-taṣawwufi*), 148 {15–16}.
634. Same as above, 148 {17–18}.
635. Same as 587, 148 {18–19}.
636. Multi-text volume.
- 636a. Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Quṭb al-Dīn Iznīqī [Quṭb al-Dīn-zāda] [*wa-huwa al-ma'rūfu bi-Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn-zāda -quddisa sirruhū-*]²⁴ (d. 1480). *Risālatun fī aḥwālī al-ṣā'imī* (On the States of the One Who Fasts), 148 {19}–149 {1}.
- 636b. Ibn al-ʿArabī. *Risālatun fihā bayānu ʿadadi al-kutubi al-muṣannaḥati al-mansūbati ilā al-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-ʿArabī-ṭāba tharāhu- wa-hādhihi al-risālatu li-l-Shaykh al-madhkūrī ayḍan min qibali al-taṣawwufi* (A Treatise Which Declares the Number of Compositions Attributed to Muḥyī al-Dīn al-ʿArabī and This Treatise Itself Is by the Shaykh), 149 {1–3}.

637. “*Manāqibu Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn al-l fī al-taṣawwuf*” (Hagiography of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn), 149 {3–4}.
638. Multi-text volume.
- 638a. Same as 12 with slight variation in title, 149 {4–5}.
- 638b. Same as 132 with slight variation in title, 149 {5–6}.
[Lines 149 {7}–150 {13} are blank]
639. “*Kitābu tadhkirati al-awliyā’i -quddisa sirruhum- al-manẓūmu al-ma’rūfū bi-Walīnāma*” (Memorial of the Saints, in verse, known as *Walīnāma*), 150 {14}.
640. Abū Ḥāmid Farīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Ibrāhīm al-Nīsābūrī ‘Aṭṭār (?) (d. 1221). *Kitābu tadhkirati al-awliyā’i -quddisa sirruhum-* (Memorial of the Saints), 150 {15} [another copy on 231 {8}; see list by Kim].
641. Abū al-Barakāt Nūr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Jāmī (d. 1492). *Kitābu nafaḥāti al-unsī fī tadhkirati al-awliyā’i -quddisa sirruhum-* (Scents of Intimacy on the Memorial of the Saints), 150 {15–16}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2140. EDITION: ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, ed. Maḥmūd ‘Ābidī (Tehran, 1991).
642. “*Risālatu tadhkirati Ibrāhīm bin Adham -quddisa sirruhū-*” (The Biography of Ibrāhīm Adham), 150 {16–17}.
643. Same as 640, in translation (?), Persian, 150 {17}.
644. Same as above, Persian, 150 {18}.
645. Same as 641 with slight variation in title, 150 {18–19}.
646. Same as 640, in translation (?), Persian, 150 {19}–151 {1}.
647. Same as above, Persian, 151 {1}.
648. “*Manāqibu qutbi al-awliyā’i Bahā’ al-Dīn -quddisa sirruhū-*” (The Vitae of Bahā’ al-Dīn), 151 {2}.
- [151 {3–12} are blank]

NOTES

- 1 Manuscript has what looks like a dagger *alif* above the *rā*, as in *mir’āti*, but it would seem that the reference is to a learned woman, i.e., Sitt al-‘Ajam bt. al-Nafīs, who wrote this *sharḥ* on Ibn al-‘Arabī.
- 2 Vocalized in text as *Maskūyah* here and in the following two mentions.
- 3 Manuscript has a *kasra* under the *zā*’ here and in l. 18.
- 4 The catchword is *al-taṣawwuf*, but the following folio begins with *li-l-Shaykh*.
- 5 Manuscript has vocalized *al-tarājumi*.
- 6 Hava q.v.: “water flowing upon the surface of the earth.”
- 7 Q 15:29.
- 8 Manuscript has al-Kubrā’.
- 9 Manuscript has a *kasra* as case ending for al-‘arabiyya and al-fārisiyya (no case ending for al-Abyāt), but it would seem that wa-al-Abyāt ..., which begins a new entry, must be in the nominative.
- 10 Manuscript has a *fathā* above the *dāl* for the dual.
- 11 Manuscript has a *kasra* under the *shīn*, to read *mashīkha*.
- 12 Manuscript has an erasure, as if *ilm* had been written erroneously; it looks to have been corrected to read *‘ālim* (including a *fathā* above the *‘ayn*).
- 13 Manuscript has a *kasra* below the *nūn* (but I think it should be in the nominative case, unless it is part of a title).
- 14 Manuscript has corrected (a still legible) *-hu* to *-hā* in *bi-annahā*.
- 15 The plural *rasā’il* would seem to be in error; the counted element after fifteen should be singular: *risālatan*.
- 16 Manuscript seems to have a *yā*’, but this is in error.

- 17 Manuscript has vocalized the name as Ibn Maskuwayh.
- 18 Vocalized with a *kasra* under the *ʿayn*, but title is unknown if meant to be one of al-Ghazālī's works.
- 19 Manuscript has *ḍamma* (or *sukūn*) above the *rāʾ*, but a *kasra* in next line.
- 20 Manuscript has a *kasra* for *kullihā*.
- 21 Thus in manuscript; in Persian, Buzurgmihr.
- 22 Manuscript has a *hamza* above the *hāʾ*, as if a Persian *izāfe*.
- 23 Thus in manuscript (unless the sign above is a dagger *alif*), but should be al-Ḥārith.
- 24 This interpolation in square brackets was added by the same hand upside down on top of the line.

BOOKS ON ETHICS AND POLITICS: THE ART OF GOVERNING THE SELF AND OTHERS AT THE OTTOMAN COURT

In our time, kings ignored libraries and only built madrasa libraries as usual except for the library of our great sultan—who honored our time with his presence and shadow. It is reported that there is no book, be it religious or non-religious (*sharʿī wa ghayr sharʿī*), or Arabic or Persian, which cannot be found in this library, all beyond the reach of the madrasa students' hands. May Allah continue the rule of this sultan and extend his life till the end of times.¹

The above statement by the Ottoman scholar Taşköprülüzade (d. 1561) concerning Sultan Süleyman's (r. 1520–66) library does not appear to be an exaggeration, considering the sheer number and diversity of books cited in his encyclopedia of sciences, *Miftāḥ al-Saʿāda wa Mişbāḥ al-Siyāda fī Mawḍūʿāt al-ʿUlūm* (The Key of Happiness and Light of Nobility in Objects of Science). In this work, which features about 2,000 titles representing some 350 disciplines, Taşköprülüzade considers the imperial library of Süleyman as a successor to the three great caliphal libraries of the Abbasids, the Fatimids, and the Andalusian-Umayyads. Before Süleyman, at least since the time of Mehmed I (r. 1412–20), book collecting had been a family tradition among the Ottoman sultans, and Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) was no exception. Although we do not have a full catalogue of Süleyman's books, the inventory of Bayezid II's imperial library, which lists 7,200 titles, certainly justifies Taşköprülüzade's praise.

As far as works on ethics and politics are concerned, the inventory of Bayezid's library presents as much mystery as it does information about the identity of books listed in it and how they are classified. The abundance of anonymous titles offers a puzzle that may never be entirely solved, even after exhaustive research has been undertaken on the matter. As a diligent cataloguer,

ʿAtufi may simply not have had enough information to identify the authors of a large number of works which probably circulated under such generic titles as *Naṣīḥa al-Mulūk* (Advice to Kings). Moreover, many other works seem to have been listed according to their perceived content, such as *Akhlāq* (Ethics) and *Siyar al-Mulūk* (Manners of Kings), rather than by their actual titles. Yet a shortage of information cannot account for some of the most conspicuous omissions in Bayezid's library. A good example is the Aqqoyunlu scholar Dawani's (d. 1502) *Lawāmiʿ al-ʿIshrāq fī Makārim al-Akhlāq* (Lights of the Rising Sun on Ethical Virtues), better known as simply *Akhlāq-i Jalālī* (Jalalian Ethics). Given Dawani's fame at the Ottoman court and the even greater fame his work on ethics acquired among the learned, it is highly unlikely that Bayezid did not know who wrote this work. Without mentioning the author, ʿAtufi lists six anonymous copies of *Makārim al-Akhlāq*, all in Persian, under the category of *taṣawwuf* and describes them as *min qibali taṣawwuf* ("pertaining to Sufism").² These copies are listed right after those of Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's (d. 1274) *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī* (The Nasirean Ethics), a predecessor to Dawani's book on ethics. Yet, among his large corpus of well-known works, the only one attributed to him in the inventory is the *Sharḥ al-Rubāʿiyāt* (Commentary on Quatrains), which Dawani dedicated to Bayezid II.³ If we can assume that the *Makārim al-Akhlāq* was the one by Dawani, the omission of his name is puzzling, unless perhaps the identity of the author was considered to be too obvious to mention.

On the topic of ethics and politics, Bayezid's library boasts an impressive array of sources across different languages and genres, from all phases and geographies of Islamicate culture spanning from Spain to India.

Besides the specific works that can easily be identified as pertaining to ethics, politics, or both, a large number of other works ranging from chronicles to books on theology are included in this section because they contain substantial discussions of these subjects. To make things more complicated, there is an even larger pool of works represented here that are not on these topics per se, but that were widely used as principal texts on proper morality and governance, such as wisdom literature, animal parables, and didactic poetry. These include such works as Zamakhshari's (d. 1144) *Rabī al-Abrār wa Fuṣūṣ al-Akhhbār* (The Spring of the Virtuous and Bezels of Histories), Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's (d. 940) *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd* (The Unique Necklace), Sa'di's (d. 1292) *Bustān* (Garden) and *Gulistān* (Rose Garden), as well as the *Kalīla wa Dimna*, *Marzbān-nāme* (The Book of Marzbān), and *Jamasb-nāma* (The Book of Jamasb), which are listed in other sections of the inventory.

Despite holding a surprisingly high number of Turkish language texts, particularly on the topics of history, literature, and Sufism, Bayezid's library on ethics and politics is clearly biased towards Persian works. For example, in addition to being represented in Arabic versions, Ghazali's (d. 1111) *al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Naṣīḥa al-Mulūk* (Ingots of Gold on Advice to Kings), Turtushi's (d. 1126) *Sirāj al-Mulūk* (The Lamp of Kings), and the *Kalīla wa Dimna* were all available in Persian as well. By the time the inventory was compiled, a number of well-known texts on ethics and politics were also available in Turkish that seem to have enjoyed a wide readership, including *Mirṣād al-ʿIbād* (The Path of God's Bondsmen) by Najm al-Din Daya (d. 1256), *al-Tibr al-Masbūk* by Ghazali, and the *Qābusnāma* (The Book of Qābūs) of Kaikawus (d. after 1082). In addition, a few Turkish works on ethics had already reached fame in this period, such as Eṣrefoğlu Rumi's (d. 1469–70) *Müzekki'n-Nüfūs* (Purifier of Souls), Musa İzniki's (d. 1434–35) *Münebbihu'r-Rākidīn* (Admonisher of the Languid), and Şükrullah's (d. after 1464) *Enīsü'l-Mülūk* (Companion of Kings). Unless they are listed under different titles, we can cautiously conclude that these Turkish works were not available in Bayezid's library. One notable exception, however, is Sinan Paşa's (d. 1486) *Taḍarru'nāma* (The Book of Humility), a text written in an exceptionally refined literary Turkish, which may have made it

appealing to the learned readership of Bayezid's court, of which the author was a respected member.⁴

In a process that started with the reign of Mehmed II (r. 1451–81) and lasted for about a century, Ottoman literary culture became more exposed to Persian thinking on ethics, politics, Sufism, and literature, which overshadowed the earlier revival of vernacular Turkish. Persian was dethroned with the rise of Arabic, following the conquest of the Arabic-speaking south and the gradual rise of literary Turkish as the administrative language of the empire in the mid-sixteenth century. Reflecting this linguistic shift, Taşköprülüzade felt compelled to append the phrase "but it is in Persian" in his encyclopedia to books he described on any given discipline, including *al-ʿilm al-siyāsa* (The Science of Governance).⁵ Apart from the Ottoman rulers' infatuation with the Persian language, the reigns of Mehmed II and Bayezid II witnessed the influx of a large contingent of bureaucrats and Sufis from the East whose principal language of literary articulation was Persian. A representative example of such Persianate literati is Musannifek (d. 1470), who composed two works on politics in Persian: *Tuḥfa al-Wuzarā* (The Gift of Ministers) and *Tuḥfa al-Mulūk* (The Gift of Kings).⁶ Fifteenth-century Ottoman ruling elites were well aware of the Timurid renaissance in arts and letters and engaged in a courtly competition to attract scholars and artists. This was hardly the case with the Arabic-dominated Mamluk domains of the south. The Ottomans did not seem particularly eager to follow the equally fascinating Mamluk renaissance in letters or to attract the learned from Egypt and Syria, even though students from the Ottoman world frequently studied in Cairo and Damascus. The fifteenth-century Mamluk realm was exceptionally prolific in terms of political and ethical works, but most of these titles were brought to Istanbul libraries only in the later sixteenth century, following the 1517 conquest of Egypt.

As shown by the multiple copies of Sufi classics by such famed authors as Ibn al-ʿArabi (d. 1240), Najm al-Din Daya, and Hamadani (d. 1385), Bayezid's library heavily favored works on ethics and politics written from a distinctly Sufistic perspective. Juristic works, however, mostly written in Arabic and circulating in Mamluk domains, were clearly not favored, even those representing the most authoritative texts of medieval

Islam. One notable exception is *al-Aḥkām al-Sultāniyya*; 'Atūfi cites the title without an author, which could be Mawardi (d. 1058) or Abu Ya'la (d. 1066).⁷ Besides Bayezid II's own well-documented interest in Sufism, his library holdings perfectly reflect the spirit of the times, which was characterized by the broader sway of Sufism on Islamic thought and practice in the post-Abbasid world, more so to the east of the Nile. Thanks to the eclecticism and inclusivism of Sufism, Sufi authors turned it into an authoritative discipline that incorporated and reinterpreted all other branches of learning, from mathematics to jurisprudence, in order to redefine humankind's existential position, morality, and political organization. It was commonplace that even the most prominent jurists and scientists had strong Sufi affiliations. From the decline of the Seljuks until the rise of a new bureaucratic consciousness, Sufi writing on politics became common in the Ottoman Empire. The most influential authors on government in this period, from 'Abdurrahman Bistami (d. 1454) to Idris-i Bidlisi (d. 1520), treated government as part of a broader Sufistic cosmology. The shift was even more visible in the area of ethics, to the extent that *taṣawwuf* and *'ilm-i akhlāq* could be used interchangeably. Thus, it is not surprising that *taṣawwuf* and *'ilm-i akhlāq* are considered as part of the same category in 'Atufi's inventory: *Taḥṣīlu Kutub al-Taṣawwuf wa-Kutub al-Naṣāyih wa-al-Mawā'iz wa-Kutub al-Manāqib al-Mashāyikh wa-al-Awliyā'*

Quddisa Sirruhum wa-Kutub 'Ilm al-Akhlāq (List of Books on Sufism, and Counsels and Admonitions, and Miraculous Deeds of Shaykhs and Friends of God, may God bless their secrets, and the Science of Ethics).⁸

What is remarkable is the classification of books. Not only are most books on ethics and politics listed under this heading, but some obviously non-Sufistic works, such as Tusi's *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*, Ibn Miskawayh's (d. 1030) *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq* (The Refinement of Character), and Mawardi's *Adab al-Dīni wa al-Dunyā* (Refinement of Religion and the World) were specifically described as *min qibali taṣawwuf* (On Sufism).⁹ If we take Islamic encyclopedic works as representative, we can see that this approach was the product of a broader post-Abbasid reconceptualization in epistemology. Fakhr al-Din al-Razi's (d. 1210) early encyclopedia of sciences, *Jāmi' al-'Ulūm* (Compendium of Sciences), for example, de-

scribes sixty sciences, including *siyāsa*, *akhlāq*, and *ādāb al-Mulūk*, but not *taṣawwuf*. However, more elaborate later encyclopedias, both Fenari's (d. 1431) *Anmūzaj al-'Ulūm* (Classification of Sciences) and Bistami's *Fawā'ih al-Miskīyya fī Fawātiḥ al-Makkiyya* (Perfumes of Musk on the Meccan Openings), present *taṣawwuf* as a separate discipline in addition to the other sciences.¹⁰ But even considering the introduction of *taṣawwuf* as a new branch of learning, 'Atufi's classification still reflects a markedly Sufistic outlook. Taşköprülüzade, writing a few decades later, also presents *taṣawwuf* as a distinct discipline but lists Tusi's *Akhlāq* under *al-'ilm al-siyāsa* rather than under Sufism, as 'Atufi did.¹¹

Given that 'Atufi lists a large number of titles on ethics and politics under various categories across the inventory, this essay will be limited to the examination of a select group of works that had a lasting impact on Ottoman thought and that may be arranged under three broad categories: Sufism, mirrors for princes, and philosophy. This inevitably leads us to exclude a considerable number of works dispersed under various other disciplines, including jurisprudence, theology, and occult sciences. We also do not discuss literary works, which are often full of ethical and political teachings. Given that works of literature pose a specific set of questions to address, from style to language, it may be more appropriate to analyze them separately. Suffice it to say that literary works, especially didactic verse and prose, such as the *Kalīla wa Dimna*, *Marzbannāma*, and *Jamasbnāma*, constitute an indispensable component of Ottoman ethical and political thinking and are impressively well-represented in Bayezid's library.

SUFISM

Apart from the many copies of *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (Bezels of Wisdom) and *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* (Meccan Openings), which are loaded with political images and which continuously inspired Sufi-minded political authors, 'Atufi lists three copies of Ibn 'Arabi's *al-Tadbīrāt al-Ilāhiyya fī Mamlaka al-Insāniyya* (Divine Governance in Reforming the Human Kingdom).¹² Despite being overshadowed by his *Fuṣūṣ* and *Futūḥāt*, this lesser known work by Ibn 'Arabi is one of the principal texts that

channeled his mystical philosophy into the broader stream of Ottoman political thought. *Al-Tadbīrāt* was one of his earliest books, written in Sevilla around 1194, when he was 29.¹³ The intended purpose of the book is not government per se, but the administration of the self. More specifically, it is an allegorical treatise on the ontology of humans, whose constitution is explained by reference to a body politic. In *al-Tadbīrāt*, Ibn ‘Arabi considers the operation of the body politic, as explained in the pseudo-Aristotelian text, *Sirr al-Asrār* (Secret of Secrets), as a metaphor for governing the self. The work elaborates on the physical composition and function of humans as part of creation and divine government. Yet conversely, *al-Tadbīrāt* can also be read as a treatise on government, explained through the metaphor of the body. This is what makes the work unique and equally appealing to rulers as a handbook of leadership, and to Sufi disciples as a manual of self-exploration and way-faring. As he makes abundantly clear in his later works, Ibn ‘Arabi conceives the rule of one’s self and the rule of society to be part of the same cosmological pattern, which rests on the conviction that divine government is a manifestation of God’s names and attributes. The first two chapters of the book explain in detail the nature and status of the spirit as the caliph of the human body. This concept of the caliphate is no different from the view of the caliphate as God’s vicegerent over creation, which Ibn ‘Arabi discusses extensively in his *Futūḥāt*.

Unlike Ibn ‘Arabi, Najm al-Din Daya never gained an authoritative status in Ottoman Sufism as a master Sufi. Yet his *Mirṣād al-Ibād* was one of the most influential texts on broader Ottoman thought. All five copies of the work in Bayezid II’s library were in Persian.¹⁴ In form and content, this work is similar to Ghazali’s *Iḥyā’ al-‘Ulūm al-Dīn*, but gives a more specifically Sufistic treatment of ethics, piety, social organization, and rulership. Najm al-Din Daya fled to Anatolia from the Mongol onslaught and met with the Seljuk ruler ‘Ala’eddin Keykubad (r. 1220–37). He composed *Mirṣād al-Ibād* in Anatolia and dedicated it to ‘Ala’eddin in 1223, but never received due attention from the sultan or his learned circle. He departed from Anatolia rather disappointed, but left a work behind him that would soon become a manual for many Sufi orders and royal courts, including that of the Ottomans. From China to Egypt, the work

quickly turned into one of the most studied texts on the Sufi way of life.¹⁵ Besides being represented by numerous copies in Persian, the text was translated into Turkish multiple times. Its fifth part on rulership was reproduced in large numbers and was circulated as a separate work, in both Persian and Turkish versions. Şeyhoğlu (d. 1414) translated the first four chapters of the fifth part in 1401 under the title *Kenzü’l-Küberā* for an Ottoman statesman, Paşa Ağa.¹⁶ Şeyhoğlu’s partial translation and additions to the text and his omission of any reference to the original text made the work appear to be an original composition, even to modern scholars.¹⁷ Kasım b. Mahmud el-Karahisari (d. 1486) translated the full text for Murad II in 1441, and this became the definitive rendering of the work into Turkish until modern times, with numerous copies preserved in Ottoman libraries.¹⁸ Kasım Çelebi (d. 1518), a shaykh from the Halveti order and the spiritual master of the more famous Bali Efendi (d. 1553), translated the work into Turkish for Mehmed II, but this translation failed to gain the same currency as that of Karahisari.

Hamadani’s (d. 1385) *Zakhīrat al-Mulūk* (The Treasury of Kings), of which ‘Atufi lists two copies, is similar to the *al-Tadbīrāt* or the *Mirṣād*, but focuses specifically on rulership.¹⁹ Unlike the *Mirṣād*, whose influence waned somewhat after the fifteenth century, *Zakhīrat al-Mulūk* gained in popularity throughout the sixteenth century and afterwards, becoming one of the most influential Sufi texts on Ottoman political thought. Since Hamadani established the Hamadaniyya branch of the Kubrawiyya order, his teachings attained a cult status in and around the Indian subcontinent, while only gradually gaining currency in the Ottoman realm.²⁰ His synthesis of Ibn al-‘Arabi and Najm al-Din Kubra, clearly visible in his *Zakhīrat*, made Hamadani’s teachings particularly welcome to Ottoman ulema, Sufis, and their disciples among the ruling elite.²¹ In composing *Zakhīrat al-Mulūk*, Hamadani also relied heavily on Ghazali’s *Iḥyā’ al-‘Ulūm al-Dīn* and *Kimyā-i Sa‘ādat* (The Chemistry of Happiness), two works that were held dear by most Ottoman learned men at all times.²² Further, Hamadani’s use of Davud-i Kayseri (d. 1350) in elaborating on Sufistic conceptions of the caliphate brought attention and fame to Kayseri’s teachings.²³ *Zakhīrat al-Mulūk* was translated three times over the course of

the sixteenth century: Süruri Efendi (d. 1561–62) translated it for Prince Mustafa (d. 1553), Zihni for Selim II, and Mustafa Katib for Murad III in 1577.²⁴ Süruri was a disciple of Taşköprülüzade, who made extensive use of *Zakhīrat al-Mulūk* in composing his treatise *Asrār al-Khilāfa*.²⁵

MIRRORS FOR PRINCES

There are nine works in the inventory that are attributed to the last Sasanian king, Anushirwan, and these can all be considered within the broader field of ethics and politics. Since at least the time of Ibn Muqaffa, Anushirwan had appeared in advice literature as a role model for rulership. Examples of hadith attributed to the Prophet Muhammad that praise this king as a just ruler facilitated his favorable reception in all later dynasties. Alongside the overall rise of the Persian language and Iranian models of government and courtly life, Anushirwan's fame and authoritative status increased continuously since early Abbasid times. For Ottomans too, Anushirwan (along with Ardashir) was a favorite character for illustrating foundational principles of government, such as justice. Anushirwan was commonly believed to have written an advice book, also referred to as a testament, which circulated as a separate volume and was quoted at length in histories, advice books, and works of literature. In addition to *Kitāb Tāj fī Sīra Anushirwān* and *Karnāmag-i Anushirwān*, both of which were attributed to Ibn Muqaffa, a number of medieval authors, including Tha'alibi, Tabari, and Ibn Qutayba, extensively quoted the narratives of Anushirwan. Bayezid's library seems to have held a representative sample of various editions of these texts, which were attributed to Anushirwan. In 'Atufi's inventory, four of these texts are entitled *Naṣīhatnāma* and two are called *Pandnāma*, in line with their common titles, whereas two copies have the word *kunkura* ("crown ornament") added to the title. Among these, three are said to be in verse; they may well be extracts from Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma* or Sa'di's *Bostān*.²⁶

Also written as a testament was Kaykawus's *Qābusnāma*, which caught the attention of the Ottomans from early on. The book is one of the most sophisticated ex-

amples of Persian mirrors for princes that reflect the experience of a smaller dynasty surrounded by larger ones at a time when the fragmented Abbasid empire became a battleground for many regional houses of power. Kaykawus, an otherwise little-known ruler of the small Ziyarid dynasty, composed the *Qābusnāma* for his son Gilan Shah in 1082–83.²⁷ This work, which is also known by such titles as *Andarznāma*, *Pandnāma*, *Naṣīhatnāma*, and *Kitāb al-Naṣīḥa*, is a comprehensive manual for the development of a ruler who is virtuous, just, competent, and sound in body and soul. The work seems to have been popular among the Turkish principalities of early fifteenth-century western Anatolia, who had much in common with the Ziyarid dynasty of eleventh-century western Persia. There are six known translations of this text from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries under different titles.²⁸ It is possible that the earliest of these translations was an anonymous one that seems to have been completed between 1370 and 1386.²⁹ Another anonymous translation, preserved in the British Library, displays characteristics of early western Anatolian Turkish and conveys the original text only selectively.³⁰ Şeyhoğlu Sadreddin translated the *Qābusnāma* for the Germiyanid ruler Süleyman Shah between 1361 and 1387; a copy of this translation is preserved in the Cairo National Library.³¹ Soon after, Akkadioğlu translated the work for an obscure vizier in service of the Ottoman prince, Emir Süleyman, who lost his long struggle for the throne in 1411.³² In 1427 Bedr-i Dilşad composed a work in verse, *Murādnāme*, using the *Qābusnāma* as his primary source text, and dedicated it to Murad II.³³ By far the most popular of these early translations was undertaken by Mercümeke Ahmed (d. after 1431–32) upon the request of his patron Murad II, of which numerous copies are preserved in manuscript libraries.³⁴ Apart from translations, the original Persian text of the *Qābusnāma* was also extensively copied, quoted, and circulated among the Ottoman readership. Of the three copies of the *Qābusnāma* listed in the inventory, 'Atufi places two in the categories of *al-istilāḥāt al-ṭibbiyya* (medical terms) and *al-tawārikh* (history), but does not specify their language. Given the primacy of Persian at the Ottoman court at this time, it is possible that these two texts are in Persian. The third copy is already listed under *al-dawāwīn al-farisiyya*.³⁵

Contemporaneous with the *Qābusnāma* is a work by the Seljuk vizier Nizam al-Mulk (d. 1092), the *Siyāsatnāma*, of which three copies are listed: two under *taṣawwuf* titled *Siyar al-Mulūk*, and one under *tawārīkh* titled *Umūr al-Saltāna* (On Affairs of Rulership).³⁶ With a reputation as an illustrious and wise vizier, Nizam al-Mulk is an oft-quoted figure in historical and political literature, especially in Persian and Turkish traditions. From a modern scholarly perspective, his *Siyāsatnāma* is considered to be a prime example of the *Fürstenspiel* genre in Persian literature and is treated as a benchmark when examining any other Persian work on rulership. Yet this canonization is largely a product of the modern era. Despite Nizam al-Mulk's fame as an exemplary vizier, his work gained popularity and authoritative status only gradually. One simple reason for this may be that replicating the vizierate as conceived and instituted by Nizam al-Mulk would have been a risky endeavor in post-Seljuk polities until the rise of bureaucratic empires in the early modern era. In the second half of the fifteenth century, Mehmed II's institutionalizing reforms and the rise of *devshirme* statesmen in administration made Nizam al-Mulk's manual of government relevant again. Because of the low profile of the vizierate in the Ottoman state prior to the conquest of Constantinople, not much had been written on the governance of viziers. Although the *Siyāsatnāma* was not translated into Turkish until the eighteenth century, it became an authoritative source of inspiration for a new generation of Ottoman bureaucrat-authors who wrote on the vizierate and government from the sixteenth century onward.

The remarkably long and sophisticated work on the vizierate by Musannifek (d. 1470) titled *Tuhfa al-Wuzarā* (The Gift of Ministers) was written in 1456 and dedicated to Mehmed II's most outstanding grand vizier, Mahmud Paşa (d. 1474). This work stands as a testament to the rising profile of grand viziers and the institution of the vizierate in the Ottoman empire.³⁷ Musannifek was already a prolific scholar in Herat before he moved to Konya in 1436, where he taught at a madrasa and trained a number of high-profile students including Mahmud Paşa's protégé, the grand vizier Karamani Mehmed Paşa (d. 1481).³⁸ As a mystic affiliated with the Zayniyya order and an accomplished scholar on con-

ventional disciplines of Islamic learning, Musannifek's lifelong pursuit was to reconcile Sufism with theology and jurisprudence while adopting a less accommodating attitude towards philosophy. He later joined the Ottoman court at the request of Mahmud Paşa and composed two short treatises on rulership before writing *Tuhfa al-Wuzarā*.³⁹ These texts, one on the vizierate and the other on the sultanate, are formulaic summaries of political wisdom written in a textbook style for reference or memorization. Organized in ten chapters, *Tuhfa al-Wuzarā* is a moral treatise written from a distinctly Sufistic perspective, stressing the position and significance of the vizier in government but not its institutional aspects. Musannifek situates the vizierate within the broader framework of Sufi cosmology, where he defines the sultan as God's caliph and the vizier as the sultan's caliph.⁴⁰

Another canon of Persian mirrors from the eleventh century is Ghazali's *al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, better known simply as *Naṣiḥa al-Mulūk*. The inventory lists six copies of this work under three titles: three as *Naṣiḥa al-Mulūk*, two as *Siyar al-Mulūk*, and one as *Tuhfa al-Mulūk*.⁴¹ The actual number of copies may be higher, however, because there are about a dozen other works with these titles listed without an author. Ghazali's work is less focused on government per se than on the Sunni creed of the ruler and his morality. Written at a time when the executive leadership of the caliphate had passed to the Seljuks, Ghazali seems more concerned with countering the spread of the Isma'ili faith than with principles of good government. *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk* consists of two parts; the first on creed, and the second on good governance, with a focus on justice illustrated by anecdotes. Although composed in Persian, its Arabic translation quickly turned into a manual of faith and governance across the post-Abbasid dynasties. Later, the work was translated back into Persian. Its first part was translated and reworked by the Ottoman scholar Amasi in a book titled *Mir'ātu'l-Mulūk*, which he dedicated to Mehmed I in the early fifteenth century.⁴² As the many references, reworkings, and abridgements of *al-Tibr al-Masbūk* show, the Arabic version became increasingly popular among the Ottoman ruling elite. Although we do not know whether another translation of the work was undertaken before or during the reign of Bayezid II, later

Ottoman scholars rediscovered *al-Tibr al-Masbūk* in the context of the Ottoman-Safavid rivalry in the sixteenth century, during which at least three different translations into Turkish were made.⁴³ The Ottoman infatuation with this text never faded, as indicated by many later translations.⁴⁴

Added to Bayezid's collection on ethics and politics are two well-known texts composed by authors from the West of the Mediterranean: al-Turtushi's (d. 1126) *Sirāj al-Mulūk* (The Lamp of Kings) and Ibn Zafar's (d. 1169) *Sulwān al-Muṭā'fi 'Udwan al-Atba'* (Consolation for the Ruler during the Hostility of Subjects). The Andalusian scholar Turtushi's *Sirāj al-Mulūk* had long served as a master text of political thought before entering the Ottoman intellectual milieu with four copies listed in Bayezid's library, two under *taṣawwuf* and two under *tawārīkh*.⁴⁵ Reflecting the text's canonical status, Taşköprülüzade cites it in his *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda* as one of two works on "the science of manners of rulership" (*'ilm ādāb al-mulūk*) along with Ibn Zafar's *Sulwān al-Muṭā'*.⁴⁶ Turtushi composed *Sirāj al-Mulūk* in Egypt in 1122 and dedicated it to the vizier Ibn al-Bata'ihī.⁴⁷ This work is an anecdotal narrative highlighting principles of government taken from various strands of Islamic thought, from jurisprudence to philosophy. It was later translated by Vusuli for the Ottoman sultan Selim II as *Şems-i Hidāyet* (Sun of Guidance) in 1584.⁴⁸ Apart from the wide circulation of the work in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, *Sirāj al-Mulūk* served as a source text from which numerous other authors derived stories to illustrate political ideas. As for Turtushi's student Ibn Zafer, the inventory lists three copies of his work, two under *taṣawwuf* and one under *tawārīkh*, with a slightly different title.⁴⁹ Born in Sicily under Norman rule, Ibn Zafar is better known as a philologist who had an adventurous life around the Mediterranean. With clear influences from Turtushi's *Sirāj al-Mulūk*, Ibn Zafar composed his work in Sicily in 1159 and dedicated it to his patron and friend, Amir al-Qureshi. The book was later rendered into verse and was translated into Persian in the fourteenth century.⁵⁰ The work was spared the translation frenzy of the sixteenth century and was only rendered into Turkish in the nineteenth century. Unlike many other mirrors, this one was specifically written for a prince under intense political and social pressure, which

makes it particularly suitable to the reign of Bayezid, who was facing similar challenges at the time.⁵¹

PHILOSOPHY

In political and ethical philosophy, Bayezid's library features works from a wide range of traditions, including Greek, Arabic, Persian, and Indian. A cursory look reveals that the *ishrāqī* (illuminationist) strain of Islamic political philosophy is better represented than the *mashshai* (peripatetic) school. Among the notable works, two by Plato are listed: *al-Ādāb al-Mulūkiyya wa-al-Akhlāq* (The Manners of Kingship and Ethics) under *taṣawwuf*, and *al-Siyāsa al-Madaniyya* (Government of Cities) under *hikma*. Both are indicated as being collections of the philosopher's dialogues.⁵² Considering the classification of these works, we can only surmise that the former may include Plato's *Politicós*, while the latter may contain his *Politeia*, which Hunayn b. Ishaq translated as *Kitāb al-Siyāsa* (The Book of Rulership).⁵³ In the same tradition, the inventory lists four texts by Farabi under *taṣawwuf*, all generically titled *al-Akhlāq wa-al-Taṣawwuf* (Ethics and Sufism). This could refer to any one (or a compilation) of the many works Farabi (d. 950) authored on politics and ethics. It is equally difficult to identify the four similar titles that are listed without an author. Two copies of *Taqwīm al-Siyāsa al-Mulūk* are listed under *taṣawwuf*.⁵⁴ In various manuscript collections, *Taqwīm* is recorded as being a compilation of the works of Plato by Farabi. So are the other four similar titles of *al-Ādāb al-Mulūkiyya wa-al-Akhlāq al-Ikhtiyāriyya* that are listed under *taṣawwuf* in the inventory.⁵⁵ Whether or not they were compiled by Farabi, these texts are pseudo-Platonic.⁵⁶ A manuscript copied in 863 (1459) and now preserved in the Köprülü Library in Istanbul is entitled *Taqwīm al-Siyāsa al-Mulūkiyya wa Akhlāq al-Ikhtiyāriyya wa Ma'āsh Tabi'iyya* (Rectification of the Governance of Kings and Voluntary Ethics and Natural Livelihood).⁵⁷ The introduction indicates that the work is a compilation of Plato's treatises by Farabi that concludes with Aristotle's advice to Alexander the Great.

It is no less problematic to identify the eight works that are attributed to Aristotle. Six of these titles

indicate that the work contains Aristotle's advice to Alexander, or Dhu al-Qarnayn, his epithet in Islamic sources.⁵⁸ These texts may well belong to the genre of short apocryphal testaments that are commonly appended to advice books, similar to those attributed to Anushirwan. Although it is unlikely, they could also be copies of Aristotle's *Ethics*, a work known to exist in Arabic, unlike Aristotle's *Politics*. Among the listed works, we can safely identify only one title: *Tarjuma Kitāb al-Siyāsa fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsa al-Ma'rūf bi Sirr al-Asrār* (Translation of the Book of Rulership on Governance titled the Secret of Secrets), which is placed under *tawārīkh*.⁵⁹ *Tarjuma Kitāb Aristatalis li-Hunayn bin Ishaq fī 'Ilm al-Firāsa* (Translation of the Book of Aristotle by Hunayn b. Ishaq on the Science of Physiognomy), listed under *firāsa*, is probably another copy of this work.⁶⁰ This pseudo-Aristotelian text was first penned by Yahya ibn al-Bitriq (d. 815) and underwent various renditions in later centuries.⁶¹ Better known as *Sirr al-Asrār*, the work was one of the most widely circulated and translated texts in all Muslim polities and in Europe alike. It would be surprising if there were only two copies of this wildly popular text in the palace library at a time when occult sciences had become mainstream. In its various renditions, *Sirr al-Asrār* served as a master text for Sufis and occult specialists alike, particularly those closely connected with courtly life. Given the marked interest in occult sciences shown by Bayezid II and his courtiers, we might surmise that many more copies of the work were represented in the inventory under the anonymous titles on *firāsa*. In Ottoman thought, *Sirr al-Asrār* served as a popular source text that compiled political treatises and, beginning with the translation of Ferdi in the sixteenth century, it was translated into Turkish several times.⁶²

Among the more recognizable works on ethics and politics, the library held multiple copies of Ibn Miskawayh's two canonical works on ethics: *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq* (Purification of Morality) and *Jāwidān Khirad* (Perennial Wisdom). Despite having received as much blame as praise from his contemporaries and from later scholars, Ibn Miskawayh's legacy in the realm of ethical thought is second to none. All four copies of his *Tahdhīb* are listed under *taṣawwuf*.⁶³ The work is generally credited as being the first and, arguably, the most authorita-

tive treatment of ethics as a distinct discipline in the Islamic philosophical tradition. The *Tahdhīb* reconciles not only Platonic and Aristotelian doctrines but also traditions of Islamic morality and the Persianate wisdom. It served as a master text for virtually all major works on ethics that followed, most notably, for those composed by Tuṣi and Davani. Ibn Miskawayh's emphasis on Platonic cardinal virtues for the inculcation of the righteous man as well as his ideas on the mutability of human nature had a lasting impact on all later strains of ethical thought, especially on Sufi-minded authors. Ibn Miskawayh's lesser known work, *Jāwidān Khirad*, which he compiled long after the *Tahdhīb*, was obviously more popular at the Ottoman court, where nine copies existed, all listed by the librarian under *taṣawwuf*.⁶⁴ Ibn Miskawayh, himself a librarian at the Buyid court, composed the work after his extensive quest through the vast philosophical literature to which he had access.⁶⁵ *Jāwidān Khirad* takes its title from the apocryphal text attributed to the legendary Persian ruler Houchang, which is also included in the work.⁶⁶ It is an eclectic compendium of philosophical wisdom from Indian, Persian, Greek, and Islamic sources. 'Atufi does not associate Ibn Miskawayh's name with any of the copies of this work, however, and he specifies only two as being in Persian, and two as being selections from *Jāwidān Khirad*. Although we cannot definitively identify which specific versions of *Jāwidān Khirad* were held in the library, the fact that some copies are mentioned alongside *Tahdhīb* leads us to surmise that most, if not all, of these texts were compiled by Ibn Miskawayh.⁶⁷ The popularity of the text may be partly a result of humanistic endeavors during the reign of Mehmed II, who relentlessly sought to recast the state he inherited in the image of great ancient empires. He thus went to great lengths to collect texts of ancient learning and to support authors who were conversant in them. But apart from the personal interests of this ambitious sultan, texts such as *Jāwidān Khirad* conventionally served as repertoires of wisdom and illustration for any author writing on ethics and government, or any tutor training princes in the art of rulership.

One work that lent Ibn Miskawayh's ethical teachings even greater currency was Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*, which offered a broad and authoritative

exposition of the discipline of ethics in language that was more accessible to readers west of the Nile. Bayezid's library lists ten copies of the work, of which seven are specifically labeled as *taşawwuf*.⁶⁸ The inventory attributes one additional title to Tusi, called *Sīra al-Mulūk*, which is listed under *ḥikma* and which may well be just another copy of *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*.⁶⁹ Having founded the Maragha School of astronomy under Ilkanid rule, this versatile scholar and his disciples were well known to the Ottomans from the very beginning.⁷⁰ The first textual engagement with Tusi's *Akhlāq* by the Ottomans that we have on record is Amasī's aforementioned Turkish *Mir'āt al-Mulūk*, the second half of which is based entirely on Tusi's text. Whether directly or indirectly, the influence of *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī* is clearly visible in major Ottoman works on ethics as well.⁷¹ Tursun Beg (d. 1499), a historian during the reign of Bayezid II, used *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī* in composing the introduction to his chronicle where he summarizes the science of government.⁷² Tusi's synthesis of philosophy, Islamic theology, and Sufism made this text the definitive treatment of politics and ethics in the Persianate world. Dawani's and Kashifi's more distinctly Sufistic rendering of *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī* made Tusi's text even more appealing to the Ottomans from the sixteenth century onwards. Taşköprülüzade's lengthy commentary on the *Akhlāq* by the fourteenth-century theologian Adud al-Din al-Iji (d. 1355) relies heavily on the work of Tusi.⁷³ The *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī* is also one of the three major sources for Kınalızade 'Alī's (d. 1572) *Ahlāk-ı 'Alā'ī* (Alaian Ethics), which became the standard Ottoman canon of ethics soon after its composition in 1565.

Besides these classics of ethics and politics, Bayezid's library boasts sixteen copies of Suhrawardi's (d. 1191) controversial *Ḥikma al-Ishrāq* (The Philosophy of Illumination), nine of which are commentaries on this work that one would expect to see in any courtly library in the Ottoman and eastern dynasties. Although there is no indication of the identity of the commentators, two authoritative commentaries were known to the Ottomans: those by Shahrazuri (after 1288) and Qutb al-Din Shirazi (d. 1311), who both produced professional editions of the text and commented extensively on it.⁷⁴ This founding text of the philosophy of illumination is not a work on politics or ethics per se, but it may well be considered as

such because of its coverage of these subjects, and its later impact on Ottoman political thought. Written in the twelfth century, *Ḥikma al-Ishrāq* served as the main inspiration for the mystical conception of the caliphate, which was later infused with more sophistication by Ibn al-'Arabi and his disciples.⁷⁵ Ahmed Bican, for example, used the work in his popular Turkish commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ*. Likewise, Musannifek cited Suhrawardi as one of his sources in his compendium on Sufism, *Ḥal al-Rumūz wa Kashf al-Kunūz* (Solving Mysteries and Discovering Treasures), which he dedicated to Mehmed II, who owned his own copy of *Ḥikma al-Ishrāq*.⁷⁶ Given Bayezid's spiritual inclinations as well as the presence of many Sufi-minded scholars in his court, it appears this text was uniquely suited to the intellectual and political environment of the era. The most noticeable adherent of Suhrawardi's political thought at Bayezid's court was none other than Idris-i Bidlisi (d. 1520). His *Hasht Behisht* (Eight Gardens), a comprehensive history of the Ottoman dynasty from its beginning up to the end of this sultan's reign, interprets history in a way that is markedly illuminationist. Similarly, Bidlisi's later political work, *Qanūn-i Shahenshāhī* (The Law of the King of Kings), also promotes the idea of a mystical caliphate as envisioned by Suhrawardi.

CONCLUSION

Besides reflecting Bayezid II's own inclinations and tastes, as well as the scholarly and literary interests of his entourage, this sultan's library testifies to the political ambitions of a rising empire, as envisioned by his father Mehmed II. The library offers a good collection of works on ethics and politics that were held in high regard among the learned and conveyed the experience of empires from antiquity to the time of the Ottomans, including advice to and testaments of legendary rulers, from Alexander to Anushirwan. Though it certainly built on Mehmed II's book collection, Bayezid II's library shows a clear break with the reading tendencies of the Ottoman court from the first half of the fifteenth century. Although we do not have an inventory for the libraries of Mehmed I and Murad II, we know that much of what they commissioned or received as dedicated

works were Turkish translations of well-known classics on ethics and politics. This practice of reading in Turkish seems to have shifted markedly in favor of reading in Persian during the latter half of the fifteenth century. The influx of learned men from the East and the active acquisition of books meant that the Ottoman court was continuously fed with Persian works, some of which were written by those immigrant or refugee scholars themselves. On the other hand, the sway of Sufism on Ottoman thought appears to have not only continued but further solidified at this time. Sufism mediated among different branches of knowledge in the broader Islamic tradition, but also served to appease its revolutionary currents, such as the Hurufis, by promoting strains of Sufism that fully reconciled esotericism with mainstream theology and jurisprudence. Many Sufistic works on ethics and politics were at the same time works on true faith, such as Ghazali's popular *al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, which as mentioned above is a work that focuses on rectifying the ruler's faith rather than providing guidance on rulership.

The inventory of books on ethics and politics also suggests that the Ottoman court was more closely connected to the Persianate political culture that dominated the successor states to the Abbasids in the East (particularly after the Mongols) than it was to the Mamluk south, where the Arabic language and jurists dominated the literary landscape. The Ottoman ruling elite were better attuned to the artistic and scholarly achievements in the East, as they engaged in a vigorous competition to attract outstanding learned men to their court. The Ottomans succeeded in attracting such luminous scholars as Musannifek, Şükrullah, 'Ali Kushji (d. 1474), and Bidlisi but they failed, for example, in the case of Abdurrahman Jami (d. 1492). The linguistic affinity of Persian and Turkish, and the spread of many Sufi orders with branches in both Ottoman and eastern polities, facilitated the formation of artistic and scholarly networks that included Bayezid II's court.

Finally, the diversity and multiplicity of titles on ethics and politics reflect the growing demand for the education of the ruling elite at the Ottoman court. When the Ottomans were defeated by Timur in 1402, they responded by commissioning the translation of political works, most of which were Persian, into Turkish. This

was followed by Murad II's broader translation project that endeavored to make textbooks in various disciplines available for the inculcation of a new learned class in administration. This process gained momentum under Mehmed II, who had the privilege of receiving an exceptional education thanks to his father's unprecedented patronage of learning. With Mehmed's newly conceived bureaucratic empire and *devshirme*-dominated ruling class, education became more competitive and more specialized, which only increased the significance of libraries, both personal and institutional, including the one in the imperial palace. Although each book that ended up in Bayezid's library has a history of its own, the overall collection must at least partly reflect the scholarly and ideological preferences of the learned men who were attracted to the Ottoman court.

NOTES

1. Aḥmed b. Muṣṭafā Ṭāṣköprizāde, *Mawsū'a Muṣṭalaḥāt Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda wa Miṣbāḥ al-Siyāda fī Mawḍū'āt al-'Ulūm*, ed. R. al-'Ajam and 'A. Dahrūj (Beirut: Maktaba Lubnān Nāshirūn, 1998), 68.
2. MS Török F. 59, 114 {2-7}.
3. Ibid., 146 {18-19}; *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (hereafter TDVİA), s.v. "Devvânî," by Harun Anay.
4. MS Török F. 59, 143 {13}.
5. Ṭāṣköprizāde, *Mawsū'a Muṣṭalaḥāt Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda wa Miṣbāḥ al-Siyāda*, 488-89.
6. 'Alā'uddīn 'Alī b. Muḥammed b. Mes'ūd al-Bistāmī al-Şāhrūdī [Muṣannifek], *Tuhfa al-Wuzarā*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2855; *Tuhfa al-Mulūk*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Şehit Ali Paşa 2797.
7. MS Török F. 59, 96 {11}.
8. Ibid., 105 {14-16}.
9. Ibid., 114 {1-2}, 122 {16}, 111 {10-11}.
10. See Kemal Faruk Molla, "Mehmed Şah Fenârî'nin *Enmûzecu'l-'Ulûm* adlı Eserine Göre Fetih Öncesi Dönemde Osmanlılar'da İlim Anlayışı ve İlim Tasnifi," *Dîvân İlmi Araştırmalar* 18 (2005): 245-73.
11. Ṭāṣköprizāde, *Mawsū'a Muṣṭalaḥāt Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda wa Miṣbāḥ al-Siyāda*, 489.
12. MS Török F. 59, 132 {8}, 134 {7-8}, 147 {15}.
13. Nihat Keklik, *Muhyiddin İbnü'l-Arabî: Hayatı ve Çevresi* (İstanbul: Büyük Matbaa, 1966), 107.
14. MS Török F. 59, 108 {8-9}, 113 {15-16}, 138 {6-7}.
15. Najm al-Din Razi, *The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return*, trans. Hamid Algar (North Haledon, NJ: Islamic Publications International, 2003), 20.

16. Şehabettin Tekindağ, "İzzettin Koyunoğlu Kütüphanesinde Bulunan Türkçe Yazmalar I," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 16 (1971): 133–62.
17. Kemâl Yavuz, *Şeyhoğlu: Kenzül-Küberâ ve Mehekkül-Ulemâ* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1991), 10–16; Şeyhoğlu Mustafa, *Hurşid-nâme* (*Hurşid ü Feraḥşâd*), ed. Hüseyin Ayan (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1979), 16–23.
18. See, for example, Kâşım b. Maḥmūd Ḳarahisârî, *İrşâdü'l-Mürîd ile'l-Murâd fi Tercüme-i Mirşâdü'l-İbâd*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 1650.
19. MS Török F. 59, 140 {13–16}.
20. For a brief analysis of Hamadani's political teachings in the context of Indian political thought, see 'Azîz Aḥmad, "Trends in the Political Thought of Medieval India," *Studia Islamica* 17 (1962): 121–30.
21. *TDVİA*, s.v. "Hemedânî," by Tahsin Yazıcı.
22. Mir Seyyed 'Alî Hamadânî, *Zakhîrat al-Mulûk*, ed. S. M. Anvârî (Tabriz: Intishârât-i Mu'assasa-i Târiḫ va Farhang-i Iran, 1979), 39–46.
23. For comparison, see Hamadânî, *Zaḥîrat al-Mulûk*, 289–334 and Qaysarî Rûmî, Muḥammed Dâvûd, *Sharḥ-i Fuṣûṣ al-Hikam*, ed. Seyyed Jalâl ad-Dîn Âshtiyânî (Tehran: Shirkat-i Intishârât-i 'İlmî va Farhangî, 1375), 1–286.
24. Ağâ S. Levend, "Siyaset-nameler," (hereafter TDAY) *Belleten* (1962): 167–94; Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebi, *Tezkiretü's-Şuarâ*, 2 vols., ed. İ. Kutluk (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1978), 1:394.
25. Tâşköprizâde, *Risâla fi Bayân Asrâr al-Khilâfa al-Insâniya wa al-Salṭana al-Ma'nawiya*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Carullah Efendi 2098.
26. Ulaş T. Sivrioğlu, "İslâm Kaynaklarına Göre Nuşîrevân-ı Âdil," *History Studies* 5 (2013): 225–52.
27. *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Kaykâvus b. Eskandar," by J. T. P. de Bruijn.
28. Eleazar Birnbaum, *The Book of Advice by King Kay Kâ'us ibn Iskander: The Earliest Old Ottoman Turkish Version of His Ḳâbûsnâme* (Duxbury: Harvard University Printing Office, 1981); *TDVİA*, s.v. "Keykâvus b. İskender," by Rıza Kurtuluş; Levend, "Ümmet Çağında Ahlâk Kitaplarımız," *TDAY Belleten* (1963): 89–115.
29. Eleazar Birnbaum, "A Lifemanship Manual: The Earliest Turkish Version of the Kabusname," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 1 (1977): 3–64.
30. Enfel Doğan, "On Translations of Qabus-nama during the Old Anatolian Turkish Period," *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 5 (2012): 76–85.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Âdem Ceyhan, *Bedr-i Dilşad'ın Murâd-Nâmesi*, 2 vols. (İstanbul: MEB, 1997).
34. Rıza Kurtuluş, "Keykâvus b. İskender."
35. MS Török F. 59, 166 {2}, 191 {13–14}, 248 {6}.
36. Ibid., 140 {19}, 141 {1}, 197 {9}.
37. Ibid., 140 {13}; 'Alî b. Majdüddîn el-Şahrûdî Bistâmî [Muşannifek], *Tuḥfa al-Wuzarâ*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2885.
38. Tâşköprizâde, *al-Shaqâ'iq al-Nu'mâniyya* (Beirut: Dâr al-Kitâb al-'Arabî, 1975), 100–102.
39. Bistâmî, *Tuḥfa al-Salâṭîn* [*Tuḥfa al-Mulûk*], Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Şehid Ali Paşa 2797, ff. 73b–75b; Esad Efendi 1663, ff. 333b–335b; *Tuḥfa al-Wuzarâ*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2885.
40. Bistâmî, *Tuḥfa al-Wuzarâ*, 46a.
41. MS Török F. 59, 136 {6}, 140 {13–18}, 144 {11–12}, 147 {8}, 197 {6–7}.
42. Aḥmed b. Hüsameddîn Amâsî, *Kitâb-ı Mir'âtü'l-Mülûk*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi 1890.
43. 'Alâyî, *Neticetü's-Sülûk fi Terceme-i Naşihatü'l-Mülûk*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Pertevniyal 1011; 'Âşık Çelebi, *el-Tibrü'l-Mesbûk fi Naşihatü'l-Mülûk*, TSMK, Bağdat 351; Aḥmed bin el-Şeyḫ Muşliḥuddin el-Edhemi [Mu'allimzâde], *Terceme-i Naşihatü'l-Mülûk*, Bayezid Devlet Kütüphanesi, Bayezid 3902.
44. For an incomplete list of these translations, see Levend, "Siyaset-nâmeler."
45. MS Török F. 59, 141 {4–5}, 144 {4}, 191 {9}, 197 {8}; for a copy of the work with Bayezid's seal, see Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2844.
46. Tâşköprizâde, Aḥmed b. Muştafa, *Mawsû'a Muştalaḥât Miftâḥ al-Sa'âda wa Mişbâḥ al-Siyâda*, 149.
47. *El2*, "Turtüşî," by A. Ben Abdeselem.
48. Vuşûlî Mehmed Efendi, *Şems-i Hidâyet*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Reisülküttap 772.
49. MS Török F. 59, 144 {3, 5}, 197 {4}.
50. For the Persian translation, see Nizâm al-Dîn Şâmî, *Riyâz al-Mulûk fi Riyâzât al-Sulûk*, ed. Karîm Şadîrî (Tabriz: Hâşimî Südmând, 1381 [2002 or 2003]).
51. R. Hrair Dekmejian and A. Fathy Thabit, "Machiavelli's Arab Precursor: Ibn Zafar al-Şiqillî," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 27 (2000): 125–37.
52. MS Török F. 59, 141 {7}, 360 {5}.
53. *TDVİA*, s.v. "Eflâtun," by Fahrettin Olguner.
54. MS Török F. 59, 197 {11}, 198 {8}.
55. Ibid., 139 {5}, 141 {7}, 145 {14}, 146 {3–4}.
56. Rüdiger Arnzen, "On the Contents, Sources and Composition of Two Arabic Pseudo-Platonics: *Multaqaṭât Aflâtûn al-ilâhî* and *Fiḳar ultuḳiṭat wa jumi'at 'an Aflâtûn*," *Oriens* 37 (2009): 7–52.
57. Farâbî, *Taqwîm al-Siyâsa al-Mulûkiyya wa Akhlâq al-Ikhtiyâriyya wa Ma'âsh Tabi'iyya*, İstanbul, Köprülü Kütüphanesi, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1228.
58. MS Török F. 59, 145 {11–12}, 197 {17–19}, 198 {12–13}.
59. Ibid., 198 {6}.
60. Ibid., 304 {9}.
61. Michele Campopiano, "A Philosopher between East and West: Aristotle and the Secret of Secrets," *Lampas* 46 (2013): 282–89.
62. Naşûḥ Nevâlî, *Ferruḥnâme*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hafid Efendi 253.

63. MS Török F. 59, 122 {15–18}, 123 {1–2}, 140 {11–12}.
64. Ibid., 111 {2–5}, 122 {19}, 123 {3}, 137 {19}, 141 {4}, 145 {3}.
65. *TDVİA*, s.v. “Câvidân-Hired,” by Mustafa Çağrıçlı.
66. M. S. Khan, “An Apocryphal Work: The ‘Jāvidān Khirād’ of Miskawayh,” *Islamic Studies* 37 (1998): 371–80.
67. For a discussion of different versions and copies of *Jāwidān-khirad*, see Roxanne Marcotte, “An Early Anonymous Persian Moral Text: The Jāvidān Khirad,” *Islamic Studies* 36 (1997): 77–87.
68. MS Török F. 59, 112 {10–13}, 113 {1}, 114 {1–2}, 136 {18}, 140 {3}, 146 {3}, 343 {4–5}.
69. Ibid., 124 {18–19}.
70. See Salim Aydıöz, “Naşir al-Dīn al-Tūsī’s Influence on Ottoman Scientific Literature,” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 17 (2011): 21–38.
71. See, for example, Arzu Süren, *Şükrullâh-ı Şîrvânî’nin Nahlistân Adlı Eserinin Metni ve Metin Tercümesi* (master’s thesis, Istanbul University, 2006), 70.
72. Tursun Bey, *Târîh-i Ebü’l-Feth*, ed. M. Tulum (Istanbul: Istanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1977), 16.
73. Taşköprizâde Ahmed Efendi, *Şerhu’l-Ahlâki’l-Adudiyye*, ed. Elzem İçöz and Mustakim Arıcı (Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2014).
74. John Walbridge, *The Leaven of the Ancients: Suhrawardî and the Heritage of the Greeks* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2000), 211–13.
75. See, for example, Ahmet Bican who used *Hikma al-Ishrâq* in his commentary on Ibn ‘Arabî’s *Fuṣûṣ*: Ayşe Beyazıt, *Ahmed Bican’ın “Müntehâ” İsimli Fusûs Tercümesi Işığında Tasavvuf Düşüncesi* (master’s thesis, Marmara University, 2008), 56.
76. Ayşe Beyazıt, “Ahmed Bican’ın ‘Müntehâ’ İsimli Fusûs Tercümesi Işığında Tasavvuf Düşüncesi” (master’s thesis, Marmara University, 2008), 56; ‘Alî b. Maḥmûd el-Şahrûdî Bistâmî [Muşannifek], *Hall al-Rumûz wa Kashf al-Kunûz*, ed. Yûsuf Aḥmad (Beirut: Kitâb Nâshirûn, 2013), 22; for Mehmed II’s own copy, see Şihâbüddîn Es-Sühreverdî, *Hikmetü’l-İşrâk*, ed. Eyüp Bekiryazıcı – Üsmetullah Sami (Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2015).

LIST OF ENTRIES

SECTION ON BOOKS ON ETHICS AND POLITICS

(*Taḫṣīlu [...] kutubi ‘ilmi al-akhlāqi [...] wa-kutubi umūri al-riyāsati wa-al-salṭānati wa-al-siyāsati*)

1. “*Ādāb al-salṭana wa-al-wizāra*” (Refined Manners in Sultanate and Vizierate), Persian, 198 {2–3}.
2. “*al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*” (The Ordinances of Government), 96 {11}.
3. “*Anūshirwān fī al-naṣā’ih*” (Anushirvan’s Counsels), 146 {3}.
4. “*Risāla siyāsāt al-mulūk*” (The Treatise on Governance of Kings), Arabic, 198 {10}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Hacı Mahmud 2041 (seal of Bayezid II).
5. Bistāmī, ‘Alī b. Majd al-Dīn al-Shahrūdī (d. 1470). *Tuḥfat al-wuzarā* (The Gift for Viziers), 861/1457, Persian, 140 {13}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 2885, autograph, 861/1457 (seal of Bayezid II).
6. “*Dustūr al-wizāra fī qawānīn al-wizāra*” (Guidance for the Vizierate on the Laws of the Vizierate), 193 {18}.
7. Fārābī, Abū Naṣr (d. 950). *Kitāb al-Fārābī* (The Book of Farabi), 122 {16–17}.
8. Same as above, 122 {18–19}.
9. Same as above, 123 {2}.
10. Fārābī, Abū Naṣr. *Risāla li-al-Fārābī fī al-akhlāq* (Farabi’s Treatise on Ethics), 140 {10–11}.
11. Fārābī, Abū Naṣr. “*Taqwīm al-siyāsa al-mulūkiyya*” (Straightening of the Governance of Kings), Arabic, 197 {11}. MANUSCRIPT: Köprülü Kütüphanesi, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1228, 863/1459.
12. Same as above, “*Taqwīm al-siyāsa al-mulūkiyya*,” 198 {8}.
13. Same as above (*al-Siyāsa al-mulūkiyya wa-al-akhlāq al-ikhtiyāriyya*) (Governance of Kings and Voluntary Ethics), 139 {4–5}.
14. Same as above (*Ādāb al-mulūkiyya wa-al-akhlāq al-ikhtiyāriyya min multaqaṭ Aflāṭūn*) (Manners of Kingship and Voluntary Ethics: Selections from Plato), 141 {7}.
15. Same as above (*Ādāb al-mulūkiyya wa-al-akhlāq al-ikhtiyāriyya*), 145 {14}.
16. Same as above (*Ādāb al-mulūkiyya wa-al-akhlāq al-ikhtiyāriyya*), 146 {3–4}.
17. Ghazālī, Abū Ḥamid (d. 1111). *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī naṣīḥat al-mulūk* (Ingots of Gold on Advice to Kings), Persian, 136 {5–7}. EDITION: Ghazālī, Abū Ḥamid. *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*. Ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Humā’ī. Tehran: Anjuman-i Āṣār-i Millī, 1972.
18. Same as above, 140 {13–14}.
19. Same as above, 140 {14}.
20. Same as above, 197 {6–7}.
21. Ghazālī, Abū Ḥamid. *Siyār al-mulūk* (Lives and Manners of Kings), 140 {18–19}.
22. Ghazālī, Abū Ḥamid. *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk* (Counsel for Kings), Persian, 140 {15}. EDITION: Ghazālī, Abū Ḥamid. *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*. Ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Humā’ī. Tehran: Anjuman-i Āṣār-i Millī, 1972.
23. “*Tuḥfat al-mulūk*” (The Gift for Kings), Persian, 147 {8–9}.
24. Hamadhānī, ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad (d. 1385). *Dhakhīrat al-mulūk* (Provision for Kings), Persian, 140 {15}. EDITION: Hamadhānī, ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad. *Dhakhīrat al-Mulūk*. Ed. Sayyid Maḥmūd Anwārī. Tabriz: Mu’assasah-i Tārīkh va Farhang-i Īrān, 1979.
25. Same as above, 140 {15–16}.
26. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (d. 940). “*Kitāb al-‘iqd al-farīd fī al-naṣā’ih wa-al-faḍā’il*” (The Book of the Unique Necklace on Counsels and Virtues), 144 {7}. EDITION: Aḥmad ibn

- Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Rabbih al-Andalusī. *al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, 9 vols. in 8. Ed. Mufid Muḥammad Qumayḥa. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1987.
27. Ibn ‘Arabī (d. 1240). *al-Tadbīrāt al-ilāhiyya fī iṣlāḥ al-mamlaka al-insāniyya* (Divine Governance in Reforming the Human Kingdom), 590/1194, Arabic, 147 {15}. EDITION: Ibn ‘Arabī. *Al-Tadbīrāt al-ilāhiyya fī iṣlāḥ al-Mamlaka al-Insāniyya*. Ed. Ḥasan ‘Āṣī. Beirut: Mu’assasa Bahsun, 1993.
 28. Same as above, 132 {8}.
 29. Same as above, 134 {7–8}.
 30. Ibn Ḥaddād, Shams al-Dīn Hamadāni (d. 1088). *Jawharat al-naḥīs fī siyāsāt al-ra’īs* (The Precious Gem on the Ruler’s Governance), Arabic, 198 {7–8}. MANUSCRIPT: Ayasofya 4824, ff. 39–62 (Seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Ibn Ḥaddād, Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr. *al-Jawhar al-Naḥīs fī Siyāsāt al-Ra’īs*. Ed. Ridwān al-Sayyid. Mecca: Maktabat Nizār Muṣṭafā al-Bāz, 1996.
 31. Ibn Miskawayh, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (d. 1030). *al-Ṭahāra fī tahdhīb al-naḥīs* (The Purity in Perfecting the Soul), Persian, 122 {15–16}. EDITION: Ibn Miskawayh, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*. Ed. Constantine K. Zurayk. Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1967.
 32. Same as above, 122 {17–18}.
 33. Same as above, 123 {1–2}.
 34. Same as above, 140 {11–12}.
 35. Ibn Miskawayh, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. *Jāwīdān-khirad* (Perennial Wisdom), Arabic, 111 {2–3}. EDITION: Ibn Miskawayh, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. *Tarjumah-i Jāwīdān Khirad-i Mishkawayh-i Rāzī*. Ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānish’pazhūh. Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tihirān, 1980.
 36. Same as above, 111 {3–4}.
 37. Same as above, 111 {4}.
 38. Same as above, 111 {5}.
 39. Same as above, 122 {19}.
 40. Same as above, 137 {19}.
 41. Same as above, 141 {4}.
 42. Same as above, 123 {3}.
 43. Same as above, 145 {3}.
 44. Ibn al-Muqaffa (d. 759). *Pandnāma-i tāj-i Anūshirwān* (The Crown Book of Anushirvan’s Counsels), Persian, 250 {5–6}.
 45. Ibn Ḥafar, Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh (d. 1169). *Sulwān al-muṭā’ fī ‘udwān al-atbā’* (Consolation for the Ruler during the Hostility of Subjects), Arabic, 144 {3–4}. EDITION: Ibn Ḥafar, Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh. *Sulwān al-Muṭā’ fī ‘Udwan al-Atbā’*. Ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Damaj. Beirut: Mu’assasat ‘Izz al-Dīn, 1995.
 46. Same as above, 144 {5–6}.
 47. Same as above, 197 {4–5}.
 48. Idrīs-i Bitlisī (d. 1520). *Mir’āt al-jamāl* (Mirror of Beauty), Persian 144 {4–5}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Şehid Ali Paşa 2149.
 49. Iskāfī, Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh (d. 854). *Lutf al-tadbīr fī tadbīr al-riyāsa* (Kind Governance in Handling Rulership), Arabic, 198 {5}. EDITION: Iskāfī, Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh. *Tahdhīb Kitāb Lutf al-Tadbīr fī Siyāsāt al-Mulūk*. Ed. Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Bāqī. Beirut: Dār al-Bashā’ir al-Islāmiyya, 1993.
 50. Same as above, *Lutf al-tadbīr fī ḥiyāl al-mulūk*, 197 {14}.
 51. Ja’far b. Shams al-Khilāfa. *Kitāb al-ādāb fī ‘ilm al-akhlāq* (The Book of Refined Manners in the Science of Ethics), Arabic, 144 {10}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 2838, ff. 1–118.

52. Jāḥiẓ (d. 869). *Kitāb al-tāj fī akhlāq al-mulūk* (Book of the Crown on the Science of Ethics), Arabic, 198 {1}. EDITION: Jāḥiẓ. *Kitāb al-Tāj fī Akhlāq al-Mulūk*. Ed. Fawzi ‘Aṭawī. Beirut: al-Sharika al-Lubnāniyya li-al-Kitāb, 1970.
53. Same as above, 198 {1–2}.
54. Kātib Samarqandī, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad. *Aghrāḍ al-siyāsa fī ‘ilm al-riyāsa* (Goals of Governance in the Science of Leadership), Persian, 193 {4}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Aya-sofiya 2884 (Seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: al-Kātib al-Samarqandī, Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Ẓahīrī. *Aghrāḍ al-Siyāsa fī A’rāḍ al-Riyāsa*. Ed. Ja’far Shi’ār. Tehran: Dānishgāh-i Tihārān, 1349 (1970 or 1971).
55. Kaykā’ūs, ‘Unşur al-Ma’ālī (after 1082). *Pand-nāma-i Kaykā’ūs* (The Book of Advice by Kaykā’ūs), Persian, 166 {2}. EDITION: Kaykā’ūs, ‘Unşur al-Ma’ālī. *Qābūsnāma*. Ed. Ghulām Ḥusayn Yūsufī. Tehran: Shirkat-i Intishārāt-i ‘Ilmī va Farhangī, 1967.
56. Same as above, *Qābūsnāma* (The Book of Qābūs), 191 {13–14}.
57. “*Kitāb fī ādāb al-salṭana*” (The Book of Refinement in Government), 198 {3}.
58. “*Kitāb Aristāṭālīs fī naṣīḥati al-Iskandar*” (The Book of Aristotle’s Counsel for Alexander), 145 {11}.
59. Same as above, “*Kitāb Aristāṭālīs fī naṣīḥati al-Iskandar Dhī al-Qarnayn*” (The Book of Aristotle’s Counsels for Alexander the Two Horned), Persian 145 {11–12}.
60. Same as above, “*Kitāb mubārak fī al-siyāsa wa-ghayrihā li Aristūṭālīs fī al-naṣīḥa Dhī al-Qarnayn*,” 197 {17–18}.
61. Same as above, 197 {18–19}.
62. Same as above, 198 {11–12}.
63. “*Kitāb al-dharī’a fī makārim al-akhlāq wa-al-naṣā’ih*” (The Book of Means to Ethical Virtues and Counsels), 145 {8}.
64. “*Kitāb farā’id al-sulūk*” (The Book of Precious Gems of Wayfaring), 197 {4}.
65. “*Kitāb fawā’id al-dulūk fī faḍā’il al-mulūk*” (The Book of the Benefits of Wayfaring on the Virtues of Kings), 144 {15–16}.
66. Same as above, 197 {14–15}.
67. “*Kitāb fī ‘ilm al-akhlāq*” (Book on the Science of Ethics), 140 {2–3}.
68. “*Kitāb fī al-naṣā’ih wa-al-akhlāq*” (The Book of Counsels and Ethics), 127 {5}.
69. “*Kitāb naẓm al-sulūk fī musāmarat al-mulūk*” (The Book in Verse, on Conversations of Kings), 194 {14–15}.
70. “*Kitāb Qāḍī al-Qirim fī ‘ilmi al-akhlāq*” (The Book of the Judge of Crimea on the Science of Ethics), 113 {6–7}.
71. “*Kitāb rāḥat al-insān*” (The Book of The Human Being’s Comfort, in Persian Verse) Persian, 198 {4}.
72. Same as above, “*Kitāb-i naẓm-i Pandnāmah-i Anūshirwān al-mawsūm bi-rāḥat al-insān*” (The Book of Anushirvan’s Counsels in Verse, Known as The Human Being’s Comfort), 255 {6}.
73. Same as above, 255 {17}.
74. “*Kitāb al-siyāsa al-mulūkiyya*” (The Book of Governance of Kings), 198 {7}.
75. “*Kitāb fī al-siyāsa wa-umūr al-salṭana*” (The Book of Governance and Affairs of Government), 197 {12–13}.
76. “*Kitāb al-taṣfiya fī ‘ilmi al-akhlāq*” (The Book of Purification on the Science of Ethics), 144 {10}.
77. “*Kitāb tabṣirat al-mulūk fī naṣā’ih al-mulūk*” (The Book of Guidance for Kings on Counsels for Kings), 123 {11}.

78. "*Kitāb tajārib al-insān fī umūr al-salṭana*" (The Book of Human Experiences on Affairs of Governance), 197 {1–2}.
79. "*Kitāb tuḥfat al-mulūk*" (The Book of Gifts for Kings and Counsels), 124 {19}.
80. "*Makārim al-akhlāq*" (Ethical Virtues), Persian, 114 {2}.
81. Same as above, 114 {3}.
82. Same as above, 114 {3–4}.
83. Same as above, 114 {4–5}.
84. Same as above, 114 {5–6}.
85. Same as above, 114 {6–7}.
86. "*Maqālat Aflātūn fī al-siyāsa [ay al-madaniyyati]*" (Plato's Dialogues on Governance [Namely, Civic Life]), 360 {5}.
87. Māwardī, 'Alī ibn Muḥammad (d. 1058). *Ādāb al-dīn wa-al-dunyā* (Refinement of Religion and the World), Arabic, 111 {10–11}. EDITION: Māwardī, 'Alī ibn Muḥammad. *Ādāb al-dunyā wa-al-dīn*. Ed. 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad Abū Zayna. Cairo: Mu'assasat Dār al-Sha'b li-al-Ṣiḥāfa wa-al-Ṭibā'a wa-al-Nashr, 1979.
88. Same as above, 113 {5–6}.
89. Same as above, 114 {14}.
90. "*Minhāj al-mulūk wa-al-salāṭīn*" (The Path of Kings and Rulers) Arabic, 197 {11}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Fatih 3520/1 (Seal of Bayezid II).
91. "*Mukhtaṣar fī al-siyāsati al-mulūkiyya wa-umūr al-salṭana*" (Compendium on the Governance of Kings and Affairs of Government), Arabic, 197 {13}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi 1921 (seal of Bayezid II).
92. "*Muntakhab Jāwidān-khirad*" (Selections from Perennial Wisdom), 137 {19}.
93. Najm al-Dīn Dāya Rāzī (d. 1256). *Mirṣād al-'ibād* (Path of God's Bondsmen), 620/1223, Persian, 108 {8}. MANUSCRIPT: Ayasofya 2067, 752/1351 (Seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Najm al-Dīn Dāya Rāzī. *Mirṣād al-'ibād min al-Mabda' ilā l-Ma'ād*. Ed. Ḥusayn Shams 'Urafā. Tehran: Mīr Kamālī, 1958.
94. Same as above, 108 {8–9}.
95. Same as above, 108 {9–10}.
96. Same as above, 113 {15–16}.
97. Nizām al-Mulk (d. 1092). *Siyar al-mulūk* (Lives and Manners of Kings), 485/1092, Persian, 140 {19}. EDITION: Nizām al-Mulk. *Siyar al-Mulūk (Siyāsatnāma)*. Ed. Hubert Darke. Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bungāh-i Tarjūmah va Nashr-i Kitāb, 1968.
98. Same as above, 141 {1}.
99. Same as above, 197 {9}.
100. "*Pandnāma-i kunkura-i Nūshirwān*" (Anushirvan's Great Counsels), 255 {12}.
101. Same as above, 255 {16}.
102. "*Pandnāma-i Nūshirwān*" (Anushirvan's Counsels), 147 {4}.
103. Same as above, 147 {16}.
104. Qutb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī (d. 1311). *Sharḥ Hikmat al-ishrāq* (Commentary on the Philosophy of Illumination), Arabic, 354 {2}. EDITION: Qutb al-Dīn Shirāzī. *Sharḥ Hikmat al-Ishrāq*. Ed. Asad Allāh Harātī. Tehran: [n.p.], 1895–97.
105. Same as above, 354 {3}.
106. Same as above, 354 {4}.
107. Same as above, 354 {5}.

108. Same as above, 354 {6–7}.
109. Same as above, 355 {8–9}.
110. Same as above, 356 {2–3}.
111. Same as above, 363 {3–4}.
112. “*Risālat Aristūṭālīs ilā al-Iskandar*” (Aristotle’s Treatise for Alexander on Affairs of Rulership), 198 {12–13}.
113. “*Risāla fī al-akhlāq wa-al-siyāsa*” (Treatise on Ethics and Governance), 133 {17–18}.
114. “*Risāla fī makārim al-akhlāq*” (Treatise on Ethical Virtues), 26 {9}.
115. “*Risāla fī naṣīḥat al-mulūk*” (Treatise on Counsel for Kings), 127 {3–4}.
116. “*Risāla mashḥūna bi-kalimāt ‘Alī -raḍīya Allāhu ‘anhu- fī naṣā’ih al-mulūk wa-ghayrihim*” (Treatise Containing the Words of Ali, May God be Pleased with Him, on Counsels for Kings and Other Subjects), 123 {3–4}.
117. “*Risālat sirr al-saltāna*” (Treatise on Secret of Government), 121 {8}.
118. “*Risālat siyāsāt al-mulūk*” (Treatise on Governance of Kings), 198 {10}.
119. “*Risālat umūr al-riyāsa wa-al-siyāsa*” (Treatise on Questions of Leadership and Governance), 197 {1}.
120. Shayzarī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 1193). *Kitāb nahj al-maslūk fī siyāsāt al-mulūk* (The Paved Way on the Governance of Kings), Arabic, 197 {7–8}. EDITION: Shayzarī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. *al-Manhaj al-Maslūk fī Siyāsāt al-Mulūk*. Ed. ‘Alī ‘Abd Allāh al-Mūsā. al-Zarqā’: Maktabat al-Manār, 1987.
121. Shihāb al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm. *Miftāḥ al-sa‘āda fī qawā‘id al-siyāda* (The Key of Happiness on the Principles of Nobility), Arabic, 198 {9}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 2086, 777/1375 (Seal of Bayezid II).
122. Suhrawardī, Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Ḥabash (d. 1191). *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* (The Philosophy of Illumination), Arabic, 348 {19}–349 {1}. EDITION: Suhrawardī. *The Philosophy of Illumination*. Ed. and trans. John Walbridge and Hossein Ziai. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1999.
123. Same as above, 355 {5–6}.
124. Same as above, 356 {10}.
125. Same as above, 355 {12–13}.
126. Same as above, 355 {13–14}.
127. Same as above, 355 {14}.
128. Same as above, 355 {15–16}.
129. Same as above, 358 {5–6}.
130. Same as above, 363 {10}.
131. “*Tarjamat Jāwidān-khirad*” (Translation of Perennial Wisdom), Persian, 111 {3–4}.
132. “*Tuḥfat al-mulūk*” (Gift of Kings), 304 {14}.
133. Ṭurṭūshī, Muḥammad ibn al-Walīd (d. 1126). *Sirāj al-mulūk* (The Lamp of Kings), Arabic, 144 {4}. EDITION: Ṭurṭūshī, Muḥammad ibn al-Walīd. *Sirāj al-Mulūk*. Ed. Muḥammad Faṭḥī Abū Bakr. Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya al-Lubnāniyya, 1994.
134. Same as above, 191 {9}.
135. Same as above, 197 {8}.
136. Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn (d. 1274). *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī* (The Nasirean Ethics), Persian, 112 {10–11}. EDITION: Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad. *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*. Ed. Muṭtabā Mīnuvī. Tehran: Khavārazmī, 1982.
137. Same as above, 112 {11}.
138. Same as above, 112 {12}.

139. Same as above, 112 {12–13}.
140. Same as above, 113 {1}.
141. Same as above, 114 {1–2}.
142. Same as above 343 {4–5}.
143. Same as above, 136 {18}.
144. Same as above, 140 {3}.
145. Same as above, 146 {3}.
146. Same as above, 343 {4–5}.]
147. Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn. *Sīrat al-mulūk* (Lives and Manners of Kings), 124 {18–19}.
148. Yaḥyā ibn al-Bitriq. *al-Siyāsa fī tadbīr al-riyāsa* (The Art of Governance in Rulership), Arabic, 198 {5–6}. EDITION: Yaḥyā ibn al-Bitriq. *Sirr al-Asrār*. In ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *al-Uṣūl al-Yūnāniyya li al-Naẓariyyāt al-Siyāsiyya fī l-Islām*. Cairo: al-Naḥda, 1954.

BOOKS ON MEDICINE: MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE AT WORK

At the turn of the sixteenth century, when an otherwise little-known Ottoman scholar, Khayr al-Din Khidr 'Atufi (d. 1541), set out to catalogue some seven thousand titles held in the Ottoman palace collection, he might well have shared the frustration that his Swiss counterpart, Conrad Gesner, would express about a half century later when he complained about a “confusing and harmful abundance of books.”¹ Unlike Gesner, however, 'Atufi was working primarily with non-print, manuscript material; yet both bibliographers evidently shared concerns about how to compile an inventory and how to organize a large number of books. This was no easy feat, not only because there were so many books at hand but also because there was not yet a standard model to follow in cataloguing them. In the absence of an existing convention, 'Atufi had to invent his own system to order and categorize the book titles. We are fortunate to be able to observe the way he responded to this challenge, since his categorization sheds light on how knowledge was classified, organized, and used at the time. Hence, 'Atufi's inventory is a remarkable source for studying Ottoman intellectual history, the classification of sciences and knowledge, and the history of the book and libraries at the turn of the sixteenth century.

While Gesner's famed *Bibliotheca universalis* granted him recognition as the “father of bibliography” in the modern history of bibliography,² 'Atufi's *Defter-i kütüb* (Register of Books) remained unknown for a long time. The recently discovered single-copy manuscript of the inventory (MS Török F. 59), completed in 909 (1503–4), documents one of the largest book collections in the early modern world. The present essay focuses on the section of the inventory devoted to medical books. Listing nearly four hundred titles in medicine and allied

sciences, this section offers a unique lens on the production, organization, and consumption of medical knowledge.

Moreover, the medical section has a special significance within the inventory. Constituting nearly six percent of the total volume of the 365-page inventory, this is one of the longest sections, apart from the religious sciences. The medical collection may have been of particular interest to 'Atufi. Even though we have limited information about his career before he came to the Ottoman court, his name is mentioned as one of the physicians who was trained in the hospital (*darüşşifa*) of Amasya. In an article published in 1935, the Turkish medical historian Süheyl Ünver mentions a physician by the name of 'Atufi from Merzifon who appears to be our bibliographer.³ If 'Atufi was trained in medicine, then it should come as no surprise that he possessed familiarity with and interest in the subject. 'Atufi lists three medical titles that he authored: two on prophetic medicine (a genre that includes recommendations on hygiene, diet, and treatment based on the hadith) and one on preventive medicine, which were bound together in a single volume (151 {14–17}); another copy of the latter work is also listed separately (166 {10}) in this section of the inventory.⁴

This was a time when medical books enjoyed sultanic patronage. 'Atufi's patron, Sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512), personally commissioned a number of medical titles. The Turkish historian of science Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu has observed that the number of medical works dedicated to Bayezid II was much higher than those offered to any other individual in early modern Ottoman history, including other Ottoman sultans and elite patrons of intellectual life. Whereas seventeen

medical titles were dedicated to Bayezid II, seven were dedicated to his father Mehmed II (r. 1451–81); six to Selim I (r. 1512–20); five to Selim II (r. 1566–74); and only three to Süleyman (r. 1520–66).⁵ Hence, both the patron and the cataloguer seem to have maintained a special interest in medical books, which further underscores the importance of this section.

Indeed, a close investigation of this section of the inventory promises invaluable insights into little-known aspects of Ottoman medical knowledge and its uses. In particular, the multiple medical titles that are bound together in single volumes deserve attention. For instance, in some cases one finds a title on medical poetry placed in a volume with a treatise on fevers. Investigating why seemingly disparate medical genres were bound together into single volumes helps us to understand the pedagogical and practical purposes that lie behind the organization of these volumes, and their most likely use in medical education. In addition, identifying which books were checked out from this collection, who borrowed them, and which books were borrowed together could also shed light on the uses of medical knowledge. As a matter of fact, documents from the Topkapı Palace Museum Archives provide further information regarding the readership of medical books. Thus, it is possible to trace the circulation of some medical texts among the Ottoman learned circles and to reflect on their possible influence on the broader profession and scholarship of medicine.

This takes us to the larger question of how the inventory and the book collection should be situated within the history of Ottoman medical knowledge. If the medical works mentioned in the inventory served the Ottoman scholarly community in some way, this gives us yet another reason to study it carefully. These titles may have been studied in Ottoman madrasas, and books from this collection that were borrowed, circulated, copied, and commented on would have informed scholars and their disciples. Hence, this core collection may well have influenced the education, curriculum, research, writing, and practice of medicine. With this in view, we might reflect on the role of the book collection, not only as *canonical* but also as *canonizing* for the history of Ottoman medical knowledge. To clarify, the medical collection recorded in the inventory encapsu-

lates the medical canon of the classical Greco-Islamic tradition, as well as the newly emerging works of the late medieval era that mostly consist of commentaries on earlier works. However, an “Ottoman” medical canon, based on earlier ones but expanded and adapted, probably did not take form until at least the end of the sixteenth century. Even though it is difficult to identify precisely when a canon emerged in Ottoman medicine, the significant number of relevant works composed, translated, and commented on by Ottoman authors starting in the second half of the sixteenth century must have eventually contributed to its formation.

This essay will put forward some preliminary observations and insights on the section on medical books. I shall first highlight some general features of the material, then share observations about the nature and organization of what is included in the list, and finally I will address some questions regarding the significance of the collection for the production and consumption of medical knowledge in Ottoman learned circles. My goal here is not to offer an exhaustive discussion of every title in the inventory; such an effort would lie beyond the scope of this essay. Neither do I intend to trace the origins and pedigree of individual titles and explore how they came to be part of this collection. Rather, my intention here is to introduce this source, offer an overview of its content, structure, and organization, and comment on its significance within the learned medical traditions in early modern Ottoman society. Ultimately, my hope is to draw attention to the inventory and underline its importance as a noteworthy source for the history of Ottoman medicine.

OVERVIEW

Within the larger inventory, the medical section comes just after books on Islamic religious sciences (*Qurʾān*, *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *kalām*, *fiqh*, *taṣawwuf*) and before the sections on biography, history, and the literature on wonders. The system followed here thus appears to represent a rather sharp departure from preceding and contemporary Arabic and Persian classifications of sciences (sing. *tasnīf al-ʿulūm*), in that it lists medicine (and agriculture) in the midst of the traditional (*naqlī*) sciences

rather than among the rational (*‘aqlī*) sciences.⁶ By virtue of the section's length (i.e., the size of the book collection to which it corresponds) and its unusual place in the inventory (i.e., separated from the natural and mathematical sciences), this section seems to reflect a prestigious and lively area of intellectual activity when ‘Atufi compiled the inventory.

The medical section spans eleven folios (twenty-two pages) in the manuscript, with some blank spaces scattered throughout the text.⁷ It lists 319 bound volumes and at least 380 titles (some titles are simply noted as “other treatises”). In addition, there are seventeen medical titles that appear in other sections of the register. In total, the list includes 397 different medical titles contained in 340 bound volumes. The overwhelming majority of titles in this section is written in Arabic—the lingua franca of medicine in the Islamicate world in the medieval and early modern eras. There are eighteen titles in Persian, and five in Turkish. Only works written in Persian and Turkish are specified as such.

The section of the inventory on medicine and allied sciences includes a wide variety of genres and types of books, ranging from multi-volume medical encyclopedias to medical monographs, and from treatises to multi-title collections of works bound together. Among them, some are original works; others are translations, summaries, commentaries, and supercommentaries. The title of each book and the name of the author is specified for the majority of works. Autograph copies are also clearly marked. There are, however, a number of entries that do not mention the name of an author or a title. In such cases, what one finds instead is simply a general remark about the subject of the work.

This section of the inventory is loosely organized around subject matter. It starts with medical works, and is followed by works in related fields, such as toxicology, zoology, physiognomy, cosmetics, as well as sex manuals. In addition, it lists a small number of works on geomancy, logic, mathematics, engineering, astronomy and astrology, alchemy, mineralogy, botany, and agriculture, at the very end of the section.⁸ The medical works cover a broad spectrum of areas, ranging from prophetic medicine to medical therapeutics, pharmaceuticals, works on dietetics and regimen, medical poetry, and medical monographs devoted to specific subjects (e.g., diagnos-

tics, anatomy, surgery, gynecology and obstetrics, cardiology, and ophthalmology). Among the medical treatises that focus on specific subjects, there are works on fevers, pulse, colic, urine, joint pains, incisions, venesection (phlebotomy), gout, leontiasis, and plague.

The inventory contains numerous principal texts of medieval Islamicate medicine. These include translations of Greek medical works and commentaries written on them. Works by Hippocrates (d. ca. 370 BCE), Dioscorides (d. ca. 90 CE), and Galen (d. ca. 216 CE) figure prominently. A large majority of these titles are translations of Galen's works and commentaries written on them. Considering the powerful influence of Galen on medieval Islamicate medicine (which was far greater than any other author of antiquity and the late antique era), this is hardly surprising.⁹ In several instances, ‘Atufi attributes translations to the famed translator Hunayn ibn Ishaq (d. 873). Among the most frequently recurring authors of medieval Islamicate medical texts in the inventory are, first and foremost, Ibn Sina (d. 1037), al-Razi (d. 925), Ibn al-Nafis (d. 1288), Najm al-Din al-Shirazi (d. 1330), Najib al-Din Samarqandi (d. 1222), al-Zahrawi (d. 1013), Ibn Butlan (d. 1066), Ibn al-Baytar (d. 1248), and Zayn al-Din al-Jurjani (d. 1136).

The most important medieval Islamicate reference works listed in the inventory are medical compendia, such as Ibn Sina's *Kitāb al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb* (Canon of Medicine), al-Razi's *Kitāb al-Hāwī fī al-ṭibb* (The Comprehensive Book on Medicine), Ibn al-Nafis's *Kitāb Mūjaz fī al-ṭibb* (The Epitome of Medicine), al-Majusi's *Kitāb Kāmil al-ṣinā‘a al-ṭibbiyya* (The Complete Book of the Medical Art), to name a few. Also listed in the inventory is a significant number of commentaries (approximately forty titles, or one tenth of the collection) written on medical compendia. In addition, the inventory includes lexicons of medical terminology as well as biographical dictionaries related to medicine. Since the inventory lists the fundamental works of medieval Islamicate medicine and medical education, one can expect to find a number of these titles in any comprehensive medical book collection. Among them are many works that have been copied numerous times over centuries across the Islamicate world.

Although the inventory consists largely of medieval Islamicate medical texts, it includes a small number of

works produced by contemporary Rumi authors from Ottoman Anatolia and the Balkans. Among these are works written by 'Atufi himself, as well as by Jamal al-Din al-Aqsarayi (Cemaleddin Aksarayi) (d. ca. 1388), Jalal al-Din Khidr bin 'Ali (Hacı Paşa) (d. ca. 1425), al-Fanari (Molla Fenari) (d. 1431), 'Ali al-Qushji (Ali Kuşçu) (d. 1474), and Mawlana Ahi Chalabi (Ahi Çelebi) (d. 1523).¹⁰ The inventory also includes a copy of the *Jarrāḥiyya al-khāniyya* (Royal Book of Surgery) by Şerafeddin Sabuncuoğlu (d. 1468), without mentioning the name of its author. It is significant that the inventory incorporates select examples of commentaries that represent an important paradigmatic transition in late medieval Islamic medicine, in particular, a critique of Galenic cardiovascular anatomy, as discussed in the works of Ibn al-Nafis and his commentators.¹¹ In order to better understand the significance of medical books among the Ottoman learned circles at the turn of the sixteenth century, we now turn to take a closer look at the collection itself.

THE COLLECTION

Despite the large number of medical titles in the inventory, 'Atufi follows a straightforward organization. He starts the section by listing works produced by contemporary Rumi authors, including the three titles of his own mentioned above. Here we find the names of such authors as al-Fanari, 'Ali al-Qushji, and Jalal al-Din Khidr bin 'Ali, known as Hacı Paşa, who has three titles listed: *Kitāb al-Shifā' al-asqām wa-dawā' al-ālām* (The Cure of Illnesses and Remedy of Maladies, 152 {7}), *Kitāb al-Ta'lim fī 'ilm al-ṭibb* (Teaching in the Science of Medicine, 152 {9}), and *Kitāb al-Farīda fī dhikr al-aghdhīya* (Peerless Discourse on Dietary Treatments, 152 {9–10}). Possibly a fourth work by Hacı Paşa, *Kitāb al-Tashīl fī al-ṭibb* (Facilitation of Medicine; in Turkish), is listed (165 {8–9}) without attribution to him.¹² It is not entirely clear why 'Atufi positioned the works of Rumi authors at the top of his list; perhaps it was to give these works more visibility. It is also possible that it is because these works were consulted more frequently in the palace.

Following this Rumi group, the inventory lists fundamental reference works of medieval Islamic medicine. Covering about nine pages, these core texts constitute nearly half of this section of the inventory, which testifies to the central role they played in late medieval and early modern medical knowledge. Here we find medical encyclopedias, listed either as complete sets or as individual volumes, along with several copies of their translations, abridgments, commentaries, and supercommentaries. After the period of translations of Greek medical works into Arabic in the ninth century, Islamicate scholars started to produce comprehensive medical works that followed a very systematic organization. The most renowned examples of these "great systematizers" are well represented in the inventory.¹³ Among them, we find *Kitāb al-Ḥawī fī al-ṭibb* by Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariya' al-Razi (d. 925); *Kitāb al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb*, the magnum opus of Abu 'Ali al-Husayn ibn 'Abdallah Ibn Sina (d. 1037); *Zakhīra-i Khwārazm-shāhī* (The Treasure of the Shah of Khwārazm) by Zayn al-Din al-Jurjani (d. 1136); and *Kitāb Kāmīl al-ṣinā'a al-ṭibbiyya* by 'Ali ibn al-'Abbas al-Majusi (d. ca. 994). Perhaps most importantly, because of their widespread use, we find several copies of Ibn al-Nafis's commentaries on Ibn Sina's *Qānūn*, as well as his famous *Kitāb al-mūjaz fī al-ṭibb*—the most widely read of all abridgments of the *Qānūn*. The *Mūjaz* (or *Mūjiz*) was so popular in its own right that several copies are listed here along with a Persian translation and al-Aqsarayi's commentary in Arabic. Scattered between these titles, but not necessarily in a systematic order, one finds translations of works by ancient Greek authors, predominantly Galen and Hippocrates.

This section is followed by medical miscellanea, comprising a wide array of topics and genres ranging from lexicons to biographical dictionaries of physicians, from works on preventive medicine to treatises on specialized topics, such as on coition (*al-bāh*), fevers, diagnostics, pulse, physiognomy, zoology, geomancy, occult sciences, and alchemy. Also included are treatises devoted to special diseases or ailments, such as gout, joint pains, leontiasis, and plague. Medical titles in Persian and Turkish, including the works of other Rumi authors, appear in different parts of this section, though not all names are properly cited. The inventory then moves on

to list works of *materia medica* and medical formularies. Among notable examples, we find works by Dioscorides (d. 90), al-Kindi (d. ca. 873), and Ibn al-Baytar (d. 1248). Closing the section are titles devoted to the study of animals (zoology), food, gemstones, poisons and dangerous odors, and agriculture. Titles in zoology, botany, and dietetics and regimen, as well as those on poisons, antidotes, and minerals are typically classified as part of the medical corpus. A handful of works on agriculture and husbandry appear at the very end of the section, with generic titles (*Kitāb al-filāḥa*), which makes it difficult to identify them.¹⁴

We know that the inventory corresponds to a physical reality, i.e., the 340 medical volumes that were kept in the Ottoman palace library. But what did it mean to have a collection of 340 medical volumes? How can one assess the size and significance of the collection? Was this an overwhelmingly large number of medical books, as I have claimed above? Even though it is difficult to answer these questions, one can still comment on the size of the medical collection under question by comparing it to other collections. The first point of comparison is a list of 65 books checked out in the 1570s by the chief physician of the Topkapı Palace, where the library was located. As will be discussed in greater detail below, these books seem to have remained in the possession of the chief physician until his retirement, whereupon they were handed over to his successor. If these books were kept by the chief physician throughout his tenure in the office, it seems they served as his library, which may have been supplemented by his own books as well as others he might have checked out from the few available lending libraries. Assuming the library of the chief physician can be considered a core collection that met the needs of a top-ranking Ottoman physician, then the total size of the medical collection recorded by 'Atufi, which is about five times larger, does not appear to be exceptionally large. However, the collection used by the chief physician, by virtue of his having access to the book collection of the palace, was probably not representative of other physicians' private libraries. Presumably, most other Ottoman physicians did not enjoy such privileges; hence, comparing the overall size of the collection of medical works as represented in the inven-

tory to individual physicians' libraries might offer a better comparison.

This takes us to the question of how many medical books a typical Ottoman physician might have owned in this period. Even though we do not have a precise answer to that question, the probate records of individual physicians (and non-physician book collectors) offer some information. For example, the probate inventory of the physician Taceddin bin Yahya from Bursa (dated 1467) lists only four medical books (more on these titles below), as part of his library of 31 volumes.¹⁵ Another private library from the late fifteenth century was the 210-volume collection that belonged to Hacı Muslihiddin, a storyteller and entertainer in the court of Bayezid II. Despite his sizeable collection for that era, Muslihiddin owned only nine books on medicine.¹⁶ Given that the collector was not a physician, this number might still be considered significant for the late fifteenth century, since an eighteenth-century Ottoman bibliophile, Carullah Efendi, owned only six medical titles in his private collection of about 3,500 books.¹⁷

The small number of medical books owned by individuals—physician or not—might reflect the limited number of medical books in circulation in the Ottoman market in general. A study of probate records from sixteenth-century Bursa shows that, of the 2,098 books mentioned in these records, only 58 were on medicine, which is less than three percent of the total compared to the six percent represented in our inventory. Of the books circulating in Bursa, many more were devoted to Islamic religious sciences, ethics, and language and literature.¹⁸ It is helpful to keep in mind that most private libraries in early modern Istanbul had a relatively small number of medical books, with only very few possessing more than 100 medical titles.¹⁹ The relatively low number of medical books circulating outside the court stands in stark contrast with the holdings of the palace library, which further underscores the critical importance of Bayezid II's collection.

In addition to considering the size of the collection, studying its contents affords important insights. It is helpful to note that titles appearing in multiple copies in the inventory were evidently considered essential to medical knowledge. For example, Ibn al-Nafis's *Mūjaz* and its commentaries, represented in the inventory with

multiple copies, seem to have been widely circulated titles in Ottoman learned circles. Evidence that these titles were staples of a typical physician's personal library is also supported by probate inventories. For example, the aforementioned physician Taceddin bin Yahya from Bursa owned a commentary of Ibn al-Nafis's *Mūjaz*, along with another abridged version of Ibn Sina's *Qānūn*, and Ibn al-Baytar's famous *materia medica*, known as *al-Mughnī*.²⁰ A study of medical books that circulated in sixteenth-century Bursa suggests four titles as staples of medical knowledge: Ibn Sina's *Qānūn*, Ibn al-Nafis's *Mūjaz*, Ibn al-Baytar's *Mufradāt*, and Hacı Paşa's *Tashīl fī al-tibb*.²¹ The fact that these books appear more commonly than any other medical title might suggest that they were used for purposes of medical education, training, and as reference books.

Despite its strengths, the collection is underdeveloped in some areas. Specifically, there are only a few medical books in vernacular Turkish. Several works of the medical corpus that were composed, translated, compiled, or commented on by Rumi authors of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are missing from this collection. For example, one would expect to find works by such Rumi authors as Geredeli İshak bin Murad, İbn Şerif, and 'Abdülvehhab el-Mardani, which are not mentioned in the inventory.²² Rumi vernacular medical works were informed by the classical Greco-Islamic corpus but also incorporated important observations drawn from local health problems, illnesses endemic to Anatolia and surroundings, as well as methods of treatment most suited to the "humors" of the locals.²³ The vernacularization of medical knowledge, a process that begins to appear in these early works, would mature in the later sixteenth century. At that time, Ottoman medical authors thoroughly questioned the efficacy of medical treatments and substances recommended in the classical Greco-Islamic corpus, which was composed in geographical and climatic conditions far removed from the Ottoman lands and thus reflected the particularities of other regions.²⁴ Equally absent from the inventory is medical literature composed in Europe; except for one title recorded as "belonging to Christian medicine" (163 {19}), there is no trace of Latin or European vernacular texts.

THE MAKING OF THE INVENTORY

As a historical artifact, the inventory can offer us insights beyond simply indicating which medical books were held in the Ottoman palace collection. At first glance, it is easy to mistake this document for a still image of the Ottoman intellectual landscape at the turn of the sixteenth century. In fact, considering the inventory simply as a collection of book titles does great injustice to the important source we have at hand. A close investigation reveals that it can be read as an exercise of categorization, classification, and organization of knowledge. Studying how 'Atufi made certain decisions in preparing the inventory, how he arranged both the collection and the corresponding list, and what changes he adopted reveals signs of an organic and experimental growth.

There is good reason to believe that 'Atufi had a certain level of familiarity with medieval Islamicate medical literature and very likely possessed a working knowledge of organizing books in this field on the basis of subject matter. It is clear that he followed some basic rules of organization, which were loosely based on the importance of the books and their hierarchical arrangement in accordance with their reputation. Yet each section in itself occasionally reveals signs of disorder, or surprises to the modern reader. Even though the cataloguer followed the convention of arranging different disciplines according to a hierarchy, we can also observe a balance between classification according to subject matter and classification based on other factors, such as the familiarity of books, as well as their value, size, use, and the like. For instance, as I have suggested above, the medical section starts with a short selection of books that are not "classic" titles of Islamicate medicine, but rather are vernacular medical works produced by Rumi authors of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, among which are listed works by 'Atufi himself. Did 'Atufi organize the inventory in this way because he considered himself to belong to a new era of intellectual blossoming, which was distinct from the way of thinking represented in the medieval Islamicate medical corpus? Did he want to promote his own works (and the works of others with whom he associated himself) to make them more visible, prominent, and worthy of attention? Or is it possible that those vernacular medical works—

perhaps believed to encapsulate vernacular knowledge on illnesses as well as their treatment—were consulted more often than other titles in the collection? It is difficult to answer these questions on the basis of the inventory alone.

This leads us to question whether there may have been other factors that contributed to ‘Atufi’s decisions in arranging the titles in the inventory. For example, the physical reality of the books may have played a role. Is it possible that larger books were placed first on the horizontally stacked shelves, which might have factored into the arrangement of the list? The exact physical arrangement of the books, however, is no longer accessible to us. What we have at hand is only a list, which does not preserve the knowledge that was accessible and comprehensible to our bibliographer at the time he compiled this inventory. It is not entirely implausible that the physical reality of the books themselves and the reality of the physical space in which they were kept also shaped ‘Atufi’s decisions in preparing the inventory.²⁵ Needless to say, without knowledge of the physical aspects of the books and the physical space of the library, some of these suggestions remain impossible to confirm.

Notwithstanding these considerations on the rationale behind the organization and structure of the inventory, we may need to reconsider the purpose for which it was prepared. Given modern notions of cataloguing that privilege access to books in library collections, it is tempting to assume that ‘Atufi’s primary motivation was likewise to facilitate access to the books. While it appears that the inventory documented the physical layout of the books in the collection, more information is needed to confirm whether the books were arranged in a manner that facilitated finding and retrieving them.

‘Atufi was clearly concerned with issues of classification and taxonomy of the books according to subject, along with matters of readership, ease of locating the books, their use, as well as their size and importance. Especially worthy of note in this context are the occasional blank spaces left in the text between different categories of genres, perhaps because our bibliographer predicted that more books would be added to the collection in these sections through future acquisitions. This might also be indicative of the collection’s growth

while the inventory was under preparation, or the possibility that other copies of the same title might be discovered in bound volumes that had not yet been catalogued. Likewise, for popular titles, ‘Atufi lists different copies one after the other, but cautiously leaves room for more copies. For example, early in the inventory, he lists four copies of the aforementioned *Zakhīra-i Khwārazm-shāhī* (152 {1–3}) by Zayn al-Din al-Jurjani, a renowned eleventh-century Persian medical encyclopedia, which is followed by some blank spaces (152 {3–6}), presumably in case more copies of the same work might be added later on.

‘Atufi took care to produce an inventory that was as accurate as possible. He generally recorded books with full titles and the name of the author. This was a particularly strenuous task as far as bound volumes containing multiple titles were concerned. ‘Atufi’s inventory clearly suggests that he had seen each individual volume and perused them one by one during the process of preparing his list. Accuracy seems to have been particularly important for ‘Atufi’s purposes, considering that only generic book titles are typically provided in such collections as probate inventories. In the absence of clearly identifiable author names or full book titles, it is impossible to identify individual items. In the case of a small number of titles, ‘Atufi does not list full titles or author names; we might assume that these titles were deemed by ‘Atufi to be of ephemeral value and importance.

It is helpful to consider the problems faced by the librarian in the classification process. The attempt to adhere to a strict categorization based on subject was often complicated by bound volumes containing multiple titles. Because those volumes could include titles on different subjects, ‘Atufi had to employ other organizational criteria. In such cases, it appears he relied more heavily on the use and readership of the volumes, rather than their subject, assessing how books were read (especially in conjunction with each other) as well as their practical and pedagogical value. His method of organization is evident in the way he clustered works of certain genres and how he placed them in relevant sections of the inventory. An example is a group of books on veterinary medicine (a genre generally known as *farasnāma* or *bayṭarnāma*), hunting manuals (*bāznāma*,

which sometimes include discussions of animal diseases, care, and treatment), and books on dogs (*sagnāma*), which is placed not among the medical books but in the following section, with books on biography and history. Yet the medical section does include copies of a lexicon of zoology as well as bestiaries. One might speculate that this organizational decision was motivated by use and readership: 'Atufi knew that hunting manuals and books on veterinary medicine were considered part of the "art of governance" and were consulted as such.²⁶ Such interventions by our bibliographer speak to his insight on the consumption of knowledge, which might give us more information concerning the circulation of books, their uses, and influences.

MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE AT WORK: CIRCULATION, USE, AND INFLUENCE

As for the use of books, there is some evidence regarding the circulation of these titles both within the palace and beyond it. The register notes that seven medical titles were requested from the collection. Although this is a small number of books, they appear to have served a practical purpose in times of need. At least two documents from the Topkapı Palace Museum Archives demonstrate that medical books could be requested from the Inner Treasury where the library was kept, and that they could be checked out to chief physician. The first document indicates that sixty-five volumes were checked out to the chief physician (*Hekimbaşı*) Molla Kasım in 1575–76, and records a detailed list of the book titles.²⁷ The same document also suggests that after Molla Kasım retired from his post, the books were handed over to the new chief physician, İsa Çelebi, in September 1580, which implies that the books remained "checked out" for five years. The second document, undated, "recalls" the medical books that were still in the possession of İsa Çelebi. Even though it does not list the titles of the books requested, it refers to the "books mentioned," which may be a reference to the books previously transferred to İsa Çelebi. The document implies that the books kept by the latter were "overdue" (*te'hîre konulmuş imiş*). Even though it is not clear where the books were supposed to be returned, this document in-

dicates that the books could be "recalled" even years later, when they were needed.²⁸

On the basis of this limited evidence, it may be observed that the borrowing of books was not entirely exceptional, although it is not easy to determine whether the books were sent outside the palace. The first document clearly notes that the books were handed over (*teslīm olunan*) to the chief physician.²⁹ However, the second document indicates that the books are to be "sent over" (*irsāl buyurasız*), which might suggest sending them outside the palace. It is difficult to establish the identity of these physicians; neither Molla Kasım nor İsa Çelebi are named as chief physician of the Ottoman court in other documents. The historian Ali Haydar Bayat expresses doubt as to whether either Molla Kasım or İsa Çelebi ever served in that capacity. He suggests instead that they might have served as chief physicians in a hospital (*darüüşşifa*).³⁰ While this is possible, it should be kept in mind that appointments as court physicians and to similar posts at a hospital were quite fluid.³¹ In fact, some evidence from archival records helps to establish the early career of İsa Çelebi, whose appointments demonstrate the fluidity between posts in the court and those in the hospitals during the second half of the sixteenth century.³² In either case, without establishing the identity of the individuals involved and their location, it is difficult to speculate further about the nature of these book transactions.

Whether within the palace or outside it, medical books presumably circulated among a rather limited circle of people. Eighteenth-century evidence from Carullah Efendi's library, however, indicates that the small number of medical books he owned changed hands several times, before and after his ownership.³³ This might suggest that medical titles served a greater number of readers than previously believed. Hence, these books may have had some reception beyond the readership of their original owners, even if they were not nearly as popular to be read aloud as other genres, such as entertaining storybooks.³⁴ A careful examination of surviving copies of medical books listed in the inventory and those bearing the seal of Bayezid II might offer further evidence concerning the afterlife of the books, how they changed hands, who read them, and how their readers responded to them. Hence, further research is needed

to elaborate on the role of this medical collection in the history of Ottoman medical knowledge.

NOTES

Author's note: I followed modern Turkish spelling for names of authors who lived in Turkish-speaking areas, except for those mentioned in MS Török F. 59, which are given between parentheses.

1. Conrad Gesner, *Bibliotheca universalis* (Zurich, 1545), sig. *3v, quoted in Ann Blair, "Reading Strategies for Coping with Information Overload ca. 1550–1700," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64, no. 1 (2003): 11–28, at 11.
2. The first to use the epithet "father of bibliography" for Gesner was probably the Danish-American librarian and bibliographer Jens Christian Bay in the early twentieth century. See Jens Christian Bay, "Conrad Gesner (1516–1565): The Father of Bibliography: An Appreciation," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 10 (1916): 53–88; Hans H. Wellisch, "Conrad Gessner: A Bio-Bibliography," *Journal of the Society for the Bibliography of Natural History* 7, no. 2 (1975): 151–247.
3. A. Sühely Ünver, "Amasya Darüşşifası 1308," *Tedavi Kliniği ve Laboratuvarı Dergisi* (1935): 29–34, at 32. Even though Ünver gives 'Atufi's date of death as 1561, this must be a mistake. There is good reason to believe this is the same person. 'Atufi was from Merzifon and he studied with scholars in Amasya in his youth. He may have worked in the Amasya hospital before he received an appointment in the court of Bayezid II. There may be other corroborating evidence to support 'Atufi's connections to Amasya. It is possible that he acquired a copy of Şerafeddin Sabuncuoğlu's *Jarrāhiyya al-khāniyya* (Royal Book of Surgery) for the Ottoman palace library—a title that is listed in the inventory (see below); one of the three extant copies of the manuscript carries the seal of Bayezid II.
4. 'Atufi was the author of two other medical works that are not listed in the inventory. One is *Aqrabādhīn* (Medical Formulary), the other, *Kitāb al-ūṭās fī al-naḥl li-jamī' al-nās* (Book on Sneezing for the Benefit of the People), both in Turkish. For these titles, see Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu et al., eds., *Osmanlı Tıbbi Bilimler Literatürü Tarihi* (History of the Literature of Medical Sciences during the Ottoman Period), 4 vols. (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2008), 1:128–31; Ramazan Şeşen, ed., *Catalogue of Islamic Medical Manuscripts (in Arabic, Turkish and Persian) in the Libraries of Turkey* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 1984), 293–94.
5. İhsanoğlu et al., eds., *Osmanlı Tıbbi Bilimler Literatürü Tarihi*, 1:xvii, clxvi–clxviii.
6. Note, however, that 'Atufi's classification schema is implicit rather than explicit. For a detailed discussion of classifications of sciences in the Islamic learned traditions see, for example, Osman Bakar, *Classification of Knowledge in Islam: A Study in Islamic Philosophies of Science* (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1998); Jean Jolivet, "Classifications of the Sciences," in *Encyclopedia of the History of Arabic Science: Technology, Alchemy, and Life Sciences*, ed. Roshdi Rashed, 3 vols. (London: Routledge, 1996), 3:1008–25; Živa Vesel, *Les encyclopédies persanes: Essai de typologie et de classification des sciences* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1986); Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "Powers of One: The Mathematicalization of the Occult Sciences in the High Persianate Tradition," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 5 (2017): 127–99. For medicine in particular, see *EI2*, s.v. "Ṭibb" (Medicine in the Islamic world), by Emilie Savage-Smith; and Emilie Savage-Smith, "Medicine," in *Encyclopedia of the History of Arabic Science*, 3:903–62.
7. MS Török F. 59, 151–72.
8. Some of these books are placed in this section because they include titles relevant to medicine or they address some general aspect of the healing arts. For works on botany and agriculture, see the essay of Aleksandar Shopov in this volume.
9. For Galen's influence on Islamicate medicine, the classic work is Owsei Temkin, *Galenism: Rise and Decline of a Medical Philosophy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973). For the Galenic corpus in Arabic translation, see Manfred Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 35–68. For a concise account of the transmission of Galen's work to the Islamicate world, see Susan P. Mattern, *Prince of Medicine: Galen in the Roman World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 279–84; Peter E. Pormann and Emilie Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2007), 9–15, 24–35; Manfred Ullmann, *Islamic Medicine* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1978), chapter 2. For an exploration of the influence of Galen on Islamicate medicine as a way to explain its divergence from Western medicine, see Hormoz Ebrahimnejad, "Galen as Read and Perceived by Medieval Islamic Medicine," *Istoriya meditsiny* (History of Medicine) 2, no. 1 (2015): 27–39.
10. On medical works written in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Anatolia, see Sara Nur Yıldız, "From Cairo to Ayasuluk: Hacı Paşa and the Transmission of Islamic Learning to Western Anatolia in the Late Fourteenth Century," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 25, no. 3 (2014): 263–97.
11. For the significance of Ibn al-Nafīs's novel physiology and anatomy, see Nahyan A. G. Fancy, *Science and Religion in Mamluk Egypt: Ibn Al-Nafīs, Pulmonary Transit and Bodily Resurrection* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013); for commentaries as a medium of knowledge production, see Nahyan A. G. Fancy, "Medical Commentaries: A Preliminary Examination of Ibn Al-Nafīs's *Shurūḥ*, the *Mūjaz* and Subsequent Commentaries on the *Mūjaz*," *Oriens* 41, no. 3–4 (2013): 525–45.
12. For the works of Hacı Paşa, see Yıldız, "From Cairo to Ayasuluk."
13. Savage-Smith, "Medicine," 913–27.
14. See note 8 above.

15. Bursa Şeriyeye Sicili, A 2/2, 41a-b, published in Coşkun Yılmaz and Necdet Yılmaz, eds., *Osmanlılarda Sağlık*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Biofarma, 2006), 2:21.
16. It should be remembered that probate inventories only reflect an individual's possessions at the time of death; it is possible that some books may have been gifted by the owner while alive. İsmail Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri: Tarihi Gelişimi ve Organizasyonu* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2008), 124.
17. Berat Açıl, ed., *Osmanlı Kitap Kültürü: Cârullah Efendi Kütüphanesi ve Derkenar Notları* (Ankara: Nobel, 2015).
18. Ali İhsan Karataş, "Tereke Kayıtlarına Göre XVI. Yüzyılda Bursa'da İnsan-Kitap İlişkisi," *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 8, no. 1 (1999): 317–28, at 324.
19. Muzaffer Gökman, *İstanbul Kütüphaneleri ve Yazma Tıp Kitapları* (Istanbul: İstanbul Matbaası, 1959). These figures are comparable to those in early modern Ottoman Aleppo and Cairo. For a discussion of the personal library of an eighteenth-century physician in Aleppo, see for example Feras Krimsti, "The Lives and Afterlives of the Library of the Maronite Physician Ḥannā al-Ṭābib (c. 1702–1775) from Aleppo," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 9 (2018): 190–217; for further discussion on the number of books owned by Cairo's middle class (from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries), see Nelly Hanna, *In Praise of Books: A Cultural History of Cairo's Middle Class, Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 84–85.
20. Bursa Şeriyeye Sicili, A 2/2, 41a–b, published in *Osmanlılarda Sağlık*, 2:21.
21. Ali İhsan Karataş, "XVI. Yüzyılda Bursa'da Tedavüldeki Kitaplar," *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 10, no. 1 (2001): 209–30. All of these titles are also listed in 'Atufi's inventory.
22. For medical works in Turkish, see Yıldız, "From Cairo to Ayasuluk"; Mahmut Tokaç, "Osmanlı Dönemi Türkçe Tıp Yazmaları," in *Osmanlılarda Sağlık*, 1:165–73.
23. For a discussion of the medical works of Hacı Paşa in this transitional context, see Yıldız, "From Cairo to Ayasuluk."
24. For further discussion of the vernacularization of Ottoman medical knowledge (with respect to plague and its treatment), see my "Between Local and Universal: Translating Knowledge in Early Modern Ottoman Plague Treatises," in *Knowledge in Translation: Global Patterns of Scientific Exchange, 1000–1800 CE*, ed. Patrick Manning and Abigail Owen (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2018), 177–90.
25. For the typical arrangement of books being piled horizontally on top of one another in decreasing size, see the sixteenth-century Ottoman paintings of libraries reproduced and discussed in Gülrü Necipoğlu's essay in this volume, where she considers physical realities that informed the inventory.
26. 'Atufi carefully noted that the books could fall into two separate categories by adding "pertaining to medicine and affairs of governance." I am grateful to Kaya Şahin for sharing his insights about why those works appear in the section of the inventory devoted to biography and history.
27. TSMA, D. 8228, dated 983 (1575–76), and Şaban 988 (September 1580), published in *Osmanlılarda Sağlık*, 2:78–81. The list includes reference works, such as major medical compendia (e.g., *Qānūn* of Ibn Sīnā), as well as their commentaries and supercommentaries, *materia medica* (e.g., by Ibn al-Bayṭar) and medical formularies (*aqrābādhīn*), as well as more specialized works such as on medical ethics. Book titles are typically given in abbreviated forms in this document (rather than giving full titles and authors), which might suggest that the use of the list was limited to specialists. For multi-volume works, the document carefully notes volume numbers. Most of the books listed here are already part of 'Atufi's inventory. For books borrowed by chief royal physicians in 1575 and 1580, see Aykut Kazancıgil, "Fatih Devri İlim Hayatı içinde Tıp Eğitimi ve Tababet," in *İstanbul Armağanı* 1 (1995): 253–63, at 256; Ali Haydar Bayat, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Hekimbaşılık Kurumu ve Hekimbaşılar* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1999); Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri*, 156.
28. TSMA, E. 6642, undated, published in *Osmanlılarda Sağlık*, 2:24–25. This document must have been issued sometime after 1580 because of the reference to "medical books checked out to" the physician İsa Çelebi. The document also refers to some other books whose delivery had been delayed and notes that they are needed urgently.
29. TSMA, D. 8228, 1a.
30. Bayat, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Hekimbaşılık Kurumu ve Hekimbaşılar*, 44. Likewise, Erhan Afyoncu expresses doubt as to whether they were chief court physicians. See Erhan Afyoncu, "Osmanlı Hekimbaşıları ve Hassa Hekimler," in *Osmanlılarda Sağlık*, 1:85–97.
31. Nil Sarı et al., *Tarihi Sağlık Kurumlarımız: Dariüşşifalar* (Istanbul: Sanovel, 2010), 81.
32. There is some information about the early career of İsa serving as a third-ranking physician in the Süleymaniye mosque complex before his promotion to the second-ranking physician in the Haseki *dariüşşifa* in 1560. Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Mühimme Defteri 4/164/1696 (8 Rebiülevvel 968 / 27 Nov. 1560). İsa must have been granted a post as a court physician before he was promoted to the rank of the chief physician for Murad III in 1574. Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Mühimme Defteri 24/284/766 (3 Safer 982 / 24 May 1574); Mühimme Defteri 25/145/1506 (1 Safer 982 / 22 May 1574).
33. Açıl, ed., *Osmanlı Kitap Kültürü*.
34. Tülün Değirmenci, "Bir Kitabı Kaç Kişi Okur? Osmanlı'da Okurlar ve Okuma Biçimleri Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler," *Tarih ve Toplum, Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 13 (2011): 7–43.

LIST OF ENTRIES

SECTION ON BOOKS OF MEDICINE AND WHAT IS RELATED TO MEDICINE WITH RESPECT
TO BOOKS ON TOXICOLOGY AND AGRICULTURE

(*Tafşılı al-kutub al-ṭibbiyyati* [wa-mā yata‘allaqu bi-al-ṭibbi bi-jihatin min al-jihāti ka-kutubi
al-sumūmi wa-kutubi al-falāḥati])

1. *Kitāb ṭibb al-nabī ‘alayhi al-salām* (Book of Prophetic Medicine), Arabic, 151 {14}.
2. Volume containing:
 - 2a. Khayr al-Dīn Khidr ‘Aṭūfi (d. 1541). *Kitāb rawḍ al-insān fī al-ṭibb al-nabawī* (Gardens of Man), on prophetic medicine, Arabic, 151 {14–15}.
 - 2b. Khayr al-Dīn Khidr ‘Aṭūfi (d. 1541). *Risālat dhukhr al-‘aṭshān fī al-ṭibb al-nabawī* (Treasury for the Desirous), on prophetic medicine, Turkish, in verse, 151 {15}.
 - 2c. Khayr al-Dīn Khidr ‘Aṭūfi (d. 1541). *Risālat ḥifẓ al-abdān* (Preservation of Bodies), Arabic, in verse, 151 {15–16}.
3. Volume containing:
 - 3a. “Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṣādiq al-Nīshābūrī (11th century).” *Risāla fī al-ṭibb al-nabawī* (Treatise on Prophetic Medicine), Arabic, 151 {18}.
 - 3b. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Fanārī (d. 1431). *Sharḥ Īsāghūjī* (Commentary on the *Isagoge*), Arabic, 151 {18}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (Hereafter SK), Ayasofya 2567/2, 28a–54a, ca. 1470 (seal of Bayezid II).
 - 3c. Abū al-Qāsim ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Qūshjī (d. 1474). *Risāla fathīyya fī al-hay’a* (Victory Treatise), on astronomy, Arabic, 151 {18–19}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 2639, ca. 1480, Persian (seals of Bayezid II, Selim I, and Mahmud I); SK, Ayasofya 2640/1, 862 H./1458, Persian (seal of Bayezid II); SK, Ayasofya 2733/1, 1b–70a, 871 H./1466 (seal of Bayezid II).
 - 3d. Abū al-Qāsim ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Qūshjī (d. 1474). *Risāla muḥammadiyya fī al-ḥisāb* (Muḥammadan Treatise), on arithmetic, Arabic, 151 {19}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2733/2, 71a–168b, 877 H./1473, autograph copy (seal of Bayezid II).
4. Zayn al-Dīn Ismā‘īl b. Ḥasan al-Jurjānī (d. 1136). *Dhakhīra-i khwārazmshāhī* (Treasury of the Khwarazmshahs), Persian, 152 {1}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 3620, ca. 1470 (seal of Bayezid II); Topkapı Palace Museum Library (Hereafter TSMK), A. 1963 (Karatay F 271) (seal of Bayezid II).
5. Same as above, 152 {1–2}.
6. Same as above, 152 {2}.
7. Same as above, 152 {2–3}.
8. Jalāl al-Dīn Khidr b. ‘Alī Ḥājjī Pāshā (Hacı Paşa) (d. ca. 1425). *Kitāb al-shifā’* [sic] *al-asqām wa-dawā’ al-ālām* (Curing Illnesses and Remediating Maladies), Arabic, 1380, autograph copy, 152 {7}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2070 (Karatay A 7347) (seal of Bayezid II).
9. Jalāl al-Dīn Khidr b. ‘Alī Ḥājjī Pāshā (Hacı Paşa) (d. ca. 1425). *Kitāb al-ta‘ālīm fī ‘ilm al-ṭibb* (Book of Teachings on Medicine), Arabic, 1369, autograph copy, 152 {9}.
10. Jalāl al-Dīn Khidr b. ‘Alī Ḥājjī Pāshā (Hacı Paşa) (d. ca. 1425). *Kitāb al-farīda fī dhikr al-aghḍhiya* (The Matchless List of Foods), Arabic, 1370, autograph copy, 152 {9–10}.
11. Yūsuf b. Ismā‘īl b. al-Kutubī (13th–14th centuries). *Kitāb mā lā yasa‘u* [al-ṭabīb jahlahu] (What No Physician Can Afford to Be Ignorant of), Arabic, 1311, 152 {10–11}.

12. Abū Sahl ʿĪsā b. Yaḥyā al-Masīhī (d. ca. 1000). *Kitāb al-miʿa fī al-ṭibb* (Book of a Hundred [Questions]), on medicine, Arabic, 152 {11}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2053 (Karataş A 7224) (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Edited by Floréal Sanagustin. Damascus: Institut français d'études arabes de Damas, 2000.
13. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (d. ca. 925). *Kitāb al-ḥawī fī al-ṭibb* (The Comprehensive Book), on medicine, in five volumes, Arabic, 152 {13–14}.
14. Same as above, book 10, 152 {14–15}.
15. Same as above, book 11, 152 {15–16}.
16. Same as above, book 20, 152 {16–17}.
17. Volume containing:
 - 17a. al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī. *Al-Risāla al-shawqiyya* (Treatise of Longing), Arabic, 153 {1}.
 - 17b. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (d. ca. 925). *Risāla fī al-ṭibb* (Treatise on Medicine), Arabic, 153 {1}.
 - 17c. Two treatises, 153 {2}.
18. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (d. ca. 925). *Kitāb al-tajārib* (Casebook), Arabic, 153 {2}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1975 (Karataş A 7214) (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Kitāb al-tajārib: maʿa dirāsa fī manḥaj al-baḥth al-ʿilmī ʿinda al-Rāzī*, edited by Khālid Aḥmad Ḥarbī. Alexandria: Dār al-Wafāʾ li-Dunyā al-Ṭibāʿa wa-al-Nashr, 2006.
19. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (d. ca. 925). *Kitāb al-fākhir fī al-ṭibb* (The Glorious Book), on medicine, Arabic, in two volumes, 153 {3}.
20. Volume containing:
 - 20a. Hippocrates (d. ca. 370 BCE). *Kitāb al-fuṣūl* (Aphorisms), Arabic, 153 {5}.
 - 20b. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (d. ca. 925). *Kitāb fī al-qūlanj* (On Colic), Arabic, 153 {5–6}. EDITION: Edited by Şubḥī Maḥmūd Ḥammāmī. Aleppo: Jāmiʿat Ḥalab, Maʿhad al-Turāth al-ʿilmī al-ʿArabī, 1983.
 - 20c. “*Kitāb fīmā yaḥtāju ilayhi al-mutaṭabbib min ʿilm al-nujūm*” (Medical Student’s Manual of Essential Astrology), Arabic, 153 {6–7}.
 - 20d. “*Kitāb al-luʿluʿa fī tadbīr al-ṣiḥḥa*” (The Pearl: On the Management of Health), Arabic, 153 {7}.
 - 20e. “*Kitāb fī al-khadar*” (On Langor), Arabic, 153 {7–8}.
 - 20f. Seventeen medical books, 153 {7–8}.
21. Hippocrates (d. ca. 370 BCE). *Kitāb taqdimat al-maʿrifa* (Prognostics), translated by Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq, Arabic, 153 {8–9}.
22. Volume containing eleven books by Hippocrates on medicine, 153 {10}.
23. Commentary on Hippocrates’s *Kitāb al-fuṣūl* (Aphorisms), Arabic, 153 {10–11}.
24. Volume containing:
 - 24a. Hippocrates (d. ca. 370 BCE). *Kitāb al-ahwiya wa-al-buldān* (On Airs, [Waters,] and Places), translated by Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq, Arabic, 153 {11–12}.
 - 24b. Galen (d. ca. 216). *Maqālat Jālīnūs* (Galen’s Discourse), translated by Ibn Sīnā, Arabic, 153 {12}.
 - 24c. “Pythagoras.” *Kitāb fī abdāl al-adwiya* (On Substitute Drugs), Arabic, 153 {13}.
25. Volume containing:
 - 25a. Same as 20a, 153 {14}.
 - 25b. Hippocrates (d. ca. 370 BCE). *Kitāb qaḍāyā* (Book of Premises)¹, Arabic, 153 {14}.
 - 25c. Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). *Kitāb al-urjūza fī al-ṭibb* (Medical Poem), Arabic, 153 {15}.

26. Volume containing:
 - 26a. Same as 20a, 153 {15–16}.
 - 26b. “Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Jaghminī (d. 1344).” *Qānūnchaft al-ṭibb* (Lesser Canon), on medicine, Arabic, 153 {16}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1972 (Karatay A 7273) (seal of Bayezid II).
 - 26c. “*Maqāla fī al-bāh*” (Discourse on Coition), Arabic, 153 {17}.
 - 26d. “*Rasā’il ukhrā fī al-ṭibb*, other treatises on medicine,” Arabic, 153 {17}.
 - 26f. and others, 153 {17–18}.
27. Collection of treatises containing:
 - 27a. “*Risāla nafīsa fī al-adwiya al-mushila*” (Precious Treatise on Purgative Drugs), Arabic, 153 {18–19}.
 - 27b. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (d. ca. 925). *Risāla fī al-ṭibb* (Treatise on Medicine), Arabic, 153 {19}.
 - 27c. “*Risāla ‘alā ṭarīqat Fuṣūl*” (Treatise after the Method of [Hippocrates’s] *Aphorisms*), Arabic. 153 {19}–154 {1}.
 - 27d. “*Risālat al-i’tirāḍāt ‘alā kalimāt Ibn Sīnā*” (Objections to Ibn Sīnā’s Discourse), Arabic, 154 {1–2}.
28. Collection of medical books containing:
 - 28a. Hippocrates (d. ca. 370 BCE). *Kitāb tadbīr al-amrāḍ al-ḥādḍa* (Regimens for Acute Diseases), Arabic, 154 {2–3}.
 - 28b. Galen (d. ca. 216). *Kitāb asrār al-nisā’* (Book of Women’s Secrets), Arabic, 154 {3–4}.
 - 28c. “Ibn Ḥalwān al-ṭabīb.” “*Kitāb al-furūq*” (Book of Differences), Arabic, 154 {4}.
29. Galen (d. ca. 216). *Kitāb al-adwiya al-mufrada* (Medical Simples), transmitted by Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, Arabic, in eleven discourses, 154 {7–8}.
30. Galen (d. ca. 216). *Kitāb al-‘ilal wa-al-a’rāḍ* (On Diseases and Symptoms), translated by Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, Arabic, in six discourses, 154 {8–9}.
31. Galen (d. ca. 216). *Jawāmi’ kutub Jālīnūs* (Summaries of Galen’s Works), volume 1, beginning with *Firaq al-ṭibb* (On Medical Sects) and ending with *Aṣnāf al-a’rāḍ fī al-ṭibb* (Of the Difference of Symptoms), transmitted by Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, Arabic, 154 {10–11}.
32. Same as above, volume 1, beginning with *Firaq al-ṭibb* (On Medical Sects) and ending with *al-Buḥrān fī al-ṭibb* (On Critical Days), Arabic, 154 {11–13}.
33. Same as above, volume 1, beginning with *Firaq al-ṭibb* (On Medical Sects) and ending with *Asbāb al-a’rāḍ fī al-ṭibb* (On the Causes of Symptoms), Arabic, 154 {13–15}.
34. Same as above, volume [...],² beginning with *al-Uṣṭuquṣṣāt* (On the Elements) and ending with *al-Nabḍ fī al-ṭibb* (On the Pulse), Arabic, 154 {15–17}.
35. Same as above, volume 2, beginning with *al-Quwā al-ṭabī’iyya* (On the Natural Faculties) and ending with *al-Nabḍ al-kabīr fī al-ṭibb* (The Greater [Book] on the Pulse), Arabic, 154 {17–19}.
36. Same as above, volume [...],³ beginning with *al-Ṭabī’a* (On the Nature) and ending with *Ṭarīq al-ḥīla li-l-bur’* (On the Method of Inducing Convalescence), Arabic, 154 {19}–155 {1}.
37. Galen (d. ca. 216). Commentary on Hippocrates’s *Kitāb al-fuṣūl* (Aphorisms), translated by Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, Arabic, 155 {2–3}.
38. Galen (d. ca. 216). *Kitāb ikhtisārāt kutub Jālīnūs* (Abridgments of Galen’s Works), beginning with *al-Uṣṭuquṣṣāt* (On the Elements) and ending with *Tatimmat al-Tashrīḥ fī al-ṭibb* (Supplement to *On Anatomy*), Arabic, 155 {3–4}.

39. Galen (d. ca. 216). *Kitāb tarkīb al-adwiya bi-ḥasab al-mawāḍiʿ al-ālīma* (Book on the Composition of Local Remedies), transmitted from Galen's book, Arabic, in ten discourses, 155 {4–6}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2079 (Karatay A 7193) (seal of Bayezid II).
40. Ḥunayn b. Ishāq (d. 873). *Risāla fī tafṣīl aḥwāl kutub Jālīnūs* (Treatise Detailing the Conditions of Galen's Works), beginning with *Kitāb fī al-adwiya al-munqiya* (Book on Cleansing Remedies)⁴ and ending with *al-Tadbīr al-mulattif fī al-ṭibb* (On Palliative Treatment), Arabic, 155 {6–8}.
41. Galen (d. ca. 216). *Kitāb al-mawāḍiʿ al-ālīma* (Book [on the Composition] of Local Remedies), transmitted by Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, Arabic, 155 {8–9}.
42. Galen (d. ca. 216). *Kitāb fī tafṣīl aḥwāl kutub Jālīnūs* (Book Detailing the Conditions of Galen's Works), beginning with *al-Burhān* (Demonstration), on the obstruction of the blood, and ending with the second discourse of *al-Minā fī al-ṭibb* (On Semen), transmitted by Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, Arabic, 155 {9–12}.
43. Galen (d. ca. 216). *Kitāb jawāmiʿ kutub Jālīnūs fī al-tiryāq* (Summaries of Galen's Works on Theriac), beginning with *Ṣūrat Andarūmākhīs al-ṭabīb* (Recipe of Andromachus) and ending with *Ṣūrat al-adwiya fī al-ṭibb* (Recipe for Remedies), Arabic, 155 {12–14}.
44. Galen (d. ca. 216). *Tafṣīr Jālīnūs li-Fuṣūl Buqrāṭ* (Galen's Commentary on Hippocrates's *Aphorisms*), translated by Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, Arabic, 155 {14–15}.
45. Galen (d. ca. 216). "*Kitāb yudhkaru fīhi al-karama mim mā dhakarahu Jālīnūs fī quwā al-adwiya wa-al-aghdhīya fī al-maqāla al-thāniya*" (Book in which Galen Mentions the Powers of Regimen and Diet in the Second Discourse), translated Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, Arabic, 155 {15–17}.
46. Galen (d. ca. 216). "*Mujallad min tafṣīr Jālīnūs li-kitāb Buqrāṭ al-musammā anīdimiyā*"⁵ (One volume of Galen's Commentary on Hippocrates's *On Epidemics*), translated by Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, Arabic, 155 {17–18}.
47. "*Mujallad min Sharḥ Kitāb Jālīnūs fī tashrīḥ al-aʿdāʾ fī al-ṭibb*" (One volume of the Commentary on Galen's Book on Anatomy), Arabic, 155 {18–19}.
48. Galen (d. ca. 216). "*Kitāb jawāmiʿ ḥīlat al-burʾ li-Jālīnūs*" (Galen's Book on Comprehensive Methods of Healing), Arabic, 155 {19}–156 {1}.
49. Galen (d. ca. 216). Volume containing five books by Galen, Arabic, 156 {1–2}.
50. Galen (d. ca. 216). *Kitāb arsas⁶ li-Jālīnūs fī fīraq al-ṭibb* (On Medical Sects), Arabic, 156 {2–3}.
51. Galen (d. ca. 216). *Al-Ṣināʾa al-ṣaghīra* (Ars Parva), Arabic, 156 {3–4}.
52. Najm al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 1330). *Kitāb al-ḥāwī fī ʿilm al-tadāwī* (Comprehensive Book on the Science of Treatment), Arabic, 156 {11}.
53. Same as above, 156 {11–12}.
54. Same as above, 156 {12}.
55. Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). *Kitāb al-qānūn fī ʿilm al-ṭibb* (Canon of Medicine), Arabic, 156 {14}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Turhan Valide 265, ca. 1470 (seal of Bayezid II, Turhan Valide waqf); Nuru Osmaniye 3571, ca. 1470 (seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, A. 1932 (Karatay A 7227) (seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, A. 1934 (Karatay A 7229) (seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, A. 1973 (Karatay A 7230) (seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, A. 1935/1 (Karatay A 7232) (seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, A. 1935/2 (Karatay A 7233) (seal of Bayezid II, erased); TSMK, A. 1935/3 (Karatay A 7234) (seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, A. 1939/1 (Karatay A 7238) (seal of Bayezid II).
56. Same as above, in one volume, 156 {15}.
57. Same as above, in one volume, 156 {15–16}.
58. Same as above, in one volume, 156 {16}.
59. Same as above, in one volume, 156 {16–17}.
60. Same as above, in three volumes, 156 {17}.

61. Same as above, in two volumes, 156 {18}.
62. Volume containing:
 - 62a. Same as above (abridged version), 156 {18}.
 - 62b. Najīb al-Dīn al-Samarqandī (d. 1222). *Kitāb al-qarābādīn li-l-Samarqandī* (Book of Medical Formulary), Arabic, 156 {18–19}.
63. Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). *Kullīyyāt al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb* (Canon of Medicine), book 1, Arabic, 156 {19}.
64. Same as above, 157 {1}.
65. Same as above, 157 {1}.
66. Same as above, 157 {2}.
67. Same as above, 157 {2}.
68. Same as above, 157 {3}.
69. Same as above, 157 {3}.
70. Same as above, 157 {4}.
71. Volume containing:
 - 71a. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Īlāqī (d. 1068). *Mukhtaṣar Kullīyyāt al-Qānūn* (Abridgment of Book One of the *Canon of Medicine*), Arabic, 157 {4}.
 - 71b. *Risālat al-janīn* (Treatise on the Fetus), Arabic, 157 {5}.
 - 71c. *Risāla fī al-faṣḍ* (Treatise on Bloodletting), Arabic, 157 {5}.
 - 71d. Four treatises, 157 {5–6}.
72. Same as 63, 157 {6}.
73. Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). *Kitāb mukhtaṣar al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb* (Abridged *Canon of Medicine*), Arabic, 157 {7}.
74. “*Sharḥ Tashrīḥ al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb*” (Commentary on the Section of Anatomy of the *Canon of Medicine*), Arabic, 157 {7–8}.
75. Same as above, 157 {8}.
76. Zayn al-‘Arab al-Miṣrī (d. after 1350). *Sharḥ Tashrīḥ al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb* (Commentary on the Section of Anatomy of the *Canon of Medicine*), Arabic, 157 {9}.
77. Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 1288). *Sharḥ Tashrīḥ al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb* (Commentary on the Section of Anatomy of the *Canon of Medicine*), Arabic, 157 {9–10}.
78. Zayn al-‘Arab al-Miṣrī (d. after 1350). *Sharḥ Kullīyyāt al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb* (Commentary on Book One of the *Canon of Medicine*), Arabic, 157 {10–11}.
79. Same as above, 157 {11}.
80. Najm al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 1330). *Sharḥ Kullīyyāt al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb* (Commentary on Book One of the *Canon of Medicine*), Arabic, 157 {12}.
81. Same as above, book 1, 157 {12–13}.
82. Same as above, in nine volumes, 157 {14}.
83. Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 1288). *Sharḥ Kullīyyāt al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb* (Commentary on Book One of the *Canon of Medicine*), book 1, Arabic, 157 {15}.
84. Same as 80, in one volume, 157 {16}.
85. Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya‘qūb al-Sāmīrī (13th century). *Sharḥ Kullīyyāt al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb* (Commentary on Book One of the *Canon of Medicine*), book 1, Arabic, 157 {17}.
86. Same as 80, in one volume, 157 {17–18}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1946 (Karatay A 7250) (seal of Bayezid II).
87. *Sharḥ Kullīyyāt al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb* (Commentary on Book One of the *Canon of Medicine*), Arabic, 157 {18–19}.

88. Same as above, final volume, 157 {19}–158 {1}.
89. Same as above, 158 {1}.
90. “al-Āmulī.” *Sharḥ Kullīyyāt al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb* (Commentary on Book One of the *Canon of Medicine*), one volume, Arabic, 158 {2}.
91. Same as 80, book 2, 158 {2–3}.
92. Translation of *Tashrīḥ al-Qānūn* (Section of Anatomy of the *Canon of Medicine*), 158 {3–4}.
93. Commentary on Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Īlāqī (d. 1068)’s *Mukhtaṣar Kullīyyāt al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb* (Abridgment of Book One of the *Canon of Medicine*), Arabic [see 71a], 158 {4–5}.
94. “*Kitāb fī al-ajwiba ‘an ishkālāt al-Imām al-Rāzī fī al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb*” (Book of Answers to the Difficulties Raised in Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s Commentary on the *Canon of Medicine*), Arabic, 158 {5–6}.
95. “*Risālat al-khizāniyya fī al-i’tirāḍ ‘alā Qānūn Ibn Sīnā fī al-ṭibb*” (Treasured Treatise Objecting to Ibn Sīnā’s *Canon of Medicine*), Arabic, 158 {6–7}.
96. Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 1288). *Kitāb al-mūjaz fī al-ṭibb* (The Epitome of Medicine), Arabic, 158 {8}.
97. Same as above, 158 {8}.
98. Same as above, 158 {8–9}.
99. Same as above, 158 {9}.
100. Same as above, 158 {9–10}.
101. Translation of *Kitāb al-mūjaz fī al-ṭibb* (The Epitome of Medicine), Persian, in verse, 158 {10–11}.
102. Same as 96, 158 {11}.
103. Same as above, 158 {11–12}.
104. Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Aqsarā’ī (d. ca. 1388). Commentary on *Kitāb al-mūjaz fī al-ṭibb* (The Epitome of Medicine), known as *Ḥall al-mūjaz fī al-ṭibb* (Exposition of the *Epitome of Medicine*), Arabic, 158 {14}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1978 (Karatay A 7267) (seal of Bayezid II).
105. Volume containing:
 - 105a. Same as 94, 158 {15–16}.
 - 105b. “‘Abd Allāh al-Siwāsī (14th century).” *Kitāb ‘umdat al-fuḥūl fī sharḥ al-Fuṣūl* (Support of the Masters: On the Commentary of [Hippocrates’s] *Aphorisms*), 1316, Arabic, 158 {16–17}.
106. Volume containing:
 - 106a. Same as 26b, 158 {18}.
 - 106b. “*Risāla mukhtaṣara fī al-ṭibb*” (Abridged Treatise on Medicine), Arabic, 158 {18–19}.
107. Volume containing:
 - 107a. Same as 106a, 158 {19}.
 - 107b. “*Risāla ma’rūfa bi-Sirāj al-qamarī fī al-iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṭibbiyya*” (Treatise Known as the Moonlight of Medical Terms), Arabic, 158 {19}–159 {1}.
 - 107c. “*Kitāb al-aghdhīya wa-al-ashriba wa-mā yattaṣil bihā fī al-ṭibb*” (Book of Food and Drinks and What Medically Pertains Thereto), Arabic, 159 {1–2}.
 - 107d. *Kitāb fī at’imat al-marḍā wa-‘ilājātihā* (Book of Food and Remedies for the Ill), Arabic, 159 {2–3}.
108. Volume containing:
 - 108a. Same as 106a, 159 {3}.
 - 108b. Same as 106b, 159 {3–4}.
109. Volume containing:
 - 109a. Same as 106a, 159 {4}.
 - 109b. Same as 107b, 159 {4–5}.
110. Same as 106a, 159 {5}.

111. Same as 106a, 159 {11}.
112. Same as 106a, 159 {11}.
113. Same as 106a, 159 {12}.
114. Najīb al-Dīn al-Samarqandī (d. 1222). *Kitāb al-asbāb wa-al-‘alāmāt* (Book of Causes and Symptoms), Arabic, 159 {14}.
115. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Īlāqī (d. 1068). *Sharḥ Kitāb al-asbāb wa-al-‘alāmāt* (Commentary on the *Book of Causes and Symptoms*), Arabic, 159 {16}.
116. Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 1288). *Sharḥ Kitāb al-asbāb wa-al-‘alāmāt* (Commentary on the *Book of Causes and Symptoms*), Arabic, 159 {17}.
117. Volume containing:
 - 117a. Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). *Fuṣūl* (Aphorisms), Arabic, 159 {18}.
 - 117b. “*Mukhtaṣar fī uṣūl al-tarākīb*” (Abridgment on Principles of Pharmacy), Arabic, 159 {18–19}.
 - 117c. “*Sharḥ al-Asbāb wa-al-‘alāmāt*” (Commentary on the *Book of Causes and Symptoms*), Arabic, 159 {19}.
118. “*Kitāb al-aghrāḍ al-ṭibbiyya*” (Book of Medical Objectives), Arabic, 160 {1}.
119. Zayn al-Dīn Ismā‘īl b. Ḥasan al-Jurjānī (d. 1136). “*Kitāb al-aghrāḍ al-ṭibbiyya wa-al-mabāḥith al-‘alā’iyya al-khwārazmshāhiyya*” (Book of Medical Objectives and ‘Alā’id Discussions at the Khwarazmshahid Court), Arabic, 160 {1–2}.
120. Volume containing:
 - 120a. “*Guzāda fī al-tawārīkh*” (Selections in History), 160 {2}.
 - 120b. Same as 118, 160 {3}.
 - 120c. “*Fiqh Kitāb durrat al-tā’*” (Jurisprudential Matters in the *Pearl of the Crown*), 160 {3}.
 - 120d. “*Mukhtaṣar fī ‘ilm al-arūḍ*” (Abridgment on the Science of Metrics), 160 {4}.
 - 120e. “*Kitāb muqannan fī lughat al-furs*” (Standardized Book on the Persian Language), 160 {4}.
121. ‘Alī b. ‘Abbās al-Majūsī (d. ca. 982). *Kitāb kāmīl al-ṣinā‘a fī al-ṭibb* (The Complete Medical Art), Arabic, 160 {5}.
122. “*Risāla fī al-tashrīḥ min qibal al-ṭibb*” (Treatise on Anatomy, with reference to medicine), Persian, 160 {5–6}.
123. Same as above, 160 {6–7}.
124. Same as above, 160 {7–8}.
125. Volume containing:
 - 125a. “*Sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar fī ‘ilm al-tashrīḥ*” (Commentary on the *Epitome on Anatomy*), Arabic, 160 {8}.
 - 125b. “*Risālat aḥkām al-mawālīd*” (Treatise on the Principles of Birthing), Arabic, 160 {8–9}.
126. Volume containing:
 - 126a. “*Kitāb jawāmi‘ al-ḥisāb fī ‘ilm al-ḥisāb*” (Compendium of Computation: On Arithmetic), Arabic, 160 {9}.
 - 126b. “*Kitāb fī ‘ilm al-tashrīḥ*” (Book on the Science of Anatomy), Arabic, 160 {9–10}.
127. Volume containing:
 - 127a. “*Kitāb jāwami‘ al-ladhdhāt fī al-ṭibb al-bāhī*” (Compendium of Pleasures: On Venereal Medicine), Arabic, 160 {14}.
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128. Al-Samaw'al b. Yaḥyā al-Maghribī (d. ca. 1180). *Kitāb nuzhat al-aṣḥāb fī mu'āsharat al-aḥbāb* (Enjoyment of Friends: On the Intimacy of Lovers), Arabic, 160 {15–16}.
129. "*Mukhtaṣar mufīd fī bayān quwwat al-bāh*" (A Useful Epitome on the Venereal Faculty), Arabic, 160 {16–17}.
130. Volume containing:
 - 130a. "Jalāl al-Dīn Abū al-Najīb 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Naṣr b. 'Abdallah." *Kitāb al-īdāḥ fī asrār al-nikāḥ* (Book of Clarification: On the Mysteries of Coition), Arabic, 160 {17–18}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2096 (Karatay A 7296) (seal of Bayezid II).
 - 130b. "*Risāla fī al-bāh*" (Treatise on Coition, and other medical treatises), Arabic, 160 {18}.
 - 130c. Treatises on non-medical topics, 160 {19}.
131. "*Kitāb muhayyij-i shāh min qibal al-tawārīkh*" (On Stimulating the Shah, with reference to chronicles), Turkish, in verse, 160 {19}–161 {1}.
132. "*Kitāb jawāmi' al-ladhdha fī aḥwāl al-jimā'*" (Compendium of Pleasure: On the Conditions of Intercourse), Arabic, 161 {1–2}.
133. Same as 130a, 161 {2–3}.
134. Same as 130a, 161 {3}.
135. Same as 130a, 161 {4}.
136. "*Kitāb al-'urs wa-al-'arāyis fī aḥwāl al-jimā' min qibal al-ṭibb*" (Book of Weddings and Brides: On the Medical Conditions of Intercourse), Arabic, 161 {4–5}.
137. Volume containing:
 - 137a. Zayn al-Dīn b. Jumay' (d. 1198). "*Risāla fī māhiyyat al-saqanqūr*" (Treatise in the Nature of the Skink), Arabic, 161 {5–6}.
 - 137b. Zayn al-Dīn b. Jumay' (d. 1198). "*Al-Risāla al-sayfiyya fī al-adwiya al-mulūkiyya*" (Treatise of the Sword: On Royal Remedies), Arabic, 161 {6}.
 - 137c. Zayn al-Dīn b. Jumay' (d. 1198). "*Risāla fī al-duwār*" (Treatise on Dizziness), Arabic, 161 {7}.
 - 137d. Zayn al-Dīn b. Jumay' (d. 1198). Six treatises, Arabic, 161 {7}.
138. "*Kitāb al-wisla' ilā al-ḥabīb fī al-ṭayyibāt wa-al-ṭīb*" (Book of Union with One's Lover: On Perfume and Things Delightful), Arabic, 161 {11}.
139. Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Kindī (d. ca. 873). *Kitāb al-taraffuq fī al-'iṭr al-ma'rūf bi-'Iṭr-nāma* (Book of the Chemistry of Perfume Distillations known as Book of Perfume), Arabic, 161 {12}.
140. Same as 138, 161 {13–14}.
141. Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Kindī (d. ca. 873). *Kitāb al-taraffuq fī al-'iṭr* (Book of the Chemistry of Perfume Distillations), Arabic, 161 {14}.
142. "Ibn 'Atā'iqī al-Ḥillī (14th century)." *Al-Taṣrīḥ fī sharḥ al-Talwīḥ [ilā asrār al-Tanqīḥ] fī al-ṭibb* (The Clear Declaration: Commentary on the *Intimation as to the Secrets of Amendments* [in Ibn Sīnā's Canon]) [of Fakhr al-Dīn Khujandī], Arabic, 161 {17}.
143. "*Kitāb mukhtaṣar mughnin fī ma'rifat al-amrāḍ wa-al-asbāb wa-al-'alāmāt wa-al-mudāwāt*" (Conclusive Epitome on Knowledge of Diseases, Causes, Symptoms, and Treatments), Arabic, 161 {18–19}.
144. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Damīrī (d. 1405). *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* (Lexicon of Zoology), Arabic, 161 {19}. EDITION: Al-Damīrī. *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān: A Zoological Lexicon*. Translated by A. S. G. Jayakar. London: Luzac & Co. 1908.
145. Same as above, 162 {1}.
146. Same as above, 162 {1–2}.
147. Same as above, 162 {2}.

148. Same as above, 162 {2–3}.
149. Same as above, 162 {3}.
150. Same as above, 162 {4}.
151. Same as above, 162 {4–5}.
152. “*Kitāb nāfi‘ al-ṭibb*” (Beneficial Book of Medicine), Persian, 162 {5–6}.
153. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Mukhtār b. ‘Abdūn b. Sa’dūn Ibn Buṭlān (d. ca. 1068). *Kitāb taqwīm al-ṣiḥḥa bi-al-asbāb al-sitta* (Health Tables/Rectifying Health by Six Causes), Arabic, 162 {6–7}. MANUSCRIPTS: Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 960/2, 49a–90b, ca. 1470 (seals of Bayezid II and Fazıl Ahmed Paşa); TSMK, A. 2069 (Karatay A 7283) (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Latin: *Tacuini sanitatis: Elluchasem Elimithar medici*. Strasbourg: Johann Schott, 1531.
154. Same as above, 162 {7–8}.
155. Same as above, 162 {8}.
156. Abū Yahyā b. ‘Īsā Ibn Jazla (d. 1100). *Taqwīm al-abdān [fi tadbīr al-insān]* (Tables of Bodies: On Managing Mankind), Persian translation, 162 {9}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 3587/1, 1a–56b, 863 H./1458 (seals of Bayezid II and Mahmud I).
157. Volume containing:
 - 157a. Abū Yahyā b. ‘Īsā Ibn Jazla (d. 1100). *Taqwīm al-abdān [fi tadbīr al-insān]* (Tables of Bodies in Regimen for Mankind), Arabic, 162 {9–10}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 3587/2, 57a–107a, 659 H./1261 (seals of Bayezid II and Mahmud I); Köprülü, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 960/1, 1b–48a (seals of Bayezid II and Fazıl Ahmed Paşa); TSMK, A. 2097 (Karatay A 7286) (seal of Bayezid II).
 - 157b. Same as 153, 162 {10}.
 - 157c. “*Aqrābādīn muntakhab*” (Select Medical Formulary), Arabic, 162 {11}.
158. Same as 157a, 162 {11}.
159. Volume containing:
 - 159a. Same as 157a, 162 {12}.
 - 159b. Same as 153, 162 {12–13}.
160. Same as 157a, 162 {13–14}.
161. Volume containing:
 - 161a. Abū al-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1201). *Kitāb mukhtaṣar marqūm bi-Ṣayd al-khāṭir* (Epitome known as *Quarry of the Mind*), Arabic, 162 {14}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2132 (Karatay A 7300) (seal of Bayezid II).
 - 161b. “*Kitāb al-talkhīṣ fi al-ṭibb*” (Book Précis in Medicine), Arabic, 162 {15}.
162. Same as 161a, 162 {15–16}.
163. Abū Zayd al-Balkhī (d. 934). *Kitāb maṣāliḥ al-abdān wa-al-anfus* (Sustenance for Body and Soul), Arabic, 162 {16–17}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 3740, ca. 1475–1480 (seals of Bayezid II and Mahmud I).
164. Same as above, 162 {17}.
165. “*Kitāb marqūm bi-Kitāb al-tadhkira fi al-ṭibb*” (Biographical Dictionary of Medicine), Arabic, 162 {18}.
166. Abū Yahyā b. ‘Īsā Ibn Jazla (d. 1100). *Minhāj al-bayān [fi mā yasta‘miluhu al-insān]* (Method of Explanation concerning What is Useful to Mankind), Arabic, 162 {18–19}.
167. Abī Sahl al-Sijzī (d. ca. 1020). “*Kitāb fi al-ṭibb*” (Book on Medicine), Arabic, 162 {19}.
168. Abū al-Qāsim b. al-‘Abbās al-Zahrāwī (d. 1013). *Sharḥ Kitāb masā’il Ḥunayn* (Commentary on Ḥunayn b. Ishāq’s The Questions on Medicine for Beginners), Arabic, 162 {18}–163 {1}.

169. Ibn al-Nafis (d. 1288). *Sharḥ Kitāb masā'il Ḥunayn* (Commentary on Ḥunayn b. Ishāq's *Questions on Medicine for Beginners*), Arabic, 163 {1–2}.
170. Ḥubaysh b. al-Ḥasan al-A'sam (9th–10th centuries). *Kitāb masā'il Ḥunayn ma'a ziyādāt* (Commentary on Ḥunayn b. Ishāq's *Questions on Medicine for Beginners*, with additions), Arabic, 163 {2–3}.
171. Same as 168, book 2, 163 {3–4}.
172. Ḥubaysh b. Ibrāhīm b. Tiflīsī (d. ca. 1203). *Taḥṣīl al-ṣiḥḥa bi-al-asbāb al-sitta* (Summation of Health by Six Causes), Arabic, 163 {4}.
173. "Collection of rare treatises on medicine," 163 {5}.
174. Zayn al-Dīn Ismā'īl b. Ḥasan al-Jurjānī (d. 1136). *Kitāb zubdat al-ṭibb* (The Quintessence of Medicine), in one volume, Arabic, 163 {5–6}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2101 (Karatay A 7293) (seal of Bayezid II).
175. Same as above, in two volumes, 163 {6}.
176. "*Kitāb fārisī manẓūm fī al-ṭibb*" (Book on Medicine), Persian, in verse, 163 {6–7}.
177. "al-Ḥalīmī." "*Kitāb fārisī manẓūm fī al-ṭibb*" (Book on Medicine), Persian, in verse, 163 {7}.
178. Shahmardān b. Abī al-Khayr al-Rāzī (11th century). *Kitāb nuzhat-nāma* [*Nuzhat-nāma-yi 'Alā'ī*] (Book of Pleasure) and others, Persian, 163 {8}.
179. "*Kitāb al-is'ād*" (Book of Felicitating), Arabic, 163 {8–9}.
180. "*Kitāb fārisī fī al-ṭibb*" (Book on Medicine), Persian, 163 {9}.
181. Volume containing:
 - 181a. "*Sharḥ al-Urjūza al-ṭibbiyya al-mansūba ilā Ibn Sīnā*" (Commentary on Poem of Medicine attributed to Ibn Sīnā), Arabic, 163 {9–10}.
 - 181b. Same as above, 163 {10–11}.
182. Ibn Sīnā, *Kitāb al-hidāya* (Book of Guidance), book 1, Persian, 163 {11–12}.
183. Ishāq b. Isrā'īlī (d. ca. 932). *Kitāb al-ḥummayāt*⁸ (Book of Fevers), Arabic, 163 {12–13}.
184. Thābit b. Qurra (d. 901). *Kitāb al-dhakhīra fī al-ṭibb* (Book of Treasure), Arabic, 163 {13–14}.
185. Volume containing:
 - 185a. Zayn al-Dīn Ismā'īl b. Ḥasan al-Jurjānī (d. 1136). *Kitāb khuff-i 'Alā'ī* (Illustrious Pair of Shoes),⁹ Arabic, 1113, 163 {14}.
 - 185b. "*Kitāb zubdat al-hay'a*" (Quintessence of Astronomy), Persian, 163 {14–15}.
186. *Kitāb fārisī mukhtaṣar 'alā arba'a maqālāt* (Epitome of the *Four Discourses* [by Nizāmī 'Arūḍī of Samarqand (d. 1161)]), Persian, 163 {15–16}.
187. "*Mukhtaṣar fī al-ṭibb*" (Epitome of Medicine), Arabic, 163 {16}.
188. "*Risāla tashkhīṣiyya*" (Treatise on Diagnostics), Arabic, 163 {16–17}.
189. "*Risāla tuḥfat al-salāṭīn*" (Treatise of the Gift to Sultans), Arabic, 163 {17}.
190. "*Kitāb al-tuḥfa*" (Book of the Gift [to Sultans]), Arabic, 163 {18}.
191. "*Kitāb al-maqāla al-nāṣiriyya*" (The Nasirean Discourse), Arabic, 163 {18}.
192. "*Kitāb ādāb al-sharāb min qibal al-ṭibb al-naṣrānī*" (Book of the Etiquette of Drinking, pertaining to Christian medicine), Arabic, 163 {19}.
193. Volume containing:
 - 193a. "*Risāla fī al-firāsa*" (Treatise on Physiognomy),¹⁰ Arabic, 163 {19}.
 - 193b. "*Kitāb zubdat al-bayān*" (Quintessence of Explanation), Arabic, 164 {1}.
194. Volume containing:
 - 194a. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Mukhtār b. 'Abdūn b. Sa'dūn Ibn Buṭlān (d. ca. 1068). "*Risālat da'wat al-aṭibbā*" (Treatise on the Physicians' Dinner Party), Arabic, 164 {1–2}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 3626/1, 1a–65a, 876 H./1472 (seals of Bayezid II, Selim I, and Mahmud I). EDITION: Edited by

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195. “*Risāla nuʿūt al-ḥayawānāt*” (Treatise on Attributes of Animals), Arabic, 164 {3}.
196. “*Kitāb al-talwīḥ ilā asrār al-tanqīḥ*” (Exposé on the Secrets of Revision), Arabic, 164 {3–4}.
197. Same as 161b, 164 {4}.
198. “*Sharḥ Wasāʾil al-wuṣūl*” (Commentary on *Means of Achievement*), Arabic, 164 {4–5}.
199. Qusṭā b. Lūqā (d. 912). *Kitāb Qusṭā b. Lūqā al-yūnānī fī al-ṭibb* (Book on Medicine), Arabic, 164 {5}.
200. *Kitāb iṣlāḥ masāʾil Ḥunayn* (Correction of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq’s *Questions on Medicine for Beginners*), Arabic, 164 {6}.
201. “*Risāla naḥṣa fī masāʾil al-nabḍ*” (Rare Treatise on Questions of the Pulse), Arabic, 164 {6–7}.
202. Same as 198, 164 {7–8}.
203. “*Risāla fī al-ṭibb*” (Treatise on Medicine), Arabic, 164 {8}.
204. “*Risālat ṭibb fārisiyya*” (Treatise on Medicine), Persian, 164 {8}.
205. “*Kitāb siyāsāt al-badan wa-manfaʿat al-sharāb wa-maḍarratihī*” (Governance of the Body and the Benefits and Harms of Drinking), Arabic, 164 {9}.
206. “Ghiyās al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ṣayrafi al-Iṣfahānī al-Ṭabīb (d. 1502).” *Mirʾāt al-ṣiḥḥa* (Mirror of Health), [Persian], 1491, 164 {10}.
207. “*Risāla fī al-tadbīr wa-ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥa*” (Treatise on the Management and Preservation of Health), Arabic, 164 {10–11}.
208. Volume containing:
- 208a. “*Kitāb luqaṭ al-manāfiʿ fī al-ṭibb*” (Book of Gleanings on the Benefits of Medicine), Arabic, 164 {11}.
- 208b. “*Kitāb mukhtār Luqaṭ al-manāfiʿ fī al-ṭibb*” (Selections from the *Book of Gleanings on the Benefits of Medicine*), Arabic, 164 {11–12}.
- 208c. “*Kitāb mawāʿiẓ al-mulūk*” (Book of Exhortations of Sovereigns), Arabic, 164 {12}.
209. Volume containing:
- 209a. “*Kitāb fī ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥa*” (Book on the Preservation of Health), Arabic, 164 {13}.
- 209b. “*Kitāb al-khawāṣṣ*” (Book on Active Properties), Arabic, 164 {13}.
210. Volume containing:
- 210a. Same as 194a, 164 {13–14}.
- 210b. Same as 194b, 164 {14}.
211. Volume containing:
- 211a. “*Kitāb al-asʾila wa-al-aḥwibā fī al-ṭibb*” (The Book of Questions and Answers in Medicine), Arabic, 164 {15}.
- 211b. “*Risāla fī al-bawl*” (Treatise on Urine), Arabic, 164 {15}.
- 211c. “*Kitāb*” (Book), 164 {15}.
- 211d. Maghnīs al-Ḥimṣī. “*Kitāb Maghnīs fī al-bawl*” (Book on Urine), Arabic, 164 {16}.
212. “*Kitāb al-mukhtār fī al-ṭibb*” (Choice Book of Medicine), book 1, Arabic, 164 {16–17}.
213. Volume containing:
- 213a. “*Kitāb sharīf fī al-ṭibb*” (Illustrious book on medicine), Arabic, 164 {17}.
- 213b. “*Kitāb manqūṣ al-awwal fī al-ṭibb*” (Book on medicine, with beginning missing), Arabic, 164 {18}.

- 213c. “al-Ḥakīm ilā al-Ma’mūn.” *“Risāla fī tadbīr al-badan”* (Treatise on Managing the Body), Arabic, 164 {18–19}.
214. Same as 25c, 164 {19}–165 {1}.
215. Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). *Kitāb fī daf’ al-maḍārr al-kullīyyāt li-l-abdān al-insīyya* (Book for Defeating All Harms of the Human Body), Arabic, 165 {1–2}.
216. Volume containing:
 216a. “Tāj al-Rāzī.” *Kitāb al-amālī al-‘Irāqīyya li-l-fuṣūl al-‘Ilāqīyya* (Iraqi Book of Dictations on the Aphorisms of Ḥalāqī), Arabic, 165 {2–3}.
- 216b. Three treatises, in one volume, 165 {3}.
217. *Wasā’il al-wuṣūl ilā masā’il al-fuṣūl* (Means of Achievement in the Problems of the Aphorisms), Arabic, 165 {4}.
218. Fourteen treatises on medicine, in one volume, 165 {4–5}.
219. Volume containing:
 219a. *“Mukhtaṣar fī ṣinā’at al-ṭibb”* (Abridgment on the Art of Medicine), Arabic 165 {5}.
- 219b. *“Risāla fī al-raml”*¹¹ (Treatise on Geomancy), Arabic 165 {6}.
- 219c. Three treatises, in one volume, 165 {6}.
220. *“Kitāb minhāj al-dukkān [fī al-aqrābādīn]”* (Handbook for the [Apothecary] Shop), Arabic, 165 {6–7}.
221. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274). *Kitāb Atānkusūq-nāma-i Ilkhānī*¹² (The Ilkhanid *Tansūq-nāma*), Persian, 165 {7–8}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 3596, 713 H./1313 (seal of Bayezid II).
222. *“Kitāb maṣāliḥ al-abdān”* (Book of Bodily Sustenance), Arabic, 165 {8}.
223. Jalāl al-Dīn Khidr b. ‘Alī (Ḥācī Pāṣā) (d. ca. 1425). *Kitāb al-tashīl fī al-ṭibb* (Book of Facilitation of Medicine), Turkish, 165 {8–9}.
224. Ḥunayn b. Ishāq (d. 873). *Kitāb fī al-masā’il wa-aḡwibatihā fī al-ṭibb* (Book of Questions and Answers in Medicine), Arabic, 165 {9–10}.
225. *“Risāla aḡwibat masā’il Ibn Buṭlān”* (Treatise of Answers to Ibn Buṭlān’s Questions), Arabic, 165 {10}.
226. *“Kitāb marqūm bi-al-Tanwīr fī al-ṭibb”* (Book known as *Illumination of Medicine*), Arabic, 165 {11}.
227. Same as 206, 165 {11–12}.
228. Volume containing:
 228a. *“Kitāb imtiḥān al-kaḥḥālīn”* (Test of the Oculists), Arabic, 165 {13}.
- 228b. Hippocrates (d. ca. 370 BCE). *Kitāb taqdimat al-ma’rifa* (On Prognostics), Arabic, 165 {13–14}.
- 228c. Four treatises on medicine, 165 {14}.
229. Volume containing:
 229a. ‘Alī b. ‘Isā al-Kaḥḥāl (d. ca. 1038). *Kitāb tadhkirat*¹³ *al-kaḥḥālīn* (Memorandum of the Oculists), 165 {14–15}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1964 (Karatay A 7223) (seal of Bayezid II).
- 229b. Other treatises, in one volume, 165 {15}.
230. Volume containing:
 230a. Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). *Risāla fī al-manṭiq* (Treatise on Logic), Persian, 165 {16}.
- 230b. Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). *Risāla al-‘urūq al-maḡṣūda* (Treatise on Damaged Veins), Arabic, 165 {16}.
- [Maṭlab: *al-Raṣā’ila al-kaḥḥālīyya wa-al-jarrāḥīyya*]¹⁴ A requested volume checked out: (Treatises on Optometry and Surgery).
231. “Sharaf al-Dīn Şābūncūoğlu (d. 1468).” *Kitāb jarrāḥīyya [ay umūr jarrāḥīyya] khāniyya ma’rūf*¹⁵ *bi-Jarrāḥ-nāma* (Royal Book of Surgery known as *Jarrāḥ-nāma*), 873 H./1468, Turkish, 165 {17}.

- MANUSCRIPT: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Supplément Turc 693 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Edited by İltar Uzel. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992.
232. al-Zahrāwī. *Kitāb marqūm bi-al-Zahrāwī fi 'amal al-jarrāhīn* (Book titled *The Merry: On the Practice of Surgeons*), Arabic, 165 {18}.
[Maṭlab: *Sharḥ al-iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṭibbiyya*] A requested volume checked out: Commentary on Medical Terminology.
 233. "*Risālat sharḥ al-iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṭibbiyya*" (Commentary Treatise on Medical Terminology), Arabic, 165 {19}.
 234. "*Majmū'at rasā'il fihā Zād al-musāfirīn*" (Collection of Treatises, Including *Travelers' Provisions*), Arabic, 166 {1}.
 235. Collection containing:
 - 235a. *Pand-nāma-i Kaykāwūs* (Advice Book for Kaykāwūs), Persian, 166 {2}.
 - 235b. Same as 153, Persian translation, 166 {2–3}.
 236. *Kitāb al-fawā'id min al-khawāṣṣ* (Book of Benefits of Active Properties), Arabic, 166 {3}.
 237. Volume containing:
 - 237a. *Kitāb al-mubīn fi iṣṭilāḥāt al-mutakallimīn wa-al-ḥukamā'* (The Clear Book: On the Technical Terms of Theologians and Philosophers), Arabic, 166 {3–4}.
 - 237b. "*Risāla al-ḥikma al-'amaliyya*" (Treatise on Practical Philosophy), Arabic, 166 {4}.
 - 237c. "*Kitāb mukhtaṣar fī al-ṭibb*" (Epitome on Medicine), Arabic 166 {5}.
 238. "*Kitāb wasīlat 'azīz qawm qad dhalla fī al-ṭibb*" (Handbook for the Leader of a Nation Brought Low), Arabic, 166 {5–6}.
 239. Mawlānā Akhī Çelebi (d. 1522). *Risāla fī ḥaṣāt¹⁶ al-kulya wa-al-mathāna* (Treatise on Kidney and Bladder Stones), Turkish, 166 {6–7}.
 240. "*Muntakhab Farah-nāma-i 'Alā' fī manāfi' al-ashyā'*" (Selection from the '*Alā'* Book of Joy: On the Virtues of Various Things), Arabic, 166 {7–8}.
 241. "*Risāla naḥṣa [ṣaḥḥ] fī al-ṭibb*" (Rare Treatise on Medicine), Arabic, 166 {8}.
 242. "*Kitāb naḥṣ mukhtaṣar fī al-ṭibb*" (Rare Epitome on Medicine), Arabic, 166 {9}.
 243. "*Kitāb kunūz al-ṭibb al-laṭīf*" (Treasures of Subtle Medicine), Arabic, 166 {9}.
 244. Khayr al-Dīn Khidr 'Aṭūfī (d. 1541). *Ḥifẓ al-abdān* (Preservation of Bodies), Arabic, in verse, 166 {10}.
 245. "Aḥmad al-Biqā'ī al-Ḥanafī." "*al-Tuḥfa al-saniyya fī al-maqālāt al-ṭibbiyya*" (The Sublime Gift: On Medical Discourses), Arabic, 166 {10–11}.
 246. Collection containing:
 - 246a. "*Mukhtaṣar sharīf fī ṣinā'at al-ṭibb*" (Noble Epitome on the Art of Medicine), Arabic, 166 {12}.
 - 246b. [Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ashraf al-Ḥusaynī al-Samarqandī (d. ca. 1303).] "*Risālat ashkāl al-ta'sīs fī al-handasa*" (Treatise on the Fundamental Theorems), Arabic, 166 {12–13}.
 247. Collection containing:
 - 247a. "*Risāla fī al-ḥīla li-daf' al-aḥzān*" (Treatise on the Method for Averting Sorrows), Arabic, 166 {13–14}.
 - 247b. Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). *Risāla fī al-adwiya al-qalbiyya* (On Remedies of the Heart), Arabic, 166 {14–15}.
 248. "Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Yūsuf al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Munajjim (d. after 1502)." *Jawhar ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥa fī al-ṭibb* (The Essence of Preservation of Health), Arabic, 1502, 166 {15}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2010 (Karatay A 7361) (seal of Bayezid II).

249. "*Risālat mabāḥith al-nabḍ*" (Discussions on the Pulse), Arabic, 166 {16}.
[Maṭlab: *Rasā'il al-amrād al-wabā'iyya wa-awjā' al-mafāṣil wa-al-niqris*]. A requested book checked out: Treatises on Epidemic Diseases, Joint Pain and Gout.
250. "*Risālat al-wabā'*" (Treatise on Epidemic Disease), Arabic, 167 {1}.
251. "*Risāla fī al-farq bayn al-amrād al-mushtabiha*" (On Differentiating between Similar Diseases), Arabic, 167 {1–2}.
252. "Molla Luṭfī (d. 1494)." *Risāla istikhrāj khaṭṭayn 'alā mas'alat al-handasa li-taḍ'īf al-madhbaḥ li-daf' al-wabā'* (Treatise on the Geometrical Problem of Doubling the Size of the Altar [Delian problem] to Defeat Epidemic Disease), Arabic, 167 {2–3}.
253. "*Kitāb al-ḥāsil fī 'ilāj al-mafāṣil*" (The Achiever: On the Treatment of Joints), Arabic, 167 {3–4}.
MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 3611, 643 H./1245–46 (seal of Bayezid II).
254. "*Risāla fī al-tā'ūn*" (Treatise on the Plague), Arabic, 167 {4}.
255. "*Risālat bur' al-ālām fī awjā' al-mafāṣil*" (Curing Ills: On Joint Pains), Arabic, 167 {5}.
256. "*Risāla fī waja' al-mafāṣil wa-ghayrihā*" (Treatise on Joint Pains and Other Aches), Arabic, 167 {5–6}.
257. "Abd al-Qāhir b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tūnisī (15th century)." *Kitāb al-ṭibb fī tadbīr al-musāfirīn wa-maraḍ al-tā'ūn* (The Regimen of Travelers and the Plague), [1493], Arabic, auto-graph copy, 167 {6–7}.
258. Volume containing:
258a. Ibn Ḥalwān. *Kitāb al-furūq bayn al-amrād al-mushtabiha* (On the Differences between Similar Diseases), Arabic, 167 {7–8}.
258b. "*Kitāb al-urjūza al-faṣīḥa fī khawāṣṣ al-a'māl al-ṣaḥīḥa*" (The Eloquent Poem on the Active Properties of Right Acts), Arabic, 167 {8–9}.
259. Collection containing:
259a. *Sīrat al-Imām al-Fakhr al-Rāzī ma'a taṣnīfihī*" (Biography and the List of Works of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī), Arabic, 167 {10}.
259b. "*Īdāḥ maḥajjat al-'ilāj*" (Clarifying the Method of Treatment), Arabic, 167 {11}.
259c. "*Risāla fī awjā' al-niqris wa-al-mafāṣil*" (Treatise on Gout and Joint Pains), Arabic, 167 {11–12}.
259d. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī (d. 1329). *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Qāshānī* (Glossary of Technical Terms), Arabic, 167 {12}.
259e. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Risāla fī al-kīmiyā'* (Treatise on Alchemy [The Alchemy of Happiness]), 167 {12–13}.
259f. "*Sharḥ qaṣīdat Dhī al-Nūn al-Ḥākīm fī al-kīmiyā'*" (Commentary on Dhī al-Nūn al-Ḥākīm's Qasida on Alchemy), Arabic, 167 {13–14}.
260. "*Risālat dā' al-asad*" (Treatise on Leontiasis), Arabic, 167 {14}.
261. Volume containing:
261a. "*Risāla fī al-buḥrān*" (Treatise on Critical Days), Arabic, 167 {14–15}.
261b. "*Risālat al-fawā'id al-multaqaṭa min al-Shifā'*" (Selected Extracts from [Ibn Sīnā's] *Book of Healing*), Arabic, 167 {15}.
261c. Other treatises, Arabic, 167 {16}.
262. "Alī al-mutaṭabbib." *Risāla fī al-ḥarāra al-gharīziyya* (Treatise on Natural Heat), Arabic, 167 {16–17}.
[Maṭlab: *al-Qarābādiniyyāt*]: Requested medical formulary volumes checked out:
263. "*Mukhtār fī aqrabādiniyyāt*" (Select Medical Formularies), Arabic, 168 {1}.

264. Volume containing:
- 264a. "*Kitāb qarābādīn*" (Medical Formulary), Turkish, 168 {1–2}.
- 264b. "*Mukhtaṣar Jālīnūs fī al-amrāḍ wa-al-adwiya*" (Epitome of Galen on Diseases and Remedies), 168 {2}.
265. Same as 220, 168 {3–4}.
266. "*Kitāb al-qarābādīn 'alā tartīb al-'ilal min Kitāb al-asbāb wa-al-'alāmāt alladhī ṣannaḥahu al-Samarqandī*" (Medical Formulary Organized According to Diseases, from Samarqandī's *Book of Causes and Symptoms* [see 114]), Arabic, 168 {4–5}.
267. "*Kitāb qarābādīn*" (Medical Formulary), Arabic, in verse, 168 {5–6}.
268. Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Kindī (d. ca. 873). *Kitāb al-talkhīṣ fī qarābādīn* (Précis Medical Formulary), Arabic, 168 {6–7}.
269. Volume containing:
- 269a. "Badī'ī." "*Kitāb qarābādīn*" (Medical Formulary), Arabic, 168 {7–8}.
- 269b. "*Risāla fī al-khamr*" (Treatise on Wine), Arabic, 168 {8}.
270. Volume containing:
- 270a. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Īlāqī (d. 1068). *Muntakhab*¹⁷ *Kullīyyāt al-qānūn* (Selections from Book One of Ibn Sīnā's *Canon of Medicine* [see 63 and 71a]), Arabic, 168 {8–9}.
- 270b. Same as 217, 168 {9–10}.
- 270c. Same as 114, 168 {10–11}.
- 270d. "*Kitāb al-qarābādīn 'alā tartīb al-'ilal*" (Medical Formulary Organized according to Diseases [see 266]), Arabic, 168 {11}.
- 270e. "*Kitāb aṭ'imat al-marḍā*" (Book of Nourishment of the Sick), Arabic, 168 {12}.
- 270f. Other treatises, 168 {12}.
271. Selections containing:
- 271a. "*Kitāb Firdaws al-ḥikma*" (Paradise of Wisdom), Arabic, 168 {13}.
- 271b. "*Maqāla fī al-adwiya al-mufrada al-musta'mala fī al-aqrābādīn*" (Discourse on Simple Remedies Used in Medical Formularies), Arabic, 168 {13–14}.
- [Maṭlab: *al-Mufradāt wa-al-adwiya*] [*'itā' olundi*]. A requested volume deaccessioned as a gift: (Medical Simples and Remedies).
272. Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 1248). *Al-Jāmi' fī al-mufradāt [al-adwiya wa-al-aghdhīya]* (Compendium of Simple Medicaments and Foods), Arabic, 169 {1}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1958 (Karatay A 7309) (seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, A. 2062 (Karatay A 7311) (seal of Bayezid II).
273. Same as above, 169 {1–2}.
274. "*Kitāb taqwīm al-adwiya*" (Table of Remedies), Arabic, 169 {2}.
275. Dioscorides (d. 90). *Kitāb al-ḥashā'ish* (Book of Hashish), includes five discourses, Arabic, 169 {3}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2127 (Karatay A 7191) (seal of Bayezid II).
276. Same as above [and others], book 1, Arabic, 169 {4–5}.
277. Volume containing:
- 277a. Same as above, four discourses, 169 {5–6}.
- 277b. Ḥunayn b. Ishāq (d. 873). *Kitāb al-karm* (On the Grapevine), Arabic, 169 {6–7}.
278. "Badī'ī." *Kitāb ikhtiyārāt fī al-adwiya* (Book of Choice Remedies), Arabic, 169 {7}.
279. Same as above, 169 {8}.
280. "*Kitāb al-i'timād fī dhikr al-adwiya al-mufrada*" (The Reliance: On Simple Remedies), book [...],¹⁸ Arabic, 169 {8–9}.
281. Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 1248). *Kitāb al-mughnī fī al-adwiya al-mufrada bi-ḥasab al-'ilājāt al-makhṣūṣa* (The Ultimate Materia Medica), Arabic, in two volumes, 169 {9–10}.

282. Same as above, book 1, 169 {11–12}.
283. “al-Harawī.” *Kitāb al-mughnī fī al-adwiya al-mufrada* (The Ultimate Materia Medica), Arabic, 169 {12–13}.
284. “*Kitāb manāfi‘ al-ḥayawān*” (On the Uses of Animals), Persian, 169 {13–14}.
285. “al-Wazīrānī al-‘Alā’.” “*Kitāb manāfi‘ al-ḥayawān*” (On the Uses of Animals), Arabic, 169 {14}.
- 285a. Abū Sa‘īd ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Jibrā’īl b. Bakhtīshū’ (d. 1058). *Kitāb manāfi‘ al-ḥayawān* (On the Uses of Animals), Arabic, 169 {15}. MANUSCRIPT: New York Pierpont Morgan Library 500, ca. 1300 (seal of Bayezid II).
286. “*Kitāb manāfi‘ al-ḥayawān*” (On the Uses of Animals), Persian translation, 169 {15–16}.
287. “*Kitāb manāfi‘ al-ḥayawānāt*” (On the Uses of Animals), Arabic, 169 {16–17}.
- [Maṭlab: *Awzān al-ṭibb*]. A requested volume of treatises on medical weights.
288. Volume containing:
- 288a. Ḥunayn b. Ishāq (d. 873). *Risāla fī al-awzān* (Treatise on Weights), Arabic, 169 {17–18}.
- 288b. Qusṭā b. Lūqā al-Ba‘labakkī (d. 912). *Risāla fī al-awzān* (Treatise on Weights), Arabic, 169 {18}.
- 288c. “*Kitāb sharḥ asmā’ al-‘aḳāqīr al-musta‘mala fī ṣinā‘at al-ṭibb*” (Commentary on the Names of Medicinal Herbs Used in the Art of Medicine), Arabic, 169 {18–19}.
289. “*Kitāb al-ṣaydana* [ay al-Taḥarruf bi-jam‘ al-adwiya]” (Book of Pharmacy, i.e., *The Changing: A Compendium of Remedies*), Arabic, 169 {19}–170 {1}.
290. Volume containing:
- 290a. “*Kitāb fī daḳ‘ al-maḳḍarr al-kulliyya li-l-abdān al-insāniyya*” (Averting General Harm to Human Bodies), Arabic, 170 {1–2}.
- 290b. “*Risāla fī al-adwiya al-mufrada*” (Treatise on Simple Remedies), seventeenth discourse, Arabic, 170 {2}.
- 290c. Same as 247b, 170 {3}.
- 290d. “*Kitāb mukhtaṣar fī ṣinā‘at al-ṭibb*” (Epitome on the Art of Medicine), Arabic, 170 {3–4}.
291. Volume containing:
- 291a. “*Kitāb manāfi‘ al-Qur’ān*” (Benefits of the Qur’ān), Arabic, 170 {4}.
- 291b. “*Kitāb al-ṭawāliq al-muḳsida min al-jinn*” (On Divorcée Jinn Who Corrupt), Arabic, 170 {4–5}.
- 291c. “*Risāla fī abdāl al-adwiya al-mufradat wa-al-murakkaba*” (Treatise on Substitute, Simple, and Compound Remedies [see 24c]), Arabic, 170 {5–6}.
- 291d. “*Risāla fī al-aḥjār al-mulūkiyya*” (Treatise on Royal Stones), Arabic, 170 {6}.
- 291e. Ibn Waḥshiyya (9th–10th centuries). *Kitāb al-sumūm* (Book of Poisons), Arabic, 170 {6–7}.
- 291f. Other treatises, 170 {7}.
292. Same as 281, 170 {7–8}.
293. Same as 166, 170 {9–10}.
294. “*Kitāb al-ḥikma al-jāmi‘a fī al-adwiya al-nāfi‘a*” (Book of Total Wisdom: On Useful Remedies), Arabic, 170 {10–11}.
295. Volume containing:
- 295a. “*Kitāb uṣūl tarkīb al-adwiya*” (Principles of Pharmacy), Arabic, 170 {11}.
- 295b. “*Rasā’il naḳṣa fī ghāyat al-naḳṣa*” (Rare Treatises of the Utmost Rarity), Arabic, 170 {11–12}.
296. “*Risāla fī a’rāḳ al-adwiya*” (Treatise on the Peculiar Characteristics of Remedies), Arabic, 170 {12–13}.

297. Volume containing:
 - 297a. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mutanabbī (d. 965). *Risālat naẓm al-Mutanabbī ‘alā waḥq qawl Aristātālīs* (Poem Based on the Sayings of Aristotle), Arabic, 170 {13–14}.
 - 297b. *Risāla khawāṣṣ al-ashyā’* (Treatise on the Active Properties of Things), Arabic, 170 {14}.
298. “Abū Bakr al-Ṭabīb.” *Kitāb muḥradāt ‘alā tartīb ḥurūf abjad* (Simple Remedies Organized according to the Letters of the Alphabet), book 1, Arabic, 170 {14–16}.
299. Collection containing:
 - 299a. *Ḥall al-mushkilāt min al-mughālaṭāt* (Freeing Difficult Issues from Errors), Arabic, 170 {16}.
 - 299b. *‘Risāla ‘alā tartīb al-ḥurūfī asāmī al-adwiya al-mushkila’* (Treatise on the Names of Obscure Remedies, Organized Alphabetically), Arabic, 170 {17}.
300. Same as 272, 170 {18}.
301. *‘Risāla fī tartīb al-adwiya al-mufrada alwāḥan’* (The Organization of Simple Remedies in Charts), Arabic, 170 {19}.
302. Volume containing:
 - 302a. Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). *Kitāb [fī dar‘ al-maḍārr al-kullīyya ‘an al-abdān al-insāniyya bi-] al-tadārūk li-anwā’ khaṭā’ al-tadābir* ([Averting General Harm to Human Bodies through] the Prevention of Various Mistakes in Treatment), Arabic, 171 {2}.
 - 302b. Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). *Risāla al-hindibā’* (Treatise on Endive [*Cichorium endivia*]), Arabic, 171 {2–3}.
 - 302c. Same as 247b, 171 {3–4}.
 - 302d. Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). *Risāla manāfi’ al-sikanjabīn wa-maḍārrihi* (Treatise on the Benefits of Oxytel and Its Harm), Arabic, 171 {4}.
303. Ishāq b. Isrā’īlī (d. ca. 932). *Kitāb al-aghḍhiya* (Book of Foods), in four volumes, Arabic, 171 {6}.
304. *‘Kitāb waṣf al-aṭ’ima al-mu’tāda’* (Characteristics of Ordinary Foodstuffs), Arabic, 171 {6–7}.
305. *‘Risāla fī al-aghḍhiya wa-al-adwiya’* (Treatise on Food and Remedies), Persian, 171 {7–8}.
306. *‘Kitāb al-ṭabikh min al-aṭ’ima’* (Book of Cooked Foodstuffs), Arabic, 171 {8–9}.
307. Volume containing:
 - 307a. Same as above, 171 {9}.
 - 307b. Same as 185a, 171 {9–10}.
 - 307c. Other treatises, 171 {10}.

[Maṭlab: *al-Shumūm wa-daf’ al-shumūm*]. A requested volume checked out: (Odors and Their Removal)
308. Volume containing:
 - 308a. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Tifāshī (d. 1253). *Kitāb azhār al-afkār fī jawāhir al-ahjār* (Book of Flowering Ideas on Gemstones), Arabic, 171 {13}.
 - 308b. *Kitāb al-munqidh min al-halaka fī daf’ maḍārr al-shamā’im al-muhlika* (Book of Rescue from Destruction in Averting the Harms of Dangerous Odors, Arabic, 171 {13–14}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2085 (Karatay A 7339) (seal of Bayezid II).
309. Same as 290e, 171 {14–15}.
310. Ibn Waḥshiyya (9th–10th centuries). *Kitāb al-shumūm* (Book of Odors), Arabic translation from Nabataean, 171 {16}.
311. Volume containing:
 - 311a. *‘Maqāla fī daf’ al-ḥasharāt wa-sumūm al-ḥayyāt’* (Discourse on Defending against Insects and the Poison of Snakes), Arabic, 171 {17}.

- 311b. Same as 209b, 171 {17}.
- 311c. “*Risāla fī khawāṣṣ al-aḥjār*” (Treatise on the Active Propertise of Stones), Arabic, 171 {18}.
- 311d. “*Risāla al-tawālud wa-al-tanāsul*” (Treatise on Reproduction and Procreation), Arabic, 171 {18–19}.
- 311e. “*Risālat aqwāl ma’a sharḥ Ḥunayn*” (Treatise on Various Medical Discourses with Commentary by Ḥunayn b. Ishāq), Arabic, 171 {19}.
312. “*Kitāb al-filāḥa [ya’nī min ḥaythu bayān al-manāfi’ wa-al-khawāṣṣ minhu]*” (Book of Agriculture), in five volumes, 172 {1}.
313. Same as above, book [...],¹⁹ 172 {1–2}.
314. “*Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-filāḥa*” (Epitome of the *Book of Agriculture*), Arabic, 172 {2}.
315. Volume containing:
- 315a. Same as above, 172 {3}.
- 315b. “*Mukhtaṣar fī fiqh al-Shāfi’ī*” (Epitome on Shāfi’i Jurisprudence), Arabic, 172 {3}.
- 315c. “*Risāla fī al-firāsa*” (Treatise on Physiognomy), Persian, 172 {3–4}.
316. “*Kitāb al-filāḥa*” (Book of Agriculture), Arabic, 172 {4–5}.
317. Same as above, book 1, 172 {5}.
318. Same as above, book 2, 172 {6}.
319. Same as above, book 3, 172 {6–7}.
320. Qusṭūs.²⁰ “*Kitāb fī al-filāḥa*” (Book on Agriculture), Arabic, 172 {7–8}.

Entries listed in other sections

321. “*Risāla fī al-ṭibb*” (Treatise on Medicine), Arabic, 60 {11–12}.
322. “*Īdāḥ maḥajjat al-’ilāj fī al-ṭibb*” (Explanation of Treatment Procedures in Medicine), Arabic 129 {4–5}.
323. Same as 221, 184 {3}.
324. “*Kitāb al-furūsiyya wa-al-bayṭara min qibal al-ṭibb wa-umūr al-salṭana [ay al-’ulūm al-muta’alliqa bi-al-fāris al-muḥārib]*” (Book of Horsemanship and Veterinary Medicine, on medicine’s pertinence to affairs of state [i.e., the sciences pertaining to horseman and warrior]) Persian, 199 {4}.
325. Same as above, 199 {5}.
326. Same as above, 199 {6}.
327. “*Kitāb jāmi’ fī al-bayṭara*” (Comprehensive Book of Veterinary Medicine), Arabic, 199 {7}.
328. “*Kitāb naḥs fī ’ilm al-bayṭara*” (Rare Book on the Science of Veterinary Medicine), Arabic, 199 {7}.
329. “*Kitāb fī ’ilm al-bayṭara*” (Book on the Science of Veterinary Medicine), Arabic, 199 {7–8}.
330. “*Kitāb al-bayṭara al-ma’rūf bi-Bayṭar-nāma*” (Book on the Science of Veterinary Medicine, known as the *Veterinary Book*), Arabic, 199 {8}.
331. “*Risāla fārisiyya fī ’ilm al-bayṭara*” (Book on the Science of Veterinary Medicine), Persian, 199 {8–9}.
332. Volume containing:
- 332a. “*Bayṭar-nāma bi-al-fārisiyya*” (Book of Veterinary Medicine), Persian, 199 {9}.
- 332b. “*Bayṭar-nāma*” (Book of Veterinary Medicine), 199 {9–10}.
- 332c. Same as above, 199 {10}.
333. “*Kitāb al-khayl wa-al-furūsiyya*” (Book on Horses and Horsemanship), Arabic, 199 {10–11}.
334. “*Kitāb asmā’ al-adwiya al-ṭibbiyya*” (Book on Names of Remedies), Arabic, 299 {3–4}.
335. “*Kitāb al-ṭibb*” (Book on Medicine), Arabic, 307 {4}.
336. Same as 220, 307 {7}.

337. "*Dhakhīrat al-Iskandar fī al-ṭilasmāt al-‘ajība wa-kunnāsh al-khuff tarjamat Ishāq*²¹ b. Ḥunayn" (Treasure of Alexander: On Wonderous Talismans, and a Notebook of Medical Observations translated by Ishāq b. Ḥunayn), Arabic, 309 {5–6}.
338. "*Risāla fī al-nujūm wa-al-ṭibb*" (Treatise on Astrology and Medicine), Persian, 318 {16–17}.
339. "*Jāmi‘ al-qismayn min al-riyāḍī wa-al-ṭabī‘ī fī al-nujūm wa-al-ṭibb*" (Collection of the Two Parts, Mathematical and Natural [Sciences]: On Astrology and Medicine), Arabic, 319 {16–17}.
340. "*Majmū‘at rasā’il Ibn Sīnā fī al-manṭiq wa-al-ḥikma al-falsafīyya wa-al-ṭibb wa-ghayrihā*" (Collection of Treatises by Ibn Sīnā on logic, philosophy, medicine, and other disciplines), Arabic, 356 {13–14}.
341. Same as above, 356 {14–15}.

NOTES

1. This work, which was falsely ascribed to Hippocrates, was known under several titles, such as *Kitāb al-buthūr*, *Risāla al-qaḍāyā*, and *Kitāb al-sirr*. For further information, see: <https://www.nlm.nih.gov/hmd/arabic/hippocratic.html>.
2. The book number is left blank in the text.
3. The book number is not mentioned.
4. GAS III:129: *K. fī al-adwīya al-munqīya*.
5. This must be an erroneous rendering of Hippocrates's *On Epidemics*; it should read as "abīdimiyā."
6. GAS III:79: *K. Arāsīs*.
7. Although the manuscript has a *kasra*, it is generally read with a *ḍamma*, *wuṣṣla*.
8. GAS III:295.
9. Al-Jurjānī wrote the book in two elongated narrow volumes that travelers could carry in each of their riding boots. Al-Jurjani probably adopted this title from one of Ḥunayn b. Ishāq's works. See Edward G. Browne, ed. *Chāhar Maqāla* ("Four Discourses") of Nizāmī-l-'Arūḍī of Samarqand (London: Luzac & Co., 1921), 158–59.
10. This entry was transliterated as *Risāla fī al-fārisīyya* (Treatise in Persian); however, I believe it should be *Risāla fī al-firāsa* (Treatise on Physiognomy).
11. The manuscript clearly and incorrectly spells the term *ramil*.
12. Probably meant to be the *Tansūq-nāma-i Ilkhānī*.
13. The manuscript has a clear *ḍamma* above the *rā'*.
14. Written sideways in the right-hand margin in same hand.
15. A definite article has been erased and there is a clear *tanwīn fathā*.
16. The manuscript has a *kasra* under the *ḥā'*. A similar title (by al-Rāzī) is *al-Ḥaṣā fī al-kulā wa-al-mathāna* (GAS III:288).
17. The manuscript has both *ḍamma* and *kasra* under the *bā'*.
18. Not mentioned in the text.
19. Not mentioned in the text.
20. The author is clearly not recognized by 'Atufi: the manuscript has a *fathā* above the *qāf* and *tā'*, and a *yā'*, reading *Qaṣṭawīs*. Cf. GAS IV:317f.
21. The manuscript has omitted the long /a/: Ishāq.

“BOOKS ON AGRICULTURE (*AL-FILĀḤA*) PERTAINING TO MEDICAL SCIENCE” AND OTTOMAN AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE AND PRACTICE AROUND 1500

The inventory of the royal library of Sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512), compiled in 908 (1502/3), has nine entries on “agriculture.” Rather than the more accepted term *filāḥa*, the inventory renders agriculture as *falāḥa*, and categorizes books on the subject under the heading “pertaining to” (*min qibali*) “medicine” (*ṭibb*).¹ This section on medicine, which is twenty-one pages long, includes 340 entries, some consisting of multiple volumes and compendiums.² Books on agriculture are listed on the final page. Only one of these books, the *Kitāb Qaṣṭawīs* (Book of Qastawīs), is given a specific title, while the rest are listed with generic names: *Kitāb al-Falāḥa* (Book on Agriculture), or *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Falāḥa* (Abbreviated Book on Agriculture).

Here, I will try to identify the books on agriculture in the inventory through a study of available manuscripts in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library and in the Süleymaniye Library that bear the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II.³ I will demonstrate that the library’s holdings on agriculture were dominated by the two earliest known Arabic works on agriculture. The first work, sometimes translated in Arabic as the *Kitāb al-Zarʿ* (Book on Planting) but more commonly known as the “Book of Qastus” or the *Al-Filāḥa al-Rūmīya* (Roman Agriculture), was originally written in Greek by the sixth-century author Cassianus Bassus Scholasticus (Qaṣṭūs b. Iskūlastika). Though the original Greek version is lost, there are two extant Arabic translations, the earliest dating to the ninth century.⁴ The second major work on agriculture is *Al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭīya* (Nabataean Agriculture), which was based on earlier Syriac sources and translated in 291 (903/4) by Abu Bakr Ahmad ibn Ali ibn Qays al-Kasdani, also known as Ibn Wahshiyya, a scholar from Iraq.⁵

That these two works were or would soon be considered canonical for Ottoman scholars is shown by the fact that they are by far the most cited works in the *Revnaḳ-ı Būstān* (Splendor of the Garden), the earliest and most influential book on agriculture written in Ottoman Turkish. The first extant copy of this book dates to 1577, but it may have been composed earlier in the sixteenth century.⁶ In the introduction, the anonymous author states that he “submitted to the opinions of wise men” (*āḳvāl-i ḥukemāya ittibāʿ*) that he found in “books on agriculture” (*kütüb-i filāḥa*), as well as “what [he] had heard from the practitioners” (*ehl-i tecrībeden istimāʿ eyledügüm*). He claims that he decided to write the treatise during the “construction” (*taʿmīr*) of his own “garden” (*ravza*) near Edirne.⁷ Throughout the text, the author relies on ancient scholars also cited in the *Nabataean Agriculture*, such as “Ṣaghriṯh” and “Yanbūshād”; he further references “Qaṣṭūs.” Whether the author gained his knowledge of Ibn Wahshiyya’s and Qastus’s works from the copies held in the palace library is uncertain. However, the emphasis he places on these works, out of the dozens of agricultural treatises circulating in the Eastern Mediterranean at the time, is striking. It suggests that the royal library may have played an important role in the production of agricultural knowledge and its dissemination, even outside the palace, or that the palace may have collected books that were already part of a wider discourse in the Ottoman learned society. Indeed, members of the palace administration and janissaries—the same kinds of people who may have had access to the royal library—were investing in commercial farming in Edirne and across Thrace by the mid-sixteenth century.⁸

The roots of a burgeoning Ottoman discourse on agriculture can thus be investigated by tracking the acquisition of books on the subject in the palace library. As I will argue, the interest in agricultural works had already been growing among Ottoman scholars and other urban elites: Wahshiyya's and Qastus's works would have been sought after by an audience that, by the first decade of the sixteenth century, was heavily invested in the establishment of new agricultural spaces in and around the capital Istanbul. The Ottoman palace administration itself had a vested interest in agriculture, as it transformed land into royal gardens that grew produce to be sold on the market. By the 1520s, "royal gardens" (*bāğçeḥā-i ḥāṣṣa*) had proliferated around Istanbul, expanding to other areas outside the city walls and along the Bosphorus. Seven of these royal gardens yielded an income of 150,752 aspers (*aḳçe*) in 1524–25 for the Inner Treasury from the sale of flowers, vegetables, and fruits, presumably on the Istanbul market.⁹ At the same time, produce gardens were becoming standard features of sultanī charitable foundation complexes. Thus, the presence in the royal library of the two "seeds" of a canon on agriculture—texts that the author of the *Revnaḳ-ı Būstān* cites alongside what he learned from practitioners—should be seen against the background of an increased interest in commercial farming. At the end of this essay, I will briefly note a parallel process that unfolded in the first two decades of the sixteenth century in late Mamluk Cairo, where manuscripts on agriculture were collected, copied, and written.

The clean copy of the inventory from 1503/4 has a subheading: "Description of books on medicine and [what is related to medicine with respect to books on toxicology and agriculture] (*Tafṣīlu al-kutub al-ṭibbiyyati [wa-mā yata'allāqu bi-al-ṭibbi bi-jihatin min al-jihāti kakutubi al-sumūmi wa-kutubi al-falāḥati]*)."¹⁰ The second part of the subheading, indicated above in brackets, is written in smaller letters over the words "Description of books on medicine," in the empty space the librarian had left for additional books in the previous section (on mysticism, etc.). The second part of the subheading, which appears to have been a correction to the first part, is also found verbatim in the table of contents at the beginning of the inventory. This is the only case in the inventory where part of a subheading is written in small-

er letters above the rest of the subheading. It is possible that the scribe transcribing the inventory in a clean copy in 1503/4 made updates to the original version, which was drawn up in 1502/3. The creation of the inventory should therefore not be seen as a finite event, but rather as an ongoing process. Indeed, this is already shown by the empty spaces that were left throughout the inventory, especially the spaces at the end of each section intended for inserting new titles. At the end of the section on medicine, directly after the listing of books on agriculture, there are three empty pages.¹¹ The placement of all nine books on agriculture at the very end of the section on medicine may reflect the physical arrangement of these books in the royal library, where the books on agriculture were most likely clustered in a single shelf that served as the kernel for a growing field of interest.

Extant manuscripts on agriculture held today in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library and elsewhere further indicate that the palace library acquired more works on the subject soon after the inventory was drawn up. For instance, there is a copy of the fourth part (*juz*) of the *Nabataean Agriculture* now in the Topkapı library that, according to the flyleaf, was created "by order of the treasury" (*bi-rasm khizānati*) of the Mamluk sultan Qansuh al-Ghawri (r. 1501–16).¹² This manuscript may have been brought to Istanbul, together with the third part (*al-juz' al-thalās*) of the *Nabataean Agriculture* now in the Süleymaniye Library's Turhan Sultan collection (which originated in the palace library), by the Ottoman sultan Selim I (r. 1512–20) following the conquest of Cairo.¹³ The Leiden University Library holds the eighth volume (*al-juz' al-thāmin*) from this same copy of the *Nabataean Agriculture*, which is likewise dedicated to Qansuh al-Ghawri.¹⁴ It is part of the collection of books that the Dutch ambassador in Istanbul, Levinus Warner (d. 1665), assembled during his stay in Istanbul. More research should be undertaken regarding which of the books that had been removed from the royal library of Qansuh al-Ghawri were acquired by the royal library in Istanbul, and how such works relate to the specific scholarly interests reflected in the inventory.

As noted above, of the nine books on agriculture listed in this section, the inventory lists only one work by its title: *Kitāb Qasṭawīs* (Book of Qastawīs). This



Fig. 1. Flyleaf of the Book of Qaṣṭawīs, recorded in the inventory of 1503/4, TSMK, EH 1700, fol. 1a.

corresponds to the title of a manuscript now held in the Topkapı Palace library collection, which is vocalized in the same distinctive manner: "Qaṣṭawīs" instead of "Qaṣṭūs." The manuscript also bears an almond-shaped seal that is damaged, as if someone had tried to erase it. What remains of the seal, however, strongly resembles the seal of Bayezid II.¹⁵ The flyleaf also contains two legible ownership notes, of a "Mehmed known as Süleyman Ağazade" and of a shaykh from the Mevlevi order, "Haṣmet Dede el-Mevlevi." Two further notes have been erased to the point of illegibility, which may represent an attempt to destroy evidence that the manuscript was part of the collection of the royal library, just like the erasure of the seal (fig. 1). It is also possible that these

owners, who have yet to be identified, possessed the manuscript before it entered the royal library. At any rate, the ownership notes indicate that this manuscript had a prior life, or an afterlife, outside of the royal library. Our inventory records several manuscripts that were "given away" (*itā' olundu*), including the *al-Jāmi'u fī al-mufradāti li-Ibn al-Bayṭār* (Compendium of Ibn al-Baytar),¹⁶ a thirteenth-century Andalusian pharmacopoeia focused on various plants and their medicinal uses. Some of the books on agriculture listed in the inventory may have been borrowed from the library, perhaps by palace gardeners or physicians. Other high-ranking bureaucrats, scholars, or practitioners may have also desired to consult these works. In an entry on the village of Müderris, north of Istanbul, the 1498 tax survey of the Haslar district records eight "farm estates of members of the state council and others" (*çiftlikhā-i şudūr-ehl-i dīvān ma'a ğayrihim*). Among these are viziers, a chief judge (*kāzī 'asker*), a *şeyhülislām*, and a janissary, all of whom may have had access to the royal library.¹⁷

As an assessment of the collection, one purpose of the inventory may have been to open the way for new acquisitions. At any rate, the moment such a list was drawn up, it must have created a new consciousness or awareness about the state of knowledge in various fields. The 161-page *Risāla fī al-Ṭā'ūn* (Treatise on the Plague), now in the British Library, has a chronogram on its flyleaf indicating that it entered the Inner Treasury in the year 917 (1510/11). The book bears two seal impressions, and although they are almost completely erased, they appear to reflect the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II¹⁸ (fig. 2). Since the same title is recorded in the inventory,¹⁹ which was compiled before the date on the flyleaf, this means that the library must have received a second copy of the treatise after the inventory was completed. A work on the plague would have had a special importance in the first decade of the sixteenth century, when the Ottoman administration was attempting to control the spread of the plague, as it continued to do thereafter.²⁰ As previously mentioned, a similar trajectory can be discerned with the arrival of copies of the *Nabataean Agriculture* in the royal library from the newly conquered Cairo in 1517.

How can we identify the other books on agriculture recorded in the inventory whose titles are not given?

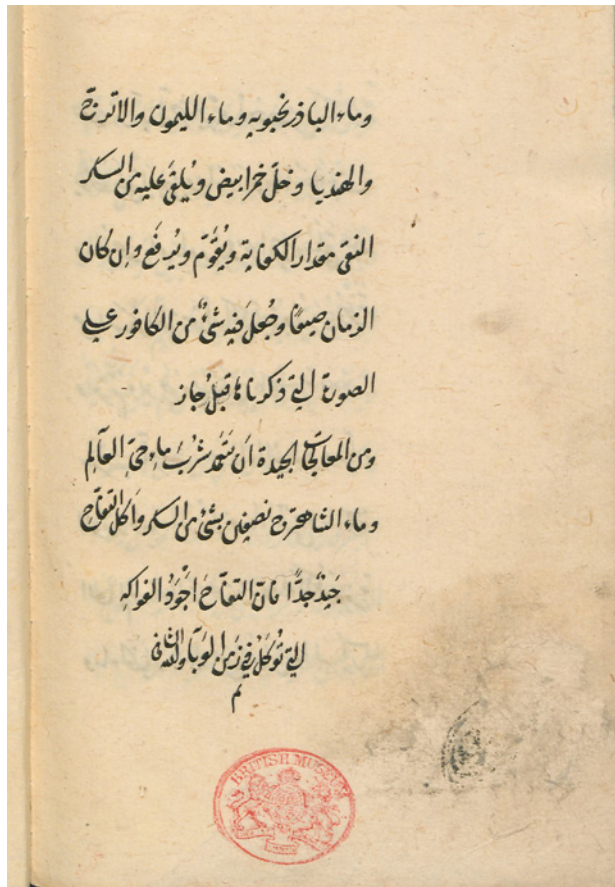


Fig. 2. The last page of *Risāla fī al-Ṭāʿūn* (Treatise on the Plague), which entered the Topkapı Palace Library in 1510/11. British Library, MS Or. 9009, fol. 1a.

Though the first eight entries of books on agriculture have generic names, it is possible to establish that the fourth, an “Abbreviated Book on Agriculture” (*Mukhtaṣaru Kitābi al-falāḥati*), was in fact the book by Qastus. The inventory describes it as being bound together in “one volume” (*mujalladin wāḥidin*), together with an abbreviated work on Shafīʿi jurisprudence and an abbreviated work on physiognomy written in Persian (*Mukhtaṣaru Kitābi al-falāḥati min qibali al-ṭibbi wa-mukhtaṣarun fī fiḥhi al-Shāfiʿi wa-risālatun fārisiyyatun fī al-firāsati fī mujalladin wāḥidin*).²¹ A volume that fits this description and that also bears seals of Bayezid II on its flyleaf and last page is held today in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul (fig. 3).²² A note on the title

page of this work describes it in an identical manner as in the inventory: “abbreviated book on agriculture related to medicine and abbreviated [book] on Shafīʿi jurisprudence and a treatise (*risāla*) on physiognomy (*firāsa*).”²³ The treatise on physiognomy is indeed in Persian. The note on the manuscript may thus have been written by the same royal librarian(s) that drew up the inventory for Bayezid II. This book on agriculture must be identical to the “Book of *Qaṣṭawīs*” now in the Topkapı Palace library collection, which, as we have seen, was recorded in the same distinctive way in the inventory.²⁴ Moreover, that this work was listed among books on agriculture, even though its multiple volumes treat various subjects, is itself significant. In the Ottoman Turkish preface of the inventory, under the “rules of the register and its exceptions,” the librarian notes that, “if there are multiple books in a volume, it is with regard to the book which is more esteemed and whose probability of being requested is higher, or else is rare, that the bound volume is included with books under the aforesaid book’s discipline.”²⁵ Qastus’s volume on agriculture may thus have been the most requested and in demand among readers with access to the royal library.

The current collection in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library has at least six volumes on agriculture that clearly bear the seal of Bayezid II.²⁶ While additional research should be done on these manuscripts, they seem to be abbreviations or selections of the *Nabataean Agriculture* by Ibn Wahshiyya, which traditionally consists of seven parts.²⁷ In each of these six manuscripts, the royal librarian inserted a note on the flyleaf and first page to classify them as volumes of a “book on agriculture pertaining to medicine.” These notes strongly mirror the titles found in the palace library inventory. Four of these notes also specify that the manuscripts are a particular volume of a multivolume work: the second,²⁸ third,²⁹ fourth,³⁰ and fifth “volumes”³¹ of a “book on agriculture pertaining to medicine.” There are also adjacent notes, written in what looks to be a different hand, which specify that the books are “parts” (*juz*) of the *Nabataean Agriculture*. These notes appear to have been made at the time the copies were completed, and to have preceded the information added by the royal librarian. In three cases, the numbers of the parts of the *Nabataean Agriculture* that the notes provide do not

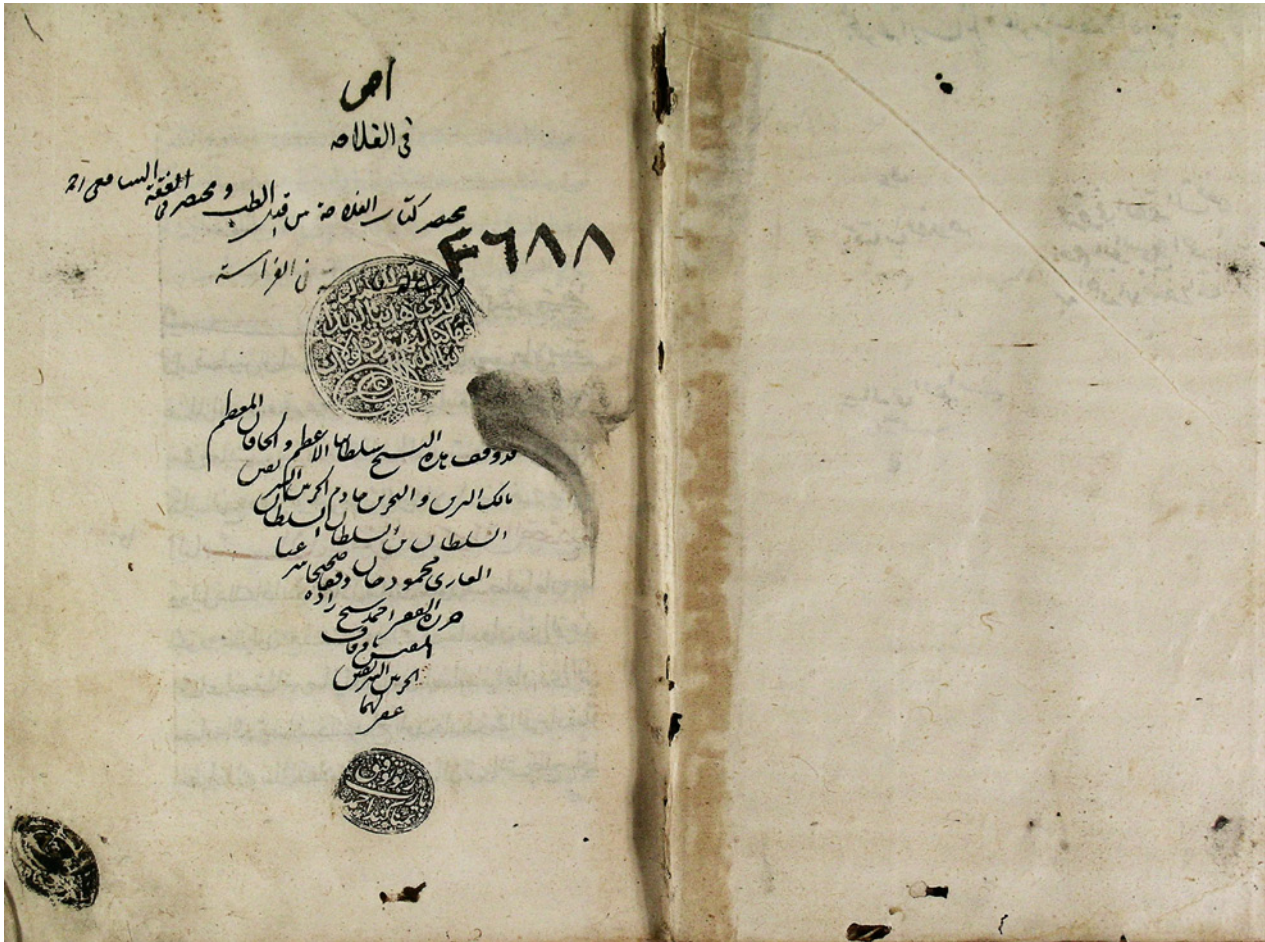


Fig. 3. The flyleaf explaining the contents of the volume: a book on agriculture, a book on Shafi'i jurisprudence, and a treatise (*risāla*) on physiognomy. Recorded in the Topkapı Palace book inventory from 1503/4. Today in the Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, SK Ayasofya MS 3688, fol. 1a.

correspond to the numbers written on the books by the royal librarian: what the royal librarian identifies as a "third volume," the titular note says is the fifth part of the *Nabataean Agriculture*; the "fourth volume" is the sixth part; and the "fifth volume" is the seventh part.

In the inventory, the first book on farming that appears under the relevant heading is *Kitābu al-falāḥati min qibali al-ṭibbi fī khamsi mujalladāt* (Book on Agriculture pertaining to Medicine in five volumes).³² This may refer to the four volumes now in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, which are numbered by the royal librarian from the "second" to the "fifth" volumes, with the first one apparently missing. The extant volumes

were not copied by a single hand, and the manuscripts are of relatively low quality, suggesting they were not made for the royal library but rather were earlier copies acquired by the palace administration. Indeed, there is at least one book on agriculture in the Topkapı Library bearing the seal of Bayezid II that was produced much earlier in the Mamluk lands and that must have been acquired before the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517.³³ According to the colophon, this book was copied at the beginning of the winter of 733 (1332/33) in Alexandria.³⁴

Thus, while the inventory does not list the "five volumes" of the "abbreviated work on agriculture" indi-

vidually by title, a study of the present-day collection of books on agriculture in the Topkapı Library reveals that these were indeed “abbreviated” versions or selections of the *Nabataean Agriculture*. The absence of Ibn Wahshiyya’s name in the inventory is striking. Yet it may have been that, just as Arabic authors often referred to Aristotle simply as the “author of the Logic” (*ṣāhib al-mantiq*), Ibn Wahshiyya’s work was canonical enough that his name did not need to be specified. The inventory lists several copies of the *‘Ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharā’ib al-mawjūdāt* (Wonders of Creation and the Strange Things Existing) by al-Qazwini (d. 1283), in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian.³⁵ In sections on fruit trees and vegetables, this work notably quotes “the author of the Agriculture” (*ṣāhib al-falāḥa*), a reference to Ibn Wahshiyya.³⁶

When did books on agriculture first enter the royal library? In fact, a written discourse on agriculture had already been emerging in Istanbul during the reign of Bayezid II’s father, Mehmed II (r. 1451–81), who was the founder of the royal library collection at the Topkapı Palace. A copy of the *Nabataean Agriculture* now in the Beyazıt Library in Istanbul has a colophon indicating it was copied for Mehmed II, without specifying a date.³⁷ In the Yapı Kredi Sermet Çifter Library, there is also another manuscript entitled *Felāḥātnāme* (Book on Agriculture), written in Turkish, whose scribe specifies that he copied it in 1027 (1617) and attributes it to the Timurid astronomer-mathematician ‘Ali al-Qushji (d. 1474), a member of Mehmed II’s court in the early 1470s.³⁸ Only seven pages long, the work is bound together with a copy of the *Revnak-ı Būstān*. It treats such subjects as the planting and grafting of trees, and the making of olive oil and vinegar. This short work on agriculture, which was later attributed to ‘Ali al-Qushji, has drawn little attention in scholarship. ‘Ali al-Qushji is not known to have produced a work in Turkish, however, preferring instead Arabic and Persian, which were the main languages of the sciences in the fifteenth century. The scribe, writing in 1617, by which time (following the *Revnak-ı Būstān*) there was a tradition of Ottoman Turkish books on agriculture, may have simply invented the attribution.

Yet ‘Ali al-Qushji’s arrival in Istanbul circa 1472 coincided with an increased economic interest in agriculture among the Ottoman administration. The new

mosque complex of Mehmed II, completed in 1470, earned considerable income from fruits, vegetables, and flowers planted in its four gardens, which are referred to in the records as “the garden of the new mosque” (*bāğçe-i cāmi‘-i cedīd*), “the garden of the hospital” (*bāğçe-i dār al-ṣifā*), “the garden of the hospice” (*bāğçe-i ‘imāret*), and “the garden of the pantry” (*bāğçe-i kilār*).³⁹ Moreover, in 1465, construction had been completed on the “New Palace” later known as Topkapı, the gardens of which were described by a contemporary historian as “abounding in various sorts of plants and trees, and producing beautiful fruit.”⁴⁰ The 1505 inventory of the Inner Treasury at the Topkapı Palace lists the income of the imperial garden as two coffers of 150,000 and 100,000 aspers each.⁴¹ Another contemporary source states that the gardens’ produce was sold at the piazza in front of the Topkapı Palace’s main gate.⁴² Commercial farming was thus emerging both as a form of royal self-representation and as a means of generating income. The interest in agricultural knowledge at the time also resonates with developments taking place in northern Italy; it is perhaps no accident that a number of artists and scholars from that region rendered their services to Mehmed II.⁴³ In 1472, the Roman-period agricultural works of Cato, Varro, Columella, and Palladius were edited and published as *Scriptores Rei Rusticae* in Venice.⁴⁴ In such an environment, it is quite plausible that ‘Ali al-Qushji indeed wrote the short work on agriculture that would be attributed to him. Just a few decades later, another Iranian astronomer would venture to write about farming: ‘Abd al-‘Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Husayn al-Birjandi (d. 1525) wrote a book in Persian at the turn of the sixteenth century entitled *Ma‘rifat-i Falāḥat: Davāz-dah Bāb-i Kishāvarz* (Expertise in Agriculture: Twelve Chapters on Agriculture).⁴⁵ From Italy to Central Asia, then, agricultural knowledge was gaining currency at that time.

If studied on its own, the cross-referential web of books in the palace library inventory and beyond begins to loom so large that it can seem to provide its own context. It is perhaps for this reason that the work of ‘Ali al-Qushji, like that of other scholars, is so often characterized as unfolding in a kind of “ivory tower,” separate from the economic and spatial realities of Istanbul. Likewise, from the inventory alone, one might assume that there was little interest in agriculture in the Ottoman

scholarly world. Yet we should bear in mind that the inventory tells only part of the story. Primary sources, though scattered and still under-researched, imply that there was already an Ottoman written discourse on agriculture at the time.⁴⁶ Earlier Ottoman epistemology had already recognized agriculture as a distinct body of knowledge (*ilm*). The influential Ottoman scholar and statesman Muhammad Shah al-Fanari (d. 1435) includes the science of farming (*ilm al-filāḥa*) in the classification of the sciences in his *Unmūdhaj al-ʿulūm* (Program of the Sciences) of 1424.⁴⁷ He names three fundamentals (*uṣūl*) of this *ilm*: evaluating the soil, protecting grains such as wheat and barley after the harvest, and cultivating a grape with healing properties.

As mentioned above, the *waqf* income and expenditure records of Mehmed II's mosque complex in Istanbul from 1489–90 refer to a garden "of the hospital" with its own gardener named 'Abdullah, who grew "fruits and roses" (*meyve ve gül*) and was paid two aspers per day.⁴⁸ Yet apparently the produce of the garden was not enough to satisfy the hospital's needs; the same records note large sums spent by the hospital on fruits, vegetables, and flowers.⁴⁹ The link between agriculture and medicine reflected in the 1502–3 palace library inventory was rooted in actual medical practice and the institutional role that knowledge about agriculture played therein. Indeed, the aforementioned manuscript on the plague that entered the royal library in 1510–11 strongly emphasizes prevention and cure by the consumption of many of the same fruits, vegetables, and flowers that were purchased by the hospital in the complex of Mehmed II.⁵⁰

The two Turkish translations of the endowment deed of Bayezid II's charitable foundation in Edirne, which was established in 1488, show evolving provisions related to the gardeners. Both state that "someone knowledgeable" (*māḥir kişi*) in the "science of farming" (*fenn-i filāḥat*) should be appointed as the gardener in the mosque complex,⁵¹ which incorporated a hospital, a hospice, and a school. The translations also stipulate that two assistants should be appointed for the gardener; they specify that the gardener's monthly salary would be 120 aspers [twice the salary of Abdullah above] and the salary of the assistants would be 90 aspers. Importantly, the work of the assistants is defined as *bostāncılık*—"gardening," but specifically in the sense of

working in a produce garden or *bostānluk*. The use of differentiated terms to refer to the different labors of the master gardener and the apprentices—the science of farming for the former, and *bostāncılık* for the latter—is striking. Moreover, rather than the more common *bostān*, "orchard," the document uses a variant of the vernacular *bostānluk*, which seems to have been specifically connected to produce gardens in urban areas during this period. For instance, the 1455 Ottoman survey of Galata and Istanbul names in the "Quarter of Samona" a poor Armenian named Marko, who rented a "produce garden" (*bostānluk*) from the state treasury in the moat of the Galata city walls.⁵²

We have seen how the inclusion of books on agriculture in the inventory, and the royal library's ongoing acquisition of such books, shortly preceded the creation of a novel work on the subject in Ottoman Turkish. Interestingly, a similar trajectory can be traced in the first decades of the sixteenth century in Cairo, where the Damascene scholar Radi al-Din al-Ghazzi (d. 1529) wrote a novel work entitled *Jāmiʿ farāʿid al-milāḥa fī jawāmiʿ fawāʿid al-filāḥa* (Complete Rules for Elegance in All the Uses of Farming).⁵³ Though Ghazzi was renowned as a judge and scholar in Damascus, this manuscript was written in Cairo in 1510–11, according to a colophon in the copy of the work now held in the National Library in Cairo.⁵⁴ The British Library copy of Ghazzi's book contains an ownership note in Arabic of one Ahmad bin Mohammad bin Hasan al-Samsuni,⁵⁵ most likely the son of the prominent Ottoman scholar and judge Molla Muhyiddin Mehmed b. Molla Hasan el-Samsuni, who died in 919 (1513/14).⁵⁶ Another note at the end of this copy also records that it was purchased in 1551 in Istanbul⁵⁷—clear proof that Ghazzi's work was available to Ottoman scholars in the first half of the sixteenth century.

In 1503/4—the same year our copy of the royal library inventory was drawn up in Istanbul—the Mamluk envoy Emir Azbak traveled to the Ottoman court to deliver "four prize horses for Ibn 'Uthman [i.e., the Ottoman sultan], with bales of seeds of Egyptian clover (*bersīm*) for the horses' fodder."⁵⁸ It is worth noting that Ghazzi's treatise on farming, which was soon received in the Ottoman scholarly world, included an entry on Egyptian clover, describing it as a fodder plant for animals such as horses, and specifying that it should be

planted every year.⁵⁹ In the first decades of the sixteenth century, both clover seeds and a book describing methods for cultivating them traveled between Cairo and Istanbul, as did a scholar who was highly knowledgeable about agriculture. Plants were also increasingly on the move within the various regions of the Mamluk state itself. The Mamluk historian Ibn Iyas (d. 1522) states that various fruiting and flowering trees were imported in 1506–7 from northern Syria to Cairo, with their roots earthed in wooden boxes, and were planted in the newly constructed garden beneath the citadel.⁶⁰

Around 1500, a debate was also intensifying between Mamluk Cairo and Ottoman Istanbul over the right to rule the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina. The Mamluk envoy Janibak in the court of Bayezid II was told that the Holy Cities should be ruled by someone with royal lineage, “sultan son of the sultan” (*sultān bin sultān*)—that is, Bayezid II—rather than the son of unbelievers, a dig at Mamluk rulers’ non-royal non-Muslim origins. Janibak answered that knowledge was more important than descent.⁶¹ The creation of the palace library inventory may thus have been fueled, at least to some degree, by intellectual competition with the Mamluks. In 1505, Bayezid II and Qansuh al-Ghawri paralleled each other by establishing large charitable foundations in the centers of Istanbul and Cairo. Large Ottoman sultanic foundations had already been established in the late fifteenth century in Istanbul (1470), Amasya (1484), and Edirne (1488). The growth of the royal library of Bayezid II must have been connected to the rise of these sprawling complexes, centers of learning with their own endowed public libraries that probably received books or copies from the royal library.

Finally, the emphasis placed on the “Book of Qastawis,” the work referred to in at least two of the nine entries on agriculture in the palace library inventory, may have broader significance. The introduction to this work describes its author as a “scholar of Rum” (*‘ālim al-Rūm*), an area the Ottomans associated with the Balkans and Anatolia, lands that had been part of the ancient Roman empire.⁶² To be a “Rumi” was to know, refer to, and implement those compendia of knowledge created by the “ancient” Rumis. An interest in Qastus’s work may thus have reflected particular concerns about geography, identity, and what kinds of agricultural pro-

duction and knowledge were specific to Ottoman regions. The agricultural knowledge of a “scholar of Rum” like Qastus would have been desirable to a new Ottoman elite eager to self-identify as Roman. Qastus had gone into much greater depth than any other author about grapevines: detailing their planting, grafting, tending, and processing into wine and vinegar. Grapevines are the first tree Qastus discusses, and he devotes an entire part (*juzʿ*) to them.⁶³ (By contrast, Ibn Wahshiyā gives the pride of place to the olive tree.)⁶⁴ It is therefore striking that the author of the *Revnaḳ-ı Būstān*, too, focuses overwhelmingly on grapevines and discusses them at length. Qastus is the first author he cites, and he refers to Qastus a number of times, particularly with regard to grapevines.

The nine entries on agriculture listed in the inventory may seem minor in comparison to the several thousand volumes listed in total. However, the incorporation of “agriculture” in the name of a subsection on medicine that includes only nine books on agriculture is in itself significant. The royal library’s collection of books on agriculture should be seen in light of the growing interest in agriculture among the palace administration and various urban elites, many of whom by the end of the fifteenth century were already invested in farming operations around Istanbul. By the time the *Revnaḳ-ı Būstān* was written in the mid-sixteenth century, this process would accelerate further. The books on agriculture listed in the inventory were the seeds of an agricultural canon that would soon bear fruit in the creation of a novel work in Ottoman Turkish. Numerous copies of the *Revnaḳ-ı Būstān* are found throughout former Ottoman lands in manuscript libraries stretching from Mosstar to Damascus.⁶⁵ Thus, the case of books on agriculture suggests that the inventory of Bayezid II’s palace library should be seen as a fascinating record of scholarly interests in flux.

NOTES

1. MS Török F. 59, 172 {1–8}. On the use of both vocalizations, *falāḥ* and *filāḥa* in Arabic medieval dictionaries, see Edward William Lane, “Filaha,” in *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, England: Islamic Texts Society, 1984), 2:2439.

2. MS Török F. 59, 151–72.
3. Several sultans used almond-shaped seals. The seal of Bayezid II bears the inscription "Bāyezīd bin Mehmed Ḥān muẓaffer dāimā" (Bayezid son of Mehmed Han is forever victorious). See Günay Kut and Nimet Bayraktar, *Yazma Eserlerde Vakıf Mühürleri* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1984), 20–21.
4. Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. IV (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971), 317–18; Julia Maria Carabazo Bravo, "La Filāḥa yūnāniyya et les traités agricoles arabo-andalous," *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 12, no. 1 (2002): 155–78; and Bachir Attié, "L'origine d'al Falaha ar-rumiyya et du pseudo-Qustus," *Hesperis-Tamuda* XIII (1972): 139–81; Julius Ruska, "Cassianus Bassus Scholasticus und die arabischen Versionen der griechischen Landwirtschaft," *Der Islam* 5 (1914): 174–79. There are two editions of the translations: *Qusṭā b. Lūqā, al-Filāḥa ar-Rūmiyya*, ed. Wā'il 'Abd al-Rahīm A'ubayd (Amman, 1999); and Qastūs Ibn Iskulastīqa, *Kitāb al-Zar'*, ed. Būrāwī al-Ṭarābulī (Qarṭāj: al-Majma' al-Thaqāfi lil-'Ulūm wa-al-Ādāb wa-al-Funūn, 2010).
5. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 4:318–29; Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *The Last Pagans of Iraq: Ibn Waḥshiyya and the Nabatean Agriculture* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 10.
6. For an edition and introduction to this work, see Zafer Önler, *Revnak-i Bustan* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2000).
7. Ibid., 22.
8. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Edirne Askeri Kassamı'na Âit Tereke Defterleri (1545–1659)," *TTK Belgeler* 3, nos. 5–6 (1966): 50–53. See also Aleksandar Shopov, "Between the Pen and the Fields: Books on Farming, Changing Land Regimes, and Urban Agriculture in the Ottoman Eastern Mediterranean ca. 1500–1700" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2016), esp. chapters 1–3.
9. Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (hereafter BOA), D.BŞM.1/31. For archival sources and historiography related to the royal gardens around Istanbul, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture," in *Theory and Design of Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires*, ed. A. Petruccioli (E.J. Brill, 1997), 32–71.
10. MS Török F. 59, 151 {13}.
11. MS Török F. 59, 172–75.
12. Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi (hereafter TSMK), A. MS 1989/4.
13. Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (hereafter SK), Turhan Sultan, MS 264, fol. 1a.
14. Leiden University Library, MS Or. 303d, fol. 1a.
15. TSMK, E.H. MS 1700, fol. 1a.
16. MS Török F. 59, 169 {1}.
17. Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (hereafter BOA), TT. D. 1086, fol. 88a.
18. British Library, MS Or. 9009, fols. 1a, 2a, 89b. This work was dedicated to Bayezid II: see fol. 8b. The manuscript does not specify the name of the author. According to Michael W. Dols, a book on the plague with the same title was authored by the Ottoman scholar Ibn Kemal (d. 1533–34), who was appointed as *şeyhülislām* in 1526: see Michael W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 333.
19. MS Török F. 59, 169 {4}.
20. Nühket Varlık, *Plague and Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean World: The Ottoman Experience, 1347–1600* (New York: Cambridge University Press), 248–91.
21. MS Török F. 59, 172 {3–4}.
22. SK, Ayasofya MS 3688, fols. 1a, 171b. Qastus's book is between fols. 1b and 123b.
23. Ibid., fol. 1a: "*Mukhtaşaru Kitābi al-falāḥati min qibali al-ṭibbi wa-mukhtaşarun fī fiḥi al-Shāfi'ī wa-risālatun fārisiyyatun fī al-fīrāsati*."
24. For an edition of this Arabic translation of Qastus's (Cassianus Bassus Scholasticus) book on agriculture, see Qastūs Ibn Iskulastīqa, *Kitāb al-Zar'* (see n. 4).
25. See Gülru Necipoğlu, Appendix IV: "Translation of 'Atufi's Ottoman Turkish Preface to the Palace Library Inventory," at the end of this volume.
26. For a description of these volumes, see Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*, 4 vols. (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1966), 3:790–92.
27. Tawfiq Fahd, ed., *Al-Filāḥah al-Nabaṭiyyah, Al-tarjamah al-manḥūlah ilā Ibn Waḥshīyah, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Qays al-Kasdānī* (Dimashq: al-Ma'had al-'Ilmī al-Farānsī lil-Dirāsāt al-'Arabīyah, 1993), 21.
28. TSMK, A. MS 1989/2–3.
29. TSMK, A. MS 1989/5.
30. TSMK, A. MS 1989/6.
31. TSMK, A. MS 1989/7.
32. MS Török F. 59, 172 {1}.
33. TSMK, A. MS 1989/8, fols. 1b and 172b.
34. TSMK, A. MS 1989/8, fol. 173a.
35. MS Török F. 59, 200 {6–14}.
36. TSMK, H. MS 408, fol. 147b.
37. Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi, Veliyüddin, MS 2485 fol. 218a.
38. For an introduction to this work and transcription into the Latin alphabet, see Sezer Özyaşamış Şakar, "Anadolu Sahasında Yazılmış bir Tarım Eseri: Felahat-name," *Türk Kültürü İncelemeler Dergisi* 15 (2006): 97–120.
39. Ömer L. Barkan, "Fatih Camii ve İmareti Tesislerinin 1489–1490 Yıllarına Ait Muhasebe Bilançoları," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 23 (1963): 297–341, at 310.
40. Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, trans. from the Greek by Charles T. Riggs (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1954), 208.
41. Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1991), 203. The facsimile is published in Tahsin Öz, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi Kılavuzu* (Istanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1938), no. 21, fol. 16.

42. Giovanni Antonio Menavino, *Trattato de costumi et vita de Turchi* (Florence, Con privilegio, 1548), 129.
43. Gülru Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversation with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople," *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 1–81.
44. Georgius Merula and Franciscus Colucia, eds., *Scriptores rei rusticate* (Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1472).
45. 'Abd al-'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn Birjandī, *Ma'rifat-i Falāḥat: Davāzdah Bāb-i Kishāvarzī* (Tehran: Markaz-i Pizhūhishī-i Mīrās-i Maktūb, 2008).
46. Catalogues of endowed public libraries in Istanbul from this period, such as those at the mosque complexes of Mehmed II and Bayezid II, as well as those of other patrons, have yet to be systematically studied with respect to their holdings of agricultural works, or lack thereof.
47. SK, Hüsrev Paşa, MS 482, fols. 147b–148a.
48. Barkan, "Fatih Camii ve İmareti," 310 and 318.
49. Ibid., 328–33.
50. British Library, MS Or. 9009, fols. 52b–54a.
51. Tayyib M. Gökbilgin, *XV.-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı: Vakıflar, Mülkler, Mukataalar* (Istanbul: Üçler Basımevi, 1952), appendix 126–27 and 180.
52. Halil İnalçık, *The Survey of Istanbul 1455: The Text, English Translation, Analysis of the Text, Documents* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012), 255.
53. Sami K. Hamarneh, "Medicinal Plants, Therapy, and Ecology in Al-Ghazzi's Book on Agriculture," *Studies in the History of Medicine* 2 (1978): 223–63.
54. Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, Zirā'ah Taymūr, MS 42.
55. British Library, MS Or. 5751, fol. 1b.
56. See Tāshkubrī'zādah, Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafā, *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniya fī 'Ulamā' al-Dawlat al-'Uthmāniya* (Istanbul: Jāmi'at İstānbūl, Kulliyat al-Ādāb, Markaz al-Dirāsāt al-Sharqīya, 1985), 157–59 and 295–96.
57. British Library, MS Or. 5751, fol. 102b.
58. Elias I. Muhanna, "The Sultan's New Clothes: Ottoman–Mamluk Gift Exchange in the Fifteenth Century," *Muqarnas* 27 (2010): 189–207, at 195.
59. British Library, MS Or. 5751, fol. 61a.
60. Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, 7 vols. (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Miṣriya al-'Āmma lil-Kitāb, 1982), 4:102.
61. 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Azzām, *Majālis al-Sultān al-Ghūrī: ṣafaḥāt min tārikh Miṣr fī al-qarn al-'āshir al-Hijrī* (Cairo: Maṭba'at Lajnat al-Ta'lif wa-al-Tarjama wa-al-Nashr, 1941), 134–35.
62. Cemal Kafadar, "A Rome of One's Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 7–25, at 20; see also this volume as a whole, which is subtitled "History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the 'Lands of Rum'," ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Gülru Necipoğlu.
63. TSMK, E. H. MS 1700, fols. 33b–70b.
64. Fahd, *Al-Filāḥah al-Nabaṭiyyah*, 1:36.
65. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Tabii ve Tatbiki Bilimler Literatürü Tarihi*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2006), 2:1216–20.

LIST OF ENTRIES

BOOKS ON AGRICULTURE

(*Tafṣīlu ... kutubi al-falāḥati*)

1. “*Kitābu al-falāḥati*” (Book on Agriculture). MS Török F. 59, 172 {1}; Arabic. According to the inventory, this book contains five volumes (*fī khamṣi mujalladātin*).
It is possible that the four volumes in the Topkapı Palace Library (Karatay, A 1989/2–3; A 1989/5; A 1989/6; and A 1989/7) were part of this five-volume set. Each bears the seal of Bayezid II. On the first pages, the royal librarian numbers them as volumes two, three, four, and five, respectively, of a “book on farming pertaining to medicine.” For instance, the royal librarian describes one of the Topkapı Palace Library manuscripts (A 1989/2–3) on its flyleaf as “Second volume from the Book on Agriculture, pertaining to medicine” (*Mujalladun thānin min Kitābi al-falāḥati min qibali al-ṭibbi*); A 1989/5 is described as the “third volume”; A 1989/6 as the “fourth volume”; and A 1989/7 as the “fifth volume” of “The Book on Agriculture, pertaining to medicine.” These four volumes are abbreviations of Ibn Waḥshiyya’s *Nabataean Agriculture*. Another hand on the flyleaves describes the volumes as “a part” (*juzʿ*) of the *Nabataean Agriculture*: A 1989/2–3 as the “second” part, A 1989/5 as the “third,” A 1989/6 as the “sixth,” and A 1989/7 as the “seventh.”
EDITION: Tawfiq Fahd, ed., *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya: al-Tarjama al-manḥūla ilā Ibn Waḥshiyya, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Qays al-Kasdānī* (Damascus: al-Maʿhad al-ʿIlmī al-Faransī li-l-Dirāsāt al-ʿArabiyya, 1993).
- 2–3. “*Kitābi al-falāḥati*.” MS Török F. 59, 172 {1–2}; two copies, Arabic.
4. “*Mukhtaṣaru Kitābi al-falāḥati*.” MS Török F. 59, 172 {2}; Arabic.
5. Same as above. MS Török F. 59, 172 {3–4}, Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 3688; Arabic. The inventory describes it as bound together in “one volume” (*mujalladin wāḥidin*) with an abbreviated work on Shafiʿi jurisprudence and an abbreviated work on physiognomy in Persian: *Mukhtaṣaru Kitābi al-falāḥati min qibali al-ṭibbi wa-mukhtaṣarun fī fiqhī al-shāfiʿī wa-risālatun fārisiyyatun fī al-firāsati fī mujalladin wāḥidin* (“Abbreviation of The Book on Agriculture, pertaining to medicine; and abbreviated [book] on Shafiʿi jurisprudence; and a treatise [*risāla*] on physiognomy in one volume”). A volume that fits this description and that also bears the seal of Bayezid II on its flyleaf and last page is held in the Süleymaniye Library (Ayasofya 3688). On its title page, it is identified similarly (and probably by the same librarian) as *Mukhtaṣaru Kitābi al-falāḥati min qibali al-ṭibbi wa-mukhtaṣarun fī fiqhī al-shāfiʿī wa-risālatun fārisiyyatun fī al-firāsati* (“Abbreviation of the Book on Agriculture, pertaining to medicine; and an abbreviated [book] on Shafiʿi jurisprudence; and a treatise on physiognomy in Persian”). The book on agriculture is identical to one of the Arabic translations of the *Filāḥat al-rūmiyya* (Roman Agriculture), a sixth-century work by Qastūs Ibn Iskulastīqa (Cassianus Bassus Scholasticus). Rather than Iskulastīqa, the introduction to the Süleymaniye copy states that the work was authored by “Qasṭūs b. Iskūrāsribka,” the “scholar from Rūm,” whose work was “known as *Warznāma* [Book on Planting] in Persian and [likewise] as *Kitāb al-zarʿ* in Arabic.”
EDITION: Qastūs Ibn Iskulastīqa, *Kitāb al-zarʿ*, ed. Būrāwī al-Ṭarābulī (Qartāj: al-Majmaʿ al-Thaqāfi li-l-ʿUlūm wa-al-Ādāb wa-al-Funūn, 2010).
6. “*Kitābu al-falāḥati*.” MS Török F. 59, 172 {4–5}.
7. Same as above. MS Török F. 59, 172 {5}.

8. Same as above. MS Török F. 59, 172 {6–7}.
9. “*Kitāb Qaṣṭawīs fī al-falāḥati*.” MS Török F. 59, 172 {7–8}, Karatay, E.H. 1700. A book with the same title is held in the Topkapı Library, whose title is vocalized as *Kitāb Qaṣṭawīs* on the flyleaf, as in the inventory. In the introduction, the sixth-century author Cassianus Bassus Scholasticus is identified as Qaṣṭawīs bin Iskūrāsribka (Qaṣṭūs bin Iskūlāstika), as in the Süleymaniye volume (no. 5 above), and he is described as a “scholar from Rūm,” with the title of his work given in Persian as *Warznāma* and in Arabic as *Kitāb al-zarʿ*. The Topkapı copy is identical in content to the one held in the Süleymaniye. It bears an illegible almond-shaped seal, most likely that of Bayezid II, on fol. 1a. There are two legible ownership notes, one of “Muḥammad known as Süleymān Ağāzāde,” and another of “Ḥaṣmet Dede al-Mawlawī,” a shaykh from the Mawlawiyya order.

EDITION: Qaṣṭūs Ibn Iskulastika, *Kitāb al-zarʿ*, ed. Būrāwī al-Ṭarābulī (Qarṭāj: al-Majmaʿ al-Thaqāfi li-l-ʿUlūm wa-al-Ādāb wa-al-Funūn, 2010).

ON THE WORKS OF A HISTORICAL NATURE IN THE BAYEZID II LIBRARY INVENTORY

It is commonly accepted that the reigns of Mehmed II (r. 1444–46, 1451–81) and Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) represent an important turning point in Ottoman history writing and, indeed, in the ways in which the Ottomans understood history.¹ Byzantine, Balkan, and Arab historians had written about Ottoman history almost immediately after the rise of this dynasty to prominence in the early fourteenth century.² At a more popular level, stories and anecdotes about the deeds of the Ottoman dynasty, recounted in the Anatolian Turkish vernacular, circulated orally. From the mid-fifteenth century onwards, on the other hand, the Ottoman palace developed a new fondness for, and attention to, history writing. According to the historian Ruhi (d. after 1511), Bayezid II complained about the absence of works on the history of the Ottoman dynasty, and intimated that the history of the prophets overshadowed the study of Ottoman history. Another historian, Mevlana Neşri (d. 1520?), admittedly saw a scarcity of historical works written in the Turkish vernacular, and committed himself to fill this lacuna.³ Eventually, Idris Bidlisi (d. 1520) and Kemalpaşazade Ahmed's (d. 1534) histories of the Ottoman dynasty, the first in Persian and the second in an elaborate and Persianate Ottoman Turkish, reached a new level of historiographical sophistication and cultural achievement in the early decades of the sixteenth century.⁴

The historical entries of Bayezid II's library inventory offer precious clues about the state of Ottoman history writing, and of Ottoman historical learning, before the significant increase in historical output under Selim I (r. 1512–20) and Süleyman (r. 1520–66). While the rise of dynastic historiography has been mostly described as a *sui generis* cultural process that mostly unfolded in

Ottoman Turkish, the holdings of the palace library shed light on the historical works that the elite read (whereas scholarly attention has been mostly directed at what they *wrote*), collected, and preserved. The library inventory also illuminates the rich linguistic, stylistic, and thematic origins and inspirations of Ottoman historical culture beyond Ottoman Turkish and the Ottoman lands, extending throughout the late medieval Islamic world. As such, it helps identify some of the influences manifested in the works of sixteenth-century Ottoman historians, such as the use of a high chancery style in historical prose, and the popularity of regnal history over dynastic and world-historical works.⁵

Discussing the influence of a political center on the production of history tends to invite arguments about the relationship between legitimacy and propaganda, which may be partially valid in the Ottoman case as well. At a time when the Ottoman enterprise re-centered itself on the Byzantine capital of Constantinople, and the political and cultural/religious aura around the sultan increasingly distinguished him from the members of his own elite, sympathetic narratives about the achievements of the Ottoman dynasty came to play a specific role. Beyond the easily identified and often misinterpreted relationship between history and propaganda, however, "history" (*tārīkh/tawārīkh*) served as an important tool through which the past and present of the Ottoman polity were discussed and reconceived.⁶ Indeed, the new Ottoman "historical culture" included "habits of thought, languages, and media of communication, and patterns of social convention that embrace[d] elite and popular, narrative and non-narrative modes of discourse."⁷ This historical culture manifested itself in works of history, as well as in increased references to

history and historical precedent in law, poetry, administrative documents, and political debates.⁸

At a time when the Ottoman political center increased its power through more intensive record-keeping practices, the emergence of an inventory for the palace library was quite likely not a coincidence. As the compiler ‘Atufi states in his Turkish introduction to the inventory, he saw his work as giving a certain order to a pre-existing group of artifacts through classification. According to ‘Atufi’s Arabic introduction, where the agency of his patron is articulated more clearly, this classification project was commissioned by Bayezid II (for both introductions, see Appendices IV and V at the end of this volume).⁹ Classification according to subject matter had a practical aim as well: it made works collected in the palace library more easily identifiable through access to an inventory. One may speculate that, in addition to librarians and sultans, the inventory may have been intended to serve as a lending library for the members of the elite. These objectives are observed in the collection’s “historical” section, which constitutes the subject of our contribution. We place quotation marks around “historical” here to differentiate our scholarly—and narrower—understanding of history/*historia/tārīkh* from the compiler’s more ecumenical understanding of a past that was transmitted through a wide variety of narratives.

‘Atufi’s section on “historical” works is divided into several categories, as seen in the title he utilizes for this general section: *Taḥṣīl kutub al-siyar wa-al-tawārīkh wa-kutub ādāb al-ḥarb wa-kutub umūr al-riyāsa wa-al-saltāna wa-al-siyāsa wa-kutub al-furūsiyya wa-al-bayṭara ya’nī farasnāma wa-kutub bāznāma wa-kutub sagnāma wa-kutub ‘ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt [ay bayṭarnāma] wa-kutub ṣuwar al-aqālīm* (for translations of these items, see the discussion below).¹⁰ The section title reflects ‘Atufi’s—and his contemporaries’—understanding of history as a practical form of knowledge that pertains to the study of the past, as well as the past and present knowledge of statecraft, the arts of war, horsemanship, falconry and houndsmanship, veterinary science, cosmography, and geography. It should be noted, however, that the number of “historical” works is considerably larger than the other types of works included in this section. In the present essay, our discussion is limited to the works listed

under *al-siyar* (biography) and *al-tawārīkh* (history) subsections, as well as the entries in other catalogue sections that are labeled by ‘Atufi as *fi al-tawārīkh* (“on history proper”) or *min qibal al-tawārīkh* (“pertaining to history,” see below).

Under the main section title, the first subsection listed is *al-siyar*; it includes sixty-seven entries and lists works that focus on religious and prophetic history, as well as what could be called early Islamic history and lore. The second subsection, *al-tawārīkh*, mostly includes works on the history of Islamic dynasties from the Ghaznawids to the Ottomans, among whom the Mongols are seamlessly incorporated. This largest subsection, with two hundred forty-one entries, also lists collections of pseudo-historical anecdotes, such as the Book of Alexander (*Iskandar-nāma*), the animal fables of *Kalīla wa Dimna*, the stories of the *Thousand and One Nights*, the heroic adventures of the *Romance of Antār*, the folk tales of the *Marzubān-nāma*, etc. The following subsections are considerably shorter than the two previous ones: *ādāb al-ḥarb* (the arts of war, seventeen entries); *umūr al-riyāsa wa-al-saltāna wa-al-siyāsa* (matters of rulership, sultanate, and politics, thirty entries); *al-furūsiyya wa-al-bayṭara, farasnāma, bāznāma, sagnāma* (horsemanship, veterinary science, falconry, houndsmanship, twenty entries); and ‘*ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt* and *ṣuwar al-aqālīm* (the wonders of creation and the features of the climes, i.e., cosmography and geography, forty-six entries).

Apart from this ordering, ‘Atufi utilizes two additional markers of classification that are typically inserted at the end of the titles: *min qibal al-tawārīkh* and *fi al-tawārīkh*. This is ‘Atufi’s primary way of distinguishing between what he sees as “pertaining to history,” and “history proper.” Thus, while he lists works of dynastic and regnal history together with collections of historical anecdotes under *al-tawārīkh*, he is careful to establish an internal distinction between the quality of historical information provided in different works by labeling them according to this two-fold classification. These two labels also allow us to identify sixty additional entries in other sections of the inventory that are categorized as “pertaining to history” or “history proper.” Most of these seem to have been left out of the historical section because they are written in verse and are thus seen by ‘Atufi as belonging chiefly to literature.

The “historical” section of the inventory has been studied previously by Miklós Maróth, who identified several of its challenges, such as the use of abridged titles, the absence of the names of authors except in rare instances, and descriptive phrases used instead of titles.¹¹ Maróth also emphasized the trilingual (Arabic, Persian, Turkish) nature of the collection, and suggested links between the Ottoman search for legitimacy and the collection and preservation of works such as the *Book of Alexander*. He further drew attention to the affinity between the Ottomans and the Turkic/Central Asian dynasties, on the basis of the existence of several works of history that dealt with these.¹² Despite his overall contribution and his meticulous identification of authors and titles for several inventory entries, Maróth’s analysis is somewhat hampered by his ascription of a national(ist) character to Arab and Persian linguistic spheres and to the Ottoman-Central Asian Turkic connection. Here, our aim is to read the “historical” section of the inventory in order to ascertain the compiler’s—and, to a certain extent, the Ottoman elite’s—notions on how the past could be divided into distinct parts, and on the ways in which works dealing with the past could be categorized. In order to do this, we will follow the compiler’s own classifications and try to unpack them.

AL-SIYAR: FROM THE LIFE OF MUHAMMAD TO ISLAMIC HISTORY

The section on *al-siyar* represents, in the compiler’s mind, the first phase of history proper. While a few works on the history of the prophets are included in this section, the main focus is on the life of the Prophet Muhammad and the expansion of the Islamic community during the first centuries of its existence. The subsection on Muhammad’s life brings together several works around the biographical theme. Twenty-three entries list biographical works; one entry lists a volume that combines an account of Muhammad’s life with a work on political counsel (*naṣīḥat al-mulūk*) and one on the exploits of the caliphs and the sultans (*manāqib al-khulafā’ wa al-salātīn*); and another collates the history of the prophets with information on the ancestry of Muhammad (*nasab*), his wives and children, his compan-

ions, and the scholars of the community. Five more entries are included among works on the history of the prophets and early Islam: one of them deals with Muhammad and ‘Ali and their descendants, another with Muhammad’s *nasab*, and three with his biography. The later addition of these five works to the inventory suggests that the compilation was an ongoing activity, and that works probably continued to flow in while ‘Atufi drafted this document.

Nearly half of the works in the biography/history subsection are listed under the fairly generic title of *siyar al-Nabī*. The compiler follows the bibliographical entries with a note on the language of the work. Since Arabic is assumed as the default language, only Persian and Turkish are noted. Some of these biographical works can be identified by their distinctive titles. *Uyūn al-athar fi al-shamā’il wa al-siyar* (The Sources of Knowledge on the Traits and Deeds [of Muḥammad], 176 {3}) was composed by Muhammad ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn Yahya ibn Sayyid al-Nas (d. 1334), a scholar who was active in Cairo and Damascus under the Mamluks. (Two copies of the work are listed in the inventory.) *Khulāṣat al-wafā’ bī akhbār dār al-Muṣṭafā* (Summation of Fidelity in the Traditions of the House of Mustafa, 176 {19}–177 {1}) is by ‘Ali ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn Ahmad al-Husayni al-Samhudi (d. 1506), another scholar who lived in the Mamluk territories.

Under the category of *al-siyar*, the compiler also places works that deal with other aspects of religious/prophetic and Islamic history. The biographies of the Prophet Muhammad are thus followed by eight entries on the lives of the prophets, including two copies of Mawlana Jami’s (d. 1492) *Shawāhid al-nubuwwa* (Prophetic Testimonies, 177 {14–15}) in the original Persian, and *Ishrāq al-tawārīkh* (The Illumination of Histories, 177 {13–14}), an Arabic work by an Anatolian scholar, Ya‘qub ibn Idris al-Nijdi al-Qaramani (known as Qara Ya‘qub, d. 1429). One work, presented with a descriptive title, focuses on the prophets, then the Twelver Shi‘i imams and the Sunni caliphs (*al-a’imma wa al-khulafā’*). The following works are more specific in content: three entries on Abraham, one entry on the tribulations of Joseph (*qiṣṣat Yūsuf*), and two entries on the life of Solomon, with the mention that one of the latter two is illustrated (*muṣawwar*). The list continues with a work on

the life of the Umayyad caliph 'Umar II (r. 717–20), an anonymous work on the compilers of hadith, and another anonymous title on the prominent leaders and righteous men of the Muslim community. This subsection includes works on early Islamic history, genealogy, and prosopography, such as Muhibb al-Din Tabari's (d. 1295) *Ri'yāḍ al-naẓira fī manāqib al-'ashara* (The Ordered Garden of Gazes on the Virtuous Deeds of the Ten, 178 {14}), al-Qashī's (d. 1116) *Ra's māl al-nadīm fī tawārīkh a'yān ahl al-Islām* (The Companion's Capital on the Histories of Notable Muslims, 178 {15–16}) and al-Ghazali's (d. 1111) *Maqāmāt al-'ulamā' bayn yadayy al-khulafā' wa al-umarā'* (Positions of the Scholars between the Hands of the Caliphs and the Commanders, 178 {18–19}).

The focus of the inventory then shifts to urban history and sacred geography through a series of entries on Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and Damascus. Of the twelve entries in this subsection, we see one copy of Abu Bakr al-Maraghī's (d. 1413 or 1414) *Tahqīq al-nuṣra bi talkhīṣ ma'ālim dār al-hijra* (The Verification of Victory in the Summation of the Notable Sights of Madina, 179 {3}); four works on the history and attributes of Mecca; two copies of Shihab al-Din al-Maqdisi's (d. 1374) *Muthīr al-gharām* (The Arouser of Passions, 179 {5–6}) on Damascus and Jerusalem; and five works on the conquest of Syria, two of them in Turkish, possibly related to al-Waqidi's (d. 823) *Futūḥ al-Shām* (The Conquests of Syria, 179 {12}). Two epic romances in Turkish, one on Battal Gazi, and the other on Abu Muslim, round out the subsection on *al-sīyar*.

The compiler's listing in this section is far from random, and it seems to be a reflection of important notions on historical periodization. These notions are illustrated by a note following an entry on the lives of the prophets, caliphs, and kings. The compiler informs us that this work covers the period up to the year 422 (1030). The inclusion of Battal Gazi and Abu Muslim in this section is similarly meaningful, since their mythical careers roughly refer to the same period. In the compiler's understanding, history proper is a process that starts with the Prophet Muhammad and continues with the caliphs and the story of the Islamic community in general, with its scholars and other prominent members. The first phase of this story, however, ends somewhere between the mid-eleventh and mid-thirteenth centuries, coincid-

ing with the decline of Abbasid power in Baghdad, the shock of the crusades, the rise of various political dynasties throughout the Islamic world, and, finally, the arrival of the Mongols from the first decades of the thirteenth century onwards. Another important distinction emerges between a genre of history that is directly related to forms of religious authority, which is included in this subsection, and another that is related to forms of what might be called sultanic/dynastic authority, which is covered in the following subsection.

AL-TAWĀRĪKH: DYNASTIC HISTORIES, FROM THE SELJUQS TO THE OTTOMANS

In a significant attempt to assert the prominence of Ottoman history within the larger narratives of Islamic prophetic and dynastic history, this section opens with twenty-two entries on Ottoman history, which vary between short texts on individual events (such as the accession of Bayezid II or the circumcision of his sons), longer texts on the conquests of Mehmed II and Bayezid II (such as the capture of Constantinople, Euboea, and Morea), and individual works that are devoted to the reign of Mehmed II as well as to Ottoman dynastic history, both as part of universal history and as an autonomous narrative. Five copies of Şükrullah Şihabuddin Ahmed's (fl. 1464) Persian *Bahjat al-tawārīkh* (The Splendor of Histories, 280 {16–17}), a universal history, are listed in the inventory; only two of these are said to include sections on the Ottoman dynasty.

The subsection on Ottoman history sheds light on the state of Ottoman historiographical production as a work in progress. The language of the works is not always specified, and the length of the historical works varies considerably. Some are given the label of *qiṣṣa* (story), while a few are called *risāla* (treatise). One work on the reign of Mehmed II is categorized as *tawārīkh*, and another as *kitāb*; a history of the Ottoman dynasty is also classified as *kitāb*. An abridged (*mukhtaṣar*) general Ottoman history is bound in a volume that also includes a Persian treatise on philosophy, a short treatise on the life of Ibn Sina (d. 1037), and a list of Ibn Sina's works. Another group of entries on Ottoman history is listed elsewhere in the inventory. Three titles, under geography,

deal with the history of Constantinople and the church of Hagia Sophia. Twelve works in verse, under literature, consist of *ghazā-nāma*. Five of these feature a generic title focused on the exploits of Mehmed II; Bayezid II's campaigns are represented by works on the conquest of Morea (possibly by Seyyid Mehmed el-Münşi), the conquest of Nafpaktos and Motoni (by Safa'i), his "European" conquests ("*fath ba'd wilāyat Afranj*," possibly referring to the capture of locales from the Venetians, including the ones mentioned earlier), and a generic title on his *ghazawāt*. There are two histories in verse on the Ottoman dynasty from the time of Bayezid II, and an *Ushshāq-nāma* (The Book of Lovers, 267 {1–2}) on Emir Süleyman (d. 1411), the son of Bayezid I, who was one of the contenders during the Ottoman interregnum of 1402–13.

The dynastic history in the Turkish vernacular, now seen as one of the defining cultural products of the second half of the fifteenth century, does not occupy a privileged position in the historical section of the inventory. Some of these works were still being composed while the inventory was compiled. It is impossible to determine whether works predating the inventory, such as some of the popular anonymous Ottoman dynastic histories, entered the palace library. One of the most significant features of the Ottoman history subsection is the insistent ascription of the title of caliph to the Ottoman rulers; another is the emphasis on near-history, and particularly the reign of Bayezid II, whose lofty titles are listed in 'Atufi's Arabic introduction to the inventory. A *tawārīkh* on the reign of Mehmed II has an additional section on Bayezid II (possibly Tursun Beg's [fl. 1491] *Tārīh-i Ebū'l-Feth* [History of the Father of Conquest]); the latter's rule is further described in an autonomous *risāla*, and in the final chapter of another *risāla* on the Ottoman dynasty.

After the works on the Ottoman dynasty, the compiler transitions into the next subsection with three entries on the life of Alexander: a Turkish translation from Greek; a vita of Alexander in nine volumes; and a work on Alexander and the wise men (*hukamā'*) of his time. 'Atufi continues the list with several works on what may be classified as political history. Ibn al-Athir's (d. 1233) universal history *Al-kāmil fī al-tārīkh* (The Perfection of Histories, in two copies, of twelve and two volumes,

respectively: 182 {18}; 182 {19}) is followed by Hasan Nizami Nishapuri's (fl. 1217) Persian work on the events in the Delhi Sultanate between 1191 and 1217, titled *Tāj al-ma'āthir* (The Crown of Glorious Deeds, multiple copies in 183 {4} to 183 {8–9}). There are seven entries on the same work: one is a collection of excerpts, one is a single volume that is part of a non-extant multivolume set, and another is collated with Hamid al-Din Kirmani's (fl. 1188) *Badā'i' al-azmān* (The Wonders of the Times, 183 {4–6}). Next come four entries of al-Tabari's *Histories* (183 {13}–{14}), three of which are Persian translations of the Arabic original. The predominance of Persian, and of the Persianate cultural sphere, is obvious in this part of the inventory. Eight copies of Baydawi's (fl. 1286) Persian *Nizām al-tawārīkh* (The Ordering of Histories, 183 {17}–184 {2}) are listed in the inventory. 'Utbi's (d. 1035 or 1036) Arabic history of the Ghaznawid dynasty, *Tārīkh al-yamīnī* (The Correct History, 184 {7–8}–184 {13}), is present in nine copies, four of which are Persian translations. Fadl Allah Sharaf al-Din Qazwini's (d. 1339) *Al-Mu'jam fī āthār mulūk al-'Ajām* (The Comprehensive Collection of the Deeds of the Kings of Persia, 184 {19}–185 {5}) dedicated to Atabeg Ahmad of Lorestan (r. 1296–1330 or 1333), exists in seven Persian copies as well as one Turkish translation. The history of the Seljuq dynasty is also represented in the collection by Rawandi's (fl. 1202) *Rāhat al-šudūr* (The Heart's Comfort, 185 {19}) and two unattributed works, all in Persian. The combined weight of Persianate culture with Mongol and post-Mongol history is another crucial feature in the inventory. There is a single copy of Wassaf's *Tārīkh* (184 {17}), three Persian histories on Genghis Khan (d. 1237, one which is identified as Juwayni's [d. 1283] *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy* [The History of the World Conqueror, 185 {10}]), and one on Ghazan Khan (1271–1304). The first volume of a three-volume set of Rashid al-Din's (d. 1318) *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* (Compendium of Chronicles, 185 {14–16}), bound with a Turkish history of Genghis Khan, is followed by a Turkish *Oghūz-nāma* (The Book of Oghuz, 185 {16}). Timur's reign (r. 1370–1405) is narrated in three Persian works (one or all of them possibly referring to Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi's [d. 1454] *Ẓafar-nāma* [The Book of Victory, 187 {2}]), and Ibn 'Arabshah's (d. 1450) *'Ajā'ib al-maqdūr fī nawā'ib Tīmūr* (The Wonders of Possibility in the Acts of Timur, 187 {5}). There are six copies, in Persian, of

Rashid al-Din's writings: five copies of the *tawdīhat* (Clarifications, 187 {9, 11–12, 13–14, 14–15, 16–17}) and one copy of *sultāniyya* (The Sultanic Treatise, 187 {10–11}). The chancery style that is a distinguishing feature in many of these works would eventually have a significant impact on the creation of an Ottoman high prose style in history writing from the first decades of the sixteenth century onwards.

The remaining part of the historical section does not follow the more careful categorization adopted earlier and seems to have been put together rather hastily. This probably stems from the nature of the inventory as a work in progress, whereby the compiler would continue to add new titles, sometimes quickly. Empty spaces left in between different sections and subsections in the inventory also point to the ongoing nature of the project and the compiler's intention to include more works as he went along. Here, several volumes of *Qışsat 'Antar* (in Arabic and Turkish), *Samak-i 'Ayyār* (The Rogue Fish, in Turkish and Persian), *Kalīla wa Dimna*, and *Marzubān-nāma* (in Persian and Turkish) coexist with anonymous works on dynastic and regnal history. While this section is more difficult to categorize, it offers important clues about the wide intellectual interests of the Ottoman elite, and the centers of literary and cultural production that fed those interests. Works produced in the Seljuq/Anatolian zone, such as Muhammad bin Ghazi al-Malaṭyawī's (d. 1212) *Rawḍat al-'uqūl* (The Garden of the Minds, 189 {1}) and Qadi Ahmad Nigdawī's (fl. 1333) *Al-Walad al-shafīq* (The Compassionate Scion, 190 {18–19}), which survives today in a unique manuscript¹³ are listed here, together with an anonymous *Manāqib* of Qadi Burhan al-Din (d. 1398). Some of these works are closer to the mirror for princes genre, such as al-Turtushī's (d. 1126 or 1127) *Sirāj al-mulūk* (The Lamp of Kings, 191 {9}). Biographical dictionaries, such as al-Bayhaqī's (d. 1169–70) *Tatimmat Šiwān al-ḥikma* (The Continuation of the Chest of Wisdom, 190 {4–5}), Ibn Khallikan's (d. 1282) *Wafayāt al-a'yān wa-anbā' abnā' al-zamān* (Necrology of the Notables and Reports of the Sons of the Age, 186 {3}), and Ibn al-Dawadārī's (fl. 1335) *Kanz al-durar wa-jāmi' al-ghurar* (The Treasury of Pearls and the Collection of Bright Ornaments, 191 {7–8}) on Mamluk history are also found in this cluster. Two fairly rare manuscripts, on the science of history, are among the entries as well: Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim Ijī's

(fl. 1381–82) *Tuḥfat al-faqīr ilā šāḥib al-sarīr fī 'ilm al-tawārīkh* (The Gift of the Humble Servant to the Enthroned One on the Science of History, 191 {2}), and Muḥyi al-Din al-Kafīyaji's (d. 1474) *Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar al-mufīd fī 'ilm al-tārīkh* (The Useful and Concise Book on the Science of History, 192 {17–18}), a manuscript that was submitted to the Ottoman grand vizier Mahmud Pasha (d. 1474).¹⁴

PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

Despite its lack of clear descriptions of the content and physical attributes of several works, 'Atufi's inventory is a fascinating testimony to the state of Ottoman historical culture from the mid-fifteenth century to the first decade of the sixteenth. The inventory was compiled at a time when the Ottomans were looking to produce their own histories and inscribe their story onto the larger corpus of Islamic and dynastic histories by claiming to be the continuators of several traditions that included Sunni Islam and Turko-Mongol dynasticism. The Ottoman attempt to appropriate the legacy of the past is also seen in the considerable attention paid to the histories of the Abbasids, as well as various branches of the Seljuq dynasty. The inventory represents a moment when the Ottomans were merely beginning to engage in this fundamental effort of insertion and assertion. Finally, the existence of several works produced in the Mamluk territories underlines the intellectual exchange between the Ottomans and the Mamluks in the form of the circulation of students, scholars, and books. The inclusion of a work by al-Samhudi (d. 1506), who was alive at the time of the inventory's compilation, further underlines the ongoing nature of this intensive exchange.

Next, the inventory represents the overarching importance of the Timurid cultural environment for the Ottomans. As such, it helps illustrate the extent of the Ottoman urge to emulate the Timurids and the acute sense of cultural competition, compounded by the yearning for recognition. In terms of historiographical developments, the large number of works produced in the Timurid zone constitutes the first step of the appropriation of a Persianate idiom and aesthetic style, which would receive its specifically Ottoman expression at the

hands of the bureaucrat-historians from the sixteenth century onward.¹⁵ However, the inventory's entries on Ottoman history are limited, not to say modest. They include only a few treatments of the entire span of Ottoman history, and the shorter campaign narratives constitute the majority of historical production. The titles of the works on Ottoman history, particularly in the way they are presented in the inventory, display a strong emphasis on dynastic identity and continuity. The Ottoman elites yearned to be admitted into the Persianate cultural ecumene, but through their own distinctive dynastic identity.

It is true that the inventory privileges the interests and tastes of the ruling elite, since it was prepared as a key to the palace library. At the same time, one cannot limit the importance of this project by narrowing down its cultural relevance to the elite, since the inventory includes several popular works in the Ottoman Turkish vernacular that enjoyed a fairly large audience. The fifteenth century represents a turning point in textualization and vernacularization, trends whose impact is seen in the inventory through the inclusion of collections of anecdotes, proverbs, and epics in the Ottoman Turkish vernacular. While the "historical" section is dominated by Persian and Arabic (in that order), it begins to open up to Ottoman Turkish as well, both in the form of works on history proper, as well as translations of historical and pseudo-historical material.

The inventory's approach to compilation and classification leads to a few concluding observations. For instance, the compiler considered histories in verse as literature instead of history proper, in a move that may imply a radical break from orality and a growing emphasis on literacy and textuality. Next, history, together with geography and politics, is represented as part of an arsenal of governance, despite its independent status as cultural artifact. It is placed next to the arts of war, horsemanship, falconry, and houndsmanship as a form of practical knowledge useful to the members of an expanding military-political elite. Also, canonical works of history, be they on early Islamic or Mongol history, are often present in several copies, many of them in Turkish translations: these are evidently the attributes of a lending library geared towards a group of frequent users. Finally, we must note the apparent affinities of this

collection with the historical work (and periodization) of 'Abd al-rahman al-Bistami, and with the same author's classification of the sciences (see Fleischer's introductory essay in the present volume).

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NOTES

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1. Halil İnalcık, "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography," in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 152–67; Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 90–117.
2. For an attempt at writing early Ottoman history on the basis of this polyphonic narrative record, see Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1481* (Istanbul: Isis, 1990).
3. Quoted in İnalcık, "Rise of Ottoman Historiography," 165.
4. For Bidlisi and, in general, the cultural developments of the time in the Islamic world, see Christopher Markiewicz, "The Crisis of Rule in Late Medieval Islam: A Study of İdris Bidlisi (861–926/1457–1520) and Kingship at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2015).
5. For a descriptive survey of sixteenth-century Ottoman historiography, see Abdülkadir Özcan, "Historiography in the Reign of Süleyman the Magnificent," in *The Ottoman Empire in the Reign of Süleyman the Magnificent*, ed. Tülay Duran (Istanbul: Historical Research Foundation, 1988), 165–222; for more analytical studies, see Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541–1600)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 235–45; Kaya Şahin, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman: Narrating the Sixteenth-Century Ottoman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 157–85.
6. For instance, a historian such as 'Aşıkpaşazade Ahmed (fl. 1484), often mischaracterized as a "court historian," wrote history in a way that both supported the political center and criticized some of its attempts at centralization,

- especially with regard to revenue control. For a critical view that emphasizes authorial initiative, see Murat Cem Mengüç, "Histories of Bayezid I, Historians of Bayezid II: Rethinking Late Fifteenth-Century Ottoman Historiography," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 76, no. 3 (2013): 373–89.
7. We are borrowing this definition from Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture, 1500–1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 9.
 8. For the functions of history, time, and memory in Ottoman historiography, see Snjezana Buzov, "History," in *Key Themes for the Study of Islam*, ed. Jamal J. Elias (Oxford: Oneworld, 2010), 191–95, 197–99. For the fifteenth-century transformation in the understanding of history and the practice of history writing, see Christopher Markiewicz, "History as Science: The Fifteenth-Century Debate in Arabic and Persian," *Journal of Early Modern History* 21, no. 3 (2017): 216–40.
 9. Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, MS Török F. 59 {5–9}.
 10. For 'Atufi's general section title, see MS Török F. 59, 175 {14–18}.
 11. Miklós Maróth, "The Library of Bayazit II," in *Irano-Turkic Cultural Contacts in the 11th–17th Centuries*, ed. Éva M. Jeremiás (Piliscsaba: The Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, 2003), 112.
 12. *Ibid.*, 129–31.
 13. A. C. S. Peacock, "Aḥmad of Niğde's '*al-Walad al-Shafiq*' and the Seljuk Past," *Anatolian Studies* 54 (2004): 95–107.
 14. For these two works, see Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 2nd rev. ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 201–62; and Markiewicz, "History as Science."
 15. On the importance of Persianate history writing for the Ottomans, see Sara Nur Yıldız, "Ottoman Historical Writing in Persian, 1400–1600," in *Persian Historiography*, ed. Charles Melville, vol. 10, *A History of Persian*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012), 436–502.

LIST OF ENTRIES

SECTION ON BOOKS OF BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY, ARTS OF WAR, MATTERS OF RULERSHIP AND SULTANATE AND POLITICS, HORSEMANSHIP AND VETERINARY SCIENCE (THAT IS, BOOKS OF THE HORSE AND BOOKS OF THE VETERINARIAN), FALCONRY, AND HOUNDSMANSHIP, WONDERS OF CREATION, AND FEATURES OF THE CLIMES/GEOGRAPHY

(*Taḥṣīl kutubi al-siyari wa-al-tawārikhi wa-kutubi ādābi al-ḥarbi wa-kutubi umūri al-riyāsati wa-al-saltānati wa-al-siyāsati wa-kutubi al-furūsiyyati wa-al-bayṭarati, ya'nī farasnāma wa-kutubi bāznāma [ay bayṭarnama], wa-kutubi sagnāma wa-kutubi 'ajā'ib al-makhlūqāti wa-kutubi ṣuwari al-aqālīmī*)

From the general title in the inventory for this section cited above, the following entries comprise works that are listed under *al-siyar* (A), *al-tawārikh* (B), *ādāb al-ḥarb* (D), and *al-furūsiyya wa-al-bayṭara, farasnāma, bāznāma, sagnāma* (E).

Entries under *umūr al-riyāsa wa-al-saltana wa-al-siyāsa* (covered in the essay of Hüseyin Yılmaz) and *'ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* and *ṣuwar al-aqālīm* (discussed in Pınar Emiralioğlu's essay) are not included below, unless they were labeled by the cataloguer as works on or pertaining to history (*fi al-tawārikh* or *min qibal al-tawārikh*), in which case they are to be found under C. The full lists of entries included in those subsections are supplied and discussed in the abovementioned essays by colleagues working on the inventory's holdings in politics and geography, respectively.

Whenever we believe we can identify authors and locate editions and translations, we supply those. When we are able to identify an author and/or a title only, without certainty, the author's name and the title follow the original inventory entry, prefaced by either "possibly" or "probably," to show our level of confidence in the attribution.

Under C, we cross-list titles the cataloguer designated as *fi al-tawārikh* or *min qibal al-tawārikh* but that are included in other sections of the inventory. For the cross-listed works, we suggest authors as far as we can identify them but refrain from providing editions and translations, as well as translations of the works' titles.

Entries under A, B, and C are consecutively numbered, in order to emphasize the continuity among works of a historical nature; entries under D and E are numbered separately.

Needless to say, this is a first step in the identification of the works of a historical nature in the palace library inventory. Many of the entries below will have to be updated and corrected as scholars further explore manuscript collections in Istanbul and across the world.

A. UNDER *AL-SIYAR*

1. 'Alī ibn Muḥammad Khāzin al-Baghdādī (d. 1279/1280), *Kitāb al-rawḍ wa-al-ḥadā'iq fi tahdhīb sīrat khayr al-khalā'iq* (The Meadow and the Gardens on the Ordering of the Life of the Best of Creation), 175, {1}, 176 {1}, 5 volumes. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Ḥasan Khalīl Ibrāhīm. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2016.
2. Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Khārazmī (d. 1430/1431), *Kitāb al-muqṣad al-aqṣā* (The Ultimate Goal), 176 {1–2}. Persian translation of 'Abd al-Salām al-Andarāsānī (d. 1165), *al-Mustaḥṣā*.

3. Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 1334), *‘Uyūn al-athar fī al-shamā’īl wa-al-siyar* (The Sources of Knowledge on the Traits and Deeds [of Muḥammad]), 176 {3}, Arabic. EDITION: Maḥmūd al-Sharqāwī, ed. *Al-Sīrah al-nabawiyya al-musammā ‘Uyūn al-athar fī funūn al-maghāzī wa-al-shamā’īl wa-al-siyar*. Cairo: al-Hay’a al-Miṣriyya al-‘Āmma li-al-Kitāb, 2011. 2 volumes.
4. Same as above, 176 {4}.
5. “*Nuqāwat al-akhbār*” (The Choicest of Historical Traditions), 176 {4–6}.
6. “*Kitāb aḥwāl al-Nabī*” (Conditions of the Prophet), 176 {6–7}.
7. “*Kitāb siyar al-Nabī*” (Deeds of the Prophet), 176 {7–8}.
8. “*Kitāb siyar al-Nabī*” (Deeds of the Prophet), 176 {8}.
9. “*Kitāb siyar al-Nabī*” (Deeds of the Prophet), 176 {9}.
10. “*Kitāb talkhīṣ sīrat al-Muṣṭafā*” (Epitome of the Deeds of Muṣṭafā), 176 {9–10}.
11. “*Kitāb siyar al-Muṣṭafā*” (Deeds of Muṣṭafā), 176, {10–11}.
12. “*Kitāb siyar al-Nabī*” (Deeds of the Prophet), 176 {11–12}.
13. “*Kitāb siyar al-Nabī*” (Deeds of the Prophet), 176 {12–13}.
14. “*Kitāb siyar al-Nabī*” (Deeds of the Prophet), 176 {13–14}.
15. “*Kitāb fī faḍā’il al-Nabī ‘alayhi al-salām wa naṣīhat al-mulūk wa manāqib al-khulafā’ wa-al-ṣalāṭīn wa-al-laṭā’if*” (A Book on the Notable Deeds of the Prophet, Counsel for Kings, Gesta of Caliphs, Sultans, and Other Stories), 176 {14–15}.
16. “*Kitāb fī dhikr al-anbiyā’ ‘alayhim al-salām wa dhikr nasab sayyid al-anbiyā’ ‘alayhi al-ṣalawāt wa-al-salām wa azwājīhi wa awlādihi wa aṣḥābihi wa ‘ulamā’ ummatihi*” (A Book on the Prophets, and on the Lord of the Prophets, and His Spouses, Children, Companions, and Scholars of His Community), 176 {16–18}.
17. “*Kitāb siyar al-Nabī*” (Deeds of the Prophet), 176 {18–19}, Turkish, 3 volumes.
18. ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Samhūdī (d. 1506), *Khulāṣat al-wafā’ bi akhbār dār al-Muṣṭafā* (Summation of Fidelity in the Traditions of the House of Muṣṭafā), 176 {19}, 177 {1}, Arabic. EDITION: Idem. Ed. ‘Alī ‘Umar. Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfa al-Dīniyya, 2006. 2 volumes.
19. “*Kitāb siyar al-Nabī*” (Deeds of the Prophet), 177 {1}, Arabic.
20. “*Kitāb siyar al-Nabī*” (Deeds of the Prophet), 177 {2}, Persian.
21. Jamāl al-dīn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh ibn Faḍl Allāh Ḥusaynī Shirāzī (d. 1520), *Rawḍat al-aḥbāb fī siyar al-Nabī ‘alayhi al-salām wa-al-aṣḥāb*, ca. 1494–95 (The Garden of Devotees on the Deeds of the Prophet and Companions), 177 {3}, Persian. TRANSLATION: *Ravzatü’l-aḥbāb*. Trans. Benli-zāde Maḥmūd Maḡnisavī. Istanbul: Dāru’t-ṭibā’ati’l-‘āmiri, 1851–52. 3 volumes.
22. “*Kitāb al-siyar*” (Deeds [of the Prophet]), 177 {4}, Persian.
23. “*Siyar al-Nabī*” (Deeds of the Prophet), 177 {4–5}, Persian.
24. Aṣīl al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥusaynī (d. 1478/1479), *Durj al-durar* (The Ascending Staircase of Pearls), 177 {5–6}, Persian. EDITION: *Durj al-durar wa darj al-ghurar: Fī bayān milād khayr al-bashar*. Ed. Aḥmad Futūḥī-nasab. Tehran: Intishārāt-i Safir Ardahāl, 2013.
25. “*Kitāb durar manthūra*” (The Strewn Pearls), 177 {6–7}. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī’s *al-Durr al-manthūr?*
26. Abū Ishāq Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Tha’labī (d. 1035), *Kitāb al-‘arā’is fī qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’* (The Bridal Ornaments of the Tales on the Prophets), 177 {7–8}, Arabic. EDITION: *Kitāb qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’: al-Musammā bi-al-‘Arā’is [al-majālis]*. Cairo: al-Maṭba’a al-Kāstaliyya, 1298/1881. TRANSLATION: *‘Arā’is al-majālis fī qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’, or, Lives of the Prophets: As Re-counted by Abū Ishāq Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Tha’labī*. Trans. and annotated by William M. Brinner. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

27. Same as above, 177 {8–9}.
28. “*Kitāb qisas al-anbiyā*” (Tales of the Prophets), 177 {9–10}, Arabic.
29. “*Kitāb fi anbiā’ al-anbiyā’ ‘alayhim al-salām wa tawārikh al-khulafā’ wa-al-mulūk ilā sanatihī ith-natayn wa ‘ishrīn wa arba’a mi’ata*” (A Book on the News of the Prophets, and the Histories of the Caliphs and Kings up to the Year 422 [1030/1031]), 177 {10–12}, Arabic.
30. “*Mashāhīr al-anbiyā’ wa-al-a’imma wa-al-khulafā’*” (Notable Prophets, Imams, and Caliphs), 177 {12–13}, Arabic.
31. Ya’qūb ibn Idrīs al-Nijdī al-Qaramānī, aka Qara Ya’qūb (d. 1429), *Ishrāq al-tawārikh* (The Illumination of Histories), 177 {13–14}, Arabic.
32. Nūr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 1492), *Shawāhid al-nubuwwa li-taqwiyat yaqīn ahl al-futuwwa* (Prophetic Testimonies for the Fortification of the Certainty of the People of Futuwwa), 177 {14–15}, Persian. EDITION: Idem. Lucknow: Newal Keshor, 1904.
33. Same as above, 177 {15}.
34. Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm Tadmurī (d. 1429/1430), *Muthīr al-gharām fī siyar sayyidinā Khalīl al-Raḥmān ‘alayhi al-salām* (The Arouser of Passions on the Deeds of Our Lord Khalīl al-Raḥmān), 177 {16–17}, Arabic. EDITION: Charles D. Matthews, “The Muṭīr al-Gharām of Abū-l-Fidā’ of Hebron,” *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 17 (1937): 108–37, 149–208. TRANSLATION: In Charles D. Matthews, *Palestine, Mohammedan Holy Land*. New Haven, CT: AMS Press, 1949.
35. “*Kitāb fī aḥwāl Ibrāhīm*” (A Book on the Conditions of Abraham), 177 {17–18}.
36. Same as 34 above, 177 {18}–178 {1}.
37. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Tūsī (15th century), *Jāmi’ laṭā’if al-basātīn fī qiṣṣat Yūsuf* (The Collection of the Most Exquisite Orchards on the Tale of Joseph), 178 {1–2}, Persian. EDITION: *Qiṣṣat Yūsuf: al-Jāmi’ al-sittīn li laṭā’if al-basātīn*. Tehran: Shirkat-i Intishārāt-i ‘Ilmī va Farhangī, 1988.
38. “*Kitāb al-na’īm al-muqīm fī aḥwāl al-Nabī wa ‘itratihi*” (The Nourishing Comforts on the Conditions of the Prophet and His Progeny), 178 {2–3}.
39. “*Kitāb sīrat Rasūl Allāh*” (Deeds of the Prophet), 178 {4}.
40. “*Sulaymānnāma*” (The Book of Solomon), 178 (4–5), illuminated (*al-muṣawwar*). By Uzun Firdevsī (fl. 1512)?
41. Same as 40 above, but not illuminated, 178 {5–6}.
42. “*Risālat al-tawārikh fī al-Nabī ṣalla Allāhu ‘alayhi wa sallām wa fī ‘Alī raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhu wa awlādihi*” (A Historical Treatise on the Prophet and on ‘Alī and His Children), 178 {6–7}.
43. “*Kitāb al-tuḥfa fī nasab al-Nabī ṣalla Allāhu ‘alayhi wa sallām wa aḥwālihi wa khulafā’*” (The Gift on the Lineage of the Prophet, His Conditions, and Caliphs), 178 {7–8}.
44. Abū al-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1201), *Talqīh fuhūm ahl al-athar fī ‘uyūn al-tārikh wa-al-siyar* (The Clarification of the Understandings of Historians on the Sources of History and the Deeds of the Prophet), 178 {8–9}, Arabic. MANUSCRIPT: Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library (hereafter TSMK), A. 2968. EDITION: Idem. Ed. ‘Alī Ḥasan. Cairo: Maktabat al-Ādāb, 1975.
45. Muḥammad Abū Faḍā’il ibn ‘Abd al-Sātir (?), *Kitāb nadīm al-kirām wa nasīm al-gharām fī dhikr al-khulafā’ al-‘izām* (The Companion of the Noble and the Breath of Passion on the Venerable Caliphs), 178 {12–13}, Arabic. MANUSCRIPT: Istanbul, TSMK, A. 2973.
46. “*Kitāb sīrat amīr al-mu’minīn ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-‘Azīz*” (A Book on the Deeds of the Caliph ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-‘Azīz), 178 {13}.
47. Muḥibb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṭabarī (d. 1295), *Riyāḍ al-naẓira fī manāqib al-‘ashara* (The Ordered Garden of Gazes on the Virtuous Deeds of the Ten), 178 {14}, Arabic. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Abū al-‘Alā. Cairo: Maktabat al-Jindī, 1970–71. 4 volumes.

48. An abridgment (*Tārīkh mukhtaṣar ‘alā sanawāt islāmiyya*) from Abū Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Khaldūn al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 1406), *Kitāb al-‘ibar* (The Book of Lessons), 178 {14–15}, Arabic. One volume. See 151 below.
49. Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Bāba al-Qāshī (d. 1116), *Ra’s māl al-nadīm fī tawārīkh a’yan ahl al-Islām* (The Companion’s Capital on the Histories of Notable Muslims), 178 {15–16}, Arabic. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir Khuraysāt. Al ‘Ain: Markaz Zāyid li-al-Turāth wa-al-Tārīkh, 2001.
50. “*Kitāb tawārīkh shuyūkh ahl al-hadīth ‘alā al-ḥurūf al-mu’jama*” (A Book on the Histories of the Venerable Hadith Transmitters in Alphabetical Order), 178 {16–17}.
51. “*Kitāb al-tawārīkh fī madḥ a’imma al-islām wa madḥ al-ṣulahā’ wa-al-mulūk wa-al-wuzarā’*” (A Book of History in Praise of Islam’s Imams, and the Praise of the Righteous, and the Kings, and the Ministers), 178 {17–18}.
52. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), *Maqāmāt al-‘ulamā’ bayn yadayy al-khulafā’ wa-al-umarā’* (Positions of the Scholars between the Hands of the Caliphs and the Commanders), 178 {18–19}, Arabic. EDITION: Idem. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2003.
53. “*Majmu’a min al-ṣahriyyāt aktharuhā min qibal al-tawārīkh wa fihā urjūza dhukira fihā jam’ al-khulafā’ al-rāshidīn ba’d al-Nabī*” (A Collection of Miscellanies, Most of Them Related to History, Including a Poem Mentioning the Rightly-Guided Caliphs after the Prophet), 179 {1–2}.
54. Abū Bakr ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūnis ibn Abī al-Fakhr al-‘Uthmānī al-Marāghī (d. 1413/1414), *Tahqīq al-nuṣra bi talkhīṣ ma’ālim Dār al-Hijra* (The Verification of Victory in the Summation of the Notable Sights of Madina), 179 {3}, Arabic. EDITION: Idem. Ed. M. al-Aṣma’ī. Madina: al-Maktabat al-‘Ilmiyya, 1955.
55. “*Tawārīkh Makka*” (Histories of Mecca); bound with “*Kitāb faḍīlat Bayt al-muqaddas*” (A Book on the Virtues of Jerusalem); “*Manāsik al-hajj*” (The Rituals of Pilgrimage); and Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn ‘Uthmān Ghaznawī Hujwīrī’s (d. 1072) *Kashf al-mahjūb* (The Revelation of the Concealed), 179 {4–5}, Persian. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Vladimir Zhukovsky. Tehran: Kitābkhāna-i Ṭahūrī, 1992. TRANSLATION: *The Kashf al mahjūb: The Oldest Persian Treatise on Sūfism*. Trans. Reynold A. Nicholson. London: Luzac, 1959 (originally published in 1911).
56. Shihāb al-Dīn Abī Maḥmūd ibn Tamīm al-Maqdisī (d. 1374), *Muthīr al-gharām ilā ziyārat al-Quds wa-al-Shām* (The Arouser of Passions for the Visitation of Jerusalem and Damascus), 179 {5–6}, Arabic. MANUSCRIPT: Istanbul, TSMK, A. 2871. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Aḥmad al-Khuṭaymī. Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1994.
57. “*Mukhtaṣar min tawārīkh Makka*” (An Abdrigment of the Histories of Mecca), 179 {6–7}.
58. “*Risāla fī faḍīlat Makka*” (A Treatise on the Virtues of Mecca); bound with “*Risāla fī al-taṣawwuf*” (A Treatise on Sufism), 179 {7–8}.
59. Same as 56. Bound with “*Risāla fī aḥwāl Bayt al-maqdis*” (A Treatise on the Conditions of Jerusalem); and Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Hamadānī’s (fl. 1493) *Kitāb al-sab’iyyāt fī al-mawā’iz* (The Book of the Sevens on Sermons), 179 {9–10}. EDITION: *al-Majālis al-saniyya fī al-kalām ‘alā al-arba’in al-Nawawiyya / al-Sab’iyyāt fī al-mawā’iz al-bariyyāt*. Ed. Aḥmad ibn Ḥijāzī al-Fashnī. Cairo: 1882.
60. “*Mukhtaṣar fī tārīkh Makka*” (An Abdrigment of the History of Mecca); bound with Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī’s (d. 1348) *Al-qasīda al-Dhahabīyya* (The Ode of Dhahabī, 179 {10–11}, Arabic.
61. Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar al-Wāqidī (d. 823), *Futūḥ al-Shām* (The Conquests of Syria), 179 {12}, Arabic, one volume. EDITION: Idem. Osnabrück: Biblio, 1981 (reproduction of the Calcutta

- edition, 1853–62). 2 volumes. TRANSLATION: *The Conquest of Syria*. Trans. W. Nassau Lees. Calcutta: Carbery, 1854.
62. Same as 61 above, 179 {13}.
63. Same as 61 above, 179 {13–14}.
64. Turkish translation of 61 above, 179 {14–15}, one volume.
65. Turkish translation of 61 above, 179 {15}, one volume.
66. “*Qişşat Baṭal* [sic] *Ghāzī*” (Tales of Baṭṭal Ghāzī), 179 {16}, Turkish.
67. “*Qişşat Abī Muslim*” (Tales of Abū Muslim), 179 {16–17}, Turkish.

B. UNDER *AL-TAWĀRĪKH*

68. “*Qişşat julūs sultān al-salāṭīn Bāyazīd Khān*” (A Story on the Accession of the Lord of Sultans Bāyezīd Khān [II]), 180 {5–6}, Turkish.
69. “*Faṭḥ wilāyat Qara Boghdān fī yad sultān al-salāṭīn Sultān Bāyazīd Khān bin Muḥammad Khān*” (The Conquest of the Province of Moldavia by the Hand of the Lord of Sultans Bāyezīd Khan, Son of Meḥmed Khan), 180 {6–7}.
70. “*Tawārīkh Sultān Muḥammad ibn Murād Khān ma’a dhikr salṭanat sultān al-salāṭīn Sultān Bāyazīd Khān*” (Histories of Sultan Meḥmed Son of Murād Khan, together with the mention of the Reign of the Lord of Sultans Bāyezīd Khan), 180 {8–9}. Probably Ṭursun Beg (d. 1491?), *Tārīḥ-i Ebū’l-Feth*. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye Library, Ms. Ayasofya 3032. TRANSLITERATION: Idem. Ed. Mertol Tulum. Istanbul: Istanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1977. SUMMARY TRANSLATION AND FACSIMILE EDITION: *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror*. Trans. Rhoads Murphey and Halil İncalcık. Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1978.
71. “*Risāla fī tawārīkh al-salāṭīn al-’Uthmāniyya ilā tārīkh salṭanat sultān al-salāṭīn Sultān Bāyazīd Khān bin Muḥammad Khān*” (A Treatise on the Histories of the Ottoman Sultans up to the Reign of the Lord of Sultans Bāyezīd Khan, Son of Meḥmed Khan), 180 {10–11}.
72. “*Dāstān gul wa mul ma’a tārīkh salṭanat sultān al-salāṭīn Sultān Bāyazīd Khān bin Muḥammad Khān*” (The Epic of the Rose and the Ant, with a History of the Reign of Sultan Bāyezīd Khan, Son of Meḥmed Khan), 180 {12–13}.
73. “*Risāla fī tawārīkh al-salāṭīn al-’Uthmāniyya*” (A Treatise on the Histories of the Ottoman Sultans), 180 {13–14}.
74. “*Risālat fath Iskandariyya bi-amr Sultān Muḥammad Khān*” (A Treatise on the Conquest of Lezhë [Albanian Alexandria] by the Order of Sultan Meḥmed Khan [II]), 180 {14–15}.
75. Shukr Allāh ibn Shihāb al-dīn Aḥmad (fl. 1464), *Bahjat al-tawārīkh* (The Splendor of Histories), 280 {16–17}, Persian. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye Library, Ms. Ayasofya 2990. PARTIAL EDITION: “Der Abschnitt über die Osmanen in Šükrullāh’s persischer Universalgeschichte,” *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte* 2 (1923–26): 63–128. TRANSLATION: *Dokuz Boy Türkler ve Osmanlı Sultanları Tarihi*. Trans. Nihal Atsız. Istanbul: Arkadaş Basımevi, 1939.
76. Same as 75 above, 180 {17}.
77. Same as 75 above, albeit “*ilā salāṭīn ’Uthmāniyya* (up to the Ottoman Sultans),” 180 {17–18}.
78. “*Risālat fath al-Qusṭanṭīniyya*” (A Treatise on the Conquest of Constantinople), 180 {18–19}. Possibly Kivāmī, *Fethnâme-i Sultān Meḥmed*. MANUSCRIPT: Preussische Staatsbibliothek, MS. Or 4 1975. FACSIMILE EDITION: Idem. Ed. Franz Babinger. Istanbul: Maarif Kitabevi, 1955. TRANSLITERATION: *Fethnâme*. Ed. Ceyhun Vedat Uygur. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2007.

79. Same as 75 above, 180 {19}.
80. "*Fakhr al-manāqib fī tawārikh al-salātīn al-ʿUthmāniyya*" (The Pride of Epic Deeds in the Histories of the Ottoman Sultans), 181 {1–2}, Turkish. Probably Karamānī/Nişāncı Mehmed Paşa (d. 1481), *Risāla bi-al-ʿarabiyya fī tawārikh al-salātīn al-ʿUthmāniyya* (A Treatise on the Histories of the Ottoman Sultans); bound with *Risāla bi-al-ʿarabiyya fī tawārikh Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Murād Khān min ʿāl ʿUthmān* (An Arabic Treatise on the Histories of Sultan Mehmed Khan, Son of Murād Khan, of the Ottoman Dynasty, 181 {2–4}, Arabic. TRANSLATION: "Osmanlı Sultanları Tarihi." Trans. İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı. In *Osmanlı Tarihleri*, 323–69. Istanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1947–49.
82. "*Risālat tahniyyat ʿid*" (A Treatise on Holiday Congratulation); bound with "*Risālat fath Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Murād Khān Aghribūz*" (A Treatise on Sultan Mehmed Khan's Conquest of Euboea); "*Risālat fath Qara Bughdān*" (A Treatise on the Conquest of Moldavia); and "*Risālat fath Aqja Hışār wa ghayrihā*" (A Treatise on the Conquest of Krujë and Other [Castles]), 181 {5–7}.
83. "*Risāla fārisiyya fī tawārikh al-salātīn al-ʿUthmāniyya ilā saltanat sulṭān al-salātīn Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān*" (A Persian Treatise on the Histories of the Ottoman Sultans up to the Reign of the Lord of Sultans, Sultan Bāyezīd Khan), 181 {7–9}, Persian.
84. "*Qiṣṣat khitān awlād sulṭān al-salātīn Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān*" (A Story on the Circumcision of the Sons of the Lord of Sultans, Sultan Bāyezīd Khan), 181 {9–10}.
85. "*Kitāb fī tawārikh Muḥammad bin Murād Khān*" (A Book on the Histories of Sultan Mehmed Khan, son of Murād Khan,), 181 {10–11}.
86. "*Mukhtaṣar fī tawārikh al-salātīn al-ʿUthmāniyya*" (An Abridgment on the Histories of the Ottoman Sultans); bound with "*Risālat al-Farābī fī al-ḥikma al-falsafiyya*" (al-Farābī's Treatise on the Wisdom of Philosophy) and "*Risālat sirat Ibn Sīnā wa fihrist kutubihī*" (A Treatise on the Biography of Ibn Sīnā and a Catalogue of His Books), 181 {11–13}.
87. Same as 75 above, 181 {14}.
88. "*Risālat fathnāma sulṭānī*" (A Treatise on a Sultanic Conquest), 181 {14}.
89. "*Risāla fī wilāyat Mūra*" (A Treatise on the Province of Morea), 181 {15}.
90. "*Iskandarnāma*" (The Book of Alexander), 182 {11}, translated from Greek into Turkish.
91. "*Iskandarnāma*" (The Book of Alexander), 182 {12}, 9 volumes. Probably Tāceddīn Aḥmedi (d. 1413), *İskendernāme*. EDITIONS: *İskendernāme. İnceleme – Tıpkıbasım*. Ed. İsmail Ünver. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1983. *Tevārih-i Mülük-i āl-i ʿOsmān ğazv-i iṣān bā-küffār*. Ed. Kemal Sılay. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 2004.
92. "*Kitāb al-aḥwāl wa-al-akhbār al-Iskandariyya wa akhbār ḥukamāʾ zamān Iskandar*." (A Book of Alexandrine Conditions and Traditions, and of Traditions of the Sages of the Time of Alexander), 182 {12–14}.
93. ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233), *al-Kāmil fī al-tārikh* (The Perfection of Histories), 182 {18}, Arabic), 12 volumes. EDITION: Idem. Beirut: Dar Ṣādir, 1965–67, 13 volumes. TRANSLATION: *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fī l-tārikh*. Trans. D. S. Richards. Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006–7. 3 volumes.
94. Same as above, 2 volumes, 182 {19}.
95. Ḥasan Nizāmī Nishāpūrī (fl. 1217), Selections from *Tāj al-maʾāthir* (The Crown of Glorious Deeds), 183 {4}, Persian. MANUSCRIPT: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. P. 1332. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Mahdī Fāmūrī and ʿAlī Riṣā Shād Ārām. Yāsū: Dānishgāh-i Āzād-i Islāmī, 2012. TRANSLATION: *Taj ul maʾathir: Crown of Glorious Deeds*. Trans. Bhagwat Saroop. Delhi: Saud Ahmad Dehlavi, 1998.

96. Same as above, bound with Ḥamid al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ḥamid Kirmānī (fl. 1188), *Badā'i' al-azmān fī waqā'i' Kirmān* (The Wonders of the Times on the Events of Kirman; and "*Kitāb al-munsha'āt wa majmu'a fī al-qaṣā'id*" (A Book of Compositions and Collection of Qasidas), 183 {4–6}, Persian. EDITION: *Tārīkh-i Afḍal yā Badā'i' al-azmān fī waqā'i' Kirmān*. Ed. Mahdī Bayānī. Tehran: Dānishgāh, 1947.
97. Same as 95 above, 183 {6}.
98. Same as 95 above, 183 {7}.
99. A volume from 95 above, 183 {7–8}.
100. Same as 95 above, 183 {8}.
101. Same as 95 above, 183 {8–9}.
102. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 923), *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī* (The History of al-Ṭabarī, 183 {13}, Arabic. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Muḥammad Abu al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1960–69. 10 volumes.
103. Persian translation/version of 102 above, 183 {13}. MANUSCRIPTS: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. P. 162 and 162A? Possibly the translation of Abū 'Alī Muḥammad Bal'amī (d. 974).
104. Persian translation/version of 102 above, 183 {14}.
105. Persian translation/version of 102 above, 183 {14}.
106. 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar Bayḍāwī (fl. 1286), *Kitāb niẓām al-tawārīkh* (The Ordering of Histories), 183 {17}, Persian. MANUSCRIPT: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. P. 191. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Shams Allāh Qadīrī. Hyderabad: Tarikh Press, 1930.
107. Same as above, 183 {18}.
108. Same as above, 183 {18–19}.
109. Same as 106 above, 183 {19}.
110. Same as 106 above, 183 {19}–184 {1}.
111. Same as 106 above, 184 {1}.
112. Same as 106 above, 184 {1–2}.
113. Same as 106 above, 184 {2}.
114. Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 1274), *Tansūkh-nāma Ilkhānī fī 'ilm al-aḥjār* (The Ilkhanid Book of Tansūkh on Gemology), 184 {3–4}, Persian, bound with the same as 106 above. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye Library, Ms. Ayasofya 3596.
115. Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār al-'Utbi (d. 1035/1036), *Tārīkh Yamīnī* (The Correct History), Arabic; bound with "*Risāla fī sharḥ mā ashkala min alfāẓ kitāb al-yamīnī*" (A Treatise of Explication of the Complexities of Expression in the Correct History), 184 {7–8}. MANUSCRIPT: Istanbul, TSMK, A. 3000. EDITION: *Tārīkh al-'Utbī*. Ed. Abū Bakr Bin Ma'tūma. Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfa al-Dīniyya, 2014. TRANSLATION: *The Kitāb-i-Yamīnī*. Trans. from Persian [and not the original Arabic] by James Reynolds. London: The Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1858.
116. Same as 115 above, 184 {8–9}.
117. Same as 115 above, 184 {9}.
118. Persian translation of 115 above, 184 {9–10}. Possibly the work of Abū al-Sharaf Nāṣiḥ ibn Ḍafar Munshī Jarbādhqānī (fl. 1206/1207).
119. Persian translation of 115 above, 184 {10–11}.
120. Persian translation of 115 above, 184 {11}.
121. Persian translation of 115 above, 184 {12}.
122. Same as 115 above, 184 {12}.

123. Same as 115 above, 184 {13}.
124. Commentary in Arabic on 115 above, 184 {13}.
125. Same as 124 above, 184 {14}.
126. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Faḍl Allāh Waṣṣāf (d. 1329), *Tārīkh Waṣṣāf* (The History of Waṣṣāf), 184 {17}, Persian. EDITION: *Kitāb-i Waṣṣāf al-Ḥaṣrat* [sic]. Bombay: Muḥammad Mahdī Iṣfahānī, 1853.
127. Faḍl Allāh Sharaf al-Dīn Qazwīnī (d. 1339), *al-Muḥjam fī āthār mulūk al-‘Ajam* (The Comprehensive Collection of the Deeds of the Kings of Persia), 184 {19}, Persian. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Aḥmad Futūḥī-nasab. Tehran: Anjuman-i Āthār va Mafākhīr-i Farhangī, 2005.
128. Same as 127 above, 184 {19}–185 {1}.
129. Same as 127 above, 185 {1–2}.
130. Same as 127 above, 185 {2}.
131. Same as 127 above, 185 {2–3}.
132. Same as 127 above, 185 {3–4}.
133. Same as 127 above, 185 {4}.
134. Turkish translation of 127 above, 185 {5}.
135. ‘Atā Malik Juwaynī (d. 1283), *Tārīkh-i Jahān-gushāy* (The History of the World Conqueror), 185 {10}, Persian. MANUSCRIPT: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. P. 205. EDITION: *The Ta’rīkh-i Jahān-gushā of Alā’u ‘d-Dīn ‘Atā Malik-i-Juwaynī*. Ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdu’l-Wahhāb-i Qazwīnī. Leiden: E. J. Brill; London: Luzac & Co., 1912–1958. 3 volumes. TRANSLATION: *Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror*. Ed. J. A. Boyle, with a new introduction and bibliography by David O. Morgan. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997.
136. “*Tārīkh Jangīz Khān*” (The History of Genghis Khan), 185 {11}, Persian.
137. Same as above, 185 {11–12}.
138. “*Tārīkh Jangīz Khān*” (The History of Genghis Khan), 185 {12–13}, bound with 135 above.
139. “*Tārīkh Ghāzānī*” (The History of Ghazan Khan), 185 {14}. Probably by Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Hamadānī (d. 1318)?
140. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Hamadānī (d. 1318), first volume of a 3-volume set of the *Jāmi‘ al-tawārīkh* (Compendium of Chronicles), Persian; bound with the first volume of a “*Tārīkh Jangīz Khān wa Ghāzān Khān*” (The History of Genghis Khan and Ghazan Khan), 185 {14–16}. EDITION: Idem. Ed. M. Rawshan and M. Mūsāwī. Tehran, 1994. 4 volumes. TRANSLATIONS: *Rashiduddin Fazlullah’s Jami‘u’t-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*. Trans. Wheeler M. Thackston. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1999. 3 volumes; *Cāmiu’t-Tevārīh (İlhanlılar Kısmı)*, trans. İsmail Aka, Mehmet Ersan, and Ahmad Hesamipour. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2013 [partial translation].
141. “*Oghūznāma*” (The Book of Oghuz), 185 {16}, Turkish. A translation of Rashīd al-Dīn’s volume on Seljuq history?
142. Volume 2 of “*Tārīkh Jangīz Khān*” (The History of Genghis Khan), 185 {17}, Turkish.
143. Volume 4 of “*Tārīkh Jangīz Khān*” (The History of Genghis Khan), 185 {17}, Turkish.
144. “*Tawārīkh Āl Salchūq*” (Histories of the House of Seljuq [Possibly Yazıcızāde ‘Alī, *Tevārīh-i Āl-i Selçuk*, ed. Abdullah Bakır, Istanbul: Çamlıca, 2009]); bound with Naṣīr al-Dīn Munshī Kirmānī, *Simṭ al-‘ulā li-al-ḥaḍrat al-‘ulyā* (The Ultimate Necklace for the Most Exalted Presence, 185 {18}, Persian. EDITION: Idem. Ed. ‘Abbās Iqbāl. Tehran: Intishārāt-i Asāṭīr, 1983.
145. Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī Rāwandī (fl. 1204/1205), *Rāhat al-ṣudūr wa āyat al-surūr* (The Heart’s Comfort and the Sign of Joy), 185 {19}, Persian. MANUSCRIPT: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms.

- P. 1314. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Muḡtabā Mīnuvī. Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1985. TRANSLATION: *Rāhat-ūs-sudūr ve āyet-ūs-sūrūr: Gönüllerin rahatı ve sevinç alâmeti*. Trans. Ahmet Ateş. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1957.
146. “*Tārīkh Âl Saljūq*” (Histories of the House of Seljuq (possibly same as 144a above)); “*Tārīkh salaṭīn Kirmān*” (A History of the Sultans of Kirman [possibly same as 144b above]); bound with Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd Allāh Qāshānī (fl. 1325), *Tārīkh Uljāytū* (The History of Oljeitu), 186 {1–2}, Persian. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Mahīn Hambalī. Tehran: Shirkat-i Intishārat-i ‘Ilmī va Farhangī, 2005. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye Library, Ms. Ayasofya 3019.
147. Ibn Khallikān (d. 1282), *Wafayāt al-a’yān wa-anbā’ abnā’ al-zamān* (Necrology of the Notables and Reports of the Sons of the Age, 186 {3}, Arabic, 2 volumes. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Muḡammad Muḡyī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd. Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḡa al-Miṣriyya, 1964. Third edition. 2 volumes. TRANSLATION: *Ibn Khallikan’s Biographical Dictionary*. Trans. William MacGuckin, Baron de Slane. Paris: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1842–71. 4 volumes.
148. Same as 147 above, 186 {4}, in 3 volumes.
149. Same as 147 above, 186 {4–5}, in 3 volumes. The last volume is written by a different hand than the first two.
150. Same as 147 above, 186 {6–7}, in 4 volumes.
151. Abū Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḡmān ibn Muḡammad ibn Khaldūn al-Ḥaḡramī (d. 1406), *Kitāb al-‘ibar* (The Book of Lessons), 186 {13}, 7 volumes. MANUSCRIPT: Istanbul, TSMK, A. 2924/3–4, 3042/3, 2924/5–6, 2924/7–8, 2924/9–10, 2924/11–12, 2924/13–14. EDITION: *Tārīkh al-‘allāma Ibn Khaldūn*. Ed. Yūsuf As‘ad Dāḡhir. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī, 1956–61. 7 volumes. TRANSLATIONS: *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*. Trans. Franz Rosenthal. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967. Second edition. 3 volumes; *Le livre des exemples*. Trans. Abdesselam Cheddadi. Paris: Gallimard, 2002 (volume 1), 2012 (volume 2). 2 volumes.
152. Ismā‘īl ibn ‘Umar Ibn Kathīr (d. 1373), *al-Bidāya wa-al-nihāya* (The Beginning and the End), 186 {14–15}, Arabic, 18 volumes, volume 11 missing. MANUSCRIPT: Istanbul, TSMK, A. 2923, K. 884. EDITION: Idem. Beirut: Maktabat al-Ma‘ārif, 1966. 8 volumes.
153. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī (d. 1349), *Tārīkh Guzīda* (Choice History), 186 {19}, Persian. EDITION: Idem. Ed. ‘Abd-al-Ḥusayn Nawā‘ī. Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1960.
154. Same as 153 above, 186 {19}.
155. “*Tārīkh Tīmūr*” (History of Timur), 187 {2}, Persian. Possibly Sharāf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī (d. 1454), *Ẓafarnāma*. EDITION: Idem. 2 vols. Ed. Sa‘īd Mīr Muḡammad Ṣādiq and ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn Navā‘ī. Tehran: Kitābkhāna, Mūza va Markaz-i Asnād-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, 2008–9. Entries 155, 156, and 157 could also refer to Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī’s (fl. 1404) *Ẓafarnāma*.
156. “*Tārīkh Tīmūr*” (History of Timur), 187 {2}, Persian.
157. “*Tārīkh Tīmūr*” (History of Timur), 187 {2–3}, Persian.
158. Aḡmad ibn Muḡammad al-Dimashqī, known as Ibn ‘Arabshāh (d. 1450), *‘Ajā’ib al-maḡdūr fī nawā’ib Tīmūr* (The Wonders of Possibility in the Acts of Timur), 187 {5}, Arabic. EDITION: Idem. Ed. ‘Alī Muḡammad ‘Umar. Cairo: Maktabat al-Anjalū al-Miṣriyya, 1979. TRANSLATIONS: *Tamerlane, or, Timur, the Great Amir*. Trans. John H. Sanders. London: Luzac, 1936; *Tārīḡ-i Tīmūr-Leng*. Trans. Naẓmizāde Murtaẓā. Istanbul: Cerīdeḡāne, 1860–61.
159. “*Majmū‘at ḡikāyāt al-a’yān*” (A Collection of Stories of Notables), 187 {5–6}.
160. “*Kitāb ḡikāyatnāma*” (The Book of Stories), 187 {6}, Persian.
161. “*Kitāb ḡikāyatnāma*” (The Book of Stories), 187 {6–7}, Turkish.
162. “*Tarjama shāhnāma*” (A Translation of the Book of Kings), 187 {7}, Turkish, 2 volumes.

163. Muḥammad ‘Awfi (d. 1242), *Jawāmi‘ al-ḥikāyāt wa lawāmi‘ al-riwāyāt* (Collections of Tales and Sparkles of Anecdotes), 187 {8}, Persian. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Bānū Muşaffā. Tehran: Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1973–83.
164. “*Kitāb ḥikāyatnāma*” (The Book of Stories), 187 {8}, Turkish.
165. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Hamadānī (d. 1318), Book One of *Majmū‘a Rashīdiyya, al-Tawḍīhat al-rashīdiyya*, in four books on *‘ilmīyyāt wa-al tawārīkh* (Book One of the Rashidian Collection: The Rashidian Clarifications), 187 {9}, Arabic. MANUSCRIPT: Istanbul, TSMK, A. 2300 and/or A. 2322. EDITION: *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*. Ed. Muḥammad Shafī‘. Lahore: Nashriyyāt-i Kulīyya-i Panjāb, 1945–47.
166. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Hamadānī (d. 1318), Book Three of *Majmū‘a Rashīdiyya, al-Risālat al-sultāniyya* (Book Three of the Rashidian Collection: The Sultanic Treatise, 187 {10–11}).
167. Same as 165 above, 187 {11–12}.
168. Same as 165 above, 187 {13–14}.
169. Same as 165 above, 187 {14–15}.
170. Same as 165 above, 187 {16–17}.
171. “*Qiṣṣat ‘Antar*” (The Tale of Antar), 188 {3}, Arabic, 2 volumes.
172. Same as above, 188 {3–4}, 36 volumes.
173. Same as above, 188 {4}, 58 volumes.
174. Same as above, 188 {5}, Turkish, 7 volumes. MANUSCRIPT: Istanbul, TSMK, K. 889.
175. “*Abyāt Qiṣṣat ‘Antar*” (Verses from the Tale of Antar), 188 {5–6}, Arabic.
176. “*Qiṣṣat ‘Antar*” (The Tale of Antar), 188 {6–7}, Turkish, 3 volumes.
177. First volume of “*Samak ‘Ayyār*” (The Rogue Fish), 188 {11}, Persian.
178. A volume from “*Samak ‘Ayyār fī-l-‘ishq wa-l-balā*” (The Rogue Fish on Love and Travail), 188 {12}, Persian.
179. The first passages of a volume from “*Samak-i ‘Ayyār*” (The Rogue Fish), 188 {13–14}, Persian.
180. A first volume from “*Samak ‘Ayyār*” (The Rogue Fish), 188 {14}, Turkish.
181. A volume from “*Samak ‘Ayyār*” (The Rogue Fish), 188 {15}, Persian.
182. A better volume (*mujallad khayr*) from “*Samak ‘Ayyār*” (The Rogue Fish), 188 {16}, Persian.
183. Muḥammad ibn Ghāzī Malat̄yawī (d. 1212), *Rawḍat al-‘uqūl* (The Garden of the Minds), 189 {1}, Persian. EDITION AND TRANSLATION: Idem. Ed. and trans. Henri Massé. Paris: Maisonneuve, 1938.
184. *Marzubānnāma* (The Book of the March Lord), 189 {1–2}, Persian. EDITION: *Kitāb Marzubānnāmah*. Ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Qāzwīnī, after the version of Sa’d al-Dīn Warāwīnī. Tehran: Kitābfurūshī Furūghī, 1984. TRANSLATION: *The Marzuban-nama: A Book of Fables Originally Compiled in the Dialect of Tabaristān and Translated into Persian by Sa’d al-Dīn i Warāwīnī*. Leiden: E. J. Brill; London: Luzac & Co., 1909.
185. Same as above, 189 {2}, Persian.
186. Same as above, 189 {3}, Persian.
187. Same as above, 189 {3–4}, Turkish. Possibly the fourteenth-century translation by Şeyhoğlu Muşṭafā.
188. “*Kalīla wa Dimna*” (Kalila and Dimna), 189 {7}. MANUSCRIPTS: Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Ms. Ayasofya 4213; TSMK, Y.Y. 777.
189. Same as above, 189 {8}.
190. Same as above, 189 {8}.
191. Same as above, 189 {9}, Arabic. Possibly Ibn al-Muqaffā’s (d. 756/759) translation.

192. Same as above, 189 {9–10}, Arabic.
193. Same as above, 189 {10}, illustrated.
194. Same as above, 189 {11}.
195. Same as above, 189 {11–12}, illustrated, Persian. MANUSCRIPT: Istanbul, TSMK, R. 1022.
196. Selections from “*Kalīla wa Dimna*” (Kalila and Dimna); bound with Sa’dī Shirāzī (d. 1291/1292), *Būstān* (The Orchard); and *Ṭūṭīnāma* (Book of the Parrot), 189 {12–13} [possibly Nakhshabī’s (d. 1350) compilation]]. EDITION: *Būstān-i Sa’dī: Sa’dīnāma*. Ed. Ghulāmḥusayn Yūsufī. Tehran: Anjuman-i Ustādān-i Zabān va Adabiyyāt-i Fārsī, 1981. TRANSLATION: *Morals Pointed and Tales Adorned: The Būstān of Sa’dī*. Trans. G. M. Wickens. Toronto and Buffalo, NY: University of Toronto Press, 1974.
197. “*Kalīla wa Dimna*” (Kalila and Dimna), 189 {14}, Persian.
198. “*Sharh abyāt Kalīla wa Dimna*” (Commentary on Verses from Kalila and Dimna), 189 {14–15}.
199. “*Kitāb ḥall mushkilāt Kalīla wa Dimna*” (Solution of the Complexities of Kalila and Dimna), 189 {15}.
200. “*Kitāb nādir al-wujūd muṣaḥḥahun bi-ghāyat al-taṣḥīḥ fi al-tawārīkh*” (A Rare Book, Corrected with Extreme Care, on History), 189 {15–16}.
201. “*Tawārīkh al-ḥukamā*” (Histories of the Sages), 189 {18}. Possibly by Ṣāḥib al-Dīn al-Bayhaqī (d. 1169/1170), or Shahrāzūrī (fl. 1288).
202. Same as above, 189 {18}.
203. Same as above, 189 {18}.
204. Selections from “*Tawārīkh al-ḥukamā*” (Histories of the Sages); bound with Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037), *Rasāil* (Treatises), 189 {19}–190 {1}. EDITION: *Rasāil al-shaykh al-ra’īs Abī ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Sīnā fi asrār al-ḥikma al-mashriqiyya*. Reprint of M. A. F. Mehren’s Leiden edition of 1889–99. Baghdad: Maktabat al-Muthannā, 1967. 4 volumes.
205. “*Tawārīkh al-ḥukamā*” (Histories of the Sages), 190 {1}.
206. Same as above, 190 {1}.
207. Same as above, 190 {2}.
208. Selections from “*Tawārīkh al-ḥukamā*” (Histories of the Sages), 190 {2}.
209. Selections from “*Tawārīkh al-ḥukamā*” (Histories of the Sages), 190 {2–3}, Arabic.
210. A selection from the earlier sections of “*Tawārīkh al-ḥukamā*” (Histories of the Sages), 190 {3–4}.
211. “*al-Rawḍa fi tawārīkh al-ḥukamā*” (The Garden of the Histories of the Sages), 190 {4}.
212. Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir al-Sijistānī (10th century), *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* (The Chest of Wisdom); bound with *Tawārīkh al-ḥukamā*’ and Ṣāḥib al-Dīn al-Bayhaqī (d. 1169/1170), *Tatimmat ṣiwān al-ḥikma* (The Continuation of the Chest of Wisdom), 190 {4–5}. EDITIONS: *The Muntakhab Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah of Abū Sulaimān as-Sijistānī*. Ed. D. M. Dunlop. The Hague and New York: Mouton, 1979; *Tatimmat ṣiwān al-ḥikma*. Ed. Muḥammad Shafī. Lahore: L. Ishwar Das, 1935. TRANSLATION: Max Meyerhof, “Alī al-Bayhaqī’s Tatimmat Siwān al-Ḥikma: A Biographical Work on Learned Men of the Islam,” *Osiris* 8 (1948): 122–217.
213. “*Risāla fi tārikh Ibn Sīnā wa ‘add muṣannafātihi*” (A Treatise on the History of Ibn Sīnā and an Enumeration of His Works); bound with Ptolemy’s *al-Thamara* (i.e., *Almagest*) and Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī’s (d. 1274) Persian commentary on the *Almagest*, *Tahrīr al-Majisti* (Commentary on the *Almagest*), 190 {6–7}.
214. “*Risāla fi asāmī al-ḥukamā’ wa muṣannafātihim al-mansūbatī ilayhim*” (A Treatise on the Names of the Sages, and the Titles of Works Associated with Them), 190 {8}.

215. "*Kitāb al-tawārikh ... fī awwalihī dhikru Abī Manşūr Sabuktakīn*" (A Book of Histories, at the Beginning of Which Is Mentioned Abū Manşūr Sabuktakīn), 190 {17}, Arabic.
216. "*Qiṣṣat Shāh-Rukh*" (The Tale of Shahrukh), 190 {18}. Perhaps Tāj al-Salmānī, *Shams al-ḥusn*?
217. Muḥammad Fattāhī Nishābūrī (d. 1448), *Ḥusn wa dil* (Beauty and Heart), 190 {18}, Persian. EDITION: *Husn wa Dil*. Ed. Ghulām Reżā Farzāna-pūr. Tehran: Kitābkhāna-i Ṭahūrī, 1985–86. TRANSLATION: *Ḥüs n u Dil*. Trans. Āhī Ḥasan Çelebī. Istanbul: 1870.
218. Qāḍī Aḥmad Nigdawī (fl. 1333), *al-Walad al-shafīq* (The Compassionate Scion), 190 {18–19}, Persian. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye Library, Ms. Fatih 4518. PARTIAL EDITION AND TRANSLATION: *Niğdeli Kadı Ahmed'in el-Veledü'sh-Şefik ve'l-Hâfidü'l-Halîk'ı* (Anadolu Selçuklularına Dair Bir Kaynak). Ed. and trans. Ali Ertuğrul. Volume 1: Analysis and translation; volume 2: Original text. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2015.
219. Abū al-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1201), *al-Muntaẓam fī tāriḫ fī bad' al-dunyā wa tawāriḫ al-umam* (The Well-Organized History of the Beginning of the World and Histories of the Nations), 190 {19}–191 {1}, Arabic, 3 volumes. MANUSCRIPT: Istanbul, TSMK, A. 2909/1, 2909/2, 2909/3. EDITION: *al-Muntaẓam fī tāriḫ al-mulūk wa-al-umam*. Ed. Muḥammad and Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1992. 18 volumes.
220. "*Manāqib Qāḍī Burhān al-Dīn*" (Glorious Deeds of Qāḍī Burhān al-Dīn), 191 {1–2}. Possibly 'Azīz ibn Ardashīr Astarābādī (fl. 1398), *Bazm wa Razm*. Introduction, Köprilizāde Meḥmed Fu'ād; ed. Kılıslı Mu'allim Rıf'at. Istanbul: Evkāf Matba'ası, 1928.
221. Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ījī (fl. 1381/1382), *Tuḥfat al-faqīr ilā šāḥib al-sarīr fī 'ilm al-tawāriḫ* (The Gift of the Humble Servant to the Enthroned One on the Science of History), 191 {2}, Arabic. MANUSCRIPT: Ms. Süleymaniye Library, Turhan Valide Sultan 231. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Khālīd Aḥmad al-Mullā al-Suwaydī. Damascus: Dār Kinān li-al-Ṭibā'a wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī', 2010.
222. Abū al-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1201), *Uyūn al-ḥikāyāt* (Sources of the Anecdotes), 191 {3}, Arabic. MANUSCRIPT: Istanbul, TSMK, A. 2979. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Hāshim al-Ghazzūlī. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2003.
223. 'Abd Allāh ibn As'ad al-Yāfi'ī (d. 1367), *Mir'āt al-jinān wa 'ibrat al-yaqẓān fī ma'rifat mā yu'tabar min ḥawādith al-zamān* (Mirrors of Paradise and Word to the Wise on the Knowledge of What Is Considered Pertinent of the Events of the Age, 191 {3–4}, Arabic. EDITION: Idem. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-A'lāmī, 1970. 4 volumes.
224. Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh Bukhārī (fl. 14th century), *Manāḥij al-ṭalībīn wa masālik al-ṣādiqīn* (The Ways of the Seekers and the Paths of the Sincere), 191 {4}, Persian. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Riżā Harawī. Tehran: Mawlā, 1985.
225. "*Kitāb tawāriḫ muṣawwar*" (An Illustrated Book of Histories), 191 {5}, Persian.
226. "*Kitāb mubawwab fī al-ḥikāyāt*" (A Book of Anecdotes Divided into Chapters), 191 {5–6}.
227. "*Kitāb tawāriḫ mulūk al-'Ajam*" (A Book on the Histories of Persian Kings), 191 {6}, Arabic.
228. "*Kitāb tawāriḫ ba'ḍ al-mulūk*" (A Book on the Histories of Some Rulers), 191 {7}, Persian.
229. A volume from Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Dawādārī (fl. 1335), *Kanz al-durar wa-jāmi' al-ghurar* (The Treasury of Pearls and the Collection of Bright Ornaments), 191 {7–8}, Arabic. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Bernd Radtke et al. Cairo: Qism al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyya, al-Ma'had al-Almānī li-al-Āthār bi-al-Qāhira, etc. 1960–94. 9 volumes.
230. A volume from "*Kitāb tawāriḫ mulūk al-'Arab wa mamālikihim*" (A Book of the Histories of the Kings of the Arabs and Their Kingdoms), 191 {8–9}.
231. Muḥammad ibn al-Walīd al-Ṭurtūshī (d. 1126/1127), *Sirāj al-mulūk* (The Lamp of Kings), 191 {9}, Arabic. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2459. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Nu'mān Şālīḥ al-Şālīḥ. Riyadh: Dār al-'Ādhiriyya, 2005.

232. "*Qūt al-arwāḥ*" (Food for the Spirits), 191 {9–10}, Arabic.
233. 'Imād al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1201), *al-Faṭḥ al-Qassī fī al-faṭḥ al-Qudsī* (The Opening of the Chest on the Conquest of Jerusalem), 191 {10–11}, Arabic. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Muḥammad Maḥmūd Ṣubḥ. Cairo: Dār al-Qawmiyya li-al-Ṭibā'a wa-al-Nashr, 1965.
234. "*Kitāb tawāriḫ Sulṭān Maḥmūd*" (A Book on the Histories of Sultan Maḥmūd [of Ghazna]); bound with "*Kitāb fī al-tawāriḫ*" (A Book on Histories); and "*Kitāb fī al-tawāriḫ*" (A Book on Histories), 191 {11–12}.
235. "*Kitāb tāriḫ tuḥfat al-mulūk*" (A Book of History, Gift to the Rulers), 191 {12}.
236. "*Kitāb al-maqtal ma'a qisṣat al-Musayyab wa qisṣat al-Mukhtār*" (The Book of Martyrdom [of 'Alī or Ḥusayn], with the story of al-Musayyab, and the story of al-Mukhtār), 191 {12–13}.
237. Kaykāvus ibn Iskandar ibn Qābūs (d. 1099), *Qābusnāma* (The Book of Qābūs), 191 {13–14}, Persian. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Ghulāmḥusayn Yūsufī. Tehran: Shirkat-i Intishārāt-i 'Ilmī va Farhangī, 1989–90. TRANSLATION: *Qābusnāme*. Trans. Mercimek Aḥmed, ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay. Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1966.
238. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Dimashqī, known as Ibn 'Arabshāh (d. 1450), *Fākihat al-khulafā' wa mufākahat al-zurafā'* (Joyous Anecdotes of the Caliphs and Droll Tales of the Cultured), 191 {14–15}, Arabic, 2 volumes. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Ayman 'Abd al-Jābir al-Buḥayrī. Cairo: Dār al-Āfāq al-'Arabiyya, 2001.
239. "*Kitāb tawāriḫ fārisiyya fī alqāb al-wuzarā'*" (A Persian Book of History on Vizierial Titulature), 191 {15}, Persian.
240. "*Naṣiḥat al-shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-'Arabī*" (Counsel of Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-'Arabī); bound with *Gulshan Rāz* (The Rose Garden of Secrets [by Maḥmūd Shabistarī, d. 1340]), 191 {16–17}. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Şamad Muvahḥhid. Tehran: Ṭahūrī, 2011. TRANSLATION: *The Secret Rose Garden*. Trans. Florence Lederer and Robert D. Fidler. Grand Rapids, MI: Phanes Press, 2002.
241. "*Siyar al-mulūk*" (Deeds of Kings), 191 {17}. Same as Nizām al-Mulk's *Siyāsatnāma*?
242. Ibn Abī Ḥajala al-Tilimsānī (d. 1374/1375), *Sukkardān al-sulṭān* (The Sultan's Sugar Bowl), 191 {18}, Arabic. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2480. EDITION: Idem. Ed. 'Alī Muḥammad 'Umar. Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 2001.
243. "*Kitāb al-tuḥfa fī al-naṣā'ih wa-al-tawāriḫ*" (The Gift on Counsels and Histories), 191 {18–19}.
244. "*Kitāb Sindbād*" (The Book of Sindbad), 191 {19}.
245. "*Kitāb tawāriḫ al-wuzarā'*" (The Histories of Viziers), 191 {19}.
246. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad al-Tha'ālibī (d. 1038), *Thimār al-qulūb fī al-muḍāf wa-al-mansūb fī al-amthāl* (Fruit of the Hearts on Wise Proverbs, Which Are Ascribed and Attributed), 192 {1}, Arabic. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. Cairo: Dār Nahḍa Miṣr li-al-Ṭab' wa-al-Nashr, 1965.
247. Dāwūd ibn Muḥammad Banākātī (d. 1329/1330), *Tāriḫ Banākātī* (The History of Banākātī, 192 {2}, Persian. EDITION: *Rawḍat ulī al-albāb fī ma'rifat al-tawāriḫ wa-al-ansāb*. Ed. Ja'far Shi'ār. Tehran: Silsila-i Intishārāt-i Anjuman-i Āṣār-i Millī, 1969.
248. "*Nawrūznāma*" (The Book of the New Year); bound with "*Qurrat al-'uyūn*" (Comfort of the Eyes), 192 {2–3}.
249. A later volume from an Arabic translation of "*Kitāb Firdawsī*" (The Book of Firdawsī, 192 {3–4}, Arabic.
250. Al-Tanūkhī (d. 994), *Kitāb al-faraj ba'd al-shidda* (Liberation after Trial), 192 {5}, Arabic. EDITION: Idem. Ed. 'Abbuh Shālījī. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1979.
251. "*Qisṣat al-qāḍī wa-al-liṣṣ*" (The Judge and the Thief), 192 {5–6}.

252. First and second books of “*Qiṣṣat Ḥamza*” (The Tale of Ḥamza), 192 {6}.
253. Two volumes bound in one. The earlier part of volume 1 includes “*Amr al-siḥr*” (The Matter of Magic); the earlier part of volume 2 includes “*Muqāṭalat Rustam ma’a nashawāṭihi*” (The Battles of Rustam, together with His Epic Cycles), 192 {7–8}.
254. “*Kitāb al-jāmi*” (The Comprehensive), 192 {8–9}.
255. “*Jāmasb-nama*” (The Book of Jāmasb), 192 {9}.
256. ʿIsā bin Emīr (?), *Anmūzaj al-tawāriḫ* (Exemplars of History), 192 {10}, Arabic. MANUSCRIPT: Istanbul, TSMK, A. 3006.
257. “*Ḥusn wa dil*” (Beauty and Heart), 192 {10}. Same as 217 above.
258. *Kitāb Alf Layla* [sic] (The Thousand Nights [and a Night]), 192 {11}, Arabic. EDITION: *Kitāb Alf layla wa layla*. 5 volumes. EDITION: Ed. Muḥsin Maḥdī. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984–94. 3 volumes. TRANSLATIONS: *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*. Trans. Richard Francis Burton. 16 volumes. [n.p.]: The Burton Club, [1886?–1890?]; *The Arabian Nights*. Trans. Husain Haddawy, ed. Daniel Heller-Roazen. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2010.
259. An early volume from “*Kitāb Alf layla* [sic]” (The Thousand Nights [and a Night]), 192 {11–12}.
260. “*Kitāb ḥikāyat Kishmīr Shāh*” (Stories on Kishmīr Shāh), 192 {11–12}.
261. “*Kitāb fi tawāriḫ ba’d mulūk al-Fars min Shāhrukh Bahādūr*” (A Book of Histories on Some Rulers of Fars during the Reign of Shahrukh), 192 {13}.
262. “*Majma’ al-nawādir wa gayrihā*” (The Confluence of Rarities and Other [works]), 192 {14}. Qaratāy al-ʿIzzī’s (d. 1333) *Majmū’a al-nawādir*?
263. “*al-Durra al-muḍīʿiyya* [sic]” (The Luminous Pearl), 192 {14}. Probably Ibn al-Dawādārī (d. 1313), *al-Durra al-muḍīʿa fi akhbār al-dawla al-Fāṭimiyya* (The Luminous Pearl on Reports of the Fatimid State).
264. “*Kitāb tawāriḫ mulūk al-Furs*” (A Book on the Histories of the Kings of the Persians), 192 {15}, Persian.
265. “*Risāla fi maʿrifat al-tawāriḫ al-mustaʿmala bayna al-nās*” (A Treatise on the Understanding of Histories Commonly in Use), 192 {16}, Persian.
266. Same as 212:1 above, 192 {17}.
267. Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Kāfiyājī (d. 1474), *Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar al-mufīd fi ʿilm al-tāriḫ* (The Useful and Concise Book on the Science of History), 192 {17–18}. MANUSCRIPT: Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 3403 or 4438.
268. “*Ṣahāʾif al-laṭāʾif fi anwāʾ al-ʿulūm wa-al-tawāriḫ*” (Pleasant Pages on the Types of Sciences and Histories), 192 {19}. Note on the inventory: “The second and third pages of the volume are blank.”
269. “*Kitāb al-qalāʾid fi anbāʾ al-ruʿasāʾ wa-al-wuzarā wa ashʿārihim wa munshaʾātihim*” (A Book of Templates on Reports of the Leaders and Viziers and Their Poetry and Compositions), 193 {1–2}.
270. “*Kitāb ... fi tawāriḫ al-mulūk wa ghayrihim*” (A Book on the Histories of Kings and Others), 193 {2}, Persian.
271. Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Majdī (d. 1447), *al-Durra al-yatīma fi al-tawāriḫ wa-al-āthār al-qadīma* (The Singular Pearl on Histories and Ancient Remains), 193 {3}, autograph manuscript, in 3 volumes.
272. “*Kitāb aghrāz al-siyāsa*” (A Book on the Objectives of Politics), 193 {4}.
273. “*Baḥr al-ansāb*” (The Sea of Genealogies), 193 {4}. Possibly by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAmīd al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Najafī (fl. 15th century).
274. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī (d. 1048), *Kitāb al-Bīrūnī fi taḥqīq mā li-al-Hind* (The Book of al-Bīrūnī on Verification of al-Hind), 193 {5–6}, Arabic. EDITION: Idem. Hyderabad: Maṭbaʿa Majlis Dāʾira al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1958.

275. Same as 274 above, 193 {7–8}.
276. “*Juḥaynat akhbār mulūk al-amṣār*” (The Little Garden of Histories on the Rulers of the Conquered Lands), 193 {8–9}.
277. Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Shahraṣṭānī (d. 1153), *al-Milal wa-al-niḥal* (The Communities and Sects), 193 {12}, Arabic. EDITION: Idem. Ed. ‘Alī ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ Mazīd. Cairo: Maktabat al-Īmān li-al-Ṭibā‘a wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī‘, 2014.
278. Same as 277 above, 193 {12}.
279. Same as 277 above, 193 {13}.
280. Same as 277 above, 193 {13–14}.
281. Same as 277 above, 193 {14}.
282. “*Bakhtiyār-nāma*” (The Book of Bakhtiyār), 193 {17}, Persian. TRANSLATION: *The Bakhtiyār Nāma: A Persian Romance*, trans. William Ouseley, introduction and notes by W. A. Clouston. Larkhall, Lanarkshire: private printing, 1883.
283. “*Mukhtaṣar ... fī al-tawārīkh*” (An Abridgment on Histories), 193 {17}. Persian.
284. “*Dustūr al-wizāra fī qawānīn al-wizāra*” (The Vizierial Guide to the Rules of the Vizierate), 193 {18}.
285. “*Qīṣṣat al-ruḥbān wa masā’ilihim wa kayfa sharaḥahā ‘Alī*” (Tales of the Monks and Their Queries and ‘Alī’s Responses to Them), 193 {18–19}.
286. “*Kāghidnāma*” (The Book of Paper); bound with “*Dastān ‘ajā’ib bi-al-fārisiyya al-manzūma*” (A Persian Epic of Wonders in Verse), 194 {1}.
287. A later volume of “*Tawārīkh shaykh al-Islām*” (Histories of the Elders of Islam), 194 {2}.
288. “*Jāmasbnāma*” (The Book of Jāmasb), 194 {2}.
289. “*Qīṣṣat dīl-gushāy*” (The Heart-Opening Tale), 194 {3}.
290. “*Munāzarāt ‘aql wa ‘ishq*” (The Debate between Reason and Love), 194 {3}. Possibly by Ibn Turka (d. 1432).
291. “*Hikāyat Ḍīpūs*” (The Story of Oedipus), 194 {4}.
292. “*Risālat munāzarāt at-‘ima*” (A Treatise on the Dialogue of Dishes), 194 {4}.
293. “*Dawlatnāma fī munāzarāt al-‘aql wa-al-‘ilm wa-al-ḥilm wa-al-dawla*” (The Book of State on the Debate between Reason, Learning, Forbearance, and State), 194 {5}.
294. “*Majmū‘at al-nawādir*” (A Miscellany of Rarities), 194 {6}.
295. “*Majmū‘a fī awwalihā mukhtaṣar min al-tawārīkh*” (A Miscellany, with an Abridgment of Histories at its beginning), 194 {6}.
296. “*Risāla ... fī munāzarāt dīl u jān*” (A Treatise on the Debate between Heart and Soul), 194 {7}, Persian. MANUSCRIPT: Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 3403 or 4438.
297. Same as 267 above, 194 {7–8}.
298. Abū al-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1201), *Akhbār al-ḥamqā wa-al-mughaffalīn* (Reports of the Stupid and the Foolish), 194 {8–9}, Arabic. EDITION: Idem. Cairo: Zāhid al-Qudsī, 1983.
299. *Ḥusn wa dīl* (Beauty and Heart), 194 {9–10}, Persian. Same as 217 above.
300. “*Risālat fī aḥwāl ahl al-Fars wa-al-‘Iraq*” (A Treatise on the Conditions of the People of al-Fars and al-‘Iraq), 194 {10}, Persian.
301. “*Unwān al-ṣa‘ada fī ādāb al-ḥukamā’*” (The Uppermost of Felicity on the Manners of the Sages), 194 {11}.
302. “*Risālat munāzarāt ‘aql u ‘ishq ... wa rasā’il ukhrā*” (A Treatise on the Debate Between Reason and Love, and other treatises), 194 {11–12}.

303. Muḥammad ibn Khalaf al-Wakī' (d. 941), *Akhbār al-quḍāt* (Reports of the Judges), 194 {12–13}, Arabic. EDITION: Idem. Ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī. Cairo: Maṭba'a al-Istiqāma, 1947–50. 3 volumes.
304. Idrīs Bidlīsī (d. 1520), *Risāla fī munāẓarat al-sawm wa-al-'īd* (A Treatise on the Debate between the Fast and the [Ensuing] Holiday), 194 {12–13}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye Library, Ms. Aya-sofiya 3203.
305. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bistāmī (d. 1454), *Naẓm al-sulūk fī musāmarat al-mulūk* (The Ordering of the Paths for the Accompaniment of Kings), 194 {14–15}, Arabic. MANUSCRIPT: Autograph, Istanbul, TSMK, Ms. A. 1597.
306. "*Kitāb al-baṣkha al-muqaddasa fī tawārīkh ahl al-Injīl wa ahl al-Tawrāt*" (The Holy Easter/Pass-over on the Histories of the Christians and the Jews), 194 {15–16}.
307. "*Risālat munāẓarat al-sayf wa-al-qalam*" (A Treatise on the Debate between Sword and Pen), 194 {16–17}.
308. "*Kitāb fī qiṣṣat Salāmān wa Absāl*" (A Book on the Tale of Salāmān [sic] and Absāl), 194 {17}.

C. UNDER OTHER SECTIONS (LABELED BY THE CATALOGUER AS *FĪ AL-TAWĀRĪKH* OR *MIN QIBAL AL-TAWĀRĪKH*)

309. A work on *fiqh* that also has historical content, 96 {4–5}.
310. A work on *fiqh* that also has historical content, 96 {5–6}.
311. A work on *fiqh* that also has historical content, 96 {7–8}.
312. Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-'Arabī (d. 1240), *Muḥāḍarat al-abrār* (Presentations of the Upright), 145 {4–5}, Arabic.
313. "*Guzīda*" (The Chosen), 115 {2–4}.
314. "*Muḥayyij Shāh*" (The Exciting Shah), 160 {18}–161 {1}, Turkish, in verse.
315. "*Tarjumat kitāb Qusṭantīniyya wa Ayāṣūfiyyā*" (Translation of a Book on Constantinople and [the Church of] Hagia Sophia), 200 {16–17}, Turkish.
316. "*Tuḥfat al-'ajā'ib*" (The Rarity of Wonders), 200 {19}.
317. "*Kitāb dhikr qal'at Qusṭantīniyya wa binā' Ayāṣūfiyyā*" (A Book Relating the Fortifications of Constantinople and the Construction of [the Church of] Hagia Sophia), 201 {1–2}. By Tācīzāde Ca'fer Çelebi (d. 1515)?
318. Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyā al-Qazwīnī (d. 1283), *Athār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-'ibād* (Histories of the Kingdoms and Deeds of Mankind), 201 {2–3}.
319. Abū al-Fidā' (d. 1331), *Taqwīm al-buldān* (The Historical Chronology of the Kingdoms), 201 {3–4}.
320. "*Kitāb 'ajā'ib al-Hind wa-al-Sīn*" (A Book on the Wonders of India and China), 201 {4–5}.
321. "*Qiṣṣat qadūm al-wāqī'a fī al-Qusṭantīniyya*" (A Tale on Events in Constantinople), 201 {7–8}.
322. "*Kitāb fī madīnat al-Banāṭīqa wa riyāsatihā*" (A Book on the City of the Venetians and Its Government), 201 {8–9}.
323. "*Majmū'a*" (Miscellany) that includes "*Riyād al-mulūk*" (The Ways of Rulers) and "*Majma' al-bilād*" (The Confluence of the Kingdoms), 201 {9–10}.
324. "*Kitāb al-mulūk*" (The Book of Kings), a collection that includes information on the signs of the Last Hour, 201 {10–12}. Possibly 305 above.
325. "*Risāla fī tawārīkh Bayt al-maqdis*" (A Treatise on the History of Jerusalem), one of two works bound together, 201 {12–13}.

326. "*Kitāb al-durra al-muḍī'a fī 'ajā'ib al-bariyya*" (The Luminous Pearl on the Wonders of the Earth), 201 {14–15}.
327. "*Şuwar al-mamālik*" (The Depictions of Kingdoms), 202 {10}.
328. "*Kitāb muntakhab taşwīr aqālīm al-Islām*" (A Book of Selective Depictions of the Climes of Islam), 202 {13}.
329. "*Naẓm siyar al-Nabī*" (A Verse Biography of the Prophet), 209 {1}, Arabic.
330. "*Naẓm Kalīla wa Dimna*" (A Versified Kalila and Dimna), 215 {10}.
331. "*Ghazānāma Rūm fī tawārīkh Muḥammad Khān bin Murād Khān*" (The Book of Roman Conquests; on the History of Meḥmed Khan Son of Murād Khan), 250 {15–16}. Possibly by Kāshifī. MANUSCRIPT: Istanbul University Library, F.Y. 1388.
332. "*Qışşat Yūsuf*" (The Story of Joseph), 250 {17}.
333. "*Bakhtiyār-nāma*" (The Book of Bakhtiyār), 250 {18}.
334. "*Kalīla wa Dimna*" (Kalila and Dimna), 250 {18–19}, Persian, in verse.
335. "*Khurshīd wa Nāhid*" (Khurshīd and Nāhid), 251 {1}, Persian.
336. "*Qışşat Yūsuf*" (The Story of Joseph), 251 {2}, Persian, in verse.
337. "*Ẓafarnāma*" (The Book of Victory), 251 {3}, Persian, in verse. Possibly 'Abd Allāh Hātifi's (d. 1521) *Ẓafarnāma*; or perhaps Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī's (d. 1349) *Ẓafarnāma*.
338. "*Ẓafarnāma*" (The Book of Victory), 251 {4}, Persian, in verse. Possibly 'Abd Allāh Hātifi's (d. 1521) *Ẓafarnāma*; or perhaps Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī's (d. 1349) *Ẓafarnāma*.
339. "*Naẓm tawārīkh Sulṭān Muḥammad Khān bin Murād Khān*" (A Versified History of Meḥmed Khan Son of Murād Khan), 251 {5–6}, Persian.
340. "*Naẓm tawārīkh Sulṭān Muḥammad Khān bin Murād Khān*" (A Versified History of Meḥmed Khan Son of Murād Khan), 251 {14–15}, in verse.
341. Two versions of "*Tārīkh Ghāzān*" (History of Ghāzān), 257 {17–18}, bound in a single volume, Persian, in verse.
342. "*Hidāyat al-ma'rifa*" (Guidance for Wisdom), 258 {12–13}.
343. "*Naẓm al-siyar*" (A Versified Deeds [of the Prophet]), 258 {12–13}.
344. "*Khurshīdnāma*" (The Book of Khurshīd), 264 {2–3}, Turkish, in verse. Possibly by Şeyhoğlu Muştafā (d. 1414)?
345. "*Bakhtiyār-nāma*" (The Book of Bakhtiyār), 264 {3}, Turkish, in verse.
346. "*Shahinshāhnāma*" (The Book of the King of Kings), 264 {4}, Turkish, in verse.
347. "*Iskandarnāma*" (The Book of Alexander), 264 {4–5}, Turkish, in verse. Possibly by Aḥmedī's (d. 1413)?
348. "*Dāsītān Khurshīd wa Farrukhshād*" (The Epic of Khurshīd and Farrukhshād), 264 {5–6}, Turkish, in verse.
349. "*Khusraw wa Shīrīn*" (Khusraw and Shīrīn), 264 {2–3}, Turkish, in verse. Possibly by Şeyhī (fl. 1428)?
350. "*Mihr wa Mushtarī*" (Sun and Jupiter) 264 {2–3}, Turkish, in verse. MANUSCRIPT: London, British Library, Or. 7742.
351. "*Khusraw wa Shīrīn*" (Khusraw and Shīrīn), 265 {2}, Chaghatay, in verse.
352. "*Mawlid al-Nabī*" (The Birth of the Prophet), 265 {9}, Turkish, in verse. Possibly by Süleymān Çelebi (d. 1422).
353. "*Siyar al-Nabī*" (Deeds of the Prophet), 265 {9–10}, Turkish, in verse.
354. "*Mawlid al-Nabī*" (The Birth of the Prophet), 265 {10–11}, Turkish, in verse.
355. "*Mawlid*" (The Birth [of the Prophet]), 265 {12–13}, Turkish, in verse.

356. “*Sīyar al-Nabī*” (Deeds of the Prophet), 265 {13–14}, Turkish, in verse, 2 volumes.
357. “*Ilāhīnāma ... fī Qiṣṣat Yūsuf*” (A Hymnal on the Story of Joseph), 265 {15–16}, Turkish, in verse.
358. “*Faṭḥ sultān al-salāṭīn Sultān Bāyezīd Khān bin Muḥammad Khān ... fī tawārīkh faṭḥ qal‘at Mūra*” (The Conquest of the Lord of Sultans, Sultan Bāyezīd Khan Son of Meḥmed Khan, on the History of the Conquest of the Fortifications of Morea), 266 {3–4}, Turkish, in verse. Possibly by Seyyīd Meḥmed el-Münşī?
359. “*Tawārīkh al-salāṭīn al-‘Uthmāniyya ... ilā Sultān Bāyezīd Khān bin Muḥammad Khān*” (Histories of the Ottoman Sultans, up to the Reign of Sultan Bāyezīd Khan Son of Meḥmed Khan), 266 {5–7}, Turkish, in verse. Possibly by Kemāl (fl. 1490)?
360. “*Ghazawāt sultān al-salāṭīn Sultān Bāyezīd Khān bin Muḥammad Khān*” (The Campaigns of the Lord of Sultans, Sultan Bāyezīd Khan Son of Meḥmed Khan), 266 {7–9}, Turkish, in verse.
361. “*Kitāb faṭḥ ba‘ḍ wilāyat Afranj fī yad sultān al-salāṭīn Sultān Bāyezīd Khān bin Muḥammad Khān*” (A Book on the Conquest of Some Frankish Territories by the Hand of the Lord of Sultans, Sultan Bāyezīd Khan Son of Meḥmed Khan) 266 {9–11}, Turkish, in verse.
362. Şafā‘ī, “*Faṭḥ Inabakhti wa Mūtūn sultān al-salāṭīn Sultān Bāyezīd Khān bin Muḥammad Khān*” (The Conquest of Lepanto and Modon by the Lord of Sultans, Sultan Bāyezīd Khan Son of Meḥmed Khan), 266 {12}, Turkish, in verse. MANUSCRIPT: Istanbul, TSMK, R. 1271.
363. “*Munāzarat gul wa mul*” (A Debate between the Rose and the Ant), 266 {13–14}.
364. “*Tawārīkh al-salāṭīn al-‘Uthmāniyya*” (Histories of the Ottoman Sultans), Turkish, in verse, 266 {18}.
365. “*Sultānnāma fī tārikh Sultān Muḥammad bin Murād Khān*” (The Book of Sovereignty on the History of Sultan Meḥmed Son of Murād Khan), 266 {19}–267 {1}, Turkish, in verse.
366. “*Ushshāqnāma fī tārikh Amīr Sulaymān bin Yıldırım Bāyezīd Khān*” (The Book of Lovers on the History of Prince Süleymān Son of Yıldırım Bāyezīd Khan), 267 {1–2}.
367. “*Tawārīkh Muḥammad Khān bin Murād Khān*” (Histories of Meḥmed Khan bin Murād Khan), 267 {3}, Turkish, in verse.

D. UNDER ĀDĀB AL-ḤARB

368. ‘Alī ibn Abī Bakr al-Harawī (d. 1215), *al-Tadhkirat al-Harawīyya fī al-ḥiyal al-ḥarbiyya* (Al-Harawī’s Memoir on the Mechanical Devices of War), 196 {5}, Arabic. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Muṭī‘ al-Murābiṭ. Damascus: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa, 1972. TRANSLATION: “Les conseils du Šayḥ al-Harawī à un prince ayyūbide.” Trans. Janine Sourdel-Thomine. *Bulletin d’études orientales* 17 (1961–62): 205–68.
369. “*Šuwwar ālāt al-ḥarb*” (Depictions of Instruments of War), 196 {6}.
370. “*Kitāb al-tabšira fī kayfiyyat al-najāt fī al-ḥurūb*” (Observation on the Means of Survival in Warfare), 196 {6–7}.
371. “*Risāla fī al-furūsiyya wa-tartīb al-juyūsh*” (A Treatise on Cavalry Training and the Fielding of Armies), 196 {7–8}.
372. “*Risāla fī ādāb al-ḥurūb*” (A Treatise on the Etiquette of War), 196 {8–9}, translated from Greek.
373. “*Risāla fī ādāb al-ḥurūb*” (A Treatise on the Etiquette of War), translated from Greek into Arabic; bound with “*Risāla fī ādāb al-ḥarb*” (A Treatise on the Etiquette of War) translated from Greek into Persian, 196 {9–11}.

374. "*Miṣbāḥ al-ẓalām fī maʿrifat al-ḍarb bi-al-ḥusām fī al-ḥarb*" (The Illuminator of Darkness on How to Strike with a Lance during Battle), 196 {11}.
375. "*Risāla fī aḥwāl al-ḥurūb*" (A Treatise on the Conditions of Warfare), 196 {12}, Persian.
376. "*Risāla fī ādāb al-ḥurūb*" (A Treatise on the Etiquette of War), 196 {12–13}, translated from Greek.
377. "*Risāla nafīsatun fī umūr al-ḥarb*" (An Exquisite Treatise on Matters of Warfare), 196 {13}.
378. Ṭaybughā al-Ashrafi al-Baklamishī al-Yunānī (fl. 1368), *Ghunyat al-ṭullāb fī maʿrifat al-ramy bi-al-nashāb* (The Seeker's Treasure in the Knowledge of How to Shoot an Arrow), 196 {14}. TRANSLATION: *Saracen Archery: An English Version and Exposition of a Mameluke Work on Archery* (ca. A.D. 1368). Ed. and. trans. J. D. Latham and W. F. Paterson. London: Holland Press, 1970. MANUSCRIPT: British Museum, Ms. Add. 233489.
379. "*Kitāb fī al-furūsiyya wa-al-ramy*" (A Book on Horsemanship and Archery), 196 {14}.
380. "*Kitāb al-khayl wa-al-furūsiyya*" (A Book on the Horse and Horsemanship), 196 {15}, Arabic.
381. "*Sharḥ Qaws-nāma Kamāl al-milla wa-al-dīn*" (A Commentary on Kamāl's Book of Archery), 196 {15}.
382. "*Thalāthu rasāʾil fī ʿilm al-furūsiyya wa-al-ramy*" (Three Treatises on Horsemanship and Archery), 196 {16}.
383. "*Qaws-nāma*" (The Book of Archery), 196 {16}, Persian.
384. "*Sharḥ Risālat al-Kamāl al-qawsiyya*" (A Commentary on Kamāl's Book of Archery), 196 {17}.

E. UNDER *AL-FURŪSIYYA*, *AL-BAYṬARA*, *FARASNĀMA*, *BĀZNĀMA*, *SAGNĀMA*

385. "*Kitāb al-furūsiyya [ay al-ʿulūm al-mutaʿalliqa bi-al-fāris al-muḥārib] wa-al-bayṭara*" (A Book of Horsemanship [that is, the knowledge pertinent to the knight] and Veterinary Practice), 199 {4}. Possibly by Ibn Ākhī Khizām al-Khuttalī (d. 864).
386. "*Kitāb al-furūsiyya wa-al-bayṭara*" (A Book on Horsemanship and Veterinary Practice), 199 {5}.
387. "*Kitāb al-furūsiyya wa-al-bayṭara*" (A Book on Horsemanship and Veterinary Practice), 199 {6}.
388. "*Kitāb jāmiʿ fī al-bayṭara*" (A Comprehensive Book on Veterinary Practice), 199 {7}.
389. "*Kitāb nafīs fī ʿilm al-bayṭara*" (An Exquisite Book on Veterinary Science), 199 {7}.
390. "*Kitāb fī ʿilm al-bayṭara*" (A Book on Veterinary Science), 199 {7–8}.
391. "*Kitāb al-bayṭara al-maʿrūf bi-Bayṭarnāma*" (A Book on Veterinary Science, Known as the *Bayṭarnāma*), 199 {8}. MANUSCRIPT: Possibly, Istanbul, TSMK, A. 2115.
392. "*Risāla fī ʿilm al-bayṭara*" (A Treatise on Veterinary Science), 199 {8–9}, Persian.
393. "*Bayṭarnāma*" (The Book of the Veterinarian), in Persian; bound with a "*Bayṭarnāma*"; and another "*Bayṭarnāma*," 199 {9–10}.
394. "*Kitāb al-khayl wa-al-furūsiyya*" (A Book on the Horse and Horsemanship), 199 {10–11}, Arabic.
395. "*Bāznāma*" (The Book of the Falcon); bound with "*Yūznāma*" (The Book of the Cheetah); and "*Sagnāma*" (The Book of the Hound), 199 {15}.
396. "*Kitāb al-zand al-wārī al-maʿrūf bi-bāznāma*" (The Swiftly Igniting Woodfire, Known as the Book of the Falcon), 199 {15–16}.
397. "*Bāznāma*" (The Book of the Falcon), in Arabic; bound with "*Risālat ḥikāyat al-ṣayyād*" (A Treatise on the Story of the Hunter) and "*Risālat ilzām al-naṣrānī*" (A Treatise on the Silencing of the Christians), 199 {16–17}.
398. "*Bāznāma*" (The Book of the Falcon), 199 {17}, translated from Persian.
399. "*Bāznāma*" (The Book of the Falcon), 199 {18}, illustrated, Persian.

400. “*Farasnāma*” (Book of the Horse); bound with a “*Bāznāma*” (The Book of the Falcon) and “*Qaws-nāma*” (The Book of Archery), 199 {18}.
401. “*Şad kalīma-i ‘Alī*” (A Hundred Sayings of ‘Alī); bound with a “*Farasnāma*” (The Book of the Horse), 199 {19}–200 {1}.
402. Muḥammad ibn Khalaf Ibn al-Marzubān (d. 921), *Tafḍīl al-kilāb ‘alā kathīr mimman labisa al-thiyāb* (The Preferability of Dogs over Many of Those Wearing Clothes), 200 {2}, Arabic. EDITION: Idem. Ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm and Gerald Rex Smith. Cologne: Manshūrāt al-Jamal, 2003.
403. “*Shikār-nāma Ilkhānī*” (The Ilkhanid Book of the Hunt), 200 {3}.
404. “*Kitāb al-şayḍ fī ‘ilm al-jawāriḥ*” (A Book of Hunting on the Science of Birds of Prey), 200 {3}.

BOOKS ON THE WONDERS OF CREATION AND GEOGRAPHY IN 'ATUFI'S INVENTORY

The inventory of Bayezid II's (r. 1481–1512) palace library, which was prepared by 'Atufi in 908 (1502–3), is a remarkable source for the history of intellectual life, science, knowledge networks, books, and libraries in the Ottoman empire.¹ A member of the ulema, 'Atufi worked at the palace library during the reign of Bayezid II and is said to have been a tutor for the palace pages.² In his 365-page inventory, 'Atufi catalogues and categorizes about five thousand volumes on a variety of topics ranging from Islamic religious sciences to Sufism, from history to medicine, and from geography to astrology. This essay offers observations and insights into 'Atufi's section on the "Wonders of Creation and Geography" (*Kutub 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa-Kutub Şuwar al-Aqālīm*). I will first highlight some general features of this category, and will then examine the selection and classification of books included in the list. The concluding section provides possible answers to the question of what this list meant for the Ottoman understanding of geography as a discipline at the turn of the sixteenth century.

ORGANIZATION, CLASSIFICATION, AND SELECTION OF BOOKS

The section on the books of Wonders of Creation and Geography appears between pages 200 and 203 of the manuscript. 'Atufi catalogues forty-eight books in this section, which comes after the books on history and biography and before the books on Arabic literature. There are six blank spaces scattered throughout this category, which itself is only four pages long. These blank spaces may signify further attempts at classification by 'Atufi, a possibility that will be discussed below.

Although there are two additional entries on geography within the books on medicine and history, the category on the Wonders of Creation and Geography is one of the shorter sections of the inventory. The number of books listed in this section constitutes less than one percent of the entire collection.

The inventory includes individual books, compendia, treatises, and translations. 'Atufi's entries are brief. Only six entries mention the author; the rest are unspecified. Of the forty-eight books, three are in Turkish, three in Persian, and the rest are in Arabic. In the case of Persian and Turkish language works, 'Atufi does not identify the authors.³

The section on books of Wonders of Creation and Geography does not follow a strict classification in terms of subject. The list contains a wide variety of works on history, geography, and cosmography. If more than one copy of a certain work is listed in the inventory, the entry is typically followed by a list of other copies, translations, and commentaries written on that work. Some works are listed in multiple sections throughout the inventory. For instance, a copy of al-Qazwini's (d. 1283) *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa-Gharā'ib al-Mawjūdāt* (Wonders of Creation and Curiosities of Existence) also appears later in the section on the historical accounts (251 {11–12}). This reflects 'Atufi's concern that readers should find all materials relevant to their interests, a significant feature of the larger list that bears further commentary below.

The inventory contains several principal texts of medieval Islamic geography. Among the most frequently recurring works are Qazwini's aforementioned *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa-Gharā'ib al-Mawjūdāt*, Istakhri's (tenth century) *Kitāb al-Masālik al-Mamālik* (Book of Roads

and Kingdoms) or, as 'Atufi lists it, *Kitāb Şuwar al-Aqālīm* (Book of Illustrations of the Climes), and Arabic translations of Ptolemy's *Geographia*. Of the forty-eight books listed in this section of the inventory, ten are copies and translations of Qazwini's *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt* (200 {6–14}), six are of Istakhri's *Kitāb Şuwar al-Aqālīm* (202 {10–14}), and three are of Ptolemy's *Geographia* (203 {5–9}). In addition, 'Atufi lists Ibn al-Athir's (d. 1233) *Tuhfat al-'Ajā'ib wa-Ṭurfat al-Gharā'ib* (Unique Wonders and Strange Curiosities, 200 {11}), Buzurg ibn Shahriyar al-Ramhurmuẓi's (tenth century) *Kitāb 'Ajā'ib al-Hindi* (Wonders of India, 200 {19}, 201 {4–5}), and Abu al-Fida's (d. 1331) *Taqwīm al-Buldān* (Survey of Countries, 201 {3–4}).

Besides these geographical works, 'Atufi also includes two unidentified treatises in this section of his inventory: *Jahān-nāma fī 'Ajā'ib al-Barr wa-l-Baḥr* (Book of the Universe on the Wonders of the Land and the Sea, 200 {14–15}), and *Kitāb Tārīkh al-'Ibād wa-l-Bilād* (History of Mankind and Countries, 200 {15–16}). He lists these two items right after the copies of Qazwini's *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, possibly to indicate that their contents are similar. Immediately after these two accounts, 'Atufi enters three works on Constantinople into his list: *Qīṣṣat Kādūm al-Wāqī'ati fī al-Quṣṭanṭīniyya* (History of the Events in Constantinople, 201 {7–8}), a Turkish translation of *Kitāb Quṣṭanṭīniyya wa-Ayāşūfya* (Book of Constantinople and Hagia Sophia, 200 {16–17}), and a combined account on the fortifications of Constantinople and Hagia Sophia titled *Kitāb Dhikr Qal'ati Quṣṭanṭīniyya wa-Binā'i Ayāşūfya* (Description of Fortifications of Constantinople and of Hagia Sophia, 201 {1–2}).

After the well-known entries on the wonders of creation, universal histories, and the history of Constantinople, 'Atufi's section on Wonders of Creation and Geography moves on to the less known treatises of geography. Among the treatises on specific subjects, there are four focusing exclusively on the geography of the Islamic world: a treatise on islands and another on the histories of Jerusalem bound in a single volume: *Risālatu fī al-Jazā'ir wa-Risālatu fī Tawārīkhi Bayt al-Maqdis fī Mujalladin Wāḥidin* (Treatise on Algiers and Treatise on the History of Jerusalem, 201 {12–13}); Ramhurmuẓi's previously mentioned treatise on the wonders of India;

and a work on the drawings of stones and their benefits, most likely an Arabic translation of a Greek or Latin lapidary, titled *Kitāb fī Nuqūshi Ahjār wa-Manāfi'ihā* (Drawings of Stones and Their Benefits, 201 {13–14}). In this section 'Atufi also lists al-Jazari's (d. 1206) work on mechanical devices titled *al-Umūr al-'Ajībati wa-l-Ḥiyālī* (Book on the Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices, 201 {16}) and a medical compendium by Jamal al-Din Qazwini (twelfth century) titled *Kitāb Muḥīd al-'Ulūm wa-Mubīd al-Humūm* (Book on the Useful Sciences and Destroyer of Anxieties in Wondrous Affairs, 201 {17}).

Of the three Persian works listed in the inventory, two are translations of Qazwini's *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, and one is a translation of Ibn al-Wardī's (d. 1349) *Kharīdat al-'Ajā'ib wa-Tuhfat al-Gharā'ib* (Pearls of Marvels and Unique Curiosities). Of the three Turkish works, one is a translation of Qazwini's *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, one is a translation of *Kitāb Quṣṭanṭīniyya wa-Ayāşūfya*, and the last one is an unidentified treatise titled *'Ajā'ib al-Afkār* (Wondrous Reflections). The only entry where the name of a translator is included is the Arabic translation of Istakhri's *Kitāb Şuwar al-Aqālīm* (202 {10–11}) by a certain Abu al-'Abbas. The reason for this specific inclusion is unknown. It is possible that the name of the translator was identified in the manuscript.

The inventory does not include contemporary geographical or cartographical works produced in Europe. Neither does it include some of the classical works of medieval Islamic geography such as Ibn Hawqal's (tenth century) *Kitāb Şūrat al-'Arḍ* (Book on the Picture of the Earth) and Ibn Khurdadhbīh's (d. 912) *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik* (Book of the Roads and Kingdoms). This is particularly surprising because the Topkapı Palace Museum Library holds the earliest copy of the *Kitāb Şūrat al-'Arḍ*, dated 479 (1086). The work carries Bayezid II's seal, which indicates that it entered the palace library during his reign.⁴ Its absence from the list suggests that it may have been acquired after 'Atufi's inventory was made, or perhaps the book was stored in another location. In addition, the inventory does not include or specify any original works or translations by the Ottoman cosmographer Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed Bican (d. 1456).

The inventory does not list any individual portolan charts, maps, or atlases. Contemporary portolan charts

of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea prepared by al-Katibi from Tunis in 1412–13 and by Ibrahim al-Mursi in 1461 are not part of the inventory and neither are any atlases or charts prepared in Europe. Abu Zayd Ahmad b. Sahl al-Balkhi's atlas, *Ashkāl wa-yā Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm al-Sab'a* (Figures or Pictures of the Seven Climes) is also missing from 'Atufi's inventory. This atlas, held in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library today, carries an impression of Bayezid II's stamp.⁵ 'Atufi's omission of the cartographical works is due to the physical realities of the books in the library. The atlases were kept in the same building but catalogued separately in the Inner Treasury registers rather than in the library register.⁶

GEOGRAPHY AND GEOGRAPHIC KNOWLEDGE IN 'ATUFI'S INVENTORY

In order to better evaluate 'Atufi's classification of Wonders of Creation and Geography, an important but not absolute distinction should be made between the discipline of geography and that of geographical knowledge in the early modern period. The first term, "geography," encompasses what contemporaries understood by the discipline, its content, and textual traditions. The second term, "geographical knowledge," refers to traditions and practices wherein the geography of the world is constructed as an object of science, art, and wonder. This involves observing, mapping, collecting, comparing, and classifying—or in other words, scholarly and intellectual engagement in understanding the world's geography.⁷ From this perspective, it is clear that 'Atufi's inventory highlights what the Ottoman ruling elites and literati understood by the term "geography" and provides an impression of the extent of their geographical knowledge up to 1503.

At first glance, 'Atufi's inventory on geographical works looks haphazard to the modern educated eye. It does not seem to follow a systematic categorization or hierarchy of subjects. Although some important works of classical Islamic geography are part of the list, it appears that, beyond the copies of Qazwini's *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, which 'Atufi lists at the beginning, the rest of the works are cited without any particular consideration as to the topic or author. For instance, the three

works on Constantinople and its history are listed separately from each other, and so are two works on the wonders of India. Closer scrutiny, however, reveals that there is a certain logic behind the organization of this section.

In his introduction to the inventory, 'Atufi admits to the difficulties he faced in classifying the works. He explains why he lists the same works under different categories and points to the difficulty in determining the category under which the collected works should be placed.⁸ For instance, in the Wonders of Creation and Geography section, 'Atufi indicates thirteen geographical accounts that are bound together with other titles within historical volumes. In addition to the physical realities of the works, this may hint at the fact that the border between geography and history was still blurred in this period. As mentioned above, 'Atufi also lists a copy of Qazwini's *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt* among the books on history.

There are six blank spaces scattered throughout the inventory's section on geography. One of these spaces is at the beginning, and the last one is at the end of the section. Of the remaining four, two of the blank spaces separate the books on *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt* and individual works on the history of a city or region from the copies of Istakhri's *Kitāb Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm* (202 {10}; 202 {10–11}; 202 {11–12}; 202 {12}; 202 {13}; 202 {14}; 202 {15}; 202 {15–16}). The other two blank spaces, one at the end of page 202 and one at the beginning of page 203, separate the copies of Istakhri's *Kitāb Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm* from the translations of Ptolemy's *Geographia* (203 {5–6}; 203 {6–7}; 203 {7–9}). It is possible that 'Atufi envisioned the blank spaces as a way to create further classifications within the list. It seems that his list on Wonders of Creation and Geography contains three major subsections: Qazwini's *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt* and its copies, along with individual treatises on history and cosmography; copies of Istakhri's *Kitāb Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm*; and translations of Ptolemy's *Geographia*.

It is noteworthy that 'Atufi separates the works on the Wonders of Creation and Geography from those on astronomy and practical astrology (*ilm al-hay'a* and *ilm al-nujūm*) and lists them quite far apart from each other in the inventory.⁹ In this instance, 'Atufi's classification is different from that of Katib Çelebi (d. 1657), who

identifies geography as part of the science of astronomy along with hydrography, orography, and topography in the introduction to his work on world geography, *Cihānnümā*.¹⁰ 'Atufi, however, separates works on celestial and terrestrial knowledge, listing the works on geography immediately after the historical accounts. 'Atufi and Katib Çelebi represent two different periods in the history of geographical knowledge in the Ottoman empire. The latter was a prolific scholar who actively engaged in the science of geography and followed the contemporaneous discussions on geography very closely.¹¹ 'Atufi's separation of celestial and terrestrial knowledge complies with the more canonical stance in early sixteenth-century Ottoman intellectual circles, which treated the branches of geography and history as intimately related to each other. In this view, all of these interconnected disciplines—history, astronomy, astrology, and cosmography—were collectively put to use for scholarly and intellectual engagement in understanding the world's geography and history.

Given the fact that geography as a discipline was not part of the madrasa curricula, it should not be surprising that the number of books on this topic is much slimmer than the works on literature, religious sciences, or medicine.¹² However, even with a limited number of books, 'Atufi's inventory draws a picture of the Ottoman ruling elites' understanding of geographical knowledge and geography as a subject in the first years of the sixteenth century.

THE INVENTORY IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

'Atufi prepared the inventory during the reign of Bayezid II. Our knowledge of this sultan's possible interest in geography is very limited. We know more about his father Mehmed II's (r. 1451–81) interest in the topic and the activities of the Ottoman intellectuals during and prior to Mehmed's reign. The earliest Ottoman examples of geographical accounts are in fact fourteenth- and fifteenth-century translations of Arabic cosmographical works.¹³ Translations of Qazwini's *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt* and Ibn al-Wardi's *Kharīdat al-'Ajā'ib wa-Farīdat al-Gharā'ib* were among the first works on geography in the Ottoman language.¹⁴ Most well-known was

Yazıcıoğlu Ahmet Bican's abridged translation of Qazwini's *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*. Yazıcıoğlu also wrote the *Dürr-i Mecnūn* (Well-Preserved Pearl), which is an example of a small cosmography and geography in the style of *Pearls of Marvels*—that is, a treatment of the Wonders of Creation.¹⁵

It was during the reign of Mehmed II, who himself collected and drew maps, that geographical accounts increasingly circulated in Istanbul. While it is well known that Mehmed II was fascinated with geographical works—especially with maps—it is difficult to determine just how aware he was of the latest developments in geography.¹⁶ Mehmed's conquest of Constantinople in 1453 intensified the Ottomans' contact with a new group of people who had a variety of political, religious, and intellectual traditions, which the Ottomans eventually adopted in the formulation of their own imperial ideology. Soon after the conquest, Mehmed II launched an architectural, social, and political campaign to change the outlook of Constantinople. Geographical works played a vital role in this enterprise.¹⁷

Mehmed II sponsored the production of maps and geographical accounts for two distinct but interrelated reasons: to satisfy his intellectual curiosity about the world, and to acquire symbolic and practical assistance in his endeavor to establish a new empire. Mehmed II's library in the Topkapı Palace housed two copies of Ptolemy's *Geographia* in Greek.¹⁸ According to Karen Pinto, Mehmed took a great interest in one of these manuscripts and spent long hours working on it with his friend, George Amiroutzes.¹⁹ After the conquest, this sultan commissioned the Byzantine polymath and geographer, George Amiroutzes of Trebizond, to compile all the regional maps of the *Geographia* into a single world map, and encouraged him and his son to prepare a new Arabic translation of the work.²⁰ While the Greek humanist scholar George of Trebizond (d. 1472 or 1473) prepared a Latin translation of Ptolemy's *Almagest* for Mehmed II, the Florentine scholar Francesco Berlinghieri (d. 1501) decided to dedicate a copy of his treatise on the *Geographia* to the same sultan. The printing of the work was completed in 1482, a year after Mehmed II died; thus, the treatise entered the Topkapı Palace Library during the reign of his son, Bayezid II.²¹ The work consisted of the standard Ptolemaic maps, four

additional maps of Italy, Spain, France, and Palestine, and a commentary in verse.²² In 1479, Mehmed II had commissioned the Venetian painter, Gentile Bellini, to prepare his portrait in the contemporary European Renaissance style and to prepare a map of Venice.²³ We know today that the sultan also possessed a map of the Balkans and personally sketched the walls of Constantinople before the conquest of the city.²⁴

Mehmed II appreciated cartography and understood the ways in which maps could be used to support his political ambitions. He was aware of the prestige attached to the ownership of maps, and also of the practical value of maps in his future conquests. His library included classical works of geography and cosmography, as well as new cartographical productions. He actively commissioned maps and accepted them as gifts from his rivals in the East and West. Istakhri's *Kitāb Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm* reflects the intellectual cosmopolitanism of Mehmed's reign. Istakhri was a tenth-century Muslim geographer and possibly a member of the Balkhi school of geography, which flourished in tenth-century Baghdad under the patronage of the Abbasid court.²⁵ This geographical treatise on the topography of the Muslim world became very popular among Muslim scholars, and many copies and translations of it circulated in the Islamic world starting in the eleventh century. An Aqqoyunlu copy of the work reached Istanbul when it was perhaps gifted to Mehmed II by Uzun Hasan (d. 1478), who ruled Iran, Iraq, and Southeastern Anatolia. Karen Pinto suggests that Uzun Hasan may have sent this manuscript to Istanbul as part of Mehmed's ransom demand for Yusuf Mirza, Uzun Hasan's nephew, who was kidnapped by Mehmed's son Prince Mustafa.²⁶ Uzun Hasan's territorial ambitions gradually became a threat to the Ottoman domains; in 1464 he sent an embassy to Venice, offering an anti-Ottoman alliance, which was welcomed. The Aqqoyunlu ruler openly displayed his rivalry, even hostility, towards the Ottoman sultan. He was, however, aware that Mehmed II valued maps and geographical works. Uzun Hasan probably wanted to take advantage of this knowledge and may have sent the work to the Ottoman sultan as a gift.²⁷

The presence of works by Ptolemy and Istakhri in Mehmed II's Topkapı Palace Library and the sultan's abiding interest in cartographical works suggest a

conscious effort to return Constantinople to its former glory as a cosmopolitan center of intellectual and economic exchange. Mehmed II also collected available Byzantine treatises on Constantinople and its most precious monument, the Hagia Sophia, and commissioned their translation into Ottoman Turkish and Persian. These translations transmitted the Byzantine legends about the foundation of the city and Hagia Sophia into the Ottoman tradition, which weaved them into the Ottoman imperial ideology.²⁸ Through these works, Mehmed II aimed at shaping the image of a new empire, which he created by combining Byzantine and Muslim traditions.²⁹ Mehmed was a man of his age; he was a patron of artists and intellectuals. This, combined with the new capital and the new empire, was a legacy he left to his successors.

'Atufi's inventory includes works from Mehmed II's library and collection, and also covers the works that entered the palace library during the first half of Bayezid II's reign. Bayezid did not radically change his father's tradition of offering patronage to artists and intellectuals from the East and West. He welcomed both Italian and Persian artists and their works to his court. For instance, he attempted to commission Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo to work on imperial projects in Constantinople.³⁰ After the death of Mehmed II, Berlinghieri dedicated one of his printed copies of Ptolemy's *Geographia* to Bayezid II as mentioned above, and another to Bayezid's brother Cem, who fled to Rhodes after 1482 and was then taken by the Knights Hospitaller to France as a hostage, to be subsequently handed over to the Pope.³¹ Printed maps proliferated in Europe during this period. A vibrant map trade had begun to flourish in Florence by the beginning of the sixteenth century. While we do not know how widely these printed maps circulated in Constantinople, we do know that Berlinghieri's copy reached Constantinople during Bayezid II's reign. As is well known, the Süleymaniye Library holds two translations of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, each with Bayezid II's seal impressions, which were produced for his father.³²

It is difficult to determine which of the listed works entered the library during Mehmed II's tenure and which ones during Bayezid II's, as not all of them feature dedications and dated colophons. Several copies of

Qazwini's *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt* and Istakhri's *Kitāb Şuwar al-Aqālīm* can perhaps be attributed to Bayezid's interest in Islamic traditions. Bayezid II, who was known to be more devout than his father, is usually credited for reversing his father's Westernizing practices and tastes. However, as mentioned above, Bayezid patronized artists and intellectuals from the East and West. Furthermore, Mehmed II was very keen on collecting and commissioning both European and "traditional Islamic" works on geography. He was so impressed by the Aqqoyunlu copy of Istakhri's *Kitāb Şuwar al-Aqālīm* that he commissioned several copies of the work.³³ Another issue that further complicates this picture is the seals on the manuscripts. As suggested by Karen Pinto, Mehmed II was not in the habit of stamping the books he collected with his seal, unlike his son Bayezid II. Of the six copies of Istakhri's *Kitāb Şuwar al-Aqālīm* that were produced in Istanbul between 1470 and 1520, five carry Bayezid II's seals on their opening and closing folios.³⁴ Therefore, despite the fact that 'Atufi prepared his inventory during the reign of Bayezid II, the list should be considered as a collective record of what Mehmed II and Bayezid II deemed valuable as works of geography.

CONCLUSION

'Atufi's short inventory of books on Wonders of Creation and Geography draws from the major works of classical Islamic geography. These works cover a wide variety of related subjects in geography, history, cosmography, medicine, and mechanics. In general, 'Atufi's entries are very brief. In most cases, he identifies neither the authors nor the production dates for the titles listed. Therefore, it is not clear whether his list includes works produced by earlier Ottoman scholars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Nevertheless, the list offers important clues on the ways in which the Ottoman literati understood geography and categorized geographical accounts.

The largest segment within 'Atufi's inventory is comprised of the copies of Qazwini's *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*. The librarian lists these copies at the beginning, along with a number of historical accounts. The rest of the

inventory consists of mostly unidentified and seemingly generic geographical works with the exception of the copies of Ptolemy's *Geographia* and Istakhri's *Kitāb Şuwar al-Aqālīm*. We have seen that 'Atufi attempts to further divide his inventory into three subsections by leaving empty spaces between the copies of these three abovementioned works. This likely indicates that 'Atufi perceived a distinction between the cosmographical work of Qazwini, the cartographical work of Istakhri, and the translation of the mathematical geography of Ptolemy.

Furthermore, 'Atufi's organization separates the Wonders of Creation and Geography from practical astronomy and astrology, and to a lesser degree from history. 'Atufi signals the importance of geography as a separate discipline from the celestial sciences but still treats it as intimately related to the discipline of history.

Finally, 'Atufi's inventory of Bayezid II's library holdings is one of the earliest instances in which an Ottoman intellectual has described and organized the subject matter of a book collection for potential readers and researchers. 'Atufi's introduction to the inventory also reveals his eagerness to make the collection more accessible. His work provides us with a fascinating glimpse into the shifting patterns of thought regarding the discipline of geography and geographical knowledge among the Ottoman ruling elites and intellectuals. It also prepares the ground for future work by Ottoman librarians, literati, and geographers.

NOTES

1. On 'Atufi's inventory and its section on Turkish literature, see İsmail E. Erünsal, "Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinin Arşiv Kaynakları 6: 909/1503 Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 32, no. 1 (2008): 203–19.
2. Ibid., 205–6.
3. See Gülru Necipoğlu's essay in this volume on the instructions 'Atufi received from Bayezid II, who ordered books to be catalogued according to the titles written on their opening pages and bindings. Also see the English translations of 'Atufi's Turkish and Arabic prefaces in Appendix IV and V of this volume.
4. Ibn Hawqal, *Kitāb Şurat al-'Arḍ*, TSMK, A. 3347.
5. Abū Zayd Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Balkhī, *Ashkāl wa-yā Şuwar al-Aqālīm al-Sab'a*, TSMK, A. 3349. This atlas too might have entered the palace library after 1503.

6. See Gülru Necipoğlu's essay in this volume, which explains that loose-leaf maps and scrolls were catalogued separately in the registers of the Inner Treasury of the Topkapı Palace, the same building in which the royal library, comprising bound volumes, was housed.
7. Charles W. J. Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment: Thinking Geographically about the Age of Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 12; Charles W. J. Withers and Robert J. Mayhew, "Geography: Space, Place, and Intellectual History in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34, no. 4 (2011): 445–52, at 445–46.
8. 'Atûfi, *Defter-i Kütüb*, 5–6. See the English translation in Appendix IV in this volume.
9. As Tunç Şen suggests in his essay in this volume, the modern division of sciences does not fully correspond to the disciplinary boundaries as they were drawn in the late medieval and early modern periods. 'Atufi's categorization of the titles pertaining to different branches of celestial knowledge deviates from other classification systems by Taşköprizade Ahmed (d. 1561), Nev'i Efendi (d. 1599), or Katib Çelebi (d. 1657).
10. Katib Çelebi, *Kitâb-ı Cihânnümâ li-Kâtip Çelebi*, 3 vols. (Ankara: TTK, 2009), 1:15.
11. Gottfried Hagen, *Ein osmanischer Geograph bei der Arbeit: Entstehung und Gedankenwelt von Kâtib Çelebis Ğihânnümâ* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2003); John J. Curry, "An Ottoman Geographer Engages the Early Modern World: Katip Çelebi's Vision of East Asia and the Pacific Rim in the *Cihânnümâ*," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 40 (2012): 221–57.
12. On the general outline of programs in the Ottoman madrasas of the sixteenth century, see Shahab Ahmed and Nenad Filipović, "The Sultan's Syllabus: A Curriculum for the Ottoman Imperial Medreses Prescribed in a *Fermân* of Qânûnî I Süleymân, Dated 973 (1565)," *Studia Islamica* 98/99 (2004): 183–218, at 189–91.
13. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu et al., eds., *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2000), 1:xxxvi; Franz Taeschner, "Osmanlılarda Coğrafya," trans. Hamid Sadi, *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2 (1928): 271–314; Günay Kut, *Acâibü'l-Mahlûkât: Eski Türk Edebiyatı Araştırmaları II*, ed. Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz (Istanbul: Simurg Kitapçılık, 2010), 1–11.
14. 'Ali b. 'Abdurrahman's *'Acâ'ibü'l-Mahlûkât* is considered the oldest Ottoman work on cosmography, even though the earliest incomplete manuscript is from the seventeenth century; see Hagen, *Ein osmanischer Geograph*, 85.
15. *Encyclopedia of Islam Second Edition* (hereafter *El2*), s.v. "Djughrâfiyâ: The Ottoman Geographers," by F. Taeschner; Cevdet Türkay, *Osmanlı Türklerinde Coğrafya* (Istanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1959), 14.
16. Jerry Brotton, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 98–103.
17. Ibid., 98–99; Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2009), 1–16; Pınar Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge and Imperial Culture in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 69–74.
18. Ptolemy, *Geographike Hyphegesis*, TSMK, G.I. 27 and G.I. 57.
19. Karen Pinto, "The Maps Are the Message: Mehmet II's Patronage of an 'Ottoman Cluster,'" *Imago Mundi* 63, no. 2 (2011): 155–79, at 157–58.
20. Ahmet T. Karamustafa, "Military, Administrative, and Scholarly Maps and Plans," in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 2, bk. 1, *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 209–27, at 210.
21. Francesco Berlinghieri, *Atlas*, TSMK, G.I. 84.
22. Brotton, *Trading Territories*, 90.
23. Franz Babinger, "An Italian Map of the Balkans, Presumably Owned by Mehmed II, the Conqueror (1452–53)," *Imago Mundi* 8 (1951): 8–15.
24. Karen C. Pinto, "Ways of Seeing: Scenarios of the World in the Medieval Islamic Cartographic Imagination" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2002), 5; Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, trans. Ralph Manheim, ed. William C. Hickman (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), 81.
25. For al-Istakhri, his works, and his connection to the Balkhi school of geography, see *El2*, s.v. "al-Iṣṭakhri," by A. Miquel; Gerald R. Tibbetts, "The Balkhī School of Geographers," in *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, 108–36, at 108–10.
26. Karen C. Pinto, *Medieval Islamic Maps: An Exploration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 263–70. There are six manuscript copies of al-Istakhri's work that originate in Istanbul between 1474 and 1520; see *ibid.*, 233–34.
27. Ibid., 269–70.
28. Stéphane Yerasimos, *Légendes d'empire: La fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les traditions turques* (Istanbul: Institut français d'études anatoliennes; Paris: J. Maisonneuve, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1990); Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Life of an Imperial Monument: Hagia Sophia after Byzantium," in *Hagia Sophia: From the Age of Justinian to the Present*, ed. Robert Mark and Ahmet Ş. Çakmak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 195–225.
29. Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 154–61; Gülru Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople," *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 1–81.
30. Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 213; Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation," 45–48.
31. Brotton, *Trading Territories*, 93–98. On Berlinghieri's efforts to increase the political influence of Florence in Constantinople, see Sean E. Roberts, "Cartography between Cultures: Francesco Berlinghieri's *Geographia* of 1482" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2006), 1–31.
32. *Tercüme-i Coğrâfiyâ-yı Batlamyüs*, SK, Ayasofya 2596 and 2610.
33. Pinto, *Medieval Islamic Maps*, 270.
34. Ibid., 237–38.

LIST OF ENTRIES

WONDERS OF CREATION AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE CLIMES

(Taḫṣīlu kutubi 'ajā'ib al-makhlūqāti wa-kutubi ṣuwari al-aqālīmī)

1. Zakariyyā ibn Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (d. 1283). *Kitābu 'ajā'ibi al-makhlūqāti wa-gharā'ibi al-mawjūdāti* (Wonders of Creation and Curiosities of Existence), ca. 1280, Arabic, 200 {6}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, Revan 1659, 900/1495 (seal of Bayezid II). SK, Fatih 4171, 825/1422 (seals of Bayezid II and Mahmud I). EDITION: *Zakariya ben Muhammed ben Mahmud el-Cazwini's Kosmographie*. 2 vols. Ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld. Göttingen: Verlag der Dieterichschen Buchhandlung, 1848–49; facsimile reprint Wiesbaden: Martin Sändig, 1967.
2. Same as above, 200 {7}.
3. “*Ajā'ibu al-makhlūqāti*” (Wonders of Creation), Arabic, 200 {8}.
4. Same as above, 200 {8}.
5. “*Kitābu 'ajā'ibi al-makhlūqāti wa-gharā'ibi al-mawjūdāti*” (Wonders of Creation and Curiosities of Existence), Turkish, 200 {9}.
6. “*Kitābu 'ajā'ibi al-makhlūqāti wa-gharā'ibi al-mawjūdāti*” (Wonders of Creation and Curiosities of Existence), Persian, 200 {10}.
7. Ismā'īl ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1299). *Kitābu tuḥfati al-'ajā'ib wa-ṭurfati al-gharā'ibi* (Unique Wonders and Strange Curiosities), Arabic, 200 {11}.
8. “*Kitābu 'ajā'ibi al-makhlūqāti li-l-Fāḍil al-Qazwīnī*” (Wonders of Creation by Fāḍil al-Qazwīnī), 200 {11–12}.
9. “*Ajā'ibu al-makhlūqāti*,” Persian, 200 {12–13}.
10. “*Ajā'ibu al-makhlūqāti*,” Arabic, 200 {13–14}.
11. “*Jahānnāma fī 'ajā'ibi al-barri wa-al-baḥri*” (Book of the Universe concerning the Wonders of the Land and the Sea), 200 {14–15}.
12. “*Kitābu tārīkhi al-'ibādi wa-al-bilādi*” (History of Mankind and Countries), 200 {15–16}.
13. “*Tarjamat al-Kitābi Quṣṣatnīniyya wa-Ayāṣūfiyya*” (Translation of the Book on Constantinople and Hagia Sophia), Turkish, 200 {16–17}.
14. “*Tuḥfatu al-gharā'ibi wa-al-'ajā'ibi wa-tashbihāti kātībī fī mujalladin wāḥidin*,” 200 {17–18}.
15. Buzurg ibn Shahriyār al-Ramhurmuzī (10th century). *Kitābu 'ajā'ibi al-Hind* (Wonders of India), Arabic, 200 {19}. EDITION: Buzurg ibn Shahriyār al-Ramhurmuzī. *The Book of the Marvels of India*. Ed. L. Marcel Devic, trans. Peter Quennell. London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1928.
16. “*Tuḥfatu al-'ajā'ibi min qibali al-tawārīkhi*,” 200 {19}.
17. Abu Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī (d. 1169). *Kitābu tuḥfati al-albābi fī 'ajā'ibi al-bilādi* (Gift to Minds concerning Wondrous Countries), Arabic, 201 {1}. EDITION: Abu Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī. *Tuḥfat al-Albāb*. Ed. G. Ferrand. *Journal Asiatique* 207 (1925): 1–148.
18. “*Kitābu dhikri qal'ati Quṣṣantīniyya wa-binā'i Ayāṣūfiyya*” (Description of Fortifications of Constantinople and of Hagia Sophia), 201 {1–2}.
19. Zakariyyā ibn Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (d. 1283). *Kitābu athāri al-bilādi wa-akhbāri al-'ibādi min qibali al-tawārīkhi* (Monuments of Places and History of Humankind), Arabic, 201 {2–3}. EDITION: al-Qazwīnī. *Athār al-Bilād wa-Akhbār al-'Ibād*. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1960.
20. Abū al-Fidā (d. 1331). *Kitābu taqwīmī al-buldāni min qibali al-tawārīkhi* (Survey of Countries), Arabic, 201 {3–4}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 3345, 722/1327 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Abu

- al-Fidā. *Géographie d'Aboulféda: Texte arabe*. Ed. and trans. Joseph Toissaint Reinaud and William MacGuckin de Slane. Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1840.
21. "*Kitābu 'ajā'ibi al-Hind wa-al-Sīn wa-ghayrihimā min qibali al-tawārikhi*" (Marvels of India and China and Others), Arabic, 201 {4–5}.
 22. "*Risālatu 'ajā'ibi al-buldāni*," 201 {5}.
 23. "*Risālatun fi bayāni madīnati Fulūrandin*" (Treatise on the City of Florence), 201 {5–6}.
 24. "*Risālatu tuhfati al-gharā'ibi bi-al-fārisiyyati*," Persian, 201 {6–7}.
 25. "*Qiṣṣat Kādūm al-wāqi'ati fi al-Quṣṭantīniyya fi al-tawārikhi*" (Story of *Kādūm* [?] and the Events in Constantinople), 201 {7–8}.
 26. "*Kitābun fi madīnati al-Banāṭiqati wa-riyāsatiḥā min qibali al-tawārikhi*" (Book on the City of Venice and Its Government), 201 {8–9}.
 27. Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī (d. before 1411–12). *Majmū'atun awwaluhā Riyāḍu al-mulūki wa-ākhiruha* (Compendium Beginning First with Gardens of Kings and Others), Arabic, 201 {9}.
 28. "*Majma'u al-bilādi fi al-tawārikhi*" (Compendium of Regions), 201 {10}.
 29. "*Kitābu al-malakūti fi 'ajā'ibi al-maṣnū'āti wa-aḥwālī al-ākhirati wa-ashrāṭi al-sā'ati 'alā i'tiqādi Ahli al-sunnati min qibali al-tawārikhi*" (Kingdom of Wonders of Creation and Affairs of the World Beyond and Signs of Approaching Doom according to the Sunni Faith), 201 {10–12}.
 30. "*Risālatun fi al-Jazā'ir wa-risālatun fi tawārikhi Bayt al-Maqdis fi mujalladin wāḥidin*" (Treatise on Algiers and Treatise on the History of Jerusalem), 201 {12–13}.
 31. "*Kitābun fi nuqūshi al-aḥjāri wa-manāfi'ihā*" (Drawings of Stones and Their Benefits), 201 {13–14}.
 32. "*Kitābu al-durrati al-muḍī'ati fi 'ajā'ibi al-barriyyati min qibali al-tawārikhi*" (Illuminating Pearl concerning Wonders of the Lands), 201 {14–15}.
 33. "*'Ajā'ibu al-afkārī*" (Wondrous Thoughts), Turkish, 201 {15}.
 34. Badī' al-Zamān Abū al-'Izz ibn Ismā'il ibn al-Razzāz al-Jazarī (d. 1206). *Kitābu Abī al-'Izz al-Jazarī fi al-umūr al-'ajibat wa-al-ḥiyal* (Book on Wondrous Matters and Mechanical Devices), Arabic, 201 {16}. TRANSLATION: Ismā'il ibn al-Razzāz al-Jazarī. *The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices*. Trans. Donald R. Hill. Dordrecht: Reidel, 1974.
 35. Jamāl al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Qazwīnī (12th century). *Kitābu muḥḍi al-'ulūmi wa-mubīdu al-humūmi fi 'ajā'ibi al-umūri* (Book on the Useful Sciences and Destroyer of Anxieties concerning Wondrous Matters), 201 {17}.
 36. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Fārisī al-Iṣṭakhri (10th century). *Kitābu ṣuwari al-mamālīki wa-mullākiḥā fi al-tawārikhi* (Book of Illustrations of Countries and Their Rulers), Arabic, 202 {10}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 3349, 878/1473 (Seal of Bayezid II).
 37. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Fārisī al-Iṣṭakhri (10th century). *Kitābu ṣuwari al-aqālīmi bi-al-'arabiyyati li-Abī al-'Abbās* (Book of Illustrations of Climes in Arabic by Abū al-'Abbās), Arabic, 202 {10–11}.
 38. Same as above, 202 {11–12}.
 39. "*Kitābu taṣwīri aqālīmi bilādi al-islāmī*" (Book of Illustrations of Climes of Muslim Regions), 202 {12}.
 40. "*Kitābu muntakhabi taṣwīri aqālīmi al-islāmī fi al-tawārikhi*" (Book of Select Representations of Islamic Climes), 202 {13}.
 41. "*Kitābu ṣuwari al-aqālīmi wa-al-jibālī wa-al-biḥārī wa-al-anhārī wa-al-ṭuruqī*" (Book of Illustrations of Climes and Mountains and Seas and Rivers and Roads), 202 {14}.
 42. "*Kitābu aqālīmi al-arḍi 'alā al-mamālīki al-islāmīyyati*" (Climes of the Earth according to Islamic Domains), 202 {15}.
 43. Same as above, 202 {15–16}.

44. “*Kitābu ‘ilmi hay’ati ashkālī al-arḍi fī al-ṭūli wa-al-‘arḍi al-ma’rūfi bi-jughrāfiyyā*” (Book of the Science of the Shapes of the Earth in Longitude and Latitude Known as Geography), 203 {4–5}.
45. Claudius Ptolemy, known as Baṭlamyūs (d. 170). *Tarjamatu Kitābi Baṭlamyūs fī ‘ilmi al-jughrāfiyyā bi-al-‘arabiyyati fī ṣuwari al-aqālīmi* (Translation of Ptolemy’s Book on the Science of Geography, concerning Illustrations of the Climes), Arabic, 203 {5–6}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 2596 (seal of Bayezid II); SK, Ayasofya 2610 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: *Klaudios Ptolemaios Geograpy: Arabic Translation (1465 A.D.)*. Ed. Fuat Sezgin. Frankfurt: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1987.
46. “*Tarjamatu Kitābi Baṭlamyūs bi-al-‘arabiyyati fī taḥṣīli al-aqālīmi al-ma’rūfi bi-‘ilmi al-jughrāfiyyā*” (Translation of the Book of Ptolemy in Arabic, concerning the Details of the Climes Known as Geography), 203 {6–7}.
47. “*Tarjamatu Kitābi Baṭlamyūs bi-al-‘arabiyyati fī taḥṣīli al-aqālīmi ma’a ṣuwarihā al-ma’rūfi bi-jughrāfiyyā*,” 203 {7–9}.
48. “*Kitābun fī al-‘ajā’ibi wa-al-gharā’ibi*” (Book on Wonders and Curiosities), 251 {11–12}.

BOOKS ON ARABIC PHILOLOGY AND LITERATURE: A TEACHING COLLECTION FOCUSED ON RELIGIOUS LEARNING AND THE STATE CHANCERY

In the inventory of Sultan Bayezid II's palace library in Istanbul compiled by his librarian 'Atufi in 908 (1502–3), the list of texts pertaining to Arabic philology and literature includes collections of poetry, orations, proverbs, epistolary writings, works of belletrist and popular prose, and books on rhetoric, lexicography, grammar, and prosody. These texts comprise fifty-three of the inventory's 365 folios—nearly fifteen percent—indicating the importance of Arabic philology and literature to the Ottoman educational program. The question, then, is why this particular category of texts is so abundant. We can begin to approach the answer by evaluating to what purpose these copious materials were harnessed. And we can understand that purpose to some degree by assessing the strengths and character of the collection.

The contents of the Arabic philology and literature materials signal a two-pronged focus on religion and the chancery. A major portion of the poetry and prose corpus consists of Islamic, particularly Sufi, works—notably the lengthy mystical poems of Ibn al-Farid (d. 1235) and al-Busiri's (d. ca. 1294) poems in praise of the Prophet Muhammad (d. 632, *madiḥ nabawī*). Prominent too are collections of sayings, orations, and verse attributed to the first Shi'i imam and fourth Sunni caliph 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (d. 661). Certain other famous poets and rhymed prose writers without a particularly pietistic focus—chief among them al-Mutanabbi (d. 965) and al-Hariri (d. 1122)—are profusely represented, perhaps because they were important models for chancery officials and for teaching advanced Arabic to pages in the palace school. Also predominant are books on sciences auxiliary to both religious studies and statecraft, including grammar, lexicons, and prosody, and dictionaries of rare words (*gharīb*) that occur in the Qur'an and pro-

phetic hadith, as well as books that are more specifically related to chancery work, such as those on ciphers and accounting.

The clustering of Arabic philology and literature titles in 'Atufi's inventory suggests that this was a teaching collection. With a handful of works dominating—multiple copies of a few key classical texts, plus commentaries, glosses, and superglosses on those texts, including ninety-nine copies of al-Sakkaki's (d. 1229) rhetorical manual *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm* (Key to the Sciences) and its commentaries—the inventory points to a readership interested in learning language-based skills from preferred commentaries on specific texts by a handful of favorite authors. Works by al-Zamakhshari (d. 1144), Ibn al-Hajib (d. 1249), al-Khatib al-Tibrizi (d. 1109), al-Jawhari (d. ca. 1003), Majd al-Din Ibn al-Athir (d. 1210), and al-Maydani (d. 1124) dominate in grammar, prosody, lexicography, rare-word (*gharīb*) dictionaries, and proverbs, respectively. All works listed under the rubric of philology and literature are written in formal Arabic, which also reinforces the emphasis on language teaching. A couple of texts in Middle Arabic—an intermediate register between formal and colloquial—are listed elsewhere, in the history section of the inventory. A similar curricular focus with a primarily religious (but not administrative) concern is found in the collections of late medieval Arabic manuscript libraries in India, as well as in Cairo and Damascus.¹

Listed in 'Atufi's inventory are many of the best-known works in the classical literary heritage of the Eastern Islamic world, alongside other works that are less recognized. The Western Andalusian tradition is almost completely absent, as is the early Eastern Shi'i poetic legacy. Works of rhymed and rhythmic prose are

itemized, but not works of unrhymed literary prose or narrative fiction. A small but significant proportion of the materials are works by local Ottoman scholars (e.g., 213 {9–10}) and even rulers, including a treatise on jihad by Bayezid II himself (214 {15–17}). Additionally, a small number of works listed among the Arabic philological and literary materials consists of translations and commentaries in Persian and Turkish. Especially because of its focus on certain texts, the list can give us some sense of the Ottoman canon.

In what follows, I discuss the coverage and gaps in the inventory, with remarks on how these reflect the pedagogical function of the collection, particularly in the realms of religion and chancery. Next, I assess the valuable volumes and formal presentation of the collection. Finally, I list the inventory's titles in the fields of Arabic literature and philology in a list of entries.

OVERVIEW

Of the eighteen sections in 'Atufi's inventory, four deal with subjects that can be categorized directly under the rubric of Arabic literature and philology:

Section 9 (203–28): on “Arabic diwans, versified books, books of orations, books of rhymed prose, books of proverbs ... books of prosody and the science of rhyme, and poetry” (*al-dawāwīn al-‘arabiyya wa-l-kutub al-manẓūma wa-kutub al-khuṭab wa-l-kutub al-musajja‘a wa-kutub al-amthāl ... wa-kutub ‘ilm al-‘arūd wa-‘ilm al-qawāfi wa-l-shi‘r*). In this section, collections of poetry predominate (203–15).

The portion of section 9 that is devoted to administrative materials—correspondence, epistolary prose, accounting, and ciphers (indicated by elision marks in the title above, 218–23, and, alongside works on prosody, 225–27)—is described in a separate essay of the present volume. Sections 10 and 11, which list Persian and Turkish poetry collections, are also discussed elsewhere, along with the Turkish and Persian prosody manuals in section 9.

Section 12 (268–77): “books of rhetoric” (*tafṣīl kutub al-ma‘ānī*).

Section 13 (280–92): “books on the science of morphology and syntax” (*tafṣīl kutub ‘ilm al-ṣarf wa-l-naḥw*).

Section 14 (293–300): “books of Arabic lexicography and linguistics” (*tafṣīl kutub al-lughā al-‘arabiyya*), in-

cluding lexicons, rare words in the Qur'an and hadith, proverbs, and linguistics. It includes some works in Persian, Ottoman Turkish, and Chaghatay (concentrated in 296–98), alongside a few titles in Greek, Latin, Serbian, Pahlavi, and “Frankish,” especially several works of Greek philosophy (296 {4, 7–8}), which are not discussed in this chapter.

The inventory lists numerous translations of works of grammar, rhetoric, lexicography, and literature into other languages, mostly Persian and some Turkish; many of these are in verse form.

In addition, section 2 on hadith contains compilations of 'Ali's maxims.

Section 6 on “Sufism” (105–49) also contains works of literary prose and poetry. It includes a few titles—such as Ibn al-Farid's poems, al-Busiri's Mantle Poem, and 'Ali's maxims—which are also listed in the section devoted to Arabic literature (section 9). Additionally, it includes a number of prose titles that are studied in contemporary academia under the umbrella of both Sufism and literature, such as Ibn al-'Arabi's (d. 1240) *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* (Meccan Victories) and *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (Bezels of Wisdom), al-Ghazali's (d. 1111) *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (Revivification of the Religious Sciences), and al-Qushayri's (d. 1074) *Risāla* (Treatise). In the present volume, these are assessed in the chapter on Sufism.

Section 8, “History and Biography” (175–203), comprises works of literary prose, including several copies of the translated Sanskrit-Pahlavi animal stories, *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (Kalila and Dimna), and the popular epic tale *Qisṣat 'Antar* (The Epic of 'Antar), as well as a few copies of al-Tha'alibi's (d. 1038) *Thimār al-qulūb* (Fruits for the Heart), al-Tanukhi's (d. 994) *al-Faraj ba'd al-shidda* (Deliverance from Hardship), and the collection of popular tales titled *Alf layla wa-layla* (A Thousand and One Nights). These medieval *adab* works of quasi-historical fiction usually follow the format of historical works, and this is probably the reason why the Ottoman cataloguer makes no distinction between the two categories. The *adab* works are briefly assessed, and their titles listed, in the present chapter.²

The final folios of section 8 also include “Mirrors for Princes,” works which may be categorized within the field of Arabic literature, as well as works that straddle the fields of geography and literary prose from the genre

called “wonders” (*‘ajā’ib*), such as Buzurg ibn Shahriyar’s (fl. tenth century) *‘Ajā’ib al-Hind* (Wonders of India). These materials are discussed elsewhere in the present volume, in the chapter on “History and Biography.”

PROMINENT TITLES: THE OTTOMAN CANON

The prominent titles of the collection convey a sense of the Ottoman canon of Arabic philology and literature at the turn of the sixteenth century. These works are categorized below by genre. Within each category, works are listed in order of the number of copies in the inventory, including texts, commentaries, and glosses.

Poetry

The *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection) of the poetic prodigy al-Mutanabbi is the star of the show (34 copies). Close runner-ups are the lengthy, mystical, love and wine poems of Ibn al-Farid (30 copies), and al-Busiri’s 700+ verse mystical poem in praise of the Prophet Muhammad, *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* (Mantle Poem, 26 copies). Also plentiful are the following collections: the *Dīwān* of a late Abbasid poet named al-Abiwardi (d. 1113, 10 copies); Abu Tammam’s (d. 845) thematic anthology of eloquent verse from the pre-Islamic and early Islamic period, *al-Ḥamāsa* (Heroism, also 10 copies); various collections of the verse of ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib (9 copies); al-Ma‘arri’s (d. 1058) *Saqṭ al-zand* (Fire-Stick’s Spark, also 9 copies); the pre-Islamic poetry collection called *al-Mu‘allaqāt* (Precious Odes, 6 copies); the *Dīwān* of al-Majnun (fl. seventh century, also 6 copies); Ka‘b ibn Zuhayr’s (fl. seventh century) *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* (Mantle Poem, precursor of al-Busiri’s poem of the same name, 5 copies); al-Shanfara’s (d. ca. 550) *Lāmiyya* (Poem in L, also 5 copies); and the *Dīwān* of Abu Nuwas (d. ca. 813, also 5 copies). The Damascene Ashrafiyya library, which was founded in the thirteenth century, also held many copies of certain poetry collections, especially Abu Tammam’s anthology and al-Mutanabbi’s *Dīwān*.³

Literary Prose

Orations, maxims, and the rhymed prose of the *Maqāmāt* (Standings) genre are the main categories of literary

prose included in this section of the inventory. In the genre of rhymed prose (*saj‘*), the Abbasid littérateur al-Hariri’s picaresque *Maqāmāt* (Standings, 16 copies) is abundantly present. The portion on orations and maxims is dominated by three texts ascribed to ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib: al-Sharif al-Radi’s (d. 1016) compilation of ‘Ali’s orations, epistles, and wisdom sayings, *Nahj al-balāgha* (Path of Eloquence, 10 copies); the compilation attributed to al-Jahiz (d. 868), titled *Ṣad kalima* (One Hundred Proverbs, listed thus in its Persian title, 11 copies; the original Arabic title is *Mi‘at kalima*); and al-Tabrisi’s (fl. twelfth century) collection of ‘Ali’s sayings, *Nathr al-la‘ālī* (Scattered Pearls, 9 copies). These and other compilations of ‘Ali’s maxims (with fewer copies) are listed in section 6 on Sufism, including *Ghurur al-ḥikam* (Radiant Maxims), *Kalimāt* (Maxims), *Waṣāyā* (Counsel), and *‘Ahd ilā Mālik al-Ashtar* (‘Ali’s Testament to Malik al-Ashtar), and in section 2 on hadith. Titles of works by classical authors that can be placed more squarely within the genre of proverbs are concentrated in section 14, and are discussed below among books on language.

As mentioned earlier, two works of fiction are prominent in section 8 on history: the translated Mirrors for Princes; the collection of animal stories, *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (13 copies) by Ibn al-Muqaffa’ (d. 759), which is written in a high, literary Arabic register; and the popular early epic on the pre-Islamic poet and hero ‘Antar, titled *Qīṣṣat ‘Antar* (6 copies), a work from an oral genre that is transcribed in Middle Arabic. These are not presented as part of the literary canon; rather, they represent important works of history for the Ottoman cataloguer.

Prosody

Three relatively obscure texts form the bulk of the works on prosody and poetics. These are al-Khatib al-Tibrizi’s (d. 1109) *al-Kāfi* (Absolute Sufficer, 8 copies), Rami’s (fl. fourteenth century) *Anīs al-‘ushshāq* (Comfort for Lovers, 8 copies), and Shams-i Fakhri’s (d. 1348) *Mi‘yār-i Jamālī* (Jamali Touchstone, 4 copies). Four pages of ‘Atufi’s inventory list books of Arabic prosody (225–28). This is a large number for a technical subject, and—in conjunction with the fact that poetry forms the heftiest part of the inventory’s literature chapter, section 9—it shows the importance of Arabic poetry in Ottoman culture.

Rhetoric

The main text in the field of rhetoric is al-Sakkaki's *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* (Key to the Sciences), which occupies a full 8 folios (268–76) of ʿAtufi's inventory. As mentioned earlier, the inventory lists ninety-nine copies of the *Miftāḥ*, including the text itself, as well as commentaries, glosses, superglosses, expansions, and abridgements. Of the eleven copies of the text, nine are of the full *Miftāḥ*, including all three of its sections on syntax, morphology, and rhetoric. The two other copies of the text, and all ninety glosses, are of the final section on rhetoric. Al-Sakkaki's exposition echoes ʿAbd al-Qahir al-Jurjani's (d. ca. 1078) views on rhetoric in his two field-shaping works, *Asrār al-balāgha* (Secrets of Rhetoric) and *Dalāʾil al-iʿjāz* (Proofs of Inimitability); the *Asrār al-balāgha* is not represented in this collection, while the *Dalāʾil al-iʿjāz* is present. Of the ninety glosses on the *Miftāḥ*'s section on rhetoric, fifty-two are copies of al-Khatib al-Qazwini's (d. 1338) abridgement titled *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* (Abridgement of the Key), along with its own glosses. The far distant runner-up to al-Sakkaki's *Miftāḥ* is al-Ijī's (d. 1355) *al-Fawāʾid al-Ghiyāthiyya* (Ghiyath's Benefits) with five copies.

The *Miftāḥ* appears to be the driving force behind ʿAtufi's collection on works of Arabic rhetoric. In addition to the abundance of copies, the title of section 12 of the inventory—*tafṣīl kutub al-maʿānī* (Books of Rhetoric)—is itself influenced by the *Miftāḥ*. The term *balāgha* came to denote the field of stylistics in general across the Islamic world. Instead of *balāgha*, ʿAtufi uses another term, *maʿānī*, which typically signifies a subsection of the field—namely, the rhetorical aspect of syntax-driven constructs, such as elision and hysteron-proteron. The two other major subsections are *bayān*, which denotes imagery, and *badīʿ*, which denotes punning and wordplay. The *Miftāḥ*'s section on rhetoric is made up of two of these three subsections, *maʿānī* and *bayān*, and opens with *maʿānī*, which is probably why ʿAtufi used the term as his chapter heading. To be sure, the terminology of Arabic rhetoric is fluid in its development, but the fact that ʿAtufi titled section 12 as “Books of *maʿānī*” is likely an echo of the *Miftāḥ*'s usage, rather than pure coincidence.

Grammar

In the category of grammar, the most important texts are Ibn al-Hajib's *al-Kāfiya* (Absolute Sufficer, 37 copies) for syntax, and *al-Shāfiya* (The Comprehensive Treatise, 15 copies) for morphology. Other prominent texts for morphology are al-Zanjani's (fl. thirteenth century) *ʿIzzī* (ʿIzz al-Dīn's Book, 16 copies) and Ibn Masʿūd's (d. 1301) *Marāḥ al-arwāḥ* (Cheer for the Spirit, 7 copies).

In addition to Ibn al-Hajib's *al-Kāfiya*, another important work on syntax is al-Zamakhshari's *al-Mufaṣṣal* (The Explicated Text, 28 copies). Other titles on syntax include al-Baydawi's (d. ca. 1286) *Lubāb al-albāb* (The Essence of Minds, 12 copies), Sibawayh's (d. ca. 796) *Kitāb* (The Book, 8 copies), al-Farisi's (d. 987) *al-Īdāḥ* (The Elucidator) and *al-ʿAwāmil* (Grammatical Agents, 6 copies each), al-Mutarrizi's (d. 1213) *al-Miṣbāḥ* (Lamp, 5 copies), Ibn Malik's (d. 1274) *al-Alfiyya* (Thousand Verse Poem), al-Yamani's (d. 1281) *al-Mughnī* (The Sufficing Text, 4 copies each), and Ibn al-Ḥajib's *al-Wāfiya* (The Fulfiller, 3 copies).

Lexicons and Proverbs

In Arabic-to-Arabic lexicography, the main texts are al-Jawhari's (d. ca. 1003) *Tāj al-lughā* (Crown of Lexicography, 13 copies) and al-Zamakhshari's *Muqaddimat al-adab* (Introduction to Literature, 11 copies). The most important lexicon devoted to explicating rare words (*gharīb*) from the Qurʾān and hadith is Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athir's (d. 1210) *al-Nihāya* (The Ultimate Book, 5 copies). For proverbs, the main text is al-Maydani's *Majmaʿ al-amthāl* (Collection of Proverbs, 6 copies).

TITLES WITH FEWER COPIES: BEYOND THE CANON

In addition to the titles represented in many copies that likely formed part of the Ottoman teaching curriculum, the inventory lists other works in single or few copies that were probably of secondary importance. These materials may have been used for reference by scholars who had already gone through the regular course of study. By taking a look at these titles, we can flesh out the Arabic literary and philological territory that was known to the Ottomans. The titles that appear in the

categories below are listed in chronological order according to the death dates of their authors, with page numbers.

Poetry

‘Atufi’s inventory lists several diwans (poetry collections) by individuals, or anthologies of the verse of multiple poets, with one to three copies of each title (205–7). Among the collections of individual poets, several are famous—such as Zuhayr (d. 609), al-Mutalammis (fl. sixth century), al-Nabigha (fl. sixth century), and al-Khirqi (d. ca. 600) from the pre-Islamic period; al-Hutay’a (fl. seventh century) and Hassan ibn Thabit (d. ca. 661) from the early Islamic period; al-Farazdaq (d. 728) from the Umayyad period; and Abu Tammam and al-Buhturi (d. 897) from the Abbasid period. Poets with moderate or faint renown include the pre-Islamic poets Qutba ibn Aws al-Hadira (fl. sixth century) and Laqit al-Iyadi (fl. sixth century), and the early Islamic poet Abu Mihjan al-Thaqafi (d. ca. 637). Additional poets of modest repute from the Abbasid period include those who composed directly under the Abbasids, or under the rule of the Buyids, Saljuks, Ayyubids, Mamluks, Zangids, and other local dynasties—Abu Hayya al-Numayri (d. between 760 and 825), the royal consort Fadl (d. 871), Sari’ al-Dila (d. 1021), al-Raffa’ (d. 1153), Watwat (d. 1182), Ibn al-Ta’awidhi (d. 1188), Ibn al-Sa’ati (d. 1207), Ibn al-Nabih (d. 1222), Shams-i Tabasi (d. ca. 1227), Ibn ‘Unayn (d. 1233), and al-Baha’ Zuhayr (d. 1258). Three are poets of the post-Abbasid period—Nizam al-Din al-Isfahani (d. 1278), Safi al-Din al-Hilli (d. ca. 1349), and Ibn Makanis (d. 1392). Some poetry collections are by local Ottoman poets, including al-Halimi (fl. fifteenth century), and others whose identities remain obscure, including one named Shams al-Afadil Badr al-Din.

Among the large number of poetry and prose anthologies in ‘Atufi’s inventory, most are represented in single copies (213–15). Several of these are works compiled by well-known scholars, including Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih’s (d. 940) *al-‘Iqd al-farīd* (Unique String of Pearls), Abu Hilal al-‘Askari’s (d. ca. 1005) thematic anthology titled *Dīwān al-Ma‘ānī* (Collection of Thematic Units), and three by al-Tha’alibi—*Yatīmat al-dahr* (Pearl of the Age), *Rawḥ al-rūḥ* (Solace for the Soul), and *Ṭarā’if al-ṭuraf* (Exquisite Rarities). Selections from individual poets include

excerpted volumes of the *Dīwān* of al-Sharīf al-Radi, and of two lesser known poets, al-Bakharzi (d. 1075) and al-‘Ubaydi (fl. fourteenth century). I have not been able to identify authors for fourteen other anthologies (213–15).

The poetry anthology portion segues into versified books on various subjects such as grammar, philosophy, mirrors for princes, and prayer, with a few additional anthologies mixed in (214–15, 217). These include proof-texts from Sibawayh’s grammar, a verse rendering of the *Kalila and Dimna* tales, and an amulet inscription. Another is a work titled *Naẓm ādāb al-baḥth* (Versification of the Etiquette of Research) by a recently deceased Ottoman noble referred to by the epithet Khusraw. Yet another is a poem by “Ibn al-‘Ibrī” (Son of the Hebrew)—perhaps Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286)—“in Syriac script, interleaved with Arabic.” With the exception of *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat Ibn Sīnā* (Commentary on the Poem of Ibn Sina), which has three copies, these works are in single copies. Versified books are also listed in section 14, where they are bound together with works on language (298).

A handful of titles in the poetry section are prefaced with the word *Risāla* (Treatise, 214–15), which is unusual. Their categorization as poetry suggests they are in verse form, but this is not a firm indicator. Among the treatises in this section are *Risālat Sulṭān al-salāṭīn Sulṭān Bāyazīd Khān* (Treatise of the Sultan of Sultans, Sultan Bayezid Khan) on jihad, *Risālat al-Imām al-Rāzī* (Imam al-Razi’s Treatise) on wise counsel, and an anonymous work titled *Risālat qawā’id lughat al-furs* (Treatise on Rules of the Language of the Persians); these three works were probably written by Ottoman scholars.

Literary Prose

The inventory lists several literary prose works with one or two copies each. The portion on rhymed prose in section 9 includes the volume of picaresque tales titled *Maqāmāt* (Standings) by Badi’ al-Zaman (d. 1008, 218 {1–2}), the founder of the genre and al-Hariri’s precursor; in this portion, there are no additional titles of rhymed or unrhymed prose works. Section 9’s chancery segment lists the orations of Ibn Nubata (d. 985, 218 {9}). Section 8 on history includes works of classical *adab*, as well as annotated selections of prose and poetry, such

as al-Tanukhi's *al-Faraj ba'd al-shidda* (Deliverance from Hardship, 192) and al-Tha'alibi's *Thimār al-qulūb* (Fruits for the Heart, 192). It also lists the collection of popular tales, *Alf layla wa-layla* (A Thousand and One Nights, 192), as well as anonymous works in the genre of literary debate (*munāzara*) between the pen and the sword, reason and passion, and fasting and breaking fast (194). Among the relevant literary prose titles listed in section 6 on Sufism are two works by al-Zamakhshari, *Rabī' al-abrār* (Springtime for the Pious, 144) and *Aṭwāq al-dhahab* (Collars of Gold, 129, 147). Also listed there are single copies of commentaries on maxims attributed to the three Sunni caliphs, Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthman (137 {1–3}). Many additional Sufi works are listed that may also be studied under the rubric of literature; in the present volume, these are discussed in the essay on Sufism.

Prosody

Single copies are listed of several prosody handbooks (226–28) by well-known authors, including al-Zamakhshari's *al-Qusṭās* (Scale), Ibn al-Hajib's *al-'Arūd* (Prosody), al-Tusi's (d. 1274) *Mi'yār* (Touchstone), and Rashid al-Din Watwat's *Abkār al-afkār* (Virgin Thoughts). Others by lesser known authors include Abu l-Jaysh al-Andalusi's (d. 1228) primer, for which no title is provided, Shams-i Qays's (fl. first half of thirteenth century) *al-Mu'jam* (Concordance), Rami's (fl. fourteenth century) *Ḥaqā'iq al-ḥadā'iq* (Truths from the Gardens), al-Sawī's (d. 1454) *Lāmiyya* (Poem in L), al-Shirwani's (fl. 1487), *al-Shāfiyya* (Comprehensive Treatise), and Ibn al-Janzi's *al-Dawā'ir* (Circles). Yet others are single copies of prosody works whose authors I have not been able to identify, including the treatise of a "Taj-i Halwani," and a work titled *Shifā' al-'alīl* (Cure for the Sick). Two versified prosody works are listed without a title or author's name in section 14, where they are bound together with other works (297 {12–13}).

Rhetoric

Apart from a large number of copies of al-Sakkaki's *Miftāḥ* (Key) and al-Ijī's *al-Fawā'id* (Benefits) mentioned earlier, the remainder of works on rhetoric are relegated to a mere half folio (277) of its five-folio section; these

comprise single copies of three well-known texts by famous classical authors: Diya' al-Din Ibn al-Athir's (d. 1239) *al-Mathal al-sā'ir* (The Popular Proverb), and two that focus on the "inimitability" (*ijāz*) of the Qur'an—'Abd al-Qahir al-Jurjani's *Dalā'il al-ijāz* (Proofs of Inimitability) and Fakhr al-Din al-Razi's (d. 1209) *Nihāyat al-ijāz fī dirāyat al-ijāz* (The Ultimate in Succinctness on Understanding Inimitability). Three titles appear to be commentaries on an unnamed rhetoric text by a recent Ottoman scholar named Mawlana al-Kirmasti.

Earlier, the portion on prosody and cipher in section 9 lists two titles on *badī'* (rhetorical tropes): a commentary on Safi al-Din al-Hilli's *Qaṣīda Badī'yya* (Poem on the Crafts of Wordplay, 225 {8}, 228 {4–5}), and Ibn Qurqmas's (d. ca. 1478) *Zahr al-rabī'* (Spring Flowers, 227 {3}) on the prooftexts of rhetorical wordplay.

Grammar

Morphology titles with single copies (scattered throughout 280, 282, 290, and 292) include commentaries on al-Mazini's (d. ca. 863) *al-Taṣrīf* (Morphology), Ibn Jinni's *al-Mulūkī* (Royal Book), and the morphology section from al-Sakkaki's *Miftāḥ* (Key). A handful of titles with a single copy each are by authors whom I have not been able to identify; one title on Arabic morphology is written in Persian.

For syntax (290–91), al-Zajjaji's (d. ca. 948) primer, *al-Jumal* (Summaries), is listed in a single copy, as are Ibn Jinni's (d. 1002) *al-Luma'* (Flashes), al-Zamakhshari's *al-Aḥājī al-naḥwīyya* (Grammar Puzzles), Ibn al-Anbari's (d. 1181) *Asrār al-'arabiyya* (Secrets of the Arabic Language), Ibn Malik's *Tashīl al-fawā'id* (Making Learning Easy), and Ibn Hisham's (d. 1360) *Qawā'id al-i'rāb* (Rules of Parsing). Other less famous authors are Ibn Babashadh (d. 1077), al-Ijī (d. 1355), and al-Sayyid al-Sharif al-Jurjani (d. 1371). There are a handful of additional syntax works that I have been unable to identify.

Lexicons and Proverbs

Arabic-to-Arabic lexicons with a few copies are found scattered throughout the portion on language books (293–99). Lexicons by famous authors include al-Khalil's (d. 791) *Kitāb al-'Ayn* (Book Titled by the Letter 'Ayn), Ibn al-Faris's (d. 1004) *al-Mujmal* (The Compact Book),

al-Tha'alibi's *Fiqh al-lughā* (The Science of Language), al-Zamakhshari's *Asās al-balāgha* (Foundation of Rhetoric), Ibn Manzur's (d. 1312) *Lisān al-'Arab* (The Speech of the Arabs), and al-Firuzabadi's (d. 1415) *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* (The Encompassing Ocean). Other philological titles—which we would perhaps categorize under literature or literary criticism—include Ibn Qutayba's (d. 889) *Adab al-kātib* (The Chancery Secretary's Handbook) and Ishaq ibn Ibrahim al-Farabi's (d. 961) *Dīwān al-adab* (The Collection of Literature). An intersection between medicine and language comes in the form of an anonymous text titled *Asmā' al-adwiya al-ṭibbiya* (Names of Medicinal Drugs), with 'Atufi specifying that it is "about language."⁴ A handful of lexicons are by unnamed authors whom I have not been able to identify.

Rare-word dictionaries (scattered in 295–300) include the following: for the Qur'an, works by al-Sijistani (d. 929), Ibn Qudama al-Maqdisi (d. 1223), and Najm al-Din Razi Daya (d. 1256); for the hadith, al-Zamakhshari's *al-Fā'iqa* (The Superior Work) and al-Mutarrizi's *al-Mughrib* (Prompt to Wonderment); and for both Qur'an and hadith together, al-Harawi's (d. 1010) *al-Gharibayn* (The Two Rare Word Categories). There are a handful of additional titles whose authors I have not been able to identify.

Titles on miscellaneous language-related genres in this section (294, 299–300) include al-Sahib Ibn 'Abbad's (d. 995) *al-Farq bayn al-dād wa-l-zā'* (The Difference between the Letters Z and D), Ibn Farighun's (fl. tenth century) *Jawāmi' al-'ulūm* (Encyclopedia of the Sciences), and al-Tustari's *al-Mudhakkar wa-l-mu'annath* (Masculine and Feminine). Anonymous works whose authors I have been unable to identify include *al-Tuhfa* (The Gift), *Majma' al-bihār* (Meeting of the Seas), *Risāla fi aḥkām lafẓat kull* (Treatise on the Rules of the Word *kull* [each/every/all]), *Uqūd al-zawāhir* (Flower Garlands) on language, derivations, and morphology, *Sharḥ al-Asmā' al-ḥusnā* (Commentary on [God's] Beautiful Names), *Qaṣīda mumayyiza li-l-zā' min al-dād* (Poem Distinguishing the Letter Z from the Letter D), and a book elucidating the principles of Arabic and religion.

Arabic-Persian dictionaries and glosses (294–95) include Zawzani's (d. 1093) *al-Maṣādir* (Sources), al-Maydani's *al-Sāmī fi l-asāmī* (The Lofty Work), Bayhaqi's (d. 1150) *Tāj al-maṣādir* (Crown of Sources), al-Nasafi's

(d. 1251) *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-'adhrā'* (The Virgin Text), Ibn Nusra's (fl. 1439) *al-Tarjumān* (The Translator), and Zaki's *Ḥadīqat al-adab* (Garden of Literature). A Persian-Arabic dictionary is al-Tiflisi's (fl. 1203) *Qānūn al-adab* (The Literary Rule).

For proverbs, the inventory has a single copy of Ibn al-Anbari's (d. 940) *al-Zāhir fi ma'ānī kalimāt al-nās* (The Shining Book on the Meanings of People's Sayings) and Hamza al-Isfahani's (d. after 961) *al-Durra al-fākhira* (Precious Pearl); the latter is bound together with al-Maydani's proverb collection.

GAPS IN COVERAGE

Besides assessing the strengths of the collection, it is also interesting to note what is missing. Certainly, some lacunae are likely due to happenstance. But in the case of other, more consistent gaps, the nature of the particular lacunae could signal ideological, political, and other forces bearing upon the assembly of this collection. Some of the gaps—such as Shi'i poetry—appear to stem from sectarian and political factors, with the rivalry between the Sunni Ottomans and the Shi'i Safavids playing an obvious role. Other omissions—like the Sufi poetry collection of Ibn al-'Arabi—may be accounted for by lack of access or knowledge. Yet others, and this may be the case for many of the exclusions, could be due to their lack of relevance to the Ottoman religious and administrative teaching agenda.

Below I provide an assessment of the gaps in the Arabic literature and philology collection, along with a cursory evaluation of possible reasons for these omissions, assessed from the perspective of discipline, gender, region, and language register.

From a disciplinary lens, the major gaps are as follows:

- In poetry, the early and medieval Shi'i diwans—al-Kumayt's (d. 743) *Hāshimiyyāt* (Poems on the Hashimites), al-Sayyid al-Himyari's (d. ca. 789) various poems, and Ibn Abi l-Hadid's (d. 1258) *'Alawiyyāt* (Poems on the 'Alawites)—are not included, nor are any of the Fatimid poets, Ibn Hani' (d. 973), Amir Tamim (d. 985), al-Mu'ayyad al-Shirazi (d. 1078), or 'Umara al-Yamani (d. 1174). This lacuna may be

explained by the Ottoman-Safavid rivalry playing out largely along Sunni-Shi'i lines. But 'Ali's own sermons and sayings, as well as his poetry, are prominent in the collection, signaling that these were considered part of an authentic Sunni heritage.

It is harder to understand why several important non-sectarian poetic collections are also absent. Except for a copy of the *Dīwān* of al-Farazdaq (who reportedly maintained Shi'i sympathies but wrote mostly non-denominational verse, d. ca. 728), the most significant Umayyad poets—including al-Akhtal (d. before 710), 'Umar ibn Abi Rabi'a (d. ca. 712), Jarir (d. 728), and the caliph al-Walid (d. 744)—are absent from the roster. Abbasid poets are generally well represented, but some of their major composers—including Bashshar (d. 784) and Abu l-'Atahiya (d. 825)—are inexplicably missing. The pre-Islamic period too is covered relatively well, but important early anthologies of pre-Islamic poetry, such as *al-Aṣma'īyyāt* (al-Aṣma'i's Collection) and *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (Mufaḍḍal's Collection), are absent. These specific gaps could be accidental. Or, it could be that some of these poets were not considered exemplars of the Arabic language in the same way that al-Mutanabbi was, for example, and thus did not serve the pedagogical purposes of the collection. Andalusian poetry is also completely absent; more on that below.

- In prose, most of the chief *adab* works are strikingly absent, including those by al-Jahiz (d. 869), Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi (d. 1023), and al-Ma'arri (although his poetry collection is present in several copies). Only the rhythmic genre of early orations and the rhymed genre of *Maqāmāt* are included within section 9's list of prose titles. It appears that, in the Ottoman view, what constituted beautiful Arabic literary prose was limited to pieces that were rhymed and rhythmic—and the *adab* works were neither. Moreover, as I mentioned earlier, Kalila and Dimna, the Epic of 'Antar, and the few other texts of non-rhymed, non-rhythmic prose listed in section 8 on history are included because of their quasi-historical formal features. Since the omitted *adab* works did not fit that bill, either, they fell through the cracks.

- In the section on rhetoric, early works of criticism and poetics—such as Ibn Sallam's (d. 845) *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-shu'arā'* (Rankings of the Best Poets), Ibn Qutayba's *al-Shi'r wa-l-shu'arā'* (Poetry and Poets), and Qudama b. Ja'far's (d. ca. 932) *Naqd al-shi'r* (As-saying Poetry)—are absent. This lacuna likely stems from the fact that the section is dominated by later medieval textbooks on rhetoric. The earlier, foundational works for the genre do not represent the final fruit of the discipline, and were thus perhaps considered irrelevant to the teaching purpose of the collection. Ibn Qutayba's *Adab al-Kātib* (Chancery Secretary's Handbook), is included, however, among books of language in section 14.

- In the section on grammar and lexicography, most of the major classical works are present.

In terms of gender, the collection reflects the larger corpus of classical Arabic literature and philology, which is almost totally male-dominated. However, works by the few females who engaged in the poetic sphere—such as the famous pre-Islamic poet al-Khansa' (d. 634) and the Umayyad Layla al-Akhyaliyya (fl. eighth century)—are also absent. This could be due to a lack of access or knowledge, or perhaps like some important male poets who are also omitted, they were not considered exemplars of the language. There appear to be just three works listed in the inventory that were written by women: the *Dīwān* of the pre-Islamic elegist al-Khirmiqa bint Badr (d. ca. 600), the *Dīwān* of the Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil's consort Fadl (d. 871), and an anthology of women's verse titled *Majmū'at ash'ār al-nisā' al-makhṣūṣa* (Compendium of Selected Women's Verses).

In terms of region, works of the Islamic East largely predominate. Andalusian and North African works seem to be almost completely absent in all literary and philological disciplines, including the major poetic collections of Ibn Zaydun (d. 1070) and Ibn Khafaja (d. 1139). Also missing are collections of the stanzaic, part-colloquial Andalusian *muwashshaḥ* and *zajal* verse, as well as the anthologies of al-Qali (d. 967) and Ibn Bassam (d. 1147), the prose writings of Ibn Shuhayd (d. 1035) and Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064), and the poetics of Hazim al-Qartajanni (d. 1285). Again, the lacuna could be due to a lack of access or knowledge about these authors, or it could be an indication that they were not deemed suit-

able exemplars of the Arabic language for the purposes of this teaching collection. Certainly, the colloquial poetry might have been ruled out on these grounds alone.

The Sufi poetry of the Andalusian mystic Ibn al-ʿArabi is also missing. This is surprising, given the collection's strength in Sufi works, and the fact that the inventory includes his prose works. Perhaps in this case, the lacuna is simply due to a lack of access or knowledge.

Of the only two Andalusian authors listed, one is a lesser known scholar named Abu al-Jaysh Muhammad ibn al-Husayn al-Andalusi, and his book on prosody is flagged merely by geographical affiliation, without the author's full name, as "the work of the Andalusian" (282 {8–9}). The other Andalusian listed is the eminent littérateur Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih. As mentioned earlier, one copy of his multi-volume anthology of prose and poetry, *al-Iqd al-farid* (The Unique String of Pearls), is listed among the chancery works (223 {14–19}, 224 {1–9}).

In terms of language register, only works of formal, classical Arabic—which form the backbone of the traditional heritage—are represented in the sections on literature and philology. Works in dialect clearly would not have suited the pedagogical purposes of the collection. But titles in Middle Arabic or local dialects that are absent from these sections are found elsewhere in ʿAtufi's inventory, such as the *Thousand and One Nights* (192 {11–12}) and the ʿAntar epic (188 {3–7}), both in Middle Arabic, which are listed in the history section. As mentioned earlier, for ʿAtufi these represent works of history, rather than proper Arabic, and thus a separate rationale is attached to their inclusion elsewhere.

VALUABLE VOLUMES

The collection boasts a number of valuable volumes. Three autograph copies by Ottoman scholars are listed: the late-fifteenth-century Ottoman scholar Lutfullah al-Halimi's *Kitāb Durar* (Book of Pearls, 297 {8–9}), al-Shirwani's prosody volume *al-Shāfiya* (The Comprehensive Treatise, 226 {5}), and *Tafsīr Gharīb al-Qurʾān* (Exegesis of the Rare Words of the Qurʾān, 298 {5–6}) by someone named Abu Bakr al-Razi (perhaps Najm al-Din Razi Daya, d. 1256), are said to be "in the author's handwriting" (*bi-khaṭṭi muʿallifihi*, or *bi-khaṭṭihi*).⁵

A handful of volumes of poetry and rhymed prose were copied by eminent scribes known for their beautiful penmanship: Ahmad ibn al-Suhrawardi al-Bakri (active ca. 1290) is named as the copyist for Badiʿ al-Zaman's (d. 1008) *Maqāmāt* (218 {1–2}). Yaqt al-Mustaʿsimi (d. 1298) is named as the copyist for four volumes: *Muntakhab Dīwān al-Mutanabbī*⁶ (Selections from the *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbi, 204 {13–14}), the *Dīwāns* of Qutba ibn Aws and Abu Mihjan al-Thaqafi, 207 {2–3}), and an anonymous anthology titled *Muntakhab min al-ashʿār wa-l-āthār* (Selections of Verses and Remnants, 213 {7–8}). Al-Mustaʿsimi's student Arghun al-Kamili (d. 1343) is named as the copyist for al-Shanfara's *Lāmiyya* (212 {14–15}).

An illustrated copy of Ibn al-Muqaffa's *Kalīla and Dimna* tales (189 {10})⁷, and a copy of the Epic of ʿAntar, described as "deluxe" (*fākhīr*),⁸ also appear to be special copies.

FORMAL PRESENTATION

The inventory's formal presentation supports the notion of a teaching collection. Four observations are in order:

First, the titles with the most copies are usually listed first or early on in every section. These are usually followed by blank spaces of a quarter to half a page, presumably for filling in titles of related works or copies as they enter the collection. The fact that these spaces usually follow titles already represented in numerous copies signals a priority for gathering additional copies of intensively used works, rather than acquiring new works. The same popular titles are listed unsystematically in other places as well. These copies may have been acquired later, and were thus recorded later on in the inventory.

Second, multiple miscellaneous works are often bound together in a single volume. For example, bound together in a single manuscript with a work of prosody are titles on rhetoric, letters, accounting, Persian dictionaries, and books discussing the difference between the letters *Ẓ* and *Ḍ*. It would be worthwhile to explore the rationale behind certain titles being bound together.

Third, although there does not appear to be a significant overlap between titles in our literature and philol-

ogy section, on the one hand, and other sections of the inventory, on the other, there are a few texts that 'Atufi has apparently found difficult to pigeonhole into a single, neat slot. An example is 'Ali's sermons and maxims, which are listed mostly in section 9 on literature, but also appear in the sections on Sufism and history. Similarly, Ibn al-Farid's poems are listed both in literature and in Sufism. In addition to interdisciplinary overlap, there is also some overlap within the sections dedicated to literature and philology. Proverb collections, for example, are listed both in section 9 on literature and in section 14 on language; though most of these are deemed philological reference works and are therefore listed as language titles, which supports the thesis that 'Atufi's inventory represents a teaching collection focused on imparting proper language skills for the chancery and for religious study.

One final observation, which is important to bear in mind when perusing the concluding list of entries, is that 'Atufi's inventory is extremely cryptic. In many cases, he lists books only by author and genre, without giving the actual title of the work. At other times, he records only titles (often partial) without naming the author, or provides only a description of a book. In my list of entries, I have filled in missing author names or book titles as far as I could ascertain.⁹ I then compared this preliminary information to the list of Topkapı Palace Museum Library (TSMK) manuscripts that bear impressions of Bayezid II's seals. Those entries that I have not been able to identify are listed here as they appear in 'Atufi's inventory. It is my hope that other scholars might be able to determine their authorship.

NOTES

Author's note: This work represents a warm tribute to my Doktorvater, Professor Wolfhart Heinrichs, who passed away in 2014. I am hono-

red to take up the baton for this essay, which he was originally slated to write. My sincere thanks to Professor Geert Jan van Gelder for his generous and expert help in identifying several of the works listed in the entries on Arabic philology and literature.

1. For a discussion of the use of these texts in medieval Indian teaching and scholarship, see Tahera Qutbuddin, "Arabic in India: A Survey and Classification of Its Uses, Compared with Persian," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 127, no. 3 (2007), 315–38, at 332–34. For comments on the religious focus of two private manuscript collections in Cairo and Damascus in the eighth to ninth and fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, see Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 146–47.
2. Miklós Maróth provides a subsection indicating the generic contents of titles in section 8 in his "The Library of Sultan Bayazit II," in *Irano-Turkic Cultural Contacts in the 11th-17th Centuries*, ed. Éva M. Jeremiás (Piliscsaba, 2003), 111–32, esp. 115–29.
3. See Hirschler, *Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands*, 148.
4. Perhaps this could be Moses Maimonides's (d. 1204) *Sharḥ Asmā' al-'aqqār* (Commentary on the Names of Drugs), which lists synonyms to explain the meaning of names given to drugs.
5. This may be Muhammad b. Abi Bakr al-Razi's (active 1261) *Unmūdḥaj jalīl fī as'ila wa-aḥwib min gharā'ib āy al-tanzīl* (A Glorious Model for Questions and Answers in the Wonders/Rare Words of the Verses of Revelation).
6. TSMK, Bayezid II seal: A. 2491 (Karatay A 8426).
7. TSMK, Bayezid II seal: R. 1022 (Karatay F 864).
8. TSMK, Bayezid II seal: K. 889 (Karatay T 2812).
9. In tracking down these details, I relied particularly on the following resources: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1960–2004); 3rd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2007–); Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Leipzig: C. F. Amelang, 1901); Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden: Brill, 1967); al-Ṣafadī (d. 1363), *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, ed. Aḥmad al-Arnā'ūt and Turkī Muṣṭafā (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth, 1420/2000); Ḥājji Khalifa (d. 1067/1657), *Kashf al-ẓunūn 'an asāmī l-kutub wal-funūn*, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1941; and <https://www.worldcat.org>).

LIST OF ENTRIES

BOOKS OF ARABIC DIWANS, VERSIFIED BOOKS IN ARABIC, ORATIONS, RHYMED PROSE, PROVERBS, OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS, PROSE COMPOSITION, SECRETARIAL ACCOUNTING, CIPHERS, THE SCIENCE OF PROSODY, THE SCIENCE OF RHYME, POETRY, AND LITERARY PUZZLES

(*Tafṣīlu al-dawāwīni al-ʿarabiyyati wa-al-kutubi al-manẓūmati bi-al-ʿarabiyyati wa-kutubi al-khuṭabi wa-al-kutubi al-musajjaʿati wa-kutubi al-amthālī wa-kutubi al-tarassulī wa-al-inshāʿi wa-al-siyāqati wa-al-arqāmi wa-kutubi ʿilmi al-arūḍi wa-ʿilmi al-qawāfi wa-al-shiʿri wa-al-muʿammā*)

Books of Rhetoric

(*Tafṣīlu kutubi al-maʿānī*)

Books on the Science of Morphology and Syntax

(*Tafṣīlu kutubi ʿilmi al-ṣarfi wa-al-naḥwi*)

Books of Arabic Lexicography

(*Tafṣīlu kutubi al-lughati al-ʿarabiyyati*)

The following pages contain a full list of the Arabic philology and literature books in ʿAtufi's inventory. The listing follows the content and classification of the inventory's four sections (9, 12, 13, and 14) on Literature, Rhetoric, Grammar, and Lexicography. The few additional prose titles listed here under "Literature" are culled from the inventory's two related sections (6 and 8) on Sufism and History. Within the four sections, titles are listed roughly in the order in which they appear, with scattered copies listed in later pages brought forward. In each section, works by the same author and their commentaries are clustered, with the author's name in uppercase. Titles from the same subgenre, such as anthologies, are also clustered. A line space separates the clusters.

Each listing contains the name of the author, his death date, and the title of the book in Arabic (with its English translation in parentheses). Also mentioned are the page and line number on which the title appears in ʿAtufi's inventory, the number of its copies, and any known impressions of Sultan Bayezid II's seals. From time to time, one or two lines describe the contents of a title or the language of the work.

Some of the information on author names and book titles is taken directly from the inventory, and some information has been added by me. My method and sources for identifying details of cited works are described in the last part of my essay in the present volume.

Poetry Collections

ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 661).

- 1 ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. *Qaṣāʾid Haḍrat-i ʿAlī* (Poems of Haḍrat ʿAlī), 204 {4}, 1 copy.

- 1.1 Bayhaqī, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn (fl. twelfth century). *Anwār al-ʿuqūl min ashʿār waṣī al-rasūl* (Lights for Intellectuals in the Verses of the Messenger's Legatee), commentary on ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib's *Dīwān*, 204 {4–11}, 5 copies, the last one with a versified Persian translation. MAN-

USCRIPT: Topkapı Palace Museum Library (hereafter TMSK) A. 1568 (Karatay A 8376), seal of Bayezid II.

- 1.2 ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. *Munājāt amīr al-mu’minīn ‘Alī* (Prayer Poem of the Commander of the Faithful ‘Alī), 211 {6–9}, 3 copies, the first bound with a poem by “al-Shaykh al-Ḥalabī,” and the second with a treatise on ‘Alī’s sayings.
- 1.3 ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib? *Qaṣā’id Abī l-Ḥasan* (Poems of Abū l-Ḥasan), alphabetically arranged, 213 {6–7}, with a “versified amulet inscription” (*ḥirz manẓūm*).
- 1.4 “*Sharḥ Abyāt ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib*” (Commentary on ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib’s Verse), 282 {5–6}, 1 copy, with a morphology work.

AL-MUTANABBĪ, Abū l-Ṭayyib Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 965).

- 2 al-Mutanabbī. *Dīwān* (Collection of Poetry), 204 {12–13}, 5 copies.
 - 2.1 “*Muntakhab Dīwān al-Mutanabbī*” (Selections from the Collection of al-Mutanabbī’s Poetry), 204 {13–14}, 1 copy, copyist: Yāqūt al-Musta‘īmī. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2491 (Karatay A 8426), Bayezid II’s seal.
 - 2.2 al-Wāḥidī (d. 1076). *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Mutanabbī*, or *Sharḥ Dīwān Abī l-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī* (Commentary on the Collection of Abū l-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī’s Poetry), 205 {1}, 1 copy. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2623 (Karatay A 8433), Bayezid II’s seal.
 - 2.3 “*Sharḥ Dīwān al-Mutanabbī*” (Commentary on the Collection of al-Mutanabbī’s Poetry), some containing only the first or second volume of a two-volume set, 204 {17–19}, 205 {1–5}, 20 copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2502 (Karatay A 8434), Bayezid II’s seal.
 - 2.4 “*Sharḥ mushkilāt Dīwān al-Mutanabbī*” (Commentary on the Difficult Verses of the Collection of al-Mutanabbī’s Poetry), 205 {4}, 1 copy. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2499 (Karatay A 8435), Bayezid II’s seal.
 - 2.5 “*Risālat Naẓm al-Mutanabbī wifqa qawl ahl al-ḥikma*” (Treatise on al-Mutanabbī’s Verses that Overlap with the Sayings of the People of Wisdom), 212 {12–13}, 214 {17}, 215 {1–2}, 6 copies.
 - 2.6 al-Āmidī, Abū Sa’d Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d. 1051). [*Al-Ibāna ‘an*] *sariqāt al-Mutanabbī* (Disclosure of al-Mutanabbī’s Plagiarisms), 212 {13–14}, 1 copy.

AL-MA‘ARRĪ, Abū l-‘Alā’ Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh (d. 1058).

- 3 al-Ma‘arrī. *Saqṭ al-zand* (The Fire-Stick’s Spark), 206 {3–6}, 4 copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2379 (Karatay A 8454), Bayezid II’s seal.
 - 3.1 al-Khwārazmī, Ṣadr al-Afāḍil al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 1220). *Ḍirām al-saqṭ fī Sharḥ Saqṭ al-zand* (The Blazing Spark: Commentary on al-Ma‘arrī’s Fire-Stick’s Spark), 206 {7–9}, 2 copies.
 - 3.2 Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf al-Khuwayyī (d. ca. 1154). *Al-Tanwīr fī Sharḥ Saqṭ al-zand* (The Illuminator: Commentary on al-Ma‘arrī’s Fire-Stick’s Spark), 206 {7, 9–10}, 3 copies.

IBN AL-FĀRIḌ, Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn ‘Alī (d. 1235).

- 4 Ibn al-Fāriḍ. *Dīwān* (Collection of Poetry), 207 {18–19}, 3 copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1569 (Karatay A 8497), Bayezid II’s seal. The same title is listed in the section on Sufism, 144 {1}, 1 copy. The work is also listed under an alternative title, *Kitāb Fī Taṣḥīḥ Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ* (Book of Corrections for the Collection of Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s Poetry), 208 {8–12, 14, 16}, 8 copies. This title is repeated in the section on Sufism, 112 {3–4}, 1 copy. An annotation above the first listing says this work

is the *Dīwān* (Collection of Poetry) itself, and that the misleading title of “Corrections,” though well known, is erroneous.

- 4.1 Ibn al-Fāriḍ. *Qaṣīda Tā'īyya* (The Poem Rhyming in T), 208 {1–3, 15, 19}, 5 copies, two with Persian commentary, one at the beginning of a copy of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān*.
- 4.2 “*Sharḥ al-Tā'īyya*” (Commentary on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Poem Rhyming in T), 208 {13}, 1 copy, commentator not named. The same title is listed in the section on Sufism, 109 {11–12}, 117 {7–8}, 1 copy. Also in the section on Sufism, the commentary “*Sharḥ Qaṣīdat Ibn al-Fāriḍ fi l-taṣawwuf*” (Commentary on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Sufi Poem) is presumably on the Poem Rhyming in T, 111 {12–19}, 112 {1–2, 9–10}, 9 copies, 4 with Persian commentary.
- 4.3 Ibn al-Fāriḍ. *Mīmīyya* (Poem Rhyming in M), presumably his *Khamriyya* (Wine Poem), with versified commentary in quatrains by al-Jāmī (d. 1492), 208 {4}, 1 copy. A commentary is listed in the section on Sufism, “*Sharḥ al-Qaṣīda al-Mīmīyya*” (Commentary on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Poem Rhyming in M), 109 {11}, 1 copy. Another is listed there as “*Sharḥ Qaṣīda khamriyya li-Ibn al-Fāriḍ*” (Commentary on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Wine Poem), 111 {16}, 1 copy.

AL-BŪṢĪRĪ, Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd al-Ṣanhājī (d. ca. 1294).

- 5 *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* (Mantle Poem), 210 {1–10}, 11 copies, 2 with a poem of the same name by Ka'b ibn Zuhayr, fl. seventh century, some with Persian or Turkish commentaries. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, B. 129 (Karatay A 8534), Bayezid II's seal. The same title is listed in the section on Sufism, 129 {3}, 1 copy.
- 5.1 Muḥammad Naṣr al-Dīn (d. 1484). *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-Burda* (Commentary on al-Būṣīrī's Mantle Poem), 210 {18–19}, 211 {1–2}, 4 copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2520 (Karatay A 8543), Bayezid II's seal.
- 5.2 “*Qaṣīdat al-Burda Mukhammasa*” (Five-Line Stanzaic Expansion of al-Būṣīrī's Mantle Poem), 210 {1–9}, 211 {3–4}, 8 copies, including one with a Turkish commentary, plus 2 copies of a *Mukhammasa* anthology.

KA'B IBN ZUHAYR (fl. seventh century).

- 6 Ka'b ibn Zuhayr. *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* (Mantle Poem), 210 {3, 7}, 212 {7–8}, 4 copies, 2 of them bound with al-Busiri's poem of the same name. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 3575/I mük, Bayezid II's seal.
- 6.1 “*Qaṣīda Mukhammasa*” (Five-Line Stanzaic Expansion of Ka'b ibn Zuhayr's Poem), 212 {8}, 214 {8}, 1 copy.
- 6.2 “*Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-Burda*” (Commentary on Ka'b ibn Zuhayr's Mantle Poem), 212 {9–11}, 2 copies, one in Persian, and 300 {11–12}, 1 copy bound with books of lexicography and grammar.

ABŪ TAMMĀM, Ḥabīb ibn Aws (d. ca. 845).

- 7 Abū Tammām. *Al-Ḥamāsa* (Heroism), anthology of poems, 212 {3–5}, 5 copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2370 (Karatay A 8409), Bayezid II's seal.
- 7.1 “*Sharḥ al-Ḥamāsa*” (Commentary on Abū Tammām's Heroism Anthology), 212 {5}, 2 copies.
- 7.2 Abū Tammām. Chapters on *adab* (manners) and *nasīb* (love) from *al-Ḥamāsa* (Heroism), 207 {10}, 1 copy.
- 7.3 Abū Tammām. *Al-Ḥamāsa al-ṣuḡhrā: al-Waḥshiyyāt* (Minor Book of Heroism: The Stray Verses), 212 {2}, 1 copy. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2614 (Karatay A 8412), Bayezid II's seal.

- 7.4 “*Asmā’ shu‘arā’ al-Ḥamāsa*” (Names of the Poets of Abū Tammām’s Heroism Anthology), 215 {2}, 1 copy. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2533 (Karatay A 8371), Bayezid II’s seal.
- 8 *AL-MU‘ALLAQĀT* (The Precious Odes), also known as the Seven (or Nine, or Ten) Long Odes, or Famous Odes, by the preeminent sixth-century pre-Islamic poets Imru’ al-Qays, Labīd ibn Rabī‘a, Zuhayr ibn Abī Sulmā, ʿArafā ibn al-‘Abd, and ‘Amr ibn Kulthūm, and depending on the compilation, two or more of the following: al-Nābigha al-Dhubayānī, al-A‘shā Maymūn, ‘Antara ibn Shaddād, al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥilliza, and ‘Abīd b. al-Abras.² The following compilations and commentaries are listed in the inventory:
- 8.1 Ibn al-Anbārī, Abū Bakr (d. 940). [*Sharḥ*] *al-Qaṣā’id al-sab‘ al-ṭiwāl* (Commentary on the Seven Long Odes), 212 {1}, 1 copy.
- 8.2 al-Zawzanī, al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad (d. 1093). *Sharḥ al-Qaṣā’id al-sab‘* (Commentary on the Seven Odes), 213 {3–4}, 2 copies.
- 8.3 “*Sharḥ al-Qaṣā’id al-sab‘ al-mu‘allaqa*” (Commentary on the Seven Precious Odes), 214 {5}, 1 copy.
- 8.4 “*Sharḥ al-Qaṣā’id al-tis‘ al-mashhūrāt al-mawsūma bi-l-Mu‘allaqāt*” (Commentary on the Nine Famous Odes known as the Precious Odes), 214 {2, 9}, 2 copies.

ABŪ NUWĀS, al-Ḥasan ibn Hānī’ (d. ca. 813).

- 9 Abū Nuwās. *Dīwān* (Collection of Poetry), full or part, scattered in the listing, 204 {14}, 206 {14}, 207 {3, 9, 11}, 5 copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2391 (Karatay A 8406), Bayezid II’s seal.

AL-SHANFARĀ, al-Azdī (d. ca. 550).

- 10 al-Shanfarā. *Al-Lāmiyya* (Poem Rhyming in L), also titled *Lāmiyyat al-‘Arab* (The Poem of the Arabs Rhyming in L), 5 copies, 212 {14–17}, one copied by Arghūn.

AL-ABĪWARDĪ, Abū l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad (d. 1113).

- 11 al-Abīwardī. *Dīwān*: *Najdiyyāt*, *‘Irāqīyyāt*, *Wajdiyyāt* (Poetry Collection: Najd, Iraq and Love-Pain), 205 {13–14, 16}, 206 {2, 14}, 207 {9, 12}, 214 {10}, 10 copies: 8 of the *Najdiyyāt* section, 2 of the *‘Irāqīyyāt*, none of the *Wajdiyyāt*. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2404 (Karatay A 8467), Bayezid II’s seal.
- 11.1 “*Sharḥ al-Najdiyyāt*” (Commentary on al-Abīwardī’s Najd Poems), 212 {16, 18}, 213 {1}, 3 copies.

Anthologies of *Madīḥ Nabawī* (Praise Poetry for the Prophet Muḥammad):

- 12 Abū l-Thana’ (n.d.). *Ahnā l-manā’ih fī asnā l-madā’ih* (The Most Pleasant Gifts of the Loftiest Panegyrics), 209 {5}, 1 copy.
- 13 Abū Bakr al-Ḥanafī (n.d.). *Sharḥ al-Badī’iyya* (Commentary on the Rhetorical Trope Poem, presumably the *Mīmīyya* in praise of the Prophet modeled on al-Būṣīrī’s *Burda* by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, d. ca. 1349), 209 {7}, 1 copy. Another commentary by an anonymous commentator is listed in the section on Rhetoric, 225 {8}, 228 {4–5}, 2 copies. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 2600 (Karatay A 8592); A. 2648 (Karatay A 8594), both with Bayezid II’s seals.
- 14 “*Al-Lumā’ al-lu’lu’iyya*” (The Pearly Luminaries), 209 {8}, 1 copy.
- 15 “*Al-Qaṣā’id al-witriyya fī madḥ ashraf al-bariyya*” (Unique Poems in Praise of the Noblest among God’s Creation), 209 {9–10}, 1 copy.
- RELATED MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2470 (Karatay A 8602), Bayezid II’s seal.

Dīwāns (Poetry Collections) with 1–3 Copies Each:

- 16 Ḥassān ibn Thābit (d. ca. 661). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 205 {9–10}, 3 copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2534 (Karatay A 8373), Bayezid II's seal.
- 17 al-Bahā' Zuhayr, al-Ḥijāzī al-Miṣrī (d. 1258). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 205 {11, 19}, 2 copies.
- 18 Zuhayr ibn Abī Sulmā al-Muzanī (d. 609). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 205 {11–12}, 1 copy.
- 19 al-Qirāṭī, Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh (d. 1379). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 205 {12}, 1 copy.
- 20 Abū Tammām (d. ca. 845). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 205 {11}, 1 copy.
- 21 al-Farazdaq (d. 728). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 205 {19}, 1 copy.
- 22 al-Ṭarābulusī al-Raffā' Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn (d. 1153). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 206 {2}, 1 copy.
- 23 Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 1349). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection) in 2 vols. 206 {3}, 1 copy in 2 vols. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2550 (Karatay A 8566), Bayezid II's seal.
- 24 al-Majnūn, Qays ibn Mulawwaḥ al-'Āmirī (fl. seventh century). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 206 {11–12}, 207 {5, 9, 11}, 6 copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2473 (Karatay A 8402), Bayezid II's seal.
- 25 al-Ḥuṭay'a (fl. seventh century). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 206 {11}, 1 copy.
- 26 Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Sā'atī (d. 1207). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 206 {16}, 1 copy.
- 27 Ṣarī' al-Dilā, Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Qaṣṣār (d. 1021). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 206 {16–17}, 1 copy. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2456 (Karatay A 8446), Bayezid II's seal.
- 28 al-Iṣfahānī, al-Qāḍī Niẓām al-Dīn (d. 1278). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 206 {18–19}, 2 copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2315 (Karatay A 8514), Bayezid II's seal.
- 29 [Ibn] Makānis, al-Ṣāhib al-Wazīr (d. 1392). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 206 {15–16}, 1 copy.
- 30 Abū l-Maḥāsīn, probably Ibn 'Unayn (d. 1233). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 206 {15}, 1 copy.
- 31 "al-Shaykh al-ajall." *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 206 {15}, 1 copy.
- 32 al-Mutalammis (fl. sixth century). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 207 {4}, 1 copy.
- 33 al-Khirniq bint Badr (d. ca. 600). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 207 {4}, 1 copy.
- 34 al-Nābigha al-Dhubaynī (fl. sixth century). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 207 {6}, 1 copy. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 2571 (Karatay A 8365); A. 2653 (Karatay A 8363), both with Bayezid II's seals.³
- 35 Quṭba ibn Aws al-Ḥādīra (fl. sixth century). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 207 {1, 3}, 2 copies, the second copied by Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī.
- 36 Abū Miḥjan al-Thaqafī (d. ca. 637). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 207 {1–3}, 2 copies, the second copied by Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī.
- 37 Laqīṭ ibn Ya'mur al-Iyādī (fl. sixth century). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 207 {2}, 214 {10}, 2 copies.
- 38 Ibn al-Nabīh (d. 1222). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 207 {4–5}, 1 copy.
- 39 Faḍl al-Yamāmiyya al-'Abdiyya (d. 871). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 207 {5–6}, 1 copy.
- 40 Shams-i Ṭabasī (d. ca. 1227). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 207 {6–7}, 1 copy.
- 41 Abū Ḥayya al-Numayrī (d. between 760 and 825). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 207 {7}, 1 copy.
- 42 Shams al-Afāḍil Badr al-Dīn (n.d.). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 207 {8}, 1 copy.
- 43 al-Buḥturī (d. 897). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 211 {14}, vol. 1, 1 copy.
- 44 Waṭwāt, Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 1182). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 211 {15}, vol. 1, 1 copy.
- 45 "*Inshirāḥ al-ṣadr*" (Relief of the Mind), a selection from al-Sharīf al-Raḍī's (d. 1016) *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 211 {18–19}, 1 copy. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2372 (Karatay A 8445), Bayezid II's seal.
- 46 Sibṭ Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī (d. 1188). *Dīwān* (Poetry Collection), 212 {11}, 1 copy, selections.
- 47 al-Ṣafādī, Khalīl b. Aybak (d. 1363). *Sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-'ajam* (Commentary on the [Arabic] Ode in L of the Persians [by al-Tughrā'ī al-Azdī, d. 1121]), 212 {14–17}, 4 copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2553 (Karatay A 8474–75), Bayezid II's seal.
- 48 "*Al-'Ajā'ib*" (Wonders), poem, 213 {5}, 1 copy.

- 49 al-Ḥalīmī, Luṭf Allāh (fl. late fifteenth century). *Tā'īyya* (Ode in T), 213 {9}, 1 copy.
 50 al-'Ubaydī, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-Majīd (fl. fourteenth century). *Al-Tadhkira al-Sa'diyya fī al-ash'ār al-'arabiyya* (Sa'd's Memoir of Arabic Verse), 213 {10-11}, 1 copy.
 51 al-Bākhazī, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan (d. 1075). Selections from Shaykh Bākhazī's verse, 213 {12}, 1 copy.

Poetry Anthologies and Selections:

- 52 al-Tha'ālibī 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad (d. 1038). *Ṭarā'if al-ṭuraf* (Exquisite Rarities), 205 {15}, 1 copy.
 53 al-Tha'ālibī. *Rawḥ al-rūḥ* (Solace for the Soul), 211 {14-15}, 1 copy.
 54 al-Tha'ālibī. *Yatīmat al-dahr* (Pearl of the Age), first volume only, 215 {13-14}, 1 copy.
 55 Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī (d. 1005). *Dīwān al-Ma'ānī* (Collection of Thematic Units), 205 {18}, 1 copy.
 56 al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 1022). *Zahr al-ādāb wa-thamar al-albāb* (Flowers of Manners and Fruits for Intellectuals), 220 {2}, 1 copy in 4 vols. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2569 (Karatay A 8449), Bayezid II's seal.
 57 Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (d. 940). *Al-'Iqd al-farīd* (Unique String of Pearls), 223 {14-19}, 224 {1-9}, one copy in 7 vols.
 58 "*Muntakhab min al-ash'ār wa-l-āthār*" (Selections of Poems and Writings), copied by Yāqūt al-Musta'şimī, 213 {7-8}, 1 copy.
 59 "*Al-Qaṣā'id al-Nafīsa*" (Precious Poems), 207 {8}, 1 copy.
 60 "*Aṣḍāf al-durar*"⁴ (Shells Covering Pearls), 211 {16}, 1 copy.
 61 "*Al-Abyāt al-munkhariṭa fī silk al-murāsālāt*" (Verses Threaded into Correspondence), 211 {18}, 1 copy.
 62 "*Ikhtiyārāt al-ash'ār*" (Selections of Verses), 212 {6}, 1 copy.
 63 "*Muntakhab Sulwat al-mustahām*" (Selections from the Solace of the Bewildered Lover), 212 {18}, 1 copy.
 64 "*Al-Dhakhā'ir fī l-laṭā'if*" (Treasures of Sublime Things), 212 {19}, 1 copy.
 65 "A compendium of the litterateur's sublime verse, alphabetically arranged," 213 {2}, 1 copy.
 66 "A compendium of selections from the Arabs' Poetry Collections," 213 {3}, 1 copy.
 67 "An anthology of Arabic verses, arranged alphabetically," 213 {5-6}, 1 copy.
 68 "An anthology of reliable and ornamented Arabic verse," 213 {8-9}, 1 copy.
 69 "*Majmū'a mushtamila 'alā badā'i' al-āthār wa-rawā'i' al-ash'ār*" (Compendium that Includes Marvelous Traces and Amazing Verses), 213 {11-12}, 1 copy.
 70 "Compendium of verses by men of excellence among the Arabs," 213 {13}, 1 copy.
 71 "A compendium of selected women's verses," 215 {15-16}, 1 copy.
 RELATED MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2301 (Karatay A 8516), Bayezid II's seal.

Versified Books and Sayings:

- 72 Khusraw (n.d.). *Naẓm ādāb al-baḥth* (Versification of the Etiquette of Searching), 213 {9-10}, copy.
 73 "*Sharḥ Qaṣīdat Ibn Sīnā*" (Commentary on the Poem of Ibn Sina), 214 {18-19}, 215 {4-5}, 217 {1}, 3 copies.
 74 "*Kitāb taḥṣīl 'ayn al-dhahab fī sharḥ shawāhid Kitāb Sībawayh*" (The Book of Mining Pure Gold: Commentary on the Proof-Texts from The [Grammar] Book of Sībawayh), 214 {14-15}, 1 copy.
 75 Bayezid II (d. 1512). *Risālat Sulṭān al-salāṭin Sulṭān Bāyazīd Khān (zīdat sa'ādātuḥu fī l-dārāyn) muṣanna'atan fī l-jihād* (Treatise of the Sultan of Sultans, Sultan Bayezid Khan, may his bliss be increased in both the worlds, artistically fashioned on Jihad), 214 {15-16}, 1 copy.
 76 "*Ḥirz mubārak manẓūma*" (Auspicious, Versified Amulet-Inscription), 215 {8-9}, 1 copy.
 77 "*Naẓm Kalīla wa-Dimna*" (Verse-Rendering of the Kalila and Dimna Tales), 215 {10-11}, 1 copy.

- 78 Ibn al-ʿIbrī (Son of the Hebrew)—perhaps Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286). A poem “in Syriac script, interleaved with [commentary in] Arabic and other [languages],” 215 {14}, 1 copy.
- 79 al-Rāzī (n.d.). *Risālat al-Imām al-Rāzī fī l-naṣiḥa* (Treatise of Imam al-Rāzī on counsel), 215 {9–10}, 1 copy.
- 80 “*Risālat qawāʿid lughat al-furs*” (Treatise on the Rules of the Language of the Persians), 215 {16–17}, 1 copy.

ORATIONS AND MAXIMS

All by ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 661):

- 81 al-Raḍī, al-Sharīf Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 1016), compiler. *Nahj al-balāgha* (Path of Eloquence), compilation of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib’s orations, epistles, and wisdom sayings, 216 {1–10}, 10 copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2374 (Karatay A 8221), Bayezid II’s seal.
- 82 al-Ṭabrisī, Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī (fl. first half of the twelfth century), compiler. *Nathr al-laʿālī* (Scattered Pearls), compilation of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib’s wisdom sayings, 214 {13}, 216 {14–19}, 6 copies, some with versified Persian renderings. The title is also listed in the inventory’s section on Hadith, 37 {4–5}, 1 copy, and its section on Sufism, 132 {1}, 148 {15–18}, 2 copies.
- 83 al-Jāhīz, ʿAmr ibn Baḥr (d. 868), compiler. *Ṣad kalima* (One Hundred Proverbs), with its Persian title, so perhaps a Persian translation or commentary—the original Arabic title is *Mīʾat kalima*; compilation of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib’s wisdom sayings, 214 {12}, 216 {18}, 2 copies, all bound with al-Ṭabrisī’s compilation of ʿAlī’s sayings *Nathr al-laʿālī*. The title is also listed in the inventory’s section on Hadith, 37 {10–11}, 1 copy, and Sufism, 127 {4–5}, 137 {9–10, 14–15}, 3 copies, with an additional copy of a commentary by Waṭwāt titled *Maṭlūb kull ṭālib* (What Every Student Needs), 137 {2–3}. It is repeated in the section on history, 199 {19}, 1 copy, and the section on Persian poetry and versifications, 259 {4–6}, 3 copies. Many of these are Persian translations, commentaries, or versifications.

Additional Titles of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib’s Maxims Listed in the Inventory’s Section 6 on Sufism:

- 84 “*Waṣāyā amīr al-muʾminīn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib li-bnihi Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyya*” (Counsels of the Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib for His Son Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyya), 110 {3–4}, 1 copy.
- 85 “*Kalīmāt*” (Maxims), 134 {18–19}, 1 copy.
- 86 “*Waṣīyyat ʿAlī*” (Counsel by ʿAlī), 137 {17–18}, 1 copy.
- 87 al-ʿĀmidī, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn Muḥammad (d. 1155), compiler. *Ghurar al-ḥikam wa-durar al-kalim* (Radiant Maxims and Pearly Sayings), 140 {7–8}, 1 copy.

Commentaries on Maxims Attributed to the First Three Sunni Caliphs in the Inventory’s Sufism Section:

- 88 “*Tuḥfat al-ṣadiq fī sharḥ kalīmāt Abī Bakr [al-Ṣiddīq]*” (Gift to a Friend, Commentary on the Maxims of the Righteous Abū Bakr), 136 {19}–137 {1}, 1 copy.
- 89 “*Faṣl al-khiṭāb fī sharḥ kalīmāt ʿUmar [ibn al-Khaṭṭāb]*” (The Final Word, Commentary on the Maxims of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb), 137 {1–2}, 1 copy.
- 90 “*Kitāb al-laḥfān fī sharḥ kalīmāt ʿUthmān [ibn ʿAffān]*” (Book for the Aggrieved, Commentary on the Maxims of ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān), 137 {2}, 1 copy.

Ibn Nubāta's (d. 985) Orations in the Inventory's Chancery Section:

- 91 Ibn Nubāta al-Khaṭīb, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad (d. 985). *Al-Khuṭab al-Nubātiyya* (Ibn Nubata's Orations), 1 copy, 218 {9}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2352 (Karatay A 8573), Bayezid II's seal.

LITERARY PROSE

Books of Rhymed Prose (*Saj'*): al-Ḥarīrī and Badī' al-Zamān:⁵

- 92 al-Ḥarīrī, al-Qāsim ibn 'Alī (d. 1122). *Maqāmāt* (Standings), 217 {5–10}, 9 copies, some with marginal Persian translations.
 92.1 "*Sharḥ Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*" (Commentary on al-Ḥarīrī's Standings), 217 {15–17}, 5 copies.
 93 Badī' al-Zamān, Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Hamadhānī (d. 1008). *Maqāmāt* (Standings), also titled *al-Maqāmāt al-Badī'iyya* (The Marvellous Standings/The Standings of Badī' al-Zamān), 218 {1–2}, 2 copies, one copied by Ibn al-Suhrawardī.

Translated Fiction, Popular Epics and Tales, Literary Debates, and Miscellaneous Works of *Adab*, in the Inventory's Section 8 on History and Biography:

- 94 IBN AL-MUQAFFA', 'Abd Allāh ibn Rūzbih (d. 759). *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (Kalīla and Dimna), 189 {7–14}, 9 copies, one in Persian.
 94.1 Ibn al-Muqaffa'. *Kalīla wa-Dimna muṣawwar* (Illustrated Kalīla and Dimna), 189 {10–12}, 2 copies, one in Persian. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, R. 1022 (Karatay F 864), Bayezid II's seal, illustrated.
 94.2 "*Sharḥ abyāt Kalīla wa-Dimna*" (Commentary on the Verses in Ibn al-Muqaffa's *Kalīla* and *Dimna*), 189 {14–15}, 1 copy, in Persian.
 94.3 "*Ḥall mushkilāt Kalīla wa-Dimna*" (Unraveling the Difficult Sections of Ibn al-Muqaffa's *Kalīla* and *Dimna*), 189 {15}, 1 copy, in Persian.
 95 "*Qiṣṣat 'Antar*" (The Epic of 'Antar), 188 {3–7}, 6 copies, two in Turkish, one described as *fākhir* or "deluxe." MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, K. 889 (Karatay T 2812), Bayezid II's seal.
 96 "*Alf layla*" (A Thousand Nights), often referred to as *Alf Layla wa-layla* (A Thousand and One Nights), 192 {11–12}, 2 copies, in 5 vols. and 1 vol., respectively.
 97 al-Tha'ālibī, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad (d. 1038). *Thimār al-qulūb* (Fruits for the Heart), 192 {1}, 1 copy.
 98 al-Tanūkhī, al-Muḥassin ibn 'Alī (d. 994). *Al-Faraj ba'd al-shidda* (Deliverance from Hardship), 192 {5}, 1 copy.
 99 Tabrizī, Abū l-Majd Muḥammad? (fl. end of thirteenth century). *Munāẓarāt-i 'aql wa-'ishq* (Debates between Reason and Passion), Persian?, 194 {11–12}, 1 copy.
 100 Idrīs (n.d.). *Munāẓarat al-ṣawm wa-l-īd* (Debate between Fasting and [Breaking Fast] at Eid), 194 {13–14}, 1 copy.
 101 "*Munāẓarat al-sayf wa-l-qalam*" (Debate between the Pen and the Sword), 194 {16–17}, 1 copy.⁶

Additional Titles of Literary Prose Listed in the Inventory's Section 6 on Sufism:

- 102 al-Zamakhsharī, Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar (d. 1144). *Rabī' al-abrār* (Springtime for the Pious), 110 {18–19}, 138 {8}, 144 {6}, 3 copies.
 103 al-Zamakhsharī. *Aṭwāq al-dhahab* (Collars of Gold), 129 {16–17}, 147 {4–5}, 2 copies.

ARABIC PROSODY

In the Inventory's Literature Section:

- 104 al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī (called here "al-Wahīd" [The Unique] al-Tibrīzī, d. 1109). *Al-Kāfī fi l-'arūd wa-l-qawāfi* (The Absolute Sufficer on Prosody and Rhymes), 226 {7–10}, 227 {7–8, 11–13}, 8 copies.
- 105 Shams-i Fakhrī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Fakhr al-Dīn Iṣfahānī (d. 1348). *Mi'yār-i Jamālī* (The Jamālī Touchstone), dedicated to Jamāl-al-Dīn ibn Maḥmūd-Shāh Injū, 225 {4–5}, 228 {6}, 4 copies.
- 106 al-Zamakhsharī, Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar (d. 1144). *Al-Qusṭās* (Scales), 226 {13–14}, 1 copy.
- 107 al-Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad (d. 1274). *Mi'yār al-ash'ār* (Touchstone of Verses), 226 {16}, 1 copy. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1706 (Karatay F 315), Bayezid II's seal.
- 108 Ibn al-Ḥājjib, Jamāl al-Dīn 'Uthmān ibn 'Umar (d. 1249). Treatise on prosody [*Kitāb al-Maqṣad al-Jalīl fi 'ilm al-Khalīl*, The Book Addressing the Grand Purpose of the Science (explained by the founder of prosody, al-Khalīl)], 226 {13}, 1 copy.
- 109 al-Andalusī, Abū l-Jaysh Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 1228). *Al-Andalusī* (The Andalusian's book), also called "The Andalusian's poem" or "The Andalusian's prosody," 226 {11, 13}, 282 {8–9}, 3 copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1636 (Karatay A 7996), Bayezid II's seal.
- 109.1 ("Abd al-Muḥsin Qayṣarī?)." *Sharḥ al-Andalusī* (Commentary on the Andalusian's book), 227 {14}, 1 copy.
- 110 al-Waṭwāt, Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 1182). *Abkār al-afkār fi l-rasā'il wa-l-ash'ār* (Virgin Thoughts: Epistles and Poems), 221 {13–14}, 222 {11–12}, 228 {8–9}, 3 copies.
- 111 Rāmī, Sharaf al-Dīn Tabrīzī (fl. fourteenth century). *Anīs al-'ushshāq* (Comfort for Lovers), 225 {13–15}, 226 {6, 18}, 227 {1–2, 16–18}, 8 copies.
- 112 Rāmī. *Ḥaqā'iq al-ḥadā'iq* (Truths from the Gardens), 226 {19}, 227 {1, 15}, 3 copies.
- 113 al-Shirwānī, Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī (fl. 1487). *Al-Shāfiya fi ma'rifat al-'arūd wa-l-qāfiya* (The Comprehensive Treatise on the Knowledge of Prosody and Rhyme), 226 {5}, 1 copy, autograph ("bi-khaṭṭihī"). MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1691 (Karatay A 8006), Bayezid II's seal.
- 114 Ibn al-Janī [Abū l-Makārim 'Umar ibn 'Uthmān ibn Ḥusayn?] (n.d.). *Al-Dawā'ir* (Circles of Prosody), 226 {14}, 1 copy.
- 115 Shams-i Qays (fl. first half of thirteenth century). *Al-Mu'jam fi ma'āyir ash'ār al-'ajam* (Concordance on Standards of the Verse of the Persians); *ma'āyir*, "standards," is here mistakenly transcribed as *ma'ā'ib*, "faults," 225 {2–3}, 1 copy.
- 116 al-Khujandī, 'Alā' al-Dīn (n.d.). *Sharḥ al-Qaṣīda al-Lāmiyya* (Commentary on the Poem in L) by Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Sāwī (d. 1454), 225 {1}, 1 copy. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2662 (Karatay A 8568), Bayezid II's seal.
- 117 al-Ḥalīmī, Luṭf Allāh (fl. late fifteenth century). Book on the science of [Arabic?] prosody, in Turkish and Persian, 225 {3–4}, 1 copy.
- 118 Tāj-i Ḥalwānī (n.d.). A treatise on the "crafts of poetry," 227 {8–9}, 1 copy.
- 119 "*Shifā' al-alīl*" (Cure for the Sick), 225 {7}, 1 copy.

RHETORIC AND STYLISTICS

AL-SAKKĀKĪ, Yūsuf ibn Abī Bakr (d. 1229).

- 120 al-Sakkākī. *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm* (Key to the Sciences), 268 {8–19}, 269 {1, 5–6}, 11 copies, including 9 full copies of its three sections on syntax, morphology, and rhetoric, and 2 copies on rhetoric.

- 120.1 al-Jurjānī, al-Sayyid al-Sharīf ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad (d. 1413). *Sharḥ al-Miftāḥ* (Commentary on al-Sakkākī’s Key), 269 {9, 11–19}, 270 {1}, 12 copies, including the autograph copy.
- 120.2 al-Jurjānī. *Ḥāshiyat Sharḥ al-Miftāḥ* (Gloss on the Commentary on al-Sakkākī’s Key), 269 {9–10}, 270 {7–8}, 3 copies. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1647 (Karatay A 8091); A. 1656 (Karatay A 8090), both with Bayezid II’s seals.
- 120.3 “*Ḥāshiyat al-Sharḥ al-Sharīfī li-l-Miftāḥ*” (Gloss on al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī’s Commentary on al-Sakkākī’s Key), 271 {8}, 1 copy.
- 120.4 Baldirzāda ‘Alā’ al-Dīn (n.d.). *Ḥāshiyat al-Sharḥ al-Sharīfī li-l-Miftāḥ* (Gloss on the Commentary on al-Sakkākī’s Key), 273 {4–6}, 1 copy.
- 120.5 al-Taftāzānī, Sa’d al-Dīn (d. 1390). *Sharḥ al-Miftāḥ* (Commentary on al-Sakkākī’s Key), 5 copies: 4 full and 1 on Part III on rhetoric, 270 {13–18}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1655 (Karatay A 8042), Bayezid II’s seal.
- 120.6 “*Ḥāshiyat al-Sharḥ al-Sa’dī li-l-Miftāḥ*” (Gloss on Sa’d al-Dīn Taftāzānī’s Commentary on al-Sakkākī’s Key), 271 {7–8}, 1 copy.
- 120.7 al-Taftāzānī. *Kashf al-rumūz* (Deciphering the Symbols), a gloss on a commentary on al-Sakkākī’s Key, 271 {5–7}, 3 copies.
- 120.8 al-Quṭb al-Shīrāzī, Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Mas’ūd (d. 1311). *Miftāḥ al-Miftāḥ* (The Key of al-Sakkākī’s Key), 271 {14–16}, 3 copies, including the autograph copy.
- 120.9 al-‘Imād al-Kāshī (n.d.). *Sharḥ al-Miftāḥ* (Commentary on al-Sakkākī’s Key), 272 {4–5}, 2 copies.
- 120.10 al-Kātibī (n.d.). *Sharḥ al-Miftāḥ* (Commentary on al-Sakkākī’s Key), 272 {8–9}, 2 copies.
- 120.11 “*Sharḥ al-Miftāḥ*” (Commentary on al-Sakkākī’s Key), 272 {15–16}, 2 copies.
- 120.12 “*Sharḥ abyāt al-Miftāḥ*” (Commentary on the Verses in al-Sakkākī’s Key), 272 {16–17}, 1 copy. MANUSCRIPT: Perhaps TSMK, A. 1663 (Karatay A 8604), Bayezid II’s seal.
- A relevant TSMK Bayezid II seal is found in a commentary simply titled *Sharḥ Miftāḥ al-‘ulūm* (Commentary on the Key to the Sciences), A. 1673 (Karatay A. 8082).

AL-KHAṬĪB AL-QAZWĪNĪ, Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 1338).

- 121 al-Qazwīnī. *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* (Abridgement on al-Sakkākī’s Key), 273 {13–19}, 274 {1–10}, 282 {4}, 15 copies.
- 121.1 al-Taftāzānī, Sa’d al-Dīn (d. 1390). *Al-Muṭawwal: Sharḥ Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* (The Expanded Work: Commentary on al-Qazwīnī’s Abridgement of al-Sakkākī’s Key), 274 {11–18}, 7 copies.
- 121.2 “*Khulāṣat al-amānī fi l-ma‘ānī Naẓm Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*” (Distillation of Hopes on Rhetoric: Versification of al-Qazwīnī’s Abridgement of al-Sakkākī’s Key), 274 {6–7, 16}, 2 copies, one copy bound with several other versified books on Arabic grammar.
- 121.3 al-Taftāzānī. *Al-Mukhtaṣar: Sharḥ Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* (The Synopsis: Commentary on al-Qazwīnī’s Abridgement of al-Sakkākī’s Key), 275 {1–5}, 5 copies, including a Persian translation.
- 121.4 Various Ottoman scholars, including Mawlānā [Yūsuf ibn Ḥusayn] al-Kirmāstī (d. ca 1495), Mawlānā Khusraw (d. 1480), and Mawlānā-zāda al-Khiṭā’ī (n.d.). *Ḥāshiyat al-Muṭawwal fi l-ma‘ānī* (Gloss on al-Taftāzānī’s Expanded Work) and *Ḥāshiyat al-Mukhtaṣar* (The Gloss on al-Taftāzānī’s Synopsis), 276 {1–10, 17–19}, 12 copies.
- 121.5 al-Jurjānī, al-Sayyid al-Sharīf. *Ḥāshiyat al-Muṭawwal* (Gloss on al-Taftāzānī’s Expanded Work), 276 {10–17}, 7 copies.
- 121.6 al-Qazwīnī. *Al-Īdāḥ* (Explanation), an enlarged version of his abridgement of al-Sakkākī’s Key, 275 {10–11}, 3 copies.

- 121.7 al-Aqsarā'ī, Jamāl al-Dīn (d. 1389). *Sharḥ al-Īdāḥ* (Commentary on al-Qazwīnī's Explanation, 3 copies, 275 {13–15}).
- 121.8 al-Jurjānī, al-Sayyid al-Sharīf. *Ḥāshiyat Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* (Gloss on al-Qazwīnī's Abridgement), 287 {11, 13–14}, in section 14, bound with Arabic grammar books, 2 copies.

Other Works on Rhetoric:

- 122 al-Ījī, 'Aḍud al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Rukn al-Dīn al-Bakrī al-Shabānkārī (d. 1355). *Al-Fawā'id al-Ghiyāthiyya* (Ghiyāth's Benefits), 277 {6–8, 10}, five copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 1635 (Karatay A 8149); A. 1672 (Karatay A 8150), both with Bayezid II's seals.
- 123 Ibn al-Athīr, Diyā' al-Dīn (d. 1239). *Al-Mathal al-sā'ir* (The Popular Proverb), 277 {16}, 1 copy. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2338 (Karatay A 8140), Bayezid II's seal.
- 124 al-Jurjānī, 'Abd al-Qāhir (d. ca. 1078). *Dalā'il al-i'jāz* (Proofs of Inimitability), 277 {18–19}, 1 copy.
- 125 al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn (d. 1209). *Nihāyat al-ijāz fī dirāyat al-i'jāz* (The Ultimate in Succinctness on Understanding Inimitability), 2 copies, 277 {18}.
- 126 al-Kirmāstī, Mawlānā Yūsuf ibn Ḥusayn (d. ca. 1495). *Al-Tibyān fī sharḥ al-tabyīn fī l-ma'ānī* (The Elucidator: Commentary on the Clarifier), 277 {13–14}, 1 copy.
- 127 al-Kirmāstī. *Al-Mukhtār* (Selections), 277 {15}, 1 copy.
- 128 al-Kirmāstī. *Al-Muntakhab* (Chosen Material), 277 {15–16}, 1 copy.
- 129 "A book on the science of rhetoric," 277 {17}, 1 copy.

A relevant manuscript with Bayezid II's seal is: TSMK, A. 2500 (Karatay A 8018).

Titles on "Badī'" (Rhetorical Tropes) in the Inventory's Prosody and Cipher Section:

- 130 Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 1349) and "Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-Ḥillī" (Commentary on al-Ḥillī's poem) titled *Qaṣīda Badī'iyya* (Poem about the Crafts of Rhetorical Figures), 225 {8}, 228 {4–5}, 2 copies. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 2600 (Karatay A 8592); A. 2648 (Karatay A 8594), both with Bayezid II's seals.
- 131 Ibn Qurqmās, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh (d. ca. 1478). *Zahr al-rabī' fī shawāhid al-badī'* (Spring Flowers on the Prooftexts of Rhetorical Figures), 227 {3}, 1 copy.

GRAMMAR: MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

Titles on Arabic Morphology:

IBN AL-ḤĀJIB, Jamāl al-Dīn 'Uthmān ibn 'Umar (d. 1249).

- 132 Ibn al-Ḥājib. *Al-Shāfiya* (The Comprehensive Treatise), 280 {11–14}, 4 copies.
- 132.1 al-Jārabardī (or: Chārpardī), Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 1346). *Sharḥ al-Shāfiya* (Commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājib's Comprehensive Treatise), 280 {11–12}, 281 {6, 10–14}, 6 copies.
- 132.2 Yūsuf ibn 'Abd al-Malik (n.d.). *Sharḥ al-Shāfiya* (Commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājib's Comprehensive Treatise), 281 {7–9}, 3 copies.
- 132.3 al-Astarābādī, Raḍī al-Dīn (fl. second half of thirteenth century). *Sharḥ al-Shāfiya* (Commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājib's Comprehensive Treatise), 281 {5}, 1 copy.
- 132.4 "Sharḥ al-Shāfiya" (Commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājib's Comprehensive Treatise), 281 {4}, 1 copy. Related MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 2251 (Karatay A 7812); A. 2254 (Karatay A 7814), both with Bayezid II's seals.

AL-ZANJĀNĪ, 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Ibrāhīm (fl. mid-thirteenth century).

- 133 al-Zanjānī. *Al-ʿIzzī* (The ʿIzzī), 282 {1–2, 5–6}, 284 {17}, 5 copies.
 133.1 al-Taftāzānī, Saʿd al-Dīn (d. 1390). *Sharḥ al-ʿIzzī* (Commentary on al-Zanjānī’s ʿIzzī), 283 {7}, 1 copy.
 133.2 “*Sharḥ al-ʿIzzī*” (Commentary on al-Zanjānī’s ʿIzzī), 61 {4}, 282 {18}, 283 {2–6}, 300 {4}, 9 copies, the last in Persian. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2203 (Karatay A 7817), Bayezid II’s seal.
 133.3 al-Lādhīqī, Muḥammad ibn al-Khaṭīb (n.d.). *Sharḥ al-ʿIzzī* (Commentary on al-Zanjānī’s ʿIzzī), Turkish translation, 283 {5–6}, 1 copy.

IBN MASʿŪD, Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Abū l-Faḍāʾil Husam al-Dīn (d. 1301).

- 134 Ibn Masʿūd. *Marāḥ al-arwāḥ* (Cheer for the Spirit), 282 {1–2}, 284 {17}, 3 copies.
 134.1 Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (n.d.). *Rawāḥ al-arwāḥ fī sharḥ al-Marāḥ* (Solace for Souls: Commentary on the Cheer), 281 {7–8}, 1 copy.
 134.2 “*Sharḥ al-Marāḥ*” (Commentary on the Cheer), 282 {16}, 283 {1}, 4 copies.

Other Titles on Arabic Morphology:

- 135 “Commentary on the morphology section from al-Sakkākī’s *Miftāḥ* (Key),” 280 {10}, 1 copy.
 136 “*Kifāyat al-adab*” (The Sufficing Book for Refinement), 280 {14}, 1 copy.
 137 Ibn Jinnī, Abū l-Faṭḥ (d. 1002). *Al-Munṣif fī sharḥ al-taṣrīf* (Dispenser of Justice: Commentary on the Book of Morphology) by al-Māzinī (d. ca. 863), 282 {16–17}, 1 copy.
 138 “*Taʿsīs al-qawāʿid*” (Setting the Rules), 283 {12}, 1 copy.
 139 “A treatise in Persian on [Arabic?] morphology,” 283 {13, 15, 18}, 292 {2}, 6 copies.
 140 Ibn Yaʿīsh, Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū l-Baqāʾ (d. 1245). *Sharḥ al-Mulūkī* (Commentary on the Royal Book) on morphology by Ibn Jinnī, 290 {15–16}, 1 copy, morphology work listed in later segment of this section on syntax.

Titles on Arabic Syntax (284–92):

IBN AL-ḤĀJIB Ibn Masʿūd, Jamāl al-Dīn ʿUthmān ibn ʿUmar (d. 1249).

- 141 Ibn al-Ḥājib. *Al-Kāfiya* (The Sufficer), 284 {10–11, 13–16}, and bound with other works on 282 {3}, 292 {1}, 297 {12–13}, 299 {18}, 10 copies.
 141.1 Ibn al-Ḥājib. *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya* (Commentary on the Sufficer), commentary by the author, 286 {1–2}, 1 copy.
 141.2 al-Astarābādhī, Raḍī al-Dīn (fl. second half of thirteenth century). *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya* (Commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājib’s Sufficer), 285 {4–9}, 286 {2–4}, 10 copies, including the final volume of a copy corrected by al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī.
 141.3 al-Astarābādhī, Rukn al-Dīn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad (d. ca. 1315). *Kitāb al-Wāfiya fī Sharḥ al-Kāfiya* (The Fulfiller: Commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājib’s Sufficer) also known as *al-Mutawassit* (The Intermediate Book), 284 {12–13}, 285 {9–15}, 5 copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2177 (Karatay A 7761), Bayezid II’s seal.
 141.4 “*Ḥāshiya ʿālā l-Mutawassit*” (Gloss on Rukn al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī’s Intermediate Work), 286 {5–6}, 291 {4}, 2 copies.
 141.5 al-Jurjānī, al-Sayyid al-Sharīf (d. 1413). *Ḥāshiyat Mutawassit* (Gloss on Rukn al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī’s Intermediate Work), 286 {7}, 1 copy, MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2205 (Karatay A. 7766), Bayezid II’s Seal.
 141.6 “*Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*” (Commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājib’s Sufficer), 284 {19}, 285 {4}, 2 copies, one Persian.

- 141.7 al-Ḥalabī = perhaps Ibn Yaʿīsh (d. 1245). *Kashf al-Wāfiya fī Sharḥ al-Kāfiya* (Uncovering the Fulfiller: Commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājjib's Sufficer), 285 {2}, 1 copy.
- 141.8 "*Manābiʿ al-ghurabāʾ fī Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*" (Wellsprings for Travelers: Commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājjib's Sufficer), 285 {3}, 1 copy.
- 141.9 al-Khabīṣī, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr (d. 1398). *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya* (Commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājjib's Sufficer), 285 {16–17}, 3 copies.
- 141.10 al-Khabīṣī. *Al-Muwashshaḥ: Ḥāshiyat al-sharḥ* (The Embroidered Cloak: Gloss on the Commentary), alternatively titled *Kitāb al-Targhib li-ahl al-baṣīra* (Encouragement for the Discerning), 291 {8–9}, 1 copy.
- 141.11 al-Ghujduwānī (n.d.). *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya* (Commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājjib's Sufficer), 285 {18}, 1 copy.
- 141.12 "*Al-Kabīrātī: Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*" (Big Questions: Commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājjib's Sufficer), 285 {18–19}, 1 copy.
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AL-ZAMAKHSHARĪ, Maḥmūd ibn ʿUmar (d. 1144).

- 143 al-Zamakhsharī. *Al-Mufaṣṣal* (The Segmented Text), 286 {12–16}, 8 copies, including one copied by Yāqūt al-Mustaʿīmī. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 2148 (Karatay A 7652); A. 2163 (Karatay A 7659), both with Bayezid II's seals.
- 143.1 "*Al-Mukammāl fī Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*" (The Complete Text: Commentary on al-Zamakhsharī's *Mufaṣṣal*), 287 {3–5}, 4 copies.
- 143.2 al-Khwārizmī Abū Muḥammad (n.d.). *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal* (Commentary on al-Zamakhsharī's Segmented Text), 287 {5–6}, 1 copy.
- 143.3 al-ʿUkbarī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn Muḥibb al-Dīn (d. 1219). *Al-Muḥassal fī idāḥ al-Mufaṣṣal* (The Harvest: Explaining al-Zamakhsharī's Segmented Text), 287 {6–11}, 5 copies.
- 143.4 al-Jurjānī, al-Sayyid al-Sharīf. *Sharḥ abyāt al-Mufaṣṣal* (Commentary on the Verses of al-Zamakhsharī's Segmented Text), 287 {9–10, 12}, 3 copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2149 (Karatay A 7673), Bayezid II's seal.
- 143.5 Ibn Yaʿīsh, Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abu l-Baqāʾ (d. 1245). *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal* (Commentary on al-Zamakhsharī's Segmented Text), 287 {15–17}, 2 copies.
- 143.6 "*Al-Mustarshid*" (The Seeker of Guidance), commentary on al-Zamakhsharī's Segmented Text, 287 {18–19}, 1 copy.
- 143.7 "*Al-Iqlīd*" (The Key), commentary on al-Zamakhsharī's Segmented Text, 288 {2}, 1 copy.
- 143.8 "*Sharḥ al-Unmūdhaq*" (Commentary on the Prototype), commentary on an excerpted text from al-Zamakhsharī's *Mufaṣṣal*, 286 {6–7}, 290 {3}, 291 {2}, 4 copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2208 (Karatay A 7675), Bayezid II's seal.

AL-BAYḌĀWĪ, Nāṣir al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar (d. ca. 1286).

- 144 al-Bayḍāwī. *Lubb (or: Lubāb) al-albāb fī ‘ilm al-i’rāb* (Essence of Minds in the Science of Parsing), 289 {3–4}, 2 copies.
- 144.1 Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh (n.d.). *Sharḥ al-Lubāb* (Commentary on al-Bayḍāwī’s Essence), 289 {6–9}, 3 copies.
- 144.2 al-Zawzanī, al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad (d. 1093). *Sharḥ al-Lubāb* (Commentary on al-Bayḍāwī’s Essence), 289 {12–14}, 3 copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2233 (Karatay A 7858), Bayezid II’s seal.
- 144.3 al-Quṭb al-Fālī, Muḥammad (d. 1321). *Sharḥ al-Lubāb* (Commentary on al-Bayḍāwī’s Essence), 289 {14–17}, 4 copies.
- 144.4 “*Sharḥ al-Lubāb*” (Commentary on al-Bayḍāwī’s Essence), 289 {17–18}, 3 copies. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 2227 (Karatay A 7849); A. 2230 (Karatay A. 7851), both with Bayezid II’s seals.

SĪBawayh, ‘Amr ibn ‘Uthmān (d. ca. 796).

- 145 Sībawayh. *Al-Kitāb* (The Book), 288 {12}, 3 copies.
- 145.1 Sa‘īd al-Sirāfī (d. 979). *Sharḥ Kitāb Sībawayh* (Commentary on Sībawayh’s Book), 288 {15–16}, 2 copies.
- 145.2 Ibn al-Naḥḥās al-Miṣrī, Abū Ja‘far (d. 950). *Sharḥ abyāt Kitāb Sībawayh* (Commentary on the Proof-Verses of Sībawayh’s Book), 288 {16–17}, 1 copy. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2635 (Karatay A 8404), Bayezid II’s seal.
- 145.3 al-Sirāfī, Abū Muḥammad (d. 995). *Sharḥ abyāt Kitāb Sībawayh* (Commentary on the Proof-Verses of Sībawayh’s Book), 288 {17–19}, 2 copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2601 (Karatay A 8405), Bayezid II’s seal.
- 145.4 “*Shawāhid Kitāb Sībawayh*” (Proof-Texts from The [Grammar] Book of Sībawayh), 214 {15}, 1 copy. (Also listed earlier in the present list of entries under Versified Books.)

AL-FĀRISĪ, Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī (d. 987).

- 146 al-Fārisī. *Al-Īḍāḥ* (Elucidation), 288 {7–9}, 3 copies.
- 146.1 “*Sharḥ al-Īḍāḥ*” (Commentary on al-Fārisī’s Elucidation), 288 {7–9}, 3 copies, including one specifically on its proof-texts.
- 147 al-Fārisī. *Al-‘Awāmil* (Grammatical Agents), 290 {13–14}, 292 {3}, 4 copies.
- 147.1 “*‘Irāb al-‘awāmil*” (Parsing al-Fārisī’s Grammatical Agents), 290 {13–14}, 291 {5}, 2 copies.
- 147.2 “*Al-Mufīd li-‘awāmil al-i’rāb*” (The Benefit-Giver in Parsing the Grammatical Agents), 299 {17–18}, 1 copy.
- 147.3 al-Ḥarīrī (d. 1122). *Sharḥ Mulḥat al-i’rāb* (Commentary on the Witticisms in the Parsing), 299 {17}, 1 copy.

IBN MĀLIK, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh (d. 1274).

- 148 Ibn Mālik. *Tashīl al-fawā’id* (Making Learning [Syntax] Easy), 290 {9}, 1 copy.
- 149 “*Irshād al-sālik fī sharḥ Alfīyyat Ibn Mālik*” (Guiding the Wayfarer: Commentary on Ibn Mālik’s Thousand-Verse Poem), 290 {7}, 291 {10–11}, 292 {1–2}, 3 copies.
- 149.1 “*Al-Rashād fī sharḥ al-Irshād*” (Right Guidance: Commentary on Guiding [the Wayfarer]), 290 {3–4}, 1 copy.

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150 al-Muṭarrizī. *Al-Miṣbāḥ* (The Lamp), 290 {8}, 292 {2}, 2 copies.

150.1 “*Ḍaw’ fī l-naḥw*” (Illumination on Syntax), commentary on al-Muṭarrizī’s *Miṣbāḥ*, 290 {16}, 1 copy.

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150.4 Ibn al-Aswad, Ḥasan ibn ‘Alā’ al-Dīn (d. 1444). *Al-Iftitāḥ fī sharḥ al-Miṣbāḥ* (The Opener: Commentary on al-Muṭarrizī’s Lamp), 291 {1}, 1 copy.

Other Titles on Arabic Syntax:

151 al-Yamanī, Manṣūr ibn Falāḥ (d. 680/1281). *Al-Mughnī* (The Sufficer), 290 {4–5}, 292 {1}, 2 copies.

151.1 al-Jārabardī (or: Chārpardī), Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 1346). *Sharḥ al-Mughnī* (Commentary on al-Yamanī’s Sufficer), 290 {5–6}, 1 copy.

152 al-Zamakhsharī, Maḥmūd ibn ‘Umar (d. 1144). *al-Muḥājāt/al-Aḥājī al-naḥwiyya* (Grammar Puzzles), 291 {14}, 1 copy (Karatay A 291).

152.1 “*Tanwīr al-dayāḥī fī tafsīr al-aḥājī*” (Illuminating the Darkness: Exegesis of the Grammar Puzzles), 291 {10}, 1 copy.

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156 al-Zajjājī, Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ishāq (d. ca. 948). *Al-Jumal* (Summaries), 291 {14}, 1 copy.

157 Ibn Bābashādh, Abū l-Ḥasan (d. 1077) and “*Al-Kāfi fī sharḥ al-Hādī*” (The Sufficer: Commentary on the Guide), commentary on Ibn Bābashādh, *Muqaddima* (Introduction), 290 {8}, 1 copy.

158 al-Ījī, Aḥud al-Dīn (d. 1355). *Al-Waḍ’* (Placing), 291 {15}, 1 copy.

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162 al-Jawharī. *Tāj al-lughā wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-‘arabiyya* (Crown of Lexicography and Correct Arabic), listed as *Ṣiḥāḥ al-Jawharī* (Jawharī’s Correct Arabic), 293 {13–18}, 297 {19}, 298 {1}, 7 copies.

162.1 “*Mukhtaṣar al-Ṣiḥāḥ*” (Abridgement of al-Jawharī’s Correct Arabic), translated into Persian, 293 {17}, 1 copy. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2693 (Karatay A 7534), Bayezid II’s seal.

162.2 “*Mukhtār al-Ṣiḥāḥ*” (Selections from al-Jawharī’s Correct Arabic), 293 {19}, 1 copy.

162.3 Jamāl Qarshī, Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar (d. after 1303). *Ṣurāḥ al-Ṣiḥāḥ* (Essence of al-Jawharī’s Correct Arabic), Persian, 293 {19}, 294 {1}, 2 copies.

- 162.4 al-Ṣaghānī, Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad (d. 1252). *Takmilat al-Ṣiḥāḥ* (Supplement to al-Jawharī's Correct Arabic), 294 {2–4}, 2 copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2705 (Karatay A 7537), Bayezid II's seal.

AL-ZAMAKHSHARĪ, Maḥmūd ibn ʿUmar (d. 1144).

- 163 al-Zamakhsharī. *Muqaddimat al-adab* (Introduction to Literature), also titled *Asmāʾ Jār Allāh* ([al-Zamakhsharī's] Book of Names), bilingual Arabic-Persian dictionary, 294 {11–16}, 295 {13–15}, 298 {6–7, 12–13}, 300 {15–16}, 10 copies, including translations into Persian, Turkish, and “Frankish,” as well as two arranged alphabetically.
- 164 al-Zamakhsharī. *Asās al-balāgha* (Foundation of Rhetoric), 295 {9–11}, 298 {2}, 3 copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2735 (Karatay A 8019), Bayezid II's seal.

Other Titles in Lexicography:

- 165 al-Firūzābādī, Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb (d. 1415). *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* (The Encompassing Ocean), 293 {10–11}, 2 copies.
- 166 al-Thaʿālibī, ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad (d. 1038). *Fiqh al-lughā wa-sirr al-ʿarabiyya* (The Science of Language and Secrets of Arabic), 294 {1–2}, 300 {12}, 3 copies. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 2753 (Karatay A 7546); A. 2788 (Karatay A 7547), both with Bayezid II's seals.
- 167 Ibn Fāris, Aḥmad (d. 1004). *Al-Muǧmal* (The Compact Book), 295 {7–8}, 2 copies.
- 168 al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī. *Kitāb al-ʿayn* (The Letter ʿAyn), abridgement, 295 {17}, 1 copy.
- 169 Ibn Manẓūr, Muḥammad ibn Mukarram (d. 1312). *Lisān al-ʿarab* (Speech of the Arabs), 299 {1–2}, 1 copy.
- 170 Maimonides?²⁸ (d. 1204). *Asmāʾ al-adwiya al-ṭibbiyya* (Book of the Names of Medicinal Drugs), 299 {3–6}, 2 copies.
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- 172 al-Tiflisī, Abū l-Faḍl Ḥubays ibn Ibrāhīm (fl. 1203). *Qānūn al-adab* (The Literary Rule), Persian-Arabic dictionary, 295 {8}, 297 {18}, 300 {6}, 3 copies.
- 173 al-Fārābī (not the philosopher), Abū Ibrāhīm Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm (d. 961). *Dīwān al-adab* (Collection of Literature), 295 {11–12}, 2 copies.
- 174 al-Muṭarrizī, by Nāṣir ibn ʿAbd al-Sayyid (d. 1213). *Al-Mughrib* (Prompt to Wonderment), 295 {13}, 1 copy.
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- 179 Ibn al-Anbārī, Abū Bakr (d. 940). *Al-Zāhir fī maʿānī kalimāt al-nās fī l-ʿādāt wa-l-ʿibādat* (The Shining Book on the Meanings of People's Sayings on Customs and Worship), 299 {14–15}, 1 copy.

- 180 Ḥamza al-Iṣḥāhānī (d. after 961). *Al-Durra al-fākhira* (Precious Pearl), bound with al-Maydānī's *Majma' al-amthāl*, 294 {17}, 1 copy.

Titles of Dictionaries of Rare Words (*Gharīb*) from the Qur'an and Hadith:

- 181 IBN AL-ATHĪR, Majd al-Dīn (d. 210). *Al-Nihāya* (The Ultimate Book), 299 {1, 7–10}, 5 copies.
 182 al-Zamakhsharī, Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar (d. 1144). *Al-Fā'iqa* (The Superior Work), 295 {4–5}, 297 {15–16}, 3 copies.
 183 Al-Sijistānī, 'Abd Allāh ibn Sulaymān Abū Bakr Ibn Abī Dā'ūd (d. 929). *Tafsīr gharīb al-Qur'ān* (Exegesis of the Rare Words of the Qur'an), 297 {18–19}, 1 copy.
 184 Najm al-Dīn Abū Bakr Rāzī Dāya? (d. 1256). *Tafsīr gharīb al-Qur'ān* (Exegesis of the Rare Words of the Qur'an), 298 {5–6}, 1 copy, autograph.
 185 al-Harawī, Abū 'Ubayda Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (d. 1010). *Al-Gharībayn* (Book of the Two Rare Word Categories), Qur'an and hadith, 299 {2–3}, 1 copy.
 186 al-Maqdisī, Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad Ibn Qudāma (d. 1223). *Qun'at al-arīb fī tafsīr al-gharīb* (The Intelligent Man's Pickings in the Exegesis of Rare Words), 300 {13–14}, 1 copy.
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 197 Ibn Fārighūn (fl. tenth century). *Jawāmi' al-'ulūm* (Encyclopaedia of the Sciences), 299 {15}, 1 copy.
 198 "A treatise on the rules of the word *kull* (each/every/all)," 299 {16}, 1 copy.
 199 al-Tustarī, Abū l-Ḥusayn Sa'īd ibn Ibrāhīm (n.d.). *Al-Mudhakkar wa-l-mu'annath* (Masculine and Feminine), 287 {13}, 300 {7}, 2 copies.
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Arabic-Persian Dictionaries and Glosses Include:

- 204 Zakī, Shukr Allāh ibn Shihāb al-Dīn (n.d.). *Ḥadīqat al-adab* (Garden of Literature), a glossary of Arabic and Persian verse and commentary, 294 {8}, 1 copy. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2723 (Karatay A 7631), Bayezid II's seal.

- 205 ‘Alī ibn Nuṣra ibn Dā’ūd (fl. 1439). *Al-Tarjumān* (The Translator), 295 {12}, 1 copy.
- 206 al-Nasafī, Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar ibn Abī Bakr (d. 1251). *Al-Ṣaḥīfa al-‘adhrā’* (The Virgin Text), 295 {12}, 1 copy. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2707 (Karatay A 7578), Bayezid II’s seal.
- 207 al-Zawzanī, Ḥusayn (d. 1093). *Al-Maṣādir* (Sources), 295 {3}, 297 {10}, 300 {2}, 4 copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2778 (Karatay A 7552 – F 311), Bayezid II’s seal.
- 208 Bayhaqī, Ja’farak (d. 1150). *Tāj al-maṣādir* (Crown of Sources), 295 {3–4}, 2 copies.
- 209 al-Maydānī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (d. 1124). *Al-Sāmī fi l-asāmī* (The Lofty Work on Nominal Substantives), 295 {5–6}, 1 copy. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2786 (Karatay A 7557), Bayezid II’s seal.
- 210 al-‘Ijlī, Asad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Khalaf (n.d.). *Sharḥ al-kalimāt al-mushkila fi Kitāb al-Sāmī fi l-asāmī* (Commentary on the Difficult Words in al-Maydānī’s Lofty Work), 297 {3}.
- 211 “Treatise listing Arabic words translated into Persian, Latin, and Serbian,” 296 {10–11}. A RELEVANT MANUSCRIPT (TSMK, A. 2732 [Karatay F 304], with Bayezid II’s seal impression) is *Jāmi‘ al-lughāt* (Comprehensive Lexicon) by an Edirne court clerk named Sirāj ibn Ṭayyib ibn Aḥmad, written in 867 (1463).

NOTES

1. Alternatively, “Abū l-Ḥasan” could be Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maghribī (fl. tenth century), or Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Battī (fl. early tenth century).
2. The first written compilation is tentatively attributed to Abū Zayd al-Qurashī (fl. late ninth century) in his anthology *Jamharat ash’ār al-‘arab* (Collection of the Poems of the Arabs).
3. Only one copy is listed by ‘Atufi, yet two volumes of this work in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library have Bayezid II’s seals.
4. Ḥājji Khalifa, *Kashf*, col. 106, lists *Aṣḍāf al-durar wa-akmām al-zahr* (Book of Shells Covering Pearls and Calyxes of Flowers) on *adab* in multiple volumes, but he too does not mention an author.
5. The section on chancery and coding materials—mainly writing and accounting manuals, and collections of letters (218–22), as well as cipher works (225–27, alongside prosody)—is not covered in the present essay.
6. Several authors wrote debates between the sword and the pen, and this text could be by any one of them: Ibn al-Wardī (d. 1349), Ibn Nubāta (d. 1366), al-Qalqashandī (d. 1418), or Ibn Burd (d. 1027, less likely, for he was from al-Andalus, and very few works are attested from there in the collection). For details, see Geert Jan van Gelder, “The Conceit of Pen and Sword: On an Arabic Literary Debate,” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 32, no. 2 (1987): 329–60.
7. A few more titles on syntax are listed as bound with other titles in the section on books of language, which I have incorporated in the list of grammar texts above.
8. This may be the book listing synonyms written in order to explain the meaning of the different names given to drugs by Maimonides (d. 1204), titled *Sharḥ Asmā’ al-‘aqqār* (Commentary on the Names of Drugs).

AN OTTOMAN ORDER OF PERSIAN VERSE

In 1485, the Timurid poet and mystic Jami (d. 1492), who resided in Herat, finished his *Silsilat al-dhahab* (Chain of Gold), a didactic *mathnawī* in three parts, the last of which was dedicated to Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512). The dedication ought not be surprising, since Bayezid II had previously initiated a correspondence with Jami and lavished upon him not only praise but also gifts, including a thousand florins. In a letter to Jami dispatched after 1485 alongside another thousand florins, Bayezid II expresses deep gratitude to Jami for the copy of his *Kullīyyāt* (Complete Works) that he had sent as a gesture of appreciation and that must have contained the *Silsila*. Of Jami's gift, Bayezid II writes:

Especially, these joyful days occasioned the *Kullīyyāt*, bearing the scent of blessed breath and the fruit of fresh thought. It is a compendium of words, of couplets firm in footing as the base of the Ka'ba, of brilliant jewels of verse strung together like the necklaces of perfect houris, of faint pearls of meaning as found in *al-Lu'lu' al-manthūr* (Scattered Pearls). It is of everlasting inspiration, with guidance from the hidden and pure world, and has reached the written realm, with an ambergris-tipped pen transcribing the eloquent speech. ... It has now arrived at our throne, the abode of the caliphate. We got ahold of it and read it. The advice and sermons therein were pleasing to the ear, for there was much to approve and make use of.¹

Bayezid II, of course, was not alone in his high regard for Jami, nor was he the first Ottoman sultan to convey gifts regularly in an attempt to attract the poet to his court. A dozen years earlier, his father Mehmed II (r. 1451–81) had extended an invitation for Jami to join him in Istanbul when the poet was traveling in Syria on his return from the pilgrimage.² The offer was not accepted, and Jami continued to reside in Herat. Nonetheless, Mehmed

II began the practice of sending Jami a thousand florins on an annual basis. Perhaps more noteworthy, Mehmed II also received books from Jami, such as an early version of his *divan* and a short treatise on matters of doctrine, the latter of which was commissioned.³ These books by Jami, including the *Kullīyyāt*, were no doubt promptly incorporated into the Topkapı Palace Library.

The respect paid to Jami, in words and in cash, points to the Ottoman court's keen interest in Persian literature, chiefly works in verse. By the same token, the receipt of books from Jami exemplifies the means by which Persian works typically entered the Topkapı Library—that is, through gift-giving and commission. Another important means of acquisition was the annexation of private book collections that were confiscated upon the death of the owner. We may add here, too, the books seized as spoils of war, especially after the Battle of Chaldiran in 1514. All this has been amply documented, as has the court's preoccupation with literary trends taking place to the east, particularly in Herat. Yet given the indiscriminate way in which Persian works were acquired, and in ever-increasing numbers, it is nearly impossible to assess the extent to which the personal collecting preferences, if not reading tastes per se, of Mehmed II or Bayezid II may have informed the acquisitions process—aside from instances in which works were procured through the court's direct patronage or purchase.⁴

While the inventory of 1502–3 may not shed light on whether or not there was any specific acquisitions policy, it is a unique record that offers us an opportunity to examine whether the books listed in a single section reveal some sense of order. The section devoted to Persian literature, or poetry, to be more exact, consists of approximately six hundred volumes. The arrangement

of the entries suggests that there is indeed a logic behind it, though that logic was not always consistently applied. The extent to which the logical arrangement can be attributed to the inventory's compiler, 'Atufi, is open to question, since from what we know of his background, he was not expert in either Persian or poetry.⁵ It seems likely, then, that 'Atufi had assistance in arranging the entries. It is possible that 'Atufi was aided by one of the many poets who had come from Herat to Istanbul to obtain new patronage and who also happened to be familiar with Jami's oeuvre, which heavily referenced the literary past, reflecting an "effort to codify and consolidate," to quote Paul Losensky.⁶ A similar concern, it appears, guided the ordering of titles and their authors in the inventory's section on Persian poetry.

PRIVILEGING THE LONG FORM

The section on Persian poetry (230–59) can be roughly divided into three subsections, despite a lack of headings. The initial subsection (230–37) focuses on works by authors known primarily for writing *mathnawīs*, commencing with Jalal al-Dīn Rumi (d. 1273) and concluding with Jami. Not all the books listed in this subsection, however, are *mathnawīs*. But that should not be viewed as an oddity, because the manner of listing adheres to 'Atufi's general classification scheme, which groups titles according to the main literary output of their authors. So the subsection on *mathnawīs*, and indeed the whole section on Persian poetry, begins with multiple copies of Rumi's *Mathnawī* (more than twenty, when volumes of selections are counted), followed by a copy of his *divan* and three copies of the *divan* of his son, Sultan Walad (d. 1312).

The special status accorded to Rumi's *Mathnawī* as the first book listed in this section testifies to the Ottoman court's long association with and interest in the Mevlevi Sufi order. Murad II (r. 1421–51) gave support to the order and had a Mevlevi lodge built in Edirne. After the conquest of the Mevlevi seat of Konya from the Karamanids, Mehmed II had his officials register the pious foundations of the city. The officials also produced a catalogue of the library of the foundation of Shaykh Sadr al-Dīn (d. 1274), son-in-law to the mystic Ibn 'Arabi

(d. 1240) and a friend of Rumi's. Bayezid II, who like his grandfather was sympathetic to the order, patronized Mevlevi poets and enlarged Rumi's shrine in Konya.⁷ Thus the privileging of Rumi's *Mathnawī* was not solely based on literary merit, and also underscores the importance of the text in the eventual development of an Ottoman literary Persian within Mevlevi circles and beyond.⁸

The next set of titles belongs to 'Attar (d. 1221), whose reputation as a *mathnawī* author was revived in the latter half of the fifteenth century by Jami and his eastern contemporaries in their biographical writings and through the composition of *jawābs*, or response poems. Furthermore, it was at this time that legends expressly linking 'Attar and Rumi in a spiritual and literary chain came to be written down. According to Jami's *Nafahāt al-uns* (Breaths of Fellowship), 'Attar personally gave a copy of his *Asrār-nāma* (Book of Secrets) to the young Rumi when they met in Nishapur and even recognized Rumi as his future successor in the mystical *mathnawī* genre.⁹ That 'Attar's works are recorded immediately after Rumi's, mainly as individual titles, reflects his recently elevated status in the Persian canon. All of 'Attar's major *mathnawīs* are represented, from the *Ilāhī-nāma* (Divine Book) to the *Mantiq al-tayr* (Conference of the Birds); for the latter, five volumes are listed, the most of any *mathnawī*.

The ensuing entries are works by authors not necessarily known for the mystical content of their poetry, but whose *mathnawīs*—didactic, epic, or romantic—were popular and often emulated. Listed separately are ten volumes of the quintet of *mathnawīs* by Nizami (d. 1209), his *Khamṣa*, and a dozen of the response to it by Amir Khusraw (d. 1325), accompanied by a baker's dozen of his *divan*. Also listed are nine volumes of the *Kullīyyāt* of Sa'di (d. 1292), his complete works in verse and prose. The recording of Sa'di's literary output here seems to have been dictated by virtue of his *Bustān* (Orchard), his only *mathnawī* proper. The only exception is the inclusion of a dozen copies of the *divan* of Hafiz (d. 1390), who was revered for his skill in the lyrical *ghazal*. But the inclusion of Hafiz in this subsection is not unexpected. All the poets cited so far had become canonical by the time the inventory was compiled, and it appears

that the opinion and literary efforts of Jami played no small part in their ordering.

The subsection conspicuously ends with a listing of works by Jami, who regarded Rumi as a master poet not only of the *mathnawī* but also of the *ghazal*. While Jami did not produce a direct response to Rumi's magnum opus, he did so for many *ghazals* of his predecessors.¹⁰ In fact, the vast majority of Jami's oeuvre consists of responses to past works. Five of the seven *mathnawīs* that comprise his *Haft awrang* (Seven Thrones) were modeled on the poems of Nizami and Amir Khusraw. His *Bahāristān* (Spring Garden), written for his son's education, looked to Sa'di's *Gulistān* (Rose Garden) for inspiration. His *Nafahāt al-uns* was partially a continuation of 'Attar's *Tadhkirāt al-awlīyā*' (Memorial of the Saints), his biographical compendium of mystics. Jami's organization of his divan into three periods by age was taken from Amir Khusraw, and his *ghazals* drew on those of Amir Khusraw and Hafiz.¹¹ Individual copies of almost all the works cited for Jami are recorded (including a dozen copies of his divan alone), alongside several volumes of his *Kullīyyāt* and *Khamṣa*, his original response to Nizami's quintet.¹²

As far as we can gather from the sixteenth-century biographers of poets, the Ottoman court, especially under Bayezid II, showed much appreciation for Jami's *mathnawīs* and was receptive to their Turkish responses. Bihiṣṭi Ahmed Çelebi (d. ca. 1511), for instance, produced the first Turkish *khamṣa*, which was likely a response to Jami's quintet, and the poems were presented as separate pieces to Bayezid II.¹³ Bihiṣṭi began composing his series of *mathnawīs* sometime in the 1490s, after a spell in Herat. The story goes that Bihiṣṭi fell out of favor with Bayezid II and fled to Herat. The poet eventually returned to Istanbul with a letter of intercession from Jami and 'Alī Shir Nawa'i (d. 1501), the leading literary figure at the Timurid court, and regained the support of Bayezid II.¹⁴ Another poet at the time, Hamdi (d. 1503), composed a Turkish *khamṣa* that was also modeled after Jami's. According to one biographer, Hamdi had been in correspondence with Jami for a while.¹⁵ Still, the response Hamdi composed to Jami's *Yūsuf wa-Zulaykhā*, which he submitted to Bayezid II, did not receive the expected approval. Out of disappointment, Hamdi removed from the work his dedication to the

sultan.¹⁶ As this episode demonstrates, however much Jami's *mathnawīs* were appreciated at the Ottoman court, the Turkish responses produced by local poets were not always positively received.

Remarkably, none of the *mathnawīs* listed so far in 'Atufi's inventory is said to have been illustrated (*muṣawwar*). This is curious, since the court coveted illustrated books, and *mathnawīs* adorned with miniature paintings were prized possessions and routine gifts brought by visiting emissaries and princes from the east. We know, for example, that an illustrated copy of Nizami's *Khamṣa* and another of 'Assar Tabrizi's fourteenth-century romance *Mihr u Mushtarī* (Sun and Jupiter), both made in Herat, were sent from the Timurid court to Mehmed II and Bayezid II respectively.¹⁷ We know as well that another copy of Nizami's *Khamṣa*, also prepared in Herat but only incompletely illustrated, was probably presented to Mehmed II by the Aqqoyunlu prince Uğurlu Mehmed (d. 1479), Uzun Hasan's eldest son, who sought refuge at the court in 1474; additions to the work were made under Bayezid II.¹⁸ As luxury products, most illustrated books were stored separately and somewhat haphazardly in the Topkapı Palace's Inner Treasury, of which the library was a part.¹⁹ In the preface to his inventory, 'Atufi notes that he was tasked with registering the titles of books stored in the entire Inner Treasury and adds that the "rarest of books" (*kitāblarun nefā'isi*) ought not be mixed with others but should be held in a different place within it.²⁰

How can we account, then, for the lack of references to illustrated books? It can be attributed to the method by which 'Atufi recorded the titles. In the preface, he makes it clear that the entries were taken from the titles inscribed on the opening page (*zahr*) and/or the binding flap (*miqlab*) of the books.²¹ There is no indication that 'Atufi and his assistants were required to describe the physical details of a book—that is, whether a copy was illustrated, illuminated, or decoratively bound. Rather, the primary purpose of the inventory was to classify the books by subject or category (*fann*) in a convenient fashion. 'Atufi mentions that Bayezid II himself prescribed this method.²² In fact, for the whole inventory, we come across only ten titles designated as "illustrated."²³ There may well have been many more illustrated books in the collection. But the lack of references highlights the

limitations of the inventory for estimating how many of the listed books were illustrated, either in part or in full, and also for determining which books were counted as rare or deluxe copies.

A SERIES OF SHORTER VERSE COLLECTIONS

The next subsection (238–48), the largest in terms of volumes listed, concerns poets whose reputation is based mainly on their skill in either the panegyric *qaṣīda* or the *ghazal*. As might be expected, the entries for their poems consist predominantly of *divans*. Moreover, there is a chronology of sorts in the ordering of the entries. This subsection on shorter verse starts with an entry for the *divan* of Kamal Khujandi (d. 1400), a favorite peer of Hafiz who influenced Jami and was also famed for his *ghazals*, and the penultimate entry is for two *qaṣīdas* assigned to a Riyazi in tribute to Bayezid II.²⁴ The Riyazi in question is almost certainly a local contemporary poet, and the last among several such poets whose work in Persian is recorded here.²⁵

The first series of titles (238–40) is associated with poets who were active until the early fifteenth century. After a listing of multiple copies of Kamal's *divan*, copies of the *divans* of Anwari (d. late twelfth century) and Salman Sawaji (d. 1376) are recorded. The two poets were esteemed as panegyrists, and Jami considered Anwari one of the "prophets" of Persian poetry.²⁶ Listed subsequently are copies of the *Kullīyyāt* of 'Imad al-Din Faqih (d. 1371), a rival of Hafiz, and of the *divans* of Qasim Anwar (d. 1433) and Hasan Dihlawi (d. 1327). These poets were recognized for their *ghazals*, and all the poets mentioned thus far are among the exemplars Jami notes in his *Bahāristān*, with the exception of Qasim.²⁷ The inclusion of Qasim here seems a bit out of place, since his overtly mystical poems were not regarded as extraordinary. Furthermore, during his life, Qasim was suspected of being sympathetic to the heretical Hurufi sect.²⁸ One wonders, then, whether the copies of his *divan* were acquired under Mehmed II, who had shown interest in Hurufi teachings for some time in his youth.²⁹ In any case, the series ends with a few works labeled *Qalandar*, most notably a *divan* attributed to a Najm al-Din. This *divan* is probably a compilation of poems

by Najm al-Din Razi (Daya, d. 1256), a disciple of the Kubravi order whose *rubā'īs*, or quatrains, Rumi was familiar with.³⁰

Oddly, it is after these works that copies of Firdawsī's eleventh-century *Shāhnāma* (Book of Kings) are enumerated (seven in total, including a selection), but with no attribution of authorship (240). Most copies were likely prose versions of the epic, and one of them is indicated as being illustrated, making it the first illustrated volume that we encounter in our section on Persian poetry. It is impossible, however, to ascertain which extant illustrated copy of the *Shāhnāma* at the Topkapı Library or elsewhere the entry might denote. The current holdings of the Topkapı Library include close to fifteen copies of the work that predate the inventory. Nonetheless, the date of acquisition for nearly all of these remains unclear.³¹ The situation is also complicated by the possibility that the designated copy may have been purchased on the open market, perhaps from Shiraz, and was not acquired as a gift.³² Considering the location of the *Shāhnāma* entries and the relatively small number of copies credited, we can deduce that its value as a literary work was much less appreciated at the time.

The ensuing titles (240–45) are also by poets from the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. This series begins with entries for the works of Katibi (d. 1434), a poet reputed for his *ghazals*. Other lyricists featured are Katibi's contemporaries 'Ismat (d. 1425) and Bisati (d. 1412), with copies of their *divans* recorded together with those of Ibn Yamin (d. 1368), a master of the *qīṭa'*, or poetic fragment. Yet two poets in particular stand out, Khwaju Kirmani (d. ca. 1349) and Sana'i (d. ca. 1130), by the sheer number of volumes attributed to them: eleven and sixteen, respectively. Khwaju was a prolific lyricist, who compiled two separate *divans* and for whose *ghazals* Hafiz composed *naẓīras*, or parallel poems.³³ Similarly, Khwaju produced a quintet of *mathnawīs* in response to Nizami's. Sana'i was equally prolific and renowned for his homiletic poetry composed in a broad range of forms, the most popular being his *mathnawī Ḥadiqat al-ḥaqīqa* (Garden of Truth). The diverse output of both Khwaju and Sana'i is well reflected in the titles listed. And their pairing here does not seem to be coincidental, since Khwaju also relied on Sana'i as a model for his didactic *mathnawīs*.³⁴

The series concludes with a list of works by a disparate group of authors of varying reputation. Recorded are multiple copies of the *mathnawīs* of two minor poets, Husayni Sadat (d. after 1328) and Awhadi Maragha'i (d. 1338), the most noteworthy poem being the latter's *Jām-i Jam* (Jamshid's Cup), a response to Sana'i's *Ḥadīqat*. Recorded next are copies of the divan of the Jalayirid ruler Sultan Ahmad (d. 1410), better known for his artistic patronage, and the *Kullīyyāt* of the prominent satirist 'Ubayd Zakani (d. ca. 1370). The series ends with entries for the *Kullīyyāt* of the allegorist Fattahi (d. 1448), the divan of Cem Sultan (d. 1495), Bayezid II's brother and rival to the throne, and more copies of Amir Khusraw's works. Although not strictly chronological, the list of titles and authors provided in this portion of the subsection functions as a virtual bibliographic digest of the development of Persian poetry up to the time of Bayezid II's reign, culminating so to speak with his late brother's divan.³⁵

If the previous portion is arranged according to a chronological logic, what follows is ad hoc at best: a long series of titles and authors with no distinct groupings or obvious breaks (245–48). Here we come across the works of numerous older poets that we might have expected to be recorded earlier, and also titles by contemporary poets active in the east. There are even entries for copies of the divan of Jahan-Malik Khatun (d. after 1383), an Injuid princess who resided in Shiraz at the same time as Khwaju, 'Ubayd, and Hafiz.³⁶ In addition, we find the recent works of a dozen or so émigré and local poets. The assemblage of works appears to have been made purely out of convenience. Most of the titles listed are lone copies of individual divans or works represented by a few copies; multiple entries assigned to a single poet are sporadic.

Of the older poets recorded in this block of titles, some are better known than others. Among those with multiple entries are the satirist Suzani (d. 1173), the panegyrists Nasir Khusraw (d. 1088), Khaqani (d. 1199), and Zahir Faryabi (d. 1201), and the lyricists Nasir Bukhari (d. 1370), Khayali (d. 1446), and Shahi (d. 1453); all of them are also noted in Jami's *Bahāristān*.³⁷ Worth naming as well are some mystical poets with multiple entries, 'Iraqi (d. 1289), Nizari (d. 1321), and Maghribi (d. 1407), celebrated for their *ghazals* and mentioned in either the

Bahāristān or the *Nafahāt al-uns*.³⁸ The works of these poets, together with those of others already mentioned, can be regarded as constituting a classical or "ancient" corpus of texts, which Jami seems to have regarded as being worthy of study and emulation. The only real contemporary poet that Jami mentions in the *Bahāristān* is Nawa'i, who ironically composed verse chiefly in Chagatai.

The block of titles also contains entries for a handful of poets active during Bayezid II's reign, whom we can properly identify from other biographical writings produced after the *Bahāristān* (1487), primarily the *Majālis al-nafā'is* (Assemblies of the Distinguished, completed in 1498) of Nawa'i, which has chapters devoted to poets current at the time. Here we find, for instance, a one-volume compilation of the divans of Suhayli (d. 1501) and Sayfi Bukhari (d. 1504) and single copies of the divans of three of their relatively obscure peers: Shihab, Yari, and Dhati. However, we do not find the works of Banna'i (d. 1512) and Asafi (d. 1517), two poets with whom Nawa'i was personally acquainted and who are given conspicuous recognition in his *Majālis*.³⁹ The general absence of contemporary poets in the inventory is telling, for it parallels the tendency of biographical writings to valorize past luminaries. By the same token, it suggests that Nawa'i's opinion of his contemporaries had a limited impact on what was acquired by the Ottoman court up to the time the inventory was compiled.⁴⁰

Intermingled with the divans of the older poets are those of émigré and local poets. A number of them were connected with Mehmed II's court: Hamidi (d. after 1481) and Qabuli (Kabuli, d. 1478), émigré poets from Isfahan and Shirvan, respectively, and La'ali (Le'ali, d. after 1481), a poet originally from Tokat in central Anatolia who arrived in Istanbul after a stay in Herat. A compilation of La'ali's poems in both Persian and Turkish is recorded. Also recorded is a compilation credited to Nishani (Nişani) or Karamanlı Mehmed Pasha (d. 1481), Mehmed II's last grand vizier. One poet's connection with the court predates Mehmed II's reign: Ahmed Da'i (d. after 1421), who found favor with Bayezid I's son, Süleyman Çelebi (d. 1411), in Edirne and whose divan is listed as an autograph copy. Of poets active during Bayezid II's reign, we can identify only a few with any degree of certainty: the aforementioned Riyazi, a gradu-

ate of the Semaniye madrasa in Istanbul (which was founded by Mehmed II) who lived into Süleyman's reign (r. 1520–66), and Basiri (d. 1535), who is credited with a *divan*.⁴¹ Basiri initially visited Istanbul from Herat in 1491, with a letter of recommendation from Jami and Nawa'i, and several years later he would settle permanently there and enjoy the court's patronage. It appears that Basiri also brought books along during his initial visit, including a copy of Nawa'i's *divan* that was likely presented to Bayezid II.⁴² The case of Basiri highlights the important role that émigré literati played in the circulation and collection of works in Persian and other languages.

The last and arguably the most intriguing poet based in Istanbul, two copies of whose *divan* are recorded in the inventory, is Shaykh Wafa' (Vefa', d. 1491). He was head of a Zeyni lodge in the city, and had a close relationship with Mehmed II, as well as with members of the sultan's intimate circle (including the royal librarian Molla Lutfi and his teacher Sinan Pasha). It is probably owing to these social ties that the copies of his *divan* entered the Topkapı Library, since Shaykh Wafa' was not an eminent poet and in fact was better known for his later support of Karamanlı Mehmed Pasha, who had backed Cem Sultan's failed bid to succeed Mehmed II. Nevertheless, the example of Shaykh Wafa' demonstrates that the local production of Persian verse was driven principally by mystics, whether or not they were Mevlevi in inclination.⁴³ The interest of these mystics in Persian verse extended to collecting books as well. The sizeable lending library that Shaykh Wafa' founded in his lodge had a section devoted to Persian *divans*.⁴⁴ Within the Topkapı Library collection, it is evident that the locally compiled works came from a fairly small circle of poets affiliated with the court.

SUNDRY OTHERS

The third and last subsection (249–59) is less coherent than the previous ones, and the majority of the titles listed are *mathnawīs* of assorted content, reflecting the flexibility of the poetic form. Also, many of them have no authorial attribution. The works are recorded in two blocks of titles, which are divided by a listing of multiple

copies of the *Gulshan-i rāz* (The Secret Rose Garden), a popular exposition of mystical doctrine by Mahmud Shabistari (d. ca. 1340). The subsection concludes with a separate listing of more conventional religious titles in verse: accounts of the life of the Prophet, *siyar al-Nabī*, and translations of the hundred sayings of 'Alī, *Ṣad kalima*. The titles in this subsection range from well-known works such as the *Rubā'īyyāt* of 'Umar Khayyam (d. 1131) to little-known ones such as the *Muḥabbatnāma* (Book of Love) of Ibn Nasuh Shirazi (d. 1391), along with numerous copies of *majmū'as*, or anthologies.

The first block of titles, which is shorter than the second, is a mix of older and more recent works, unattributed and attributed (249–52). Almost all the titles without a name attached are easy to attribute. For example, copies of the *Zafarnāma* (Book of Victory) in the list undoubtedly refer to the epic of Hamd Allah Mustawfi (d. 1349); similarly, a copy of the *Sham' u Parwāna* (Candle and Moth) that is mentioned must be the allegory of an obscure poet named Fahmi, possibly an émigré, who composed it for Bayezid II.⁴⁵ Some works are more difficult to attribute, such as the versified versions of the story of Yusuf or of *Kalila wa-Dimna*, for which a few authors may apply.⁴⁶ Listed beside these are immediately identifiable mystical works in prose, mixed with verse, such as the *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ* (Delight of Souls) and the *Ṭarab al-majālis* (Joy of Assemblies), both by Amir Husayni (d. 1328). Of the works that are attributed, a few belong to minor poets such as 'Arif Ardabili (fl. ca. 1369), whose romance *Farhādnāma* is listed as an autograph copy.

The most recent works listed were locally produced in Istanbul. Here we encounter three entries, without attribution, for chronicles in verse about Mehmed II. The first is a work entitled the *Ghazānāma-i Rūm* (Epic of the Conquest of Rum); the others are cited simply as *tawārikh*, or histories. The *Ghazānāma* clearly refers to the chronicle of that name by Kashifi (Kaşifi, fl. ca. 1478), an émigré poet. The chronicle recounts Mehmed II's military exploits in the manner of the *Shāhnāma*, and was written to secure patronage toward the end of his reign. The other two were probably comparable campaign books produced around the time and might be copies of the now lost chronicles by Hamidi and a certain Shahdi (Şehdi).⁴⁷ We know that Mehmed II had

specifically commissioned Shahdi to compose a *Shāhnāma*-style chronicle. There is also a chronicle devoted to Bayezid II, recorded simply as a *qışsa*, or story, and unattributed. In addition to the chronicles, we also come across a *risāla* in verse eulogizing Bayezid II that is credited to Shaykh Wafa' (which almost certainly represents Shaykh Wafa's attempt to forge an alliance with the new sultan after having previously supported his rival, Cem), and a *Rāḥat al-'ushshāq* (Comfort of Lovers) to Saba'i (d. after 1509), a disciple of this shaykh.⁴⁸

The longer second block (252–59) similarly comprises a mix of old and new titles. In this part, we find entries for works such as the eleventh-century romance *Warqa wa-Gulshāh* (likely 'Ayyuqi's); *munāẓarāt*, or dispute poems, assigned to Mas'ud Sa'd Salman (d. 1121); the allegory *Ḥālnāma* (Book of Ecstasy), which is certainly by 'Arifi (d. 1449); and *Khusraw u Shirin* by Hatifi (d. 1520), Jami's nephew. There are also entries for the *Kullīyyāt* of Bushaq Aṭ'ima (d. 1423 or 1427), whose verses were mostly parodies. Regarding locally produced works, we come across entries for a versified account of the Shi'i Imam Husayn's martyrdom attributed to Ahmedi (d. 1413), a peer of Ahmed Da'i; a satirical *munāẓara* entitled *Baḥth-i Kūn u Kus* (Debate of Ass and Pussy) by Qabuli; a versified account of the martyrdom of 'Ali's companions 'Abis b. Abi Shabib and Habib b. Muzahir; and a collection of *hazliyyāt*, or *facetiae*, by Kashifi. As far as we are aware, none of these works has survived. As for Kashifi, we encounter an entry for another chronicle of his, *Fatḥnāma-i Ighribūz* (Eğriboz, Euboea), dealing with Mehmed II's conquests. In addition to a few panegyric poems, there are two chronicles devoted to Bayezid II, both recorded as *qışsas*, with one specifically stating that it concerns the beginning of his reign. This *qışsa* in all probability refers to the *Shāhnāma* or *Bāyezīdnāma* produced at the court in 1486, covering the years 1481–84. It was the first work of its kind to be illustrated, and is still housed at the Topkapı Library.⁴⁹

Interestingly, another copy of this *Shāhnāma* has survived that was illustrated much later, in the nineteenth century, in Qajar Iran.⁵⁰ That it was illustrated so late suggests that the copies of the *qışsas* devoted to Bayezid II were ultimately intended to be illustrated. We know that, from the 1490s onward under Bayezid II, the court-sponsored production of illustrated historical and literary titles greatly expanded.⁵¹ The increase in production

suggests as well that some of the individual copies of the literary *mathnawīs* we find here were not unique but rather made to be illustrated. One *mathnawī* particularly stands out in this respect, 'Assar's *Mihr u Mushtarī*. Recorded sporadically in this subsection are eight copies of the poem, which is also referred to as the *Ishqnāma* (Book of Love), a somewhat surprising number for a romance that appears to have been more popular as an illustrated text than as a work to be emulated (249–51, 253–54).⁵² At the time, only a single response to the poem was composed in Persian by Jamal Ardistani (d. 1474), and the first response in Turkish was written at the turn of the century by Bihişti.⁵³ *Mihr u Mushtarī* is the only other text designated as "illustrated" in the entire section on Persian poetry, and this entry no doubt refers to the gift-copy sent to Bayezid II from Herat. Thus the fact that there are so many copies of *Mihr u Mushtarī* listed here may be accounted for by its perceived value as an illustrated work.

A similar function appears to underlie the multiple copies of the *Maqāmāt* (Standings) of Hamidi (d. 1164) recorded toward the end of the subsection (257–58). The work, though not exactly a translation, is based heavily on the Arabic version of al-Hariri (d. 1122), of which there are also several copies in the inventory.⁵⁴ Significantly for us, this Persian work was appreciated for neither its literary nor stylistic merits; instead, interest in it was due to the popularity of the *maqāmāt* as an illustrated genre. Likewise is the case with copies of the Persian translation of 'Ali's *Mi'at Kalima* (*Ṣad Kalima*, One Hundred Sayings), which was often luxuriously illuminated. If the subsection is less cohesively structured according to author, or even by genre or topic, it is possible that its organization was informed by illustrative concerns.⁵⁵ It is not an accident, however, that the *Ṣad Kalima* is the final text listed. There is no doubt that the translation or verse paraphrase belongs to Rashid al-Din Watwat (d. 1182), as this is a well-known work of his. Equally renowned were his treatises on rhetoric, of which the biographer Dawlatshah (d. ca. 1494) deems his *Ḥadā'iq al-siḥr* (Gardens of Magic) one of the most useful in Persian.⁵⁶ Conspicuously, a commentary on Rashid al-Din's treatises and poems is also the last text recorded in the section on Arabic poetry and poetics, which comes immediately before the section on Persian poetry.⁵⁷

CONCLUSION

In speaking of the method adopted by 'Atufi for recording the Topkapı Palace Library collection, İsmail Erünsal has observed that since there was no established Ottoman tradition of cataloguing, 'Atufi struggled "to create a system which would ... make for some consistency."⁵⁸ This struggle is clearly reflected in the section on Persian poetry, in which the ordering of titles and authors is determined by both form and chronology, and is plainly not always consistent. Nevertheless, the overall arrangement of entries indicates the privileging of past works, texts that had become authoritative by the time 'Atufi compiled the inventory. In this regard, the figure of Jami looms large, a poet and mystic accorded great prestige at the court, and whose own works served to canonize a group of authors. To what extent the personal tastes of either Mehmed II or Bayezid II—beyond mere bibliophilism and their partiality to things Persian—shaped the collection of the books catalogued in this section remains open to debate. What is certain is that the list prepared by 'Atufi, who happened to be a tutor to the palace pages, provided a ready resource for a curriculum of Persian poetry. This curriculum gave pride of place to Rumi's *Mathnawī* and incorporated other locally produced works as coherently as possible.⁵⁹

Notably, the earliest extant court gift register that features poets begins with 1503, the very year when the final copy of the inventory was made.⁶⁰ It is quite evident from the register that local poets, especially those composing in Turkish, were the chief beneficiaries of the court's largesse. This is not surprising considering the dearth of Turkish divans recorded in the inventory, copies of which number less than fifteen in total; of these, fewer than ten were composed exclusively in Turkish—a tiny fraction compared to the number of Persian divans, which exceed three hundred volumes.⁶¹ Perhaps it was a recognition of the massive shortage of poetry in Turkish that spurred Bayezid II to patronize Ottoman poetic activity in the vernacular on a more regular basis after 1503. If that was indeed the case, then the court's dedicated support started only after its collection of Persian poetry was registered and codified.

One remaining question is what impact the collection of poetic works in Persian may have had beyond courtly circles. We know that poets composing in Turkish began to compare themselves favorably with the Persian masters from this time onward. In fact, early on in Süleyman's reign the practice had become so routine that, in a *qaṣīda* celebrating the lavish wedding ceremony of the grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha in 1523, Hayali (d. 1557) declares himself a second Jami in the invention of ideas and comparable to Salman in style.⁶² Such comparisons were not mere boasts, but were direct acknowledgments of the kind of poets the court regarded highly, as represented in the palace library collection. But it could equally be argued that, for those local poets composing exclusively in Turkish, the boastful nods were self-serving responses to the competition they faced for court patronage from the still persistent traffic of poets from the east, and to their conservative tendencies.

The court's partiality to poetry in Persian, especially in *mathnawī* form, did not wane with the onset of the sixteenth century. Later in his reign in the 1550s, Süleyman established the post of *ṣehnāmeçi*, or official chronicler, who was charged with eulogizing the military prowess of the sultan in Persian and in a fashion that was obviously modeled after the *Shāhnāma*.⁶³ It was not until the 1590s that Turkish finally replaced Persian as the *ṣehnāmeçi*'s preferred language of expression and prose overtook verse as the preferred medium. While the court-commissioned chronicles, in either Persian or Turkish, were hardly works of outstanding literary merit, their production does point to a broader development that would take place over the course of the century: the steady appropriation and adaptation of the Persian poetic canon by Ottoman literati at large, and the eventual creation of a Turkish poetic canon toward the last decade through their own biographical writings. In no small measure, then, the curricular nature of the collection catalogued in the inventory of 1502–3 anticipated that development.

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NOTES

Author's note: Names, titles, and terms are rendered according to the Arabic of the inventory, with a few modifications.

1. Feridün Ahmed Beg, *Münşe'atü's-selâtin*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1848–57), 1:363, [http://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:10845181\\$1i](http://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:10845181$1i). For a Turkish translation of the passage, see 'Alî Aşghar Hikmat, *Camî*, trans. M. Nuri Gencosman (Istanbul, 1949), 49. The *al-Lu'lu' al-manthûr* referenced is probably the work of al-Samhudi (d. 1506), a mirror for princes composed in Arabic around that time.
2. 'Alî b. Husayn Kâshifî, *Rashahât-i 'ayn al-hayât*, ed. 'Alî Aşghar Mu'iniyân, 2 vols. (Tehran, 1977), 1:262.
3. Ahmad b. Muṣṭafâ Ṭāshkubrîzâda, *Eş-Şekâ'îku n-Nu'māniye fi 'ulemâ'i d-devleti l-'Osmāniye*, ed. Ahmed Subhi Furat (Istanbul, 1985), 262; MS Török F. 59, 237. The treatise was composed in Arabic and reached Istanbul soon after the sultan's death in 1481. See Jāmî, *The Precious Pearl (al-Durrah al-fākhirah)*, Together with His Glosses and the Commentary of 'Abd al-Ghafûr al-Lārî, trans. Nicholas Heer (Albany, NY, 1979). Franz Babinger, however, has suggested that more books had been sent to Mehmed II. See Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, ed. William C. Hickman and trans. Ralph Mannheim (Princeton, NJ, 1978), 501.
4. Neither Mehmed II nor Bayezid II was particularly known for his ability to compose verse in Persian.
5. İsmail E. Erünsal, "909 (1503) Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb," in *The Archival Sources of Turkish Literary History*, ed. Cemal Kafadar and Gönül Alpay Tekin (Cambridge, MA, 2008), 251–69, at 254.
6. *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. "Jāmî. i. Life and Works," by Paul E. Losensky.
7. Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, 413; Feridun Nâfiz Uzluk, ed., *Fatih Devrinde Karaman Eyâleti Vakıfları Fihristi* (Ankara, 1958), 9–13; Halûk İpekten, *Divan Edebiyatında Edebî Muhitler* (Istanbul, 1996), 56. Interestingly, Rumi's *Mathnawî* is not among the Persian books listed in the library inventory.
8. Victoria Holbrook, "Diverse Tastes in the Spiritual Life: Textual Play in the Diffusion of Rumi's Order," in *The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism* (1130–1300), ed. Leonard Lewisohn (Oxford, 1999), 99–120, at 100.
9. Jawid Mojaddedi, trans., introduction to Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî, *The Masnavi: Book One* (Oxford, 2004), xiv. Cf. Jāmî, *Nafahât al-uns min ḥaḍarât al-quds*, ed. Mahdî Tawḥîdîpûr (Tehran, 1958), 460.
10. Najîb Mâyîl Haravî, *Jāmî* (Tehran, 1999), 255–56.
11. Paul E. Losensky, *Welcoming Fighânî: Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal* (Costa Mesa, CA, 1998), 171–72.
12. MS Török F. 59, 236–37. No individual copies of *Salmân u Absâl* or *Khirdnâma-i Iskandarî* (Alexandrian Book of Wisdom) are recorded, but a copy of *Haft awrang* is listed. Copies of *Nafahât al-uns* are listed in the section on mysticism (150).
13. Only Bihîştî's last *mathnawî*, *Laylâ wa-Majnûn* (1506), has survived. Cf. the entries for "Ahmed Çelebi" in İsmail E. Erünsal, "II. Bâyezîd Devrine Ait Bir İn'âmât Defteri," in *The Archival Sources of Turkish Literary History*, 57, 59, 63.
14. Edirneli Sehî, *Heşt Behîşt. Sehî Beg Tezkiresi: İnceleme-Tenkidli Metin-Dizin*, ed. Günay Kut (Cambridge, MA, 1978), 243–45; Laṭîfî, *Tezkiretû's-Şu'arâ ve Tabsiratü'n-Nuzamâ: İnceleme-Metin*, ed. Rıdvan Canım (Ankara, 2000), 194–95.
15. 'Aşîk Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü's-Şu'arâ: İnceleme-Metin*, ed. Filiz Kılıç, 3 vols. (Istanbul, 2010), 2:634.
16. Laṭîfî, *Tezkiretû's-Şu'arâ*, 237.
17. Zeki Velidi Togan, *On the Miniatures in the Istanbul Libraries* (Istanbul, 1963), 27, 36.
18. See Zeren Tanındı, "Additions to Illustrated Manuscripts in Ottoman Workshops," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 147–61, at 150–54; Togan, *On the Miniatures in the Istanbul Libraries*, 27–28.
19. Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York, 1991), 134–37; see also her essay in this volume.
20. MS Török F. 59, 9. See English translation in Appendix IV.
21. As argued in Necipoğlu's essay in this volume.
22. MS Török F. 59, 12. Cf. İsmail E. Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries: A Survey of the History, Development, and Organization of Ottoman Foundation Libraries* (Cambridge, MA, 2008), 147.
23. For these ten titles, see Necipoğlu's essay in this volume.
24. MS Török F. 59, 238, 248.
25. See Laṭîfî, *Tezkiretû's-Şu'arâ*, 283–84; 'Aşîk Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü's-Şu'arâ*, 3:1399–1400.
26. Jāmî, *Bahâristân* (Istanbul, 1893), 88.
27. *Ibid.*, 88–89.
28. Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 4 vols. (London, 1909–28), 3:473–75. Cf. Jāmî, *Nafahât al-uns*, 592–95.
29. John Kingsley Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* (London, 1965), 61–62. Cf. Ṭāshkubrîzâda, *Eş-Şekâ'îku n-Nu'māniye*, 60–61.
30. Franklin D. Lewis, *Rumi—Past and Present, East and West: The Life, Teaching and Poetry of Jalâl al-Din Rumi* (Oxford, 2008), 30–33.
31. See Fethi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu: No. 1-940* (Istanbul, 1961), 126–31.
32. Lâle Uluç, "The *Shahnama* of Firdawsî as an Illustrated Text," in *Treasures of the Aga Khan Museum—Arts of the Book and Calligraphy*, ed. Margaret S. Graves and Benoît Junod (Istanbul, 2010), 256–69, at 258–60.
33. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 3:293–98.
34. Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, ed. Karl Jahn and trans. P. van Popta-Hope (Dordrecht, 1968), 260.
35. The biographer Latîfî, at the end of his notice for Cem Sultan, quotes a couplet of Jāmî's that he had translated (Laṭîfî, *Tezkiretû's-Şu'arâ*, 146).
36. MS Török F. 59, 246, 247. On Jahan-Malik, see Dominic Parviz Brookshaw, "Odes of a Poet-Princess: The Ghazals of Jahân-Malik Khâtûn," *Iran* 43 (2005): 173–95.

37. Jāmī, *Bahāristān*, 89–90.
38. Ibid., 88; Jāmī, *Nafahāt al-uns*, 601–5, 613–14.
39. ‘Alī Shīr Navā’ī, *Mecālisü’n-nefāyis*, ed. and trans. Kemal Eraslan, 2 vols. (Ankara, 2001), 1:77–81. Cf. Bābur, *Bāburnāme: Chaghatay Turkish Text with Abdul-Rahim Khankhanan’s Persian Translation*, ed. and trans. Wheeler M. Thackston, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 1993): 2:373–76.
40. There is no record of a copy of the *Majālis al-nafā’is* in the inventory.
41. İsmail Erünsal has credited Persian divans to several more local or Ottoman poets. But none of the poets cited, from what we can gather from contemporaneous biographical writings, actually composed Persian verses (Erünsal, “909 (1503) Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb,” 256).
42. Laṭīfī, *Tezkiretü’ş-Şu’arā*, 189.
43. Another example is the Naqshbandi Shaykh ‘Abdallāh İlahi (d. 1491), who settled in Istanbul at the beginning of Bayezid II’s reign and composed verse mainly in Persian. See İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan, ed., *İlāhî Dîvanı* (Istanbul, 1961).
44. Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries*, 128, 145. Cf. Erünsal, “Şeyh Vefâ ve Vakıfları Hakkında Yeni Bir Belge,” *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1 (1997): 47–64.
45. Helmut Ritter and Benedikt Reinert, “Die persischen Dichterhandschriften der Fatih-Bibliothek in Istanbul,” *Oriens* 29/30 (1986): 110–258, at 213–14.
46. *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. “Joseph i. In Persian Literature,” by Ashghar Dadbeh; *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. “Kalila wa Demna i. Redactions and Circulation,” by Dagmar Riedel. One of the versified stories of Yusuf is attributed to Jamal Ardistani, but the others are not. Moreover, some of the works ascribed to “Jamali” are actually by Jamal Ardistani, not Jamali (d. 1535). This apparently was a common mistake. See *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. “Jamālī, Hāmed b. Faẓl-Allāh,” by A. A. Seyed-Gohrab.
47. İsmail Hakkı Ertaylan, ed., *Külliyât-ı Dîvân-ı Mevlânâ Hāmidî* (Istanbul, 1949), 73; Sehî, *Heşt Behîşt*, 197. One of the unattributed chronicles could also be the *Shāhnāma*-style *Khunkār-nāma* of Ma’ali (Me’ali), which was written around the same time.
48. On Saba’i, see Sehî, *Heşt Behîşt*, 206–7.
49. Sara Nur Yıldız, “Ottoman Historical Writing in Persian, 1400–1600,” in *Persian Historiography*, ed. Charles Melville (London, 2012), 436–502, at 456–61. Cf. *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. “Historiography. xiv. The Ottoman Empire,” by Sara Nur Yıldız. The *Shāhnāma* or *Bāyezîdnāma* has usually been attributed to Malik Um̄mi (Melik Ümmi), an émigré who was part of Bayezid II’s entourage. However, Andrew C. S. Peacock has recently communicated to me his discovery that the author is a poet with the pen name Ahi. I would like to thank him for sharing this new and significant finding. And there is indeed a divan ascribed to an Ahi in the inventory (MS Török F. 59, 246, 247).
50. Yıldız, “Ottoman Historical Writing in Persian,” 457. This illustrated copy is now housed at the Cambridge University Library (Or. 196).
51. Aysin Yoltar-Yıldırım, “A 1498–99 *Khusraw va Shūrîn*: Turning the Pages of an Ottoman Illustrated Manuscript,” *Muqarnas* 22 (2005): 95–109, at 106–7.
52. Francis Richard, “Le poème Mehr o Moshtari et ses copées illustrées.” Paper presented at the Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art, March 2005, <https://www.academia.edu/17966587>.
53. Ersen Ersoy, “II. Bâyezîd Devri Şairlerinden Behîştî’nin Hamsesi,” *Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 9 (2011): 254–61, at 256. Cf. Meliha Anbarcıoğlu, “Türk ve İran Edebiyatlarında Mihr u Mah ve Mihr u Müşterî Mesnevîleri,” *Belleten* 47 (1983): 1151–89. The Ottoman interest in responding to *Mihr u Mushtarî* may have been prompted by Jami, who mentions ‘Assar in the *Bahāristān* (87).
54. For a discussion of Hamidi’s *Maqāmāt*, see Vahid Behmardi, “Arabic and Persian Intertextuality in the Seljuq Period: Hamidi’s *Maqāmāt* as a Case Study,” in *The Seljuqs: Politics, Society and Culture*, ed. Christian Lange and Söngül Mecit (Edinburgh, 2011), 240–55.
55. I would like to thank David J. Roxburgh for suggesting the importance of this aspect of the inventory at the workshop held at Harvard University, April 4–6, 2014.
56. Dawlatshāh Samarqandî, *Tazkirat al-shu’arā*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abbāsî (Tehran, 1958), 103.
57. MS Török F. 59, 228. A copy of Watwat’s divan is recorded in the section on Arabic poetry and poetics as well (211).
58. Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries*, 146.
59. For those who wished to improve their knowledge and command of Persian vocabulary, the palace library held several dictionaries and lexicographical treatises as further reference material. Noteworthy works recorded in the inventory (in the section on dictionaries and elsewhere) include Hindushah Nakhchivani’s thirteenth-century *al-Şihāḥ al-‘ajamiyya* (Sound Aspects of Persian), a Persian-Azeri Turkish glossary with a brief outline of grammar, of which two copies are listed (297, 299); Fakhri Isfahani’s fourteenth-century *Miṣṣār Jamālî* (Measure for Jamal, 228), the fourth part of which is a Persian explanatory dictionary of words used by poets; and an unnamed treatise or lexicon in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, probably of the *niṣāb* variety—that is, vocabularies in verse compiled for their mnemonic value (294). Perhaps most noteworthy are the two dictionaries attributed to Halimi (d. 1516): the *Muṣarriḥat al-asmā’* (Explanation of Nouns), his trilingual dictionary of nouns; and another simply entitled *Durar* (Pearls) (295, 297). The latter undoubtedly refers to the Persian-Turkish dictionary that Halimi submitted to Mehmed II in 1477, defined with examples taken from Persian poetry (see Halimî, *Lügat-i Halimî*, ed. Adem Uzun [Ankara, 2013]).
60. See Erünsal, “II. Bâyezîd Devrine Ait Bir İn’âmât Defteri.”
61. MS Török F. 59, 261–62. Not included in this count are divans “in Turkic” (*bi-al-Mughūliyya*).
62. For the relevant verses, see Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, “Kaside,” *Türk Dili* 52 (1986): 17–77, at 52–55.
63. On the development of the post of *şehnâmeçi*, see Christine Woodhead, “An Experiment in Official Ottoman Historiography: The Post of *Şehnâmeçi* in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1550–1605,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 75 (1983): 157–82.

LIST OF ENTRIES

SECTION ON DIVANS AND VERSIFIED BOOKS IN PERSIAN

(*Tafṣīl al-dawāwīn al-fārisiyya wa-al-kutub al-manẓūma bi-al-fārisiyya*)

1. ‘Abd Allāh Anṣārī (d. 1089). *Kanz al-sālikīn* (Wayfarers’ Treasure), 252 {19}.
2. ‘Abd Allāh Ṭūsī (fl. late 15th c.). *Dīwān* (Collected Poems), 236 {1–2}, 241 {11}, 246 {16, 17}, four copies.
3. ‘Abd al-Wāsi‘ Jabalī (d. 1160). *Dīwān*, 246 {7, 8}, three copies.
4. Ādharī Ṭūsī (d. 1461). *Dīwān*, 246 {18}.
5. Adīb Ṣābir Tirmidhī (d. 1147). *Dīwān*, 246 {15}.
6. ‘Aḍud Yazdī (fl. 14th c.). *Dīwān*, 247 {11}.
7. “*Afrāsiyābnāma bi-al-fārsiyya al-manẓūma*” (Book of Afrasiyab in Persian Verse), 257 {17}.
8. Āhī (fl. late 15th c.). *Dīwān*, 246 {19}, 247 {16}.
9. Aḥmed Dā‘ī (d. after 1421). *Dīwān*, 247 {13}. MANUSCRIPT: Bursa, İnebey Kütüphanesi, Orhan C. 1196, 1413 (autograph copy; ex libris of Bayezid II).
10. Aḥmad Jalāyir (d. 1410). *Dīwān*, 244 {11, 12}, three copies. MANUSCRIPTS: Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art 32.30–32.37, ca. 1400 (illustrations; seal of Bayezid II); Istanbul, Türk ve İslâm Eserleri Müzesi (henceforth TİEM), 2046, 1407 (seal of Bayezid II).
11. “*Amīr Aḥmad u Mahsatī*,” 256 {7}, 257 {12, 16}, three copies.
12. Amīr Ḥusaynī, Fakhr al-Sādāt (d. 1318). *Sitta* (Sextet), 243 {7–8}.
13. Amīr Ḥusaynī, Fakhr al-Sādāt. *Khamṣa* (Quintet), 243 {5, 6}, three copies.
14. Amīr Ḥusaynī, Fakhr al-Sādāt. *Nuẓhat al-arwāḥ* (Delight of Souls), 251 {15}, 254 {16}, two copies. MANUSCRIPTS: Sotheby’s, London, 22 October 1993, lot 68, 1425 (seal of Bayezid II); Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (henceforth SK), Fatih 4134, 1479 (seal of Bayezid II).
15. Amīr Ḥusaynī, Fakhr al-Sādāt. *Qalandarnāma* (Book of Qalandar), 240 {4}, 252 {2}, two copies.
16. Amīr Ḥusaynī, Fakhr al-Sādāt. *Sināma* (Thirty Letters), 232 {12}, 243 {6}, two copies.
17. Amīr Ḥusaynī, Fakhr al-Sādāt. *Ṭarab al-majālis* (Joy of Assemblies), 251 {16}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4133, 1474 (seal of Bayezid II).
18. Amīr Ḥusaynī, Fakhr al-Sādāt. *Ash‘ār* (Poems), 243 {6}. MANUSCRIPT: Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi (henceforth TSMK), H. 392, 1479 (seal of Bayezid II).
19. Amīr Ḥusaynī, Fakhr al-Sādāt. *Tarjī‘āt* (Strophic Poems), 243 {8–9}.
20. Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī (d. 1325). *Kullīyyāt* (Complete Works), 235 {11–12}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4212, 1479 (seal of Bayezid II).
21. Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī. *Dīwān*, 235 {8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17–18, 19}, 236 {1}, 238 {13, 19}, 245 {1}, seventeen copies. MANUSCRIPTS: İnebey, Haraççı 978, 1419 (seal of Bayezid II); TİEM 1982, 1430 (seal of Bayezid II); SK, Ayasofya 3945, ca. 1460 (seal of Bayezid II); SK, Fatih 3820, 1465 (seal of Bayezid II); SK, Fatih 3817, 1495 (seal of Bayezid II); Paris, BN, P. 636, ca. 1500 (seal of Bayezid II).
22. Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī. *Khamṣa*, 234 {18}, 235 {11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19}, 236 {1, 2}, thirteen copies. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, H. 898, 1446 (illustrations; seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, H. 801, 1497 (illustrations; dedication to Bayezid II); SK, Fatih 3745, 15th c. (seal of Bayezid II).
23. Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī. *Āyina-i Iskandarī* (Alexandrine Mirror), 251 {13}.
24. Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī. *Hasht bihisht* (Eight Paradises), 235 {18–19}.
25. Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī. *Laylā wa-Majnūn*, 245 {3}.

26. Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī. *Maṭlaʿ al-anwār* (Rising Place of Lights), 249 {15–16}, 251 {6}, two copies.
27. Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī. *Qirān al-saʿdayn* (Conjunction of Two Auspicious Stars), 245 {1, 2, 4}, three copies.
28. Amīr Sayyid ʿAlī Ḥusaynī (fl. late 15th c.). *Rayāḥīn al-qulūb* (Hearts' Sweet Basils), 253 {18}.
29. Amīr Shāhī Sabzawārī (d. 1453). *Dīwān*, 246 {1, 15}, 247 {11, 13}, 248 {2}, five copies. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 3927, 15th c. (seal of Bayezid II).
30. Anawī, Burhān al-Dīn (fl. early 13th c.). *Anīs al-qulūb* (Hearts' Companion), 251 {9–10}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2984, 13th c. (seal of Bayezid II).
31. Anwarī (d. 1189). *Dīwān*, 238 {10, 11, 12}, six copies. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Fatih 3784, 1309 (seal of Bayezid II); SK, Fatih 3781, 15th c. (seal of Bayezid II); SK, Fatih 3783, 15th c. (seal of Bayezid II).
32. ʿArif Ardabili (fl. late 14th c.). *Farhād-nāma* (Book of Farhad), 251 {8, 9}, two copies. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, H. 678, 1369–72 (illustrations; seal of Bayezid II); SK, Ayasofya 3335, ca. 1480 (seal of Bayezid II).
33. ʿArifi (d. 1449). *Ḥāl-nāma* (Book of Ecstasy) [= *Gūy u Chawgān* (Ball and Polo Stick)], 247 {9}, 255 {14, 15–16, 19}, 256 {3}, six copies.
34. Asadī Tūsī (fl. late 11th c.). *Garshāsb-nāma* (Book of Garshasb), 249 {12}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 3287, 1499 (dedication to Bayezid II).
35. “*Ashʿār afḍāl al-shuʿarāʾ*” (Poems of the Most Excellent Poets), 254 {3–4}.
36. “*Ashʿār mutafarriqa*” (Various Poems), 232 {13}.
37. Ashraf Marāghaʾī (d. 1459). *Dīwān*, 246 {3}, 247 {5}, two copies.
38. Ashraf Marāghaʾī. *Khamsa*, 245 {12}.
39. ʿAṣṣār Tabrīzī (d. 1382). *Mīhr u Mushtarī* (Sun and Jupiter), 249 {17}, 250 {1}, 251 {7, 14, 17, 19}, 253 {17}, 254 {3}, eight copies. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 3563, 1482 (illustrations; seal of Bayezid II); SK, Fatih 4130, 1489 (seal of Bayezid II).
40. ʿAtīqī Tabrīzī (d. 1342). *Dīwān*, 245 {18}, 247 {17}, two copies.
41. ʿAṭṭār (d. 1221). *Kullīyyāt*, 232 {5, 12}, two copies; partial, 232 {17}.
42. ʿAṭṭār. *Dīwān*, 232 {16}.
43. ʿAṭṭār. *Sitta*, 231 {7}, 232 {6}, two copies.
44. ʿAṭṭār. *Khamsa*, 232 {17}. MANUSCRIPT: TIEM, 1992, ca. 1440 (seal of Bayezid II).
45. ʿAṭṭār. *Asrār-nāma* (Book of Secrets), 231 {5}, 232 {19}–233 {1}, two copies.
46. ʿAṭṭār. *Bulbul-nāma* (Book of the Nightingale) [= *Gul u Bulbul* (Rose and Nightingale)], 232 {19}, 250 {10}, 251 {19}, four copies.
47. ʿAṭṭār. *Ilāhīnāma* (Divine Book), 232 {9}, two copies. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 3674, 1329 (seal of Bayezid II).
48. ʿAṭṭār. *Jawhar al-dhāt* (Essence of Being), 232 {5–6, 16}, two copies.
49. ʿAṭṭār. *Khusraw-nāma* (Book of Khusraw) [= *Gul u Khusraw* or *Gul u Hurmuz*], 232 {7–8, 10–11}, two copies.
50. ʿAṭṭār. *Manṣūr-nāma* (Book of Mansur) [= *Ḥallāj-nāma* (Book of al-Hallaj)], 232 {14}.
51. ʿAṭṭār. *Manṭiq al-ṭayr* (Conference of the Birds), 231 {4}, 232 {7, 10}, three copies. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4317, 1455, (seal of Bayezid II).
52. ʿAṭṭār. *Ikhtiyārāt-i Manṭiq al-ṭayr* (Selections from the Conference of the Birds), 233 {1}.
53. ʿAṭṭār. *Intikhāb-i Manṭiq al-ṭayr* (Selections), ed. ʿAlī Badakhshānī, 232 {11}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 3678, 1492 (seal of Bayezid II).
54. ʿAṭṭār. *Intikhāb-i Mukhtār-nāma* (Selections from the Book of Selections), 231 {5}.
55. ʿAṭṭār. *Muṣibat-nāma* (Book of Affliction), 232 {8}.
56. ʿAṭṭār. *Ushturnāma* (Book of the Camel), 232 {8}.

57. 'Aṭṭār. *Tadhkirat al-awliyā* (Memorial of the Saints), 231 {8}.
58. 'Aṭṭār. *Rasā'il* (Treatises), 231 {9}.
59. Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī (d. 1237). *Miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ* (Lamp of Souls), 243 {19}–244 {1}.
60. Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī. *Rubā'īyyāt* (Quatrains), 243 {13–14}.
61. Awḥadī Marāgha'i (d. 1337). *Dīwān*, 245 {12}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 3982, 1452 (seal of Bayezid II).
62. Awḥadī Marāgha'i. *Dahnāma* (Ten Letters) [= *Manṭiq al-'ushshāq* (Speech of Lovers)], 243 {15, 16}, 254 {5}, 257 {4}, four copies.
63. Awḥadī Marāgha'i. *Jām-i Jam* (Jamshid's Cup), 243 {13, 14, 15, 17, 18}, five copies.
64. Awḥadī Marāgha'i. *Tarjī'*, 243 {19}.
65. Awḥadī Marāgha'i. *Tarjī'āt*, 250 {13–14}.
66. 'Ayyūqī (fl. early 11th c.). *Warqa wa-Gulshāh*, 253 {12}, 254 {4}, two copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, H. 841, early 13th c. (illustrations; seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Zabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā. *Varqa va Gulshāh*. Tehran, 1964.
67. Azhdarī, Nūr al-Dīn (fl. late 14th c.). *Ghāzānnāma* (Book of Ghazan), 251 {16}, 257 {17, 18}, three copies.
68. Badī' (Badā'i'i, fl. late 11th c.). *Pandnāma-i Anūshirwān* (Anushirwan's Book of Counsel) [= *Rāḥat al-insān* (Man's Comfort)], 241 {4}, 250 {5–6}, 253 {8}, 255 {6, 12, 16, 17}, seven copies.
69. Badī' al-Dīn Tabrīzī (fl. late 14th c.). *Dilsūznāmā* (Book of Compassion), 254 {16}. MANUSCRIPT: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ouseley 133, 1455 (illustrations; produced at the Edirne palace).
70. Badr al-Dīn Shirwānī (d. 1450). *Dīwān*, 241 {12}, 242 {2–3}, two copies.
71. Bahā' al-Dīn Sulṭān Walad (d. 1312). *Dīwān*, 232 {2, 3}, 247 {4}, three copies. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Hālet Efendi Ek. 139, 1322 (seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, M. 540, 1349. EDITION: Feridun Nâfiz Uzluğ. *Divan-ı Sultan Veled*. Istanbul, 1941.
72. Bahā' al-Dīn Sulṭān Walad. *Kitāb*, 232 {2–3}.
73. Baṣīrī (d. 1534). *Dīwān*, 247 {8}.
74. Bisāṭī Samarqandī (d. 1412). *Dīwān*, 241 {8, 9}, 247 {7–8}, five copies.
75. Bulbul (fl. early 15th c.). *Dīwān*, 246 {11–12}.
76. Buṣḥāq Aṭ'ima (d. 1423 or 1427). *Kullīyyāt*, 257 {10, 11, 15–16}, three copies.
77. Buṣḥāq Aṭ'ima. *Nazīra* (Parallel Poem), 250 {9–10}.
78. Dā'i Shirāzī (d. 1465). *Sitta*, 248 {5}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 3917, 15th c. (seal of Bayezid II).
79. Daqā'iḳī Marwazī (fl. late 12th c.). *Bakhtiyār-nāma* (Book of Bakhtiyar) [= *Anīs al-mulūk* (Kings' Companion)], 250 {18}.
80. "Dawāwīn" (Collections of Poems), 235 {10–11}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 3945, ca. 1460 (seal of Bayezid II).
81. "Dawāwīn al-fuḍalā' wa-qaṣā'iduhum wa-ghazaliyyātuhum" (Collections of Poems of the Excellent and Their Odes and Lyrics), 245 {14–15}.
82. Dhātī (fl. late 15th c.). *Dīwān*, 246 {11}.
83. Dhātī. *Shikāyatnāma* (Book of Complaint), 255 {7}.
84. Dhū al-Fiqār Shirwānī (d. 1290). *Dīwān*, 246 {3}.
85. "Dīwān-i Ṭāwūs al-shu'arā'" (Collected Poems of the Peacock of Poets), 247 {18}.
86. Durdud Astarābādī (d. 1436). *Dīwān*, 246 {16}.
87. Fahmī (fl. late 15th c.). *Sham' u Parwāna* (Candle and Moth), 251 {18}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 4002, 1486 (seal of Bayezid II).
88. Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī (d. 1289). *Dīwān*, 245 {12}, 246 {5}, 247 {10}, three copies. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Fatih 3843, 1342 (seal of Bayezid II); SK, Fatih 3844, 1453 (seal of Bayezid II).

89. Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī. *Lama'āt* (Divine Flashes), 234 {16}, 247 {10}, 257 {12–13}, three copies. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 2032, 1456 (seal of Bayezid II).
90. Farghānī, Sayf al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. after 1305). *Kitāb fī anwā' al-'ulūm* (Book on Various Sciences), 253 {13–14}.
91. Faṭḥ (?). *Dīwān*, 245 {19}.
92. Faṭḥī (fl. late 15th c.). *Dīwān*, 247 {7}.
93. Fattāḥī Nishābūrī (Asrārī, d. 1448). *Kullīyyāt*, 244 {15}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 3933, 15th c. (seal of Bayezid II).
94. Fattāḥī Nishābūrī. *Dīwān*, 246 {4}, 247 {8–9}, two copies.
95. Fattāḥī Nishābūrī. *Asrār-nāma* (Book of Secrets), 244 {15}.
96. Fattāḥī Nishābūrī. *Ḥusn u Dil* (Beauty and Heart), 252 {17–18}, 253 {5}, two copies.
97. Fayḍī (late 15th c.). *Ash'ār*, 256 {8}.
98. Firāqī (?). *Dīwān*, 246 {17}.
99. Firdawsī (d. 1020). *Shāhnāma* (Book of Kings), 240 {7, 8, 9}, five copies. MANUSCRIPT: İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi (hereafter İÜK) FY 1407, 1490 (illustrations; seal of Bayezid II).
100. Firdawsī. *Ikhtiyārāt-i Shāhnāma* (Selections from the Book of Kings), 240 {8, 9}, two copies. MANUSCRIPT: Forschungsbibliothek Gotha P. 48, ca. 1460 (seal of Bayezid II).
101. Firdawsī. *Intikhāb-i Shāhnāma* (Selections), 249 {12}.
102. "*Furqatnāma-i 'Alī*" ('Alī's Book of Separation), 256 {15}.
103. "*Furṣatnāma wa-ghayrihī min rasā'il*" (Book of Opportunity and Other Treatises), 253 {3}.
104. Gurgānī (d. ca. 1058). *Uways wa-Rāmīn* [= *Vīs u Rāmīn*], 251 {10, 11}, three copies.
105. Ḥāfiz (d. 1390). *Dīwān*, 235 {10, 16–17}, 236 {9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14}, 237 {1}, 238 {3, 6, 18}, seventeen copies. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, R. 947, 1419 (seal of Bayezid II); SK, Ayasofya 3945, ca. 1460 (seal); TİEM, 1923, 15th c. (seal of Bayezid II).
106. Ḥāfiz. *Muntakhab-i Dīwān-i Ḥāfiz* (Selections from the Collected Poems of Hafiz), 236 {13}.
107. Ḥāfiz. *Mukhammasāt-i ghazaliyyāt-i Ḥāfiz* (Quintains of Hafiz), 236 {12, 13}, two copies.
108. Ḥāfizī (?). *Mushtarīnāma* (Book of Jupiter), 256 {19}.
109. Ḥāfizī (?). *Ṭilsimnāma* (Book of Talismans), 257 {1}.
110. Hamadhānī, 'Alī b. Muḥammad (d. 1385). *Risālat dah-qā'ida* (Treatise on the Ten Rules), 233 {2}.
111. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (d. ca. 1344). *Zafarnāma* (Book of Victory), 251 {3, 4}, two copies.
112. Ḥamid al-Dīn Balkhī (Ḥamidī) (d. 1164). *Maqāmāt* (Stations), 257 {19}, 258 {1, 2}, five copies. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 4108, 1455 (seal of Bayezid II).
113. Ḥamidī (d. ca. 1500). *Kullīyyāt*, 246 {2}. MANUSCRIPT: Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi 68, 1479 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan. *Kullīyyāt-ı Dīwān-ı Mevlānā Ḥamidī*. İstanbul, 1949.
114. Ḥamidī. *Dīwān*, 248 {4}. MANUSCRIPT: İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi Kütüphanesi 1184, ca. 1479 (illustrations).
115. Ḥasan Dihlawī (d. 1336). *Dīwān*, 235 {8, 10, 18}, 238 {3}, 239 {16, 17}, 247 {6}, eight copies.
116. Ḥasan Kāshī (d. 1337). *Dīwān-i Kāshī fī manqabat 'Alī wa-abyāt mutafarriqa fī manqabatihī* (Collected Poems of Kashi Devoted to 'Alī and Various Couplets Devoted to Him), 247 {1–2}.
117. Hātifi (d. 1520). *Khusraw u Shūrīn*, 253 {4–5, 9}, two copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, H. 686, ca. 1494 (illustrations; seal of Bayezid II).
118. Hawā'ī (fl. late 14th c.). *Dīwān*, 246 {3}.
119. Hawā'ī. *Khayāl wa-Wiṣāl* (Imagination and Union), 248 {7–8}.
120. Hawā'ī. *Qaṣā'id*, 248 {7}.
121. Ḥaydar (fl. early 15th c.). *Dīwān*, 246 {6}.

122. "*Hidāyat al-raḥma*" (Guidance of Mercy), 250 {5}.
123. Humām al-Dīn Tabrizī (d. 1314). *Dīwān*, 238 {4}, 246 {6, 12}, three copies.
124. "*Humāyūn wa-Muzakhrāf*," 253 {7}.
125. Ibn 'Imād Shīrāzī (d. 1397). *Dahnāma*, 255 {12–13}.
126. Ibn Naṣūḥ (d. 1391). *Muḥabbatnāma* (Book of Love), 257 {4}.
127. Ibn Sayyid (?). *Dīwān*, 246 {11}.
128. Ibn Yamīn (d. 1368). *Dīwān*, 239 {8}, 241 {3, 4}, four copies.
129. Ibn Yamīn. *Muqaṭṭa'āt* (Fragments), 234 {16–17}, 241 {3}.
130. "*Ikhtiyārāt ash'ār al-fuḍalā*" (Selections from the Poems of the Excellent), 231 {11}.
131. 'Imād Faqīḥ Kirmānī (d. 1371). *Kullīyyāt*, 233 {10}, 239 {3, 4, 5}, seven copies. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4219, 1463 (seal of Bayezid II).
132. 'Imād Faqīḥ Kirmānī. *Mūnis al-abrār* (Companion of the Pious) [= *Ṣafānāma* (Book of Purity)], 255 {1–2}.
133. 'Imād Faqīḥ Kirmānī. *Dahnāma*, 250 {3–4}, 253 {8, 13}, three copies.
134. "*Intikhābāt dawāwīn al-fuḍalā*" (Selections from Collected Poems of the Excellent), 248 {5–6}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 3946, 1474 (seal of Bayezid II).
135. 'Iṣmat Bukhārī (d. 1425). *Dīwān*, 240 {19}, 241 {1}, three copies. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Fatih 3848, 1465 (seal of Bayezid II); SK, Fatih 3847, 15th c. (seal of Bayezid II).
136. Jahān-Malik Khātūn (d. after 1382). *Dīwān*, 246 {2}, 247 {3}, two copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, H. 867, 1437 (seal of Bayezid II).
137. Jahān-Shāh Ḥaḳīqī (d. 1467). *Dīwān*, 248 {1}.
138. Jājarmī, Muḥammad (fl. late 14th c.). *Mūnis al-aḥrār fī daqā'iq al-ash'ār* (Companion of the Free to the Subtleties of Poems), 251 {6–7}.
139. Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273). *Dīwān*, 231 {12–13}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 3889, 1437 (seal of Bayezid II).
140. Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. *Mathnawī* (*Masnawī*), 230 {12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19}, 230 {19}–231 {1}, 231 {1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 14}, nineteen copies. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 1357, 1434 (seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, R. 434, 1446 (seal of Bayezid II).
141. Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. *Intikhāb al-Mathnawī* (Selections from the *Masnawī*), 231 {9, 12}, two copies.
142. Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. *Muntakhab al-Mathnawī* (Selections), ed. Qāsim, 231 {10}.
143. Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. *Muntakhab al-Mathnawī*, 231 {10, 11}, two copies.
144. Jam (Cem) Sulṭān (d. 1495). *Dīwān*, 244 {19}. MANUSCRIPT: İnebey, Orhan-Haraçcı E. 6, n.d. EDITION: 'Abd al-Raḥmān Nāji Tuqmāq. *Dīvān-i Fārsī-yi Jam Sulṭān*. Tehran, 2001.
145. "*Jām u Rāḥ*" (Cup and Road), 253 {7}.
146. Jamāl Ardīstānī (Jamālī, d. 1474). *Kullīyyāt*, 248 {5}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4210, 15th c. (seal of Bayezid II).
147. Jamāl Ardīstānī. *Bayān ḥaqā'iq aḥwāl Sayyid al-Mursalīn* (Exposition of the Truths of the Conditions of the Master of Messengers), 5 vols., 258 {11–12}; vol. 1: *Misbāḥ al-arwāḥ*, 258 {15–16, 18–19}, two copies; vol. 5: *Hidāyat al-ma'rifa* (Guidance of Gnosis), 258 {12–13}; vol. 6: *Intikhāb Faṭḥ al-abwāb* (Selections from Conquest of the Gates), 252 {18–19}; vol. 7: *Sharḥ al-Wāṣilīn* (Commentary of the Adepts), 256 {15}, 258 {16–17}, two copies.
148. Jamāl Ardīstānī. *Kashf al-arwāḥ* (Unveiling of Souls) [= *Yūsufnāma* (Book of Yusuf)], 249 {17–18}, 250 {16–17}, 251 {2, 17–18}, 251 {19}–252 {1}, five copies.
149. Jamāl Ardīstānī. *Mīhr al-qulūb* (Hearts' Sun), 249 {17}.
150. Jamāl Ardīstānī. *Na't al-ḥabīb* (Hymn to the Beloved), 252 {18}.

151. Jamāl Ardīstānī. *Qaṣā'id*, 256 {5}.
152. Jamāl Ardīstānī. *Rasā'il*, 256 {5}.
153. Jāmī (d. 1492). *Kullīyyāt*, 236 {18, 19}, 237 {5}, four copies. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Fatih 2886, 1480 (seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, H. 672, 1490 (autograph copy); SK, Fatih 4045, 1493 (ex libris of Bayezid II).
154. Jāmī. *Dīwān*, 236 {19}, 237 {2, 3, 4, 5, 14}, 247 {10}, twelve copies. MANUSCRIPTS: Konya, Mevlana Müzesi 119, 1461 (seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, R. 956, 1472 (seal of Bayezid II).
155. Jāmī. *Muntakhab-i Dīwān-i Jāmī* (Selections from the Collected Poems of Jami), 237 {3}.
156. Jāmī. *Haft awrang* (Seven Thrones), 237 {9–10}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, R. 891, 1487 (seal of Bayezid II).
157. Jāmī. *Khamṣa*, 237 {6, 7–8, 9, 14}, four copies; partial, 237 {6}.
158. Jāmī. *Laylā wa-Majnūn*, 237 {10}.
159. Jāmī. *Silsilat al-dhahab* (Chain of Gold), vol. 1, 237 {7}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Âşir Efendi 159, 1472 (seal of Bayezid II).
160. Jāmī. *Subḥat al-abrār* (Rosary of the Pious), 237 {8–9}.
161. Jāmī. *Tuḥfat al-aḥrār* (Gift of the Free), 237 {8, 12, 13}, three copies. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 3853, 15th c. (seal of Bayezid II).
162. Jāmī. *Yūsuf wa-Zulaykhā*, 237 {10–11}.
163. Jāmī. *Bahāristān* (Spring Garden), 237 {11, 15}, two copies. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 3810, 15th c. (seal of Bayezid II).
164. Jāmī. *Qaṣīda*, 237 {11}.
165. Jāmī. *Risālat waḥdat al-wujūd* (Treatise on the Unity of Existence), 237 {4}.
166. Jāmī. *Risālatān* (Two Treatises), 237 {2}.
167. Kaḥjī (?). *Dīwān*, 246 {11}.
168. Kamāl Khujandī (d. 1400). *Dīwān*, 235 {16}, 236 {19}–237 {1}, 238 {3, 4, 5, 6, 17, 18}, twelve copies. MANUSCRIPTS: TİEM, 2050, 1457 (seal of Bayezid II); SK, Ayasofya 3962, 15th c. (seal of Bayezid II).
169. Kamāl Khujandī. *Khulāṣat-i Dīwān-i Kamāl* (Abridged Collected Poems of Kamal), 238 {19}–239 {1}.
170. Kamāl Rūmī (?). *Dīwān*, 238 {7–8}.
171. Kamāl al-Dīn Iṣfahānī (d. 1237). *Dīwān*, 238 {7}.
172. Kāshānī, 'Izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd (d. 1334). *Kunūz al-asrār* (Treasures of Secrets), 254 {2–3}.
173. Kāshifī (Kāshifī) (fl. ca. 1478). *Fatḥnāma-i Ighrībūz* (Conquest Book of Eğriboz), 253 {19}.
174. Kāshifī. *Ghazānāma-i Rūm fī tawārīkh-i Meḥammed Khān bin Murād Khān* (Conquest Book of Rum according to the Chronicles of Mehmed Khan, Son of Murad Khan), 250 {15–16}. MANUSCRIPT: IÜK, FY 1388, 1478 (unique manuscript).
175. Kāshifī. *Hazliyyāt* (Facetiae), 257 {3}.
176. Kāshifī. *Shayb wa-Ḥabīb*, 253 {19}.
177. Kāshifī, Ḥusayn Wā'iz (d. 1504). *Kullīyyāt*, 247 {15}.
178. Kātibi Turshīzī (d. 1434). *Kullīyyāt*, 240 {13, 14, 16}, three copies. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Fatih 3863, 1454 (seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, H. 989, 1460–80 (produced at the Edirne palace).
179. Kātibi Turshīzī. *Dīwān*, 236 {1}, 240 {12, 17}, three copies; partial, 235 {15}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 3862 [=TİEM, 1987], ca. 1460 (seal of Bayezid II).
180. Kātibi Turshīzī. *Dah-bāb* (Ten Chapters) [= *Tajnisāt* (Homonyms)], 232 {15}, 240 {12, 14, 15, 16}, 255 {16}, six copies.
181. Kātibi Turshīzī. *Majma' al-baḥrayn* (Confluence of the Two Seas), 239 {12}.

182. Kātibī Turshizī. *Qaṣīda muṣannaʿ* (Ornate *Qaṣīda*), 240 {15}.
183. Kātibī Turshizī. *Risāla manẓūma* (Verse Treatise), 240 {13}.
184. Kaykāwus b. Iskandar (d. 1098). *Qābūsnāma* (Book of Qabus), 248 {6}.
185. Khalīl Shirwānī (d. 1331). *Dīwān*, 247 {6}.
186. Khāqānī (d. 1199). *Dīwān*, 245 {13, 17}, two copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2363, 1467 (seal of Bayezid II).
187. Khāqānī. *Khatm al-gharāʾib* (Seal of Curiosities), 242 {6–7}, 251 {12}, two copies. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1762, 1389 (seal of Bayezid II).
188. Khāqānī. *Kitāb*, 242 {6–7}.
189. Khayālī Bukhārī (d. 1446). *Dīwān*, 237 {1}, 241 {8}, 247 {7}, 248 {3}, five copies.
190. “*Khurshīd wa-Nāhid*,” 251 {1}.
191. Khwājū Kirmānī (d. ca. 1349). *Dīwān*, 241 {13}.
192. Khwājū Kirmānī. *Badāʾiʿ al-jamāl* (Marvels of Beauty), 241 {14–15, 17–18}, two copies.
193. Khwājū Kirmānī. *Ṣanāʾiʿ al-kamāl* (Products of Perfection), 241 {14, 15–16, 17}, three copies.
194. Khwājū Kirmānī. *Khamsa*, 241 {12}.
195. Khwājū Kirmānī. *Gul u Nawrūz*, 242 {1}, 249 {14}, 253 {11, 12}, 255 {12}, five copies.
196. Khwājū Kirmānī. *Humāy u Humāyūn*, 242 {1}, 249 {14}, 251 {9}, 252 {17}, 253 {1}, six copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, H. 817, 1500 (illustrations; seal of Bayezid II).
197. Khwājū Kirmānī. *Kamāl-nāma* (Book of Perfection), 241 {18}, 241 {19}–242 {1}, two copies.
198. Khwājū Kirmānī. *Rawḍat al-anwār* (Garden of Lights), 241 {10, 18, 19}, 242 {2}, four copies.
199. Khwārazmī, Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn (d. 1436). *Jawāhir al-asrār* (Jewels of Secrets), vol. 1, 232 {1}.
200. “*Kitāb fī al-ʿajāʾib wa-al-gharāʾib*” (Book on Marvels and Wonders) 251 {11–12}.
201. “*Kitāb fī awwalihī Khamsat Niẓāmī wa-fī awāsītihi rasāʾil al-afaḍil wa-fī ākhirihī ghazaliyyāt al-akābir wa-rubāʿiyyātuhum*” (Book with the Quintet of Nizami in the Beginning, Treatises of the Learned in the Middle, and the Lyrics of the Greats and Their Quatrains at the End), 234 {7–8}.
202. “*Kitāb fihī daʾawāt wa-ashʿār wa-qaṣīdat Burda wa-rāsāʾil wa-taṣāwīr gharība bi-al-tadhhīb*” (Gilded Book of Prayers, Poems, the Mantle Ode, Treatises, and Strange Figural Illustrations), 255 {19}–256 {1}.
203. “*Kitāb kabīr fī awwalihī qaṣāʾid wa-fihī taṣāwīr kathīra ʿajība*” (Big Book with Odes in the Beginning with Many Marvelous Figural Illustrations), 257 {6}.
204. “*Kunūz al-ḥaqāʾiq min qibal al-taṣawwuf*” (Treasures of Truths by the Sufi Way), 253 {15}.
205. “*Kutub wa-rasāʾil min al-ʿulūm mutafarriqa*” (Books and Treaties from Various Sciences), 256 {3}.
206. Laʿlī (d. 1467). *Dīwān*, 246 {16}.
207. Laʿālī (Leʿālī) (d. after 1481). *Dīwān*, Persian and Turkish, 246 {18}.
208. Maghribī, Muḥammad Shīrīn (d. 1406). *Dīwān*, 246 {9, 13}, 248 {3}, three copies.
209. Maghribī, Muḥammad Shīrīn. *Jām-i jihān-numāy* (World-Showing Cup), 246 {13}.
210. Maghribī, Muḥammad Shīrīn. *Risāla*, 246 {9, 14}, two copies.
211. Maḥmūd, Sultan of Ghazni (d. 1030). *Pandnāma* (Book of Counsel), 253 {17–18}.
212. Maḥmūd Shabistārī (d. ca. 1320). *Gulshan-i rāz* (Secret Rose Garden), 232 {15}, 234 {16}, 243 {17}, 250 {12–13}, 252 {7, 8, 9}, eleven copies.
213. Majd al-Dīn Hamgar (d. 1287). *Rubāʿiyyāt*, 247 {4–5}.
214. “*Majmūʿa fihā sitta wa-thalāthūn kitāb awwaluhā muntakhab Khamsat Niẓāmī*” (Anthology of Thirty-Six Books, the First Being Selections from the Quintet of Nizami), 234 {14–15}.
215. “*Majmūʿa min ashʿār fuḍalāʾ al-furs*” (Anthology of Poems of the Excellent from Persia), 257 {13}.

216. "*Majmū'at ash'ār afāḍil al-shu'arā*" (Anthology of Poems of the Most Excellent Poets), 253 {10}, 254 {6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15}, sixteen copies. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, H. 796, 1407 (illustrations; seal of Bayezid II); BN, P. 816, 1403–9 (seal of Bayezid II); BN, P. 1473, ca. 1475 (seal of Bayezid II); SK, Fatih 4076, 1473 (seal of Bayezid II); SK, Fatih 3682, 15th c. (illustrations; seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, R. 1986, 15th c. (seal of Bayezid II); Mevlana Müzesi 143, ca. 1500 (copied for Bayezid II); TSMK, R. 1048, early 16th c. (seal of Bayezid II).
217. "*Majmū'at ash'ār muntakhab min al-dawāwīn al-mu'tabara*" (Anthology of Poems Selected from Venerable Collections of Poems), 247 {14}.
218. "*Majmū'at ash'ār al-shu'arā*" (Anthology of Poems of Poets), 250 {11}.
219. "*Majmū'at qaṣā'id afāḍil*" (Anthology of Odes of the Most Excellent), 253 {6}.
220. "*Majmū'at tarjī'āt afāḍil al-shu'arā*" (Anthology of Strophic Poems of the Most Excellent), 254 {11–12}.
221. Maṭṭawī, Musafir b. Nāṣir (fl. late 14th c.). *Anīs al-khalwa wa-jalīs al-salwa* (Companion of Retreat and Party of Prayer), Arabic and Persian, 256 {10–11}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1670, ca. 1300 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Muḥammad Afshīn Vafā'ī and Arḥām Murādī. *Anīs al-khalwa wa-jalīs al-salwa*. Tehran, 2011.
222. Ma'nawī (fl. late 15th c.). *Makhzan al-abrār* (Treasury of the Pious), 253 {10}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 4080, 1469 (seal of Bayezid II).
223. "*Al-Manzūmāt al-fārisiyya*" (Persian Verse Compositions), 250 {14}.
224. Mashriqī Tabrīzī (d. 1454). *Dīwān*, 246 {10}.
225. Mas'ūd Qummī (d. 1485). *Khuṣumat al-sayf wa-al-qalam* (Dispute of Sword and Pen), 255 {4}.
226. Mas'ūd Qummī. *Ash'ār*, 255 {4}.
227. Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān (d. 1121). *Dīwān*, 247 {3}.
228. "*Midḥat-i Sulṭan al-Salāṭīn Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān*" (Eulogy of the Sultan of Sultans, Sultan Bayezid Khan), 255 {2–3}.
229. Muḥammad Aḥmadī (d. 1480). *Ḥusayn wa-Yazīd*, 253 {2}.
230. Mu'in al-Dīn Juwaynī (d. 1387). *Nigāristān* (Picture Gallery), 249 {15}.
231. Mu'izzī (d. 1125). *Dīwān*, 245 {19}, 248 {6}, two copies.
232. Mujir al-Dīn Bilqānī (Baylaqānī) (d. 1197). *Dīwān*, 246 {5}.
233. "*Munāẓara-i Bahār u Arghuwān*" (Dispute of Spring and Judas-Tree), 255 {8}.
234. "*Munāẓara-i Bulbul u Sham*" (Dispute of Nightingale and Candle), 250 {3}.
235. "*Munāẓara-i Gul u Bulbul*" (Dispute of Rose and Nightingale), 250 {3}.
236. "*Munāẓarat al-'aql wa-al-'ishq*" (Dispute of Reason and Love), 256 {9}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Esad Efendi 1746, 15th c. (seal of Bayezid II).
237. "*Munāẓarāt arba' [sic]*," 255 {3}.
238. "*Munāẓarat al-jawāhīr*" (Dispute of the Jewels), 250 {11}.
239. "*Munāẓarat al-khamr wa-al-ḥashīsh*" (Dispute of Wine and Hashish), 257 {4–5}.
240. Nadīmī (?). *Dīwān*, 246 {4}.
241. Najm al-Dīn Rāzī (Dāya) (d. 1256). *Dīwān*, 240 {3}.
242. Nakhshabī, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn (d. 1350). *Kullīyyāt*, 256 {4}.
243. Nāṣir Bukhārī (d. 1377). *Dīwān*, 240 {19}, 247 {6, 15}, 248 {4}, four copies.
244. Nāṣir Khusraw (d. 1088). *Dīwān*, 246 {5–6}, 247 {4}, two copies.
245. Nāṣir Khusraw. *Rūshanā'ināma* (Book of Enlightenment), 247 {11–12}, 254 {16}, 255 {18}, three copies.
246. Nāṣir Khusraw. *Sa'ādatnāma* (Book of Felicity), 242 {14–15}, 256 {18–19}, two copies.
247. Nāṣir Khusraw. *Qaṣā'id*, 242 {14}.

248. Nāṣir al-Dīn Wā'iz (d. after 1300). *Futuwwatnāma* (Book of Chivalry), 242 {15}.
249. "Natā'ij al-afkār fī laṭā'if al-ash'ār" (Results of Thoughts on the Pleasantries of Poems), 256 {12–13}.
250. "Nazm al-Farā'id bi-al-fārisiyya" (Obligatory Duties in Persian Verse), 255 {9–10}, 256 {8–9}, two copies.
251. "Nazm hikāyāt gharība bi-al-fārisiyya" (Strange Tales in Persian Verse), 255 {13–14}.
252. "Nazm-i qışsa-i 'Abd al-Razzāq" (Verse Story of 'Abd al-Razzaq), 254 {5}.
253. "Nazm-i qışsa-i ibtidā'-i khilāfat-i Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān" (Verse Story of the Beginning of the Caliphate of the Sultan of Sultans, Sultan Bayezid Khan), 254 {18–19}.
254. "Nazm-i qışsa-i Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān" (Verse Story of Sultan Bayezid Khan), 249 {19}.
255. "Nazm-i tawārikh-i Sulṭān Meḥmed Khān" (Verse Chronicles of Sultan Mehmed Khan), 251 {5–6, 14–15}, two copies.
256. "Nazm Sharḥ al-arba'īn" (Verse Commentary on the Forty Hadiths), 254 {17}.
257. "Nazm siyar al-Nabī" (Life of the Prophet in Verse), 258 {13–14}, 258 {19}–259 {1}, two copies. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 3255, 1444 (seal of Bayezid II); SK, Ayasofya 3256, 1482 (seal of Bayezid II).
258. "Nazm tarjamat aḥādīth qudsiyya" (Verse Translation of the Hadiths Qudsi), 256 {6}.
259. Nī'mat Allāh Walī (d. 1431). *Dīwān*, 245 {18}.
260. Nishānī (Niṣānī), Karamānī Meḥmed Pasha (d. 1481). *Qaṣā'id wa-ghazaliyyāt*, 248 {7}.
261. Nizāmī (d. 1209). *Khamṣa*, 231 {7–8}, 234 {5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 17, 18}, eleven copies. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, R. 862, 1442 (illustrations; gift copy for Mehmed II); TSMK, H. 781, 1446 (illustrations; seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, H. 754, 1483 (illustrations; seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, H. 759, 1495 (illustrations; seal of Bayezid II).
262. Nizāmī. *Haft paykar* (Seven Beauties), 234 {9}, 249 {13}, two copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, H. 690, 1387 (seal of Bayezid II).
263. Nizāmī. *Iqbāl-nāma* (Book of Fortune), 254 {1}.
264. Nizāmī. *Iskandarnāma* (Book of Alexander), 231 {8}, 234 {11, 12}, three copies.
265. Nizāmī. *Khusraw u Shīrīn*, 234 {11, 13, 14}, 249 {13}, 252 {1}, 255 {1}, six copies. MANUSCRIPT: BN, P. 591, 1465 (seal of Bayezid II).
266. Nizāmī. *Intikhāb-i Khusraw u Shīrīn* (Selections from Khusraw and Shirin), 249 {11}.
267. Nizāmī. *Mukhtaṣar-i Khusraw u Shīrīn* (Epitome of Khusraw and Shirin), 250 {1–2}.
268. Nizāmī. *Laylā wa-Majnūn*, 234 {18–19}. MANUSCRIPT: BN, P. 591, 1465 (seal of Bayezid II).
269. Nizāmī. *Makhzan al-asrār* (Treasury of Mysteries), 234 {9, 10, 14, 15–16}, four copies. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, R. 880, 1481 (seal of Bayezid II); Ayasofya 3857, 15th c. (seal of Bayezid II).
270. Nizāmī. *Intikhāb-i Makhzan al-asrār* (Selections from the Treasury of Mysteries), 249 {11}, 256 {18}, two copies.
271. Nizāmī. *Sharafnāma* (Book of Honor), 251 {13}.
272. Nizārī Quhistānī (d. 1321). *Dīwān*, 232 {12}, 245 {18}, 246 {14}, three copies. MANUSCRIPT: Çorum İl Halk Kütüphanesi 1955, 1460 (rare copy).
273. Nizārī Quhistānī. *Risāla fī adab ṣuḥbat al-sharāb* (Treatise on the Etiquette of Wine Gatherings), 257 {2}.
274. Qabūlī (Qabūlī) (d. 1478). *Dīwān*, 246 {19}. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 3958, 1475 (ex libris of Mehmed II); TSMK, H. 884, 1479 (dedication to Mehmed II; seal of Bayezid II); EDITION: İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan. *Küllīyyât-i Dîvân-i Kabulî*. Istanbul, 1948.
275. Qabūlī. *Baḥth-i Kūn u Kus* (Debate of Ass and Pussy), 255 {7}.

276. Qādirī (?). *Ishqnāma*, 255 {15}.
277. Qādirī (?). *Qaṣā'id*, 255 {14}.
278. Qānī'ī Ṭūsī (fl. late 13th c.). *Kalila wa-Dimna bi-al-fārisiyya manzūma* (Kalila and Dimna in Persian verse), 250 {18–19}.
279. Qāsim Anwār (d. 1433). *Dīwān*, 239 {7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12}, nine copies. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, R. 959, 1455 (seal of Bayezid II); SK, Fatih 3856, 1462 (seal of Bayezid II).
280. Qāsim Anwār. *Anīs al-ʿarīfīn wa-al-ʿāshiqīn* (Companion of Gnostics and Lovers), 239 {11}.
281. Qāsim Anwār. *Risāla*, 239 {9}.
282. Qāsim Anwār. *Risāla manzūma*, 239 {7}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 3856, 1462 (seal of Bayezid II).
283. Qāsim Anwār. *Rasā'il*, 239 {8, 10}, two copies.
284. Qāsim Anwār. *Tarjī'band*, 232 {14}.
285. Qirīmī, Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 1474). *Sharḥ-i Gulshan-i rāz* (Commentary on the Secret Garden of Rose), 252 {9}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 1913 (seal of Bayezid II).
286. "Qīṣṣa-i Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān" (Story of Sultan Bayezid Khan), 253 {4}.
287. "Qīṣṣa-i Yūsuf" (Story of Joseph), 253 {2, 8–9}, two copies.
288. "Qīṣṣat Ḥallāj bi-al-fārisiyya al-manzūma" (Story of al-Hallaj in Persian Verse), 250 {2}.
289. Qiwām Ṣā'inī (fl. early 15th c.). *Dīwān*, 247 {2}.
290. Quṭbī (fl. early 15th c.). *Naṣīḥāt-nāma* (Book of Advice), 253 {6}.
291. Rāmī Tabrīzī, Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥasan (d. 1392). *Kullīyyāt*, 245 {13}.
292. Rāmī Tabrīzī. *Abkār al-afkār* (Virgin Thoughts), 241 {11}.
293. Rāmī Tabrīzī. *Risāla*, 241 {11}.
294. Rashīdī Samarqandī (fl. late 11th c.). *Mīhr u Wafā'* (Love and Loyalty), 253 {3, 15}.
295. "Risāla bi-al-fārisiyya al-manzūma fī aḥwāl falakiyya" (Treatise on the Celestial Conditions in Persian Verse), 257 {13–14}.
296. "Risāla fārisiyya fī madḥ Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān" (Persian Treatise in Praise of the Sultan of Sultans, Sultan Bayezid Khan), 250 {8–9}.
297. "Risāla fī a'dād al-aṣābi" (Treatise on the Numbers of Fingers), 257 {2–3}.
298. "Risāla fī madḥ Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān" (Treatise in Praise of the Sultan of Sultans, Sultan Bayezid Khan), 257 {7–8}.
299. "Risāla fī ma'rīfat ṣafḥat al-muqanṭarāt bi-al-fārisiyya" (Treatise on the Knowledge of the Almu-cantar Planes in Persian), 255 {10–11}.
300. "Risāla fī al-mu'ammā" (Treatise on Logogriphs), 248 {3}.
301. "Risāla fī al-sham' bi-al-fārisiyya al-manzūm" (Treatise on the Candle in Persian Verse), partial, 250 {6–7}.
302. "Risāla fī al-ta'ziyya" (Treatise on Mourning), 257 {8}.
303. "Risāla manzūma fī awṣāf al-azhār" (Verse Treatise on Flower Descriptions), 257 {14–15}.
304. "Risāla nafīsa manzūma fī al-taṣawwuf" (Precious Verse Treatise on Sufism), 256 {7–8}.
305. "Risālat bahārīyyāt" (Treatise on Spring Odes), 250 {6}.
306. "Risālat al-mu'ammā," 247 {13}.
307. "Risālat al-mukātaba" (Treatise on Correspondence), 251 {14}.
308. "Risālat murāsālāt" (Treatise on Letters), 247 {18}.
309. "Risālat al-rub' al-mujayyab" (Treatise on the Sine Quadrant), Arabic, 255 {11}.
310. "Risālat rubā'iyyāt" (Treatise on Quatrains), 256 {13}.
311. "Risālat tarjī'āt afādīl al-shu'arā" (Treatise on Strophic Poems of the Most Excellent Poets), 232 {18}.
312. Riyāḍī (Riyāzī) (d. after 1520). *Ghazaliyyāt*, 247 {9}.

313. Riyāḍī. *Qaṣīdatān fī madḥ Sulṭān al-salāṭīn Sulṭān Bāyazīd Khān* (Two Odes in Praise of the Sultan of Sultans, Sultan Bayezid), 248 {8–9}.
314. “*Rubā‘iyyāt*,” 240 {4}, 251 {12}, 254 {1–2}.
315. “*Rubā‘iyyāt muntakhaba min al-safā‘īn wa-al-dawāwīn*” (Quatrains Selected from Compendia and Collections of Poems), 4 vols., 256 {17–18}.
316. “*Rubā‘iyyāt nafīsa*” (Precious Quatrains), 257 {1}.
317. “*Rūḥ wa-rāḥat*” (Soul and Comfort), 253 {1}.
318. “*Rūḥ-fazāy*” (Soul-Lifter), 255 {18}.
319. Ṣabā‘ī (d. after 1509). *Rāḥat al-‘ushshāq* (Lovers’ Comfort), 250 {12}.
320. Sa‘d al-Dīn Warāwīnī (fl. 13th c.). *Marzubānnāma* (Book of Marzuban), 249 {16}.
321. Sa‘dī (d. 1291). *Kullīyyāt*, 231 {5}, 233 {6, 7, 8, 9, 10}, ten copies. MANUSCRIPT: İÜK, F. 1412, 1442 (illustrations; seal of Bayezid II).
322. Sa‘dī. *Bustān* (Orchard), 233 {15, 16}, three copies.
323. Sa‘dī. *Intikhāb-i Bustān* (Selections from the Orchard), 233 {16, 17}. MANUSCRIPT: Genoa, Fondazione Bruschettini per l’Arte Islamica e Asiatica, 1497 (seal of Bayezid II).
324. Sa‘dī. *Gulistān* (Rose Garden), 233 {11, 13, 14}, four copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 3575 (seal of Bayezid II).
325. Sa‘dī. *Abyāt-i Gulistān* (Couplets from the Rose Garden), 233 {13}.
326. Sa‘dī. *Muntakhab-i Gulistān* (Selections), 233 {13}.
327. Sa‘dī. *Gulistān wa-Bustān*, 233 {11, 12}, two copies.
328. Sa‘dī. *Naẓm-i Gulistān* (Versification of the Rose Garden), 253 {18}.
329. “*Safīna ‘azīma bi-sabab anwā‘ laṭā‘ifihā tanjū al-arwāḥ min al-humūm*” (Great Compendium that Saves Souls from Worries on Account of Its Various Pleasantries), 256 {13–14}.
330. “*Safīna bi-naqṣ al-awwal wa-awwal maktūb fihā ḥadīth al-budalā’*” (Compendium Missing the Beginning and the First Recorded Being the Hadith of the Substitutes), 256 {16}.
331. “*Safīna fihā khuṭūṭ nafīsa wa-rasā’il*” (Compendium of Precious Handwritings and Treatises), 257 {9}.
332. “*Safīnat al-‘ulūm*” (Compendium of Sciences), 10 vols., 249 {10}.
333. Salmān Sāwajī (d. 1376). *Dīwān*, 237 {1}, 238 {12, 17, 19}, five copies. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 3827, 1446 (seal of Bayezid II).
334. Salmān Sāwajī. *Firāqnāma* (Book of Separation), 238 {18–19}, 239 {1}, 254 {17}, three copies.
335. Salmān Sāwajī. *Jamshīd u Khurshīd*, 249 {13}, 253 {11}, 254 {17–18}, three copies.
336. Sanā‘ī (d. ca. 1130). *Dīwān*, 242 {17}; partial, 242 {17–18}.
337. Sanā‘ī. *Kullīyyāt*, 242 {5}; partial, 242 {8–9}.
338. Sanā‘ī. *Ḥadīqat al-ḥaqīqa* (Garden of Truth) [= *Fakhrīnāma* (Book of Fakhri) or *Ilāhīnāma*], 242 {4, 5, 6, 7, 9–10, 12, 16, 17}, eight copies. MANUSCRIPTS: SK, Ayasofya 1761, 1424 (seal of Bayezid II); SK, Ayasofya 1762, 1389 (seal of Bayezid II); SK, Fatih 3734, 1479 (seal of Bayezid II).
339. Sanā‘ī. *Intikhāb-i Ḥadīqa* (Selections from the Garden), 256 {18}.
340. Sanā‘ī. *Rūshanā‘īnāma*, 232 {18}, 242 {13–14}, two copies.
341. Sanā‘ī. *Salwatnāma* (Book of Prayer), 242 {10, 11, 13}, three copies.
342. Sanā‘ī. *Sayr al-‘ibād ilā al-ma‘ād* (Journey of the Faithful to the Place of Return), 242 {4, 7–8}, two copies.
343. Sayf al-Dīn Isfarangī (d. 1267). *Dīwān*, 238 {12}, 245 {15, 16}, 247 {17}, four copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, R. 984, 1499 (dedication to Bayezid II).
344. Sayfī Bukhārī (d. 1504). *Dīwān*, 247 {19}.
345. Shāmī, Nizām al-Dīn (d. ca. 1411). *Ghazaliyyāt*, 240 {14}.

346. Shams Mashriqī Tabrīzī (d. 1454). *Dīwān*, 246 {15}.
347. Shams Ṭabasī (d. 1227). *Dīwān*, 247 {14}.
348. Shams Tabrīzī (d. ca. 1247). *Tarjīʿ naḥs* (Precious Strophic Poem), 256 {12}.
349. “*Sharḥ-i ghazal-i Ḥāfiẓ*” (Commentary on the Lyric of Hafiz), 236 {10}.
350. “*Sharḥ-i Gulshan-i rāz*,” 252 {10}.
351. “*Sharḥ-i mushkilāt-i Dīwān-i Anwarī*” (Commentary on Difficulties in the Collected Poems of Anwari), 238 {13–14}.
352. Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī (d. 1454). *Dīwān*, 247 {16}.
353. Sharīf (fl. early 15th c.). *Dīwān*, 246 {19}.
354. Shaykh Wafā’ (Vefā’) (d. 1490). *Dīwān*, 245 {19}–246 {1}, 248 {1–2}.
355. Shaykh Wafā’. *Risāla min manẓūmāt* (Verse Treatise), 250 {7–8}.
356. Shihāb Turshīzī, ‘Alī (fl. early 15th c.). *Dīwān*, 246 {10}.
357. “*Sindbādnāma*” (Book of Sindbad), 243 {18}.
358. Sirāj al-Dīn Qumrī (d. 1227). *Dīwān*, 245 {17}.
359. Suhaylī (d. 1501). *Dīwān*, 247 {19}.
360. Sūzanī Samarqandī (d. 1173). *Dīwān*, 246 {7}, 247 {1, 19}, three copies. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 3831, 1475 (seal of Bayezid II).
361. “*Tajallī al-manẓūm*” (Manifestation of Verse), 250 {14}.
362. Ṭālī’ī (fl. early 15th c.). *Dīwān*, 248 {1}.
363. “*Tarjuma-i Ṣad kalima-i ‘Alī*” (Translation of the Hundred Sayings of ‘Alī), 259 {3, 4, 5, 6}, four copies. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya 4129, 1453 (seal of Bayezid II).
364. “*Tarjamat qaṣīdat Ibn al-Fāriḍ*” (Translation of the Ode of Ibn al-Farid), 257 {6–7}.
365. “*Tuḥfat al-akhbār fī al-taṣawwuf*” (Gift of News on Sufism), 255 {9}.
366. “*Tuḥfat al-raḥma*” (Gift of Mercy), 254 {2}, 256 {5}, two copies.
367. Tustarī, ‘Alī b. Aḥmad (fl. late 14th c.). *Tuḥfat al-mulūk* (Gift of Kings), 243 {15}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 4245, 1373 (seal of Bayezid II).
368. ‘Ubayd Zākānī (d. ca. 1370). *Kullīyyāt*, 244 {6, 7}, four copies.
369. ‘Ubayd Zākānī. *Fālnāma* (Book of Auguries), 257 {3}.
370. ‘Ubayd Zākānī. *Nawādir al-amthāl* (Rarities of Parables), Arabic, 244 {8}.
371. Umar Khayyām (d. 1131). *Rubā’īyyāt*, 250 {13}, 254 {11}, 255 {8}, three copies. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, M. R. 541, 15th c. (seal of Bayezid II).
372. Wiṣālī (?). *Dīwān*, 248 {2}.
373. Yārī (fl. late 15th c.). *Ghazalīyyāt*, 248 {10}.
374. Yūsuf (fl. late 15th c.). *Dīwān*, 247 {12}.
375. Yūsuf Amīrī (d. 1433). *Dīwān*, 246 {12}. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Fatih 3779, 1463 (seal of Bayezid II).
376. Ṣāḥir Faryābī (d. 1201). *Dīwān*, 238 {10}, 246 {6}, 247 {12, 15, 16}, five copies.

BOOKS ON THE SECRETARIAL ARTS AND LITERARY PROSE

Although it is a product of the Ottoman court, the library catalogue does not describe the contours of Ottoman Turkish prose writing at the turn of the sixteenth century. This is because a distinctly Ottoman, high-register Turkish idiom was only taking its first tentative steps at the time ‘Atufi compiled his inventory of Bayezid II’s library in 908 (1502–3) and transcribed it in a clean copy one year later. To be sure, the Ottoman palace library of this time contained many classics of the scribal arts, yet the vast majority of these works were written in Arabic or Persian. Of the entire collection of 136 entries pertaining to epistolography, diplomatics, and prose style listed in ‘Atufi’s inventory, only four are identifiable as Turkish, and two of these are translations of Persian works.

The relative dearth of Turkish manuals, prose collections, and anthologies of aphorisms in Bayezid II’s reign (1481–1512) is all the more surprising when we consider the explosion of hyperliterate Ottoman Turkish in the sixteenth century. Within a generation, the Ottoman chancery would abandon the composition of foreign diplomatic missives in the various languages of their correspondents in favor of a confident Turkish befitting a rapidly consolidating imperial culture. To wit, the last Ottoman royal letter in Greek addressed to the Venetian Doge was a victory announcement in the wake of the Ottoman campaign in Hungary and Austria in 1529.¹ The same was true of Ottoman interactions with their eastern neighbors. Whereas Sultan Selim I (r. 1512–20) corresponded with Shah Isma‘il (r. 1501–24) in Persian—even as he received replies from Isma‘il in Turkish—his son Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520–66) dealt with the Safavid rulers primarily in Turkish.² Beyond the narrow confines of Ottoman diplomatic protocol and administrative practice, scholars and belle-lettrists in Ottoman lands in-

creasingly collected their Turkish prose writing in carefully curated compendia and offered them to friends and colleagues as examples of fine prose. For instance, the poet and Naqshbandi shaykh Lami‘i Çelebi gathered his personal correspondence—most, although not all, of which was Turkish—in a single volume some time before his death in 1532.³ Other prominent scholars, such as Kemalpaşazade (d. 1534) and Celalzade Salih Çelebi (d. 1565)—the brother of the famed Ottoman chancellor of Süleyman’s reign—compiled their own collections, significant portions of which consisted of private correspondence with learned colleagues.⁴

Modern scholars usually trace the rise of hyperliterate Turkish by pointing to the few examples of Turkish epistolographical manuals from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in order to suggest that these antecedents factored in the inception and development of the ornate administrative Turkish prose of the sixteenth century.⁵ Consequently, the first Turkish epistolographic manual from Anatolia, Ahmed-i Da‘i’s *Teressül* (Chancery Epistolography), looms large mostly because of its early composition before 1417. Later works, such as the *Teressül* of Kırımlu Hafız Hüsam (1431), the *Menāhicü’l-inşā’* (Methods of Epistolography) by Yahya bin Mehmed (1477), and the *Gülşen-i inşā’* (Rose Garden of Epistolography, 219 [5–6]) by Şeyh Mahmud bin Edhem (1496), also are cited frequently as important way stations on the road to a discernibly Ottoman idiom.⁶ These works indicate that Turkish was used as an administrative language within Ottoman domains from an early date.⁷ Similarly, especially in the fifteenth century, there is a growing body of literature in Turkish, including translations of Arabic and Persian classics such as the *‘Antarnāma* (The Book of ‘Antar) and Nizami’s *Layla va*

Majnūn (Layla and Majnun) (188 {5–7}, 264 {6–9}). Adding to these epics of prose and poetry, writers in Anatolia penned original works in Turkish, most notably on religious themes.⁸

Yet the ornate and confident Ottoman Turkish of the sixteenth century was not necessarily modeled upon these literary works. Even in terms of administrative language, the link between fourteenth-century documents and later Ottoman Turkish is uncertain. Despite the importance of these early Turkish works, there are several problems with presenting them as direct antecedents of a mature Ottoman Turkish prose tradition. First, on stylistic grounds, the earlier works stand in some contrast with later examples. Although Şinasi Tekin views the prose of *Menāhicü'l-inşā'* as an intermediary step between the simple Turkish of the early fifteenth century and the ornate style of the sixteenth century, little work has been done to substantiate a connection between the stylistic sensibilities of the chancery of Mehmed II (r. 1451–81) and that of later periods.⁹ Second, the contents of the early works, especially Ahmed-i Da'i's collection, reflect more the administrative concerns of the small principalities of the Anatolian borderlands than the ideological preoccupations of a large empire with pretensions to universal rule.¹⁰ Third, the two secretarial manuals exist in unique manuscripts and there is little indication that they circulated or had much impact beyond the immediate circles and lifetime of their authors.¹¹ This last point is also reflected in 'Atufi's inventory. Neither Ahmed-i Da'i's *Teressül* nor Yahya bin Mehmed's *Menāhicü'l-inşā'* figure in the collection. Şeyh Mahmud bin Edhem's aforementioned *Gülşen-i inşā'* admittedly is something of an exception, as it was presented to Bayezid II, included in 'Atufi's inventory, and exists in a number of manuscript recensions.

The outsize significance attributed to these early Turkish works likely stems from modern scholarly traditions informed by a twentieth-century concern with nationally circumscribed historiographical fields that privileges the linear evolution of distinct monolingual literary traditions, whether Turkish, Persian, or Arabic. As early examples of administrative Turkish in Anatolia, the works of Ahmed-i Da'i and Yahya bin Mehmed fit neatly within a progressive development of Ottoman

Turkish between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. Significantly, these were among the first early Ottoman prose manuscripts available to modern scholars through editions in the twentieth century. Yet as suggested by the absence of these works and indeed, Turkish works more generally, in the Ottoman palace library, such strict divisions along linguistic lines may be misguided. Consider in this regard the work of another Ottoman scholar who is occasionally mentioned by modern historians as an important producer of early Ottoman prose writing. The scholar, Hüsamzade Mustafa Efendi (fl. 1488), was a judge and teacher during the reign of Sultan Mehmed II and completed a prose composition collection containing letters to friends around 1487 that was subsequently included in the palace library.¹² The work, *Risāla-yi şawqīya* (The Treatise of Amicable Wishes), appears to have been well regarded by later generations, as the sixteenth-century Ottoman biographer, Mecdi, lauds Hüsamzade for his mastery of fine prose writing.¹³ Even so, Mecdi adds that the celebrated stylist's oeuvre mostly consists of Arabic correspondence with few Persian letters and even fewer in Turkish.¹⁴ Rather than constituting an early example of a nascent Ottoman Turkish idiom, Hüsamzade's collection celebrates the multilingual and cosmopolitan cultural terrain of fifteenth-century Islamic lands. Such an approach was not confined to the scholarly religious classes. One generation later, the multilingual approach persisted among secretaries in Ottoman lands, for during the reign of Selim I, an unidentified scribe presented to the sultan a secretarial manual entitled *Laṭā'ifnāma* (The Book of Subtle Graces).¹⁵ The work opens with a preface in Arabic and an introduction in Persian, in which the author holds up the classic prose works of Ibn al-Muqaffa' and Ibn al-Athir as inspirations.¹⁶ The main sections of the work are more or less evenly divided between Persian, Turkish, and Arabic.¹⁷

The organization of the poetics collection in the palace library reflects this multilingual approach. Unlike any other section of the library, the literary material is divided into three broad sections (*taşnīf*) that pertain to Arabic, Persian, or Turkish verse. Such a division thus maintains a linguistic differentiation with respect to poetry. Yet within these three sections, all of the works related to prose writing and the scribal arts are subsumed

within the broader section (*taṣnīf*) of Arabic poetics. This organization may have developed for the sake of convenience, but it also reflects a more general understanding of the place of prose writing within the broader classification of the sciences (*taqṣīm al-‘ulūm*). Within most classification systems, literary sciences were placed within the larger framework of linguistic sciences, such as etymology, syntax, grammar, and the like. Because these linguistic sciences developed in relation to the analytical study of Arabic, a strong association existed between all linguistic sciences—irrespective of their particular idiom—and Arabic. Such an association occasionally led scholars to describe bodies of knowledge practiced in Persian or Turkish as belonging to a broader category of Arabic sciences (*al-‘ulūm al-‘arabiya*). For instance, Idris Bidlisi (1457–1520), a contemporary colleague of ‘Atufi at the Ottoman court, places the science of history, even if written in Persian, among the branches of the Arabic sciences,¹⁸ and the sixteenth-century Ottoman scholar, Taşköprüzade, conflates linguistic sciences with Arabic sciences in his major work on the classification of knowledge.¹⁹ In this sense, although not all of the prose works in the library were in Arabic, their classification within the larger section of Arabic poetics accords well with the general thinking on the place of prose within a larger epistemological framework informed by the “Arabic sciences.”

Although this subsection of Arabic literature actually contains works in three languages—and there is also a single volume in this section identified as Mongolian script (*bi-l-khaṭṭ al-mughūlī*, 221 {17–18}), but this is most likely eastern Turkish—the works in this section of the library all concern the analysis of prose (*nathr*). According to the table of contents, the subsection consists of books on oratory (*al-khuṭab*), proverbs (*al-amthāl*), rhymed prose (*al-saj’*), prose composition (*al-inshā’*), the production of official documents (*al-tarassul*), and secretarial accounting (*al-siyāqa*). In short, the section contains the fundamental tools of a secretary and are related to quotidian scribal tasks, such as proper formulas for drawing up official documents and the basic principles of maintaining account books and registers.

Yet the attributes of an ideal secretary extended well beyond the fulfillment of these basic duties to include an intense and carefully cultivated literary persona. In-

deed, for secretaries and scholars alike, the science of prose composition (*‘ilm al-inshā’*), even in administrative forms, was closely associated with eloquent literary expression. Mahmud Gavan (d. 1481), the celebrated Persian stylist and chief minister of the Bahmanid dynasty in the Deccan, includes in the introduction to his theoretical work on this secretarial science, *Manāẓir al-inshā’* (Vistas of Prose Composition), separate discourses on two of its fundamental attributes: *balāgha* (efficacy and eloquence of expression) and *faṣāḥa* (linguistic purity and euphony), both of which had been extensively elaborated and explored by literary theorists and belle-lettrists in Arabic and Persian.²⁰ *Manāẓir al-inshā’* was well-known in Ottoman lands at the turn of the sixteenth century—Bayezid II’s library contains this work (220 {17}), as well as Gavan’s epistolary collection *Riyāz al-inshā’* (Gardens of Prose Composition) (220 {14})—and later Ottoman scholars of the sixteenth century adopted the same criteria in their own formal discussions of prose composition. For instance, in his encyclopedia of the sciences, Taşköprüzade defines the science of composition as one that investigates prose “with respect to its linguistic eloquence and euphony” (*min ḥaythu annahu balīgh wa-faṣīḥ*).²¹

The concern, then, for eloquence and euphony likely informed the association of works of literary prose with works of secretarial composition in this subsection of the palace library. Consequently, the library’s collection of works on literary prose contains a great many anthologies of sermons (*khuṭab*), rhymed prose (*saj’*), and proverbs (*amthāl*). Such anthologies offered the kinds of references, rhymes, similes, and pithy phrases upon which stylists and secretaries might have drawn in the composition of elaborate letters and documents.

The vast majority of these are works in Arabic and date from the late tenth to twelfth centuries. Even those examples in the collection that purport to include earlier material—such as the fifth volume of Abu Sa’d Mansur ibn al-Husayn’s (d. 1030) *Nathr al-durr* (The Scattering of Pearls, 221 {15–16}) containing sermons from the Umayyad period—tend to date from this later period.²² While the library collection represents many of the great luminaries of Arabic literature from this period, including works by Abu Mansur al-Tha’alibi (961–1039), Raghib al-Isfahani (d. ca. 1040), and Abu

‘Ala’ al-Ma‘arri (d. 1057), the particular works in the collection do not necessarily reflect the most celebrated works by these authors according to twentieth-century standards. So, while the collection contains two copies of al-Tha‘alibi’s *Nathr al-Naẓm* (Scattering of the Pearl String, 218 {7–9}) and one copy of his *Yawāqūt fī ba‘ḍ al-mawāqīt* (Rubies for Some Specified Times, 221 {7}), his famous *Yatīmat al-dahr* (The Precious Pearl of the Age) is absent.²³ Similarly, al-Isfahani’s *Majma‘ al-balāgha* (The Gathering Place of Eloquence, 218 {7, 11}) is included, yet his *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā’ wa-muḥāwarat al-shu‘arā’ wa-al-bulaghā’* (The Rhetoric of the Belle-Lettrists and the Dialogues of the Poets and the Eloquent) is not.²⁴ Such discrepancies between the works contained in the library and later scholarly assessments may have as much to do with the idiosyncrasies of twentieth-century editing of Arabic literature as it does with any significant lacunae in the Ottoman collection.

Most of the Arabic literary anthologies in ‘Atufi’s inventory, whether of sermons, proverbs, or rhymed prose, originated in the Islamic East. Despite this tendency, the palace library collection is not completely devoid of Arabic prose from the Islamic West. Indeed, there are several notable works from the Maghrib, including Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr’s (d. 1070) verse work of *adab* entitled *Bahjat al-majālis wa uns al-mujālis* (The Splendor of Polite Gatherings and the Intimacy of Its Participants, 221 {14–15}) and Abu Ishaq Ibrahim al-Husri’s (d. 1022) anthology of prose and poetry, *Kitāb zahr al-ādāb wa-thamar al-albāb* (The Book of the Flower of Refinement and the Fruit of the Intellect, 220 {2}). In the centuries after its composition, this latter work of al-Husri rose to considerable prominence in the Islamic West, where in the twelfth century Ibn al-Khayr al-Ishbili listed it in the standard curriculum.²⁵ Al-Husri’s work is also particularly illustrative of the scope and aims of many of the literary anthologies included in the library. Like a great many of these Arabic anthologies, al-Husri compiled his anthology during the Buyid period of the Abbasid caliphate. Although the product of a western scholarly milieu, al-Husri’s anthology is largely based upon a mass of contemporary eastern literary works that had been brought to Qayrawan.²⁶ In an Ottoman library collection that is otherwise lacking in the great works of the Islamic West, al-Husri’s anthology may

have been valued, in part, because its contents shared much in common with the eastern anthologies, of which the palace library held so many.

Yet the inclusion of these few titles from the West also highlights the relative paucity of the collection with respect to Maghribi prose literature. For instance, none of Ibn al-Khatib’s work appears in this subsection of the library. The collection’s emphasis on eastern literature is not altogether surprising considering the geographic proximity of the Ottoman court to centers of Arabic learning in Egypt, Syria, and Iranian lands. The affinity of the collection with eastern scholarship is likely also a consequence of the strong ties between Ottoman scholars and centers of learning in Mamluk lands and places east.²⁷ And in this regard, whereas the majority of the anthologies—whether from eastern or western lands—were composed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the collection includes several important works of more proximate provenance from Egypt and Syria in the Mamluk period. Most prominent among these works are the biographical dictionaries of belle-lettrists compiled by the poet, secretary, and man of letters Ibn Nubata (d. 1366) and the preeminent scholar Salah al-Din Khalil ibn Aybak al-Safadi (d. 1363).²⁸ ‘Atufi likely included these two biographical dictionaries—entitled *Saj‘ al-muṭawwaq* (The Cooing of the Ringdove, 221 {9–10}) and *Alḥān al-sawāji‘ bayn al-bādi’ wa-al-murāji‘* (The Melodies of the Practitioners of Rhymed Prose among the Initiators and the Verifiers, 218 {9–10}), respectively—in this section of the library because their contents focused on the lives of litterateurs through the presentation of their authors’ correspondence with other literary men in prose and verse. Moreover, the inclusion of *saj‘* (rhymed prose) and *sawāji‘* (composers of rhymed prose) in their titles underscores the importance of poeticized prose in the post-Abbasid period both with respect to Arabic and Persian belles-lettres. Indeed, the predominance of *saj‘* in Persian histories after the twelfth century and its close association with chancery officials has led Julie Scott-Meisami to characterize Persian historical writing of this period as “the chancery style,” due in part to its frequent application of highly poeticized prose to historical narrative.²⁹ In the twentieth century such highly poeticized prose came under widespread criticism among Orientalists

and nationally-minded literary critics of Arabic and Persian, and this attitude has continued to influence scholarship in the twenty-first century.³⁰ For both groups, the development marked a departure from a purer literary form that was only revitalized in the context of nineteenth- and twentieth-century cultural projects associated with the establishment and development of the nation-state. In more recent decades, scholars have reassessed this rather negative appraisal and, in this context, the work of Ibn Nubata, among many others, has reemerged as a key touchstone of the aesthetic sensibilities of Mamluk-era Arabic belle-lettrists.³¹ The prominent inclusion of Ibn Nubata's work in the library inventory, along with that of al-Safadi, suggests that we may also extend the scope of their impact to Ottoman lands.

Whereas a majority of the literary anthologies in 'Atufi's inventory are in Arabic, Persian works predominate within the subsections that more closely align with the primary duties of secretaries, namely the formulation of official correspondence, the production of official documents, and financial recordkeeping. Despite the prominence of Persian in these subsections, the library's oldest secretarial compendium is in Arabic: *Adab al-kātib* (The Etiquette of the Secretary, 219 {11–12}) by Ibn Qutayba (d. 889). More common among the Arabic works in this subsection are letter collections of chancery secretaries, as opposed to formal chancery manuals. Prominent among these is the letter collection of Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi's chief advisor, 'Abd al-Rahim (d. 1200), more commonly known as al-Qadi al-Fadil (219 {6}).³² In one important way, his collection is representative of many of the prose collections of later generations: it contains examples of both official correspondence and private letters. Yet more prominent in the Ottoman collection are the works of al-Qadi al-Fadil's contemporary Rashid al-Din Vatvat (d. 1182–83). The library contains at least four separate titles associated with this single stylist, including his most celebrated epistolary works, *Abkār al-afkār fī al-rasā'il wa-al-ash'ār* (Maidens of Meditations on Epistles and Poetry, 221 {13–14}, 222 {11–12}) and *'Arā'is al-khawāṭir wa-naḥā'is al-nawādir* (The Brides of Minds and the Delicacies of Rarities, 220 {1–2, 8}), as well as more obscure titles, such as *'Umdat al-bulaghā' wa-'uddat al-fuṣaḥā'*

(Prop of the Eloquent and Instrument of the Euphonic, 221 {10–11}) and a work referred to simply as *Tarassul* (219 {12}). Significantly, Rashid al-Din's writings contain examples of official and personal prose in both Arabic and Persian, which suggests that linguistic and literary ecumenism remained an important feature of the cultural landscape at least through the period of 'Atufi's bibliographic indexing.

Even so, such ecumenism does not suggest that the library is devoid of monolingual prose collections. Indeed, one of its striking features is the prominence of Persian prose compilations, especially in the period after the twelfth century. An early example is the collection of Baha' al-Din al-Baghdadi (fl. 1192), entitled *Tavassul ilā al-tarassul* (Entreatment for the Art of Letter Writing, 218 {16}, 219 {1}, 221 {2}).³³ This Persian prose collection remained a classic for centuries; the Ottoman palace library contains three complete copies of the work, while later in the sixteenth century the chancellor Feridun Beğ made extensive use of the collection to supplement his material from the Seljuq era.³⁴ The predominance of Persian within the collection is even more pronounced in the post-Mongol period. The library contains two copies each of *Rawzat al-kuttāb* (Garden of the Secretaries, 219 {12–13}, 222 {17}) by Abu Bakr ibn Zaki al-Sadr al-Qunawi (d. thirteenth century)³⁵ and *Miftāḥ al-inshā'* (The Key of Prose Composition, 220 {1, 18}) by Muhammad ibn Hajji (fl. 1359)³⁶—one of which is a Turkish translation (220 {1})—three copies of *Dastūr al-kātib fī ta'yīn al-marātib* (The Protocol of the Secretary in the Appointment of Ranks, 219 {16}, 219 {17–18}, 220 {11}) by Muhammad ibn Hindushah Nakhjavani (fl. 1358),³⁷ three copies of *Farā'id al-ghiyāṣi* (The Ghiyathi-an Precious Gems, 220 {5–7}) by Yusuf Ahi,³⁸ and one copy each of Mahmud Gavan's aforementioned *Riyāz al-inshā'* and *Manāẓir al-inshā'* from the latter half of the fifteenth century.³⁹

Yet the preponderance of post-Mongol manuals does not suggest stylistic uniformity within this subsection. Indeed, as Colin Mitchell has observed, Persian administrative prose evolved considerably between the turn of the fourteenth century and the end of the fifteenth century.⁴⁰ Whereas manuals of the Ilkhanid era tend to offer direct and unadorned prose, by the end of the fifteenth century a confident and more literary approach

was embraced. So, at the outset of his secretarial manual from the mid-fourteenth century, *Dastūr al-kātib*, Nakhjavani rejects the earlier examples of Seljuq-era stylists, such as Rashid al-Din Vatvat and Baha' al-Din Baghdadi, for their antiquated approach, which was unresponsive to contemporary trends that favored a straightforward and direct prose.⁴¹ Instead, Nakhjavani offered precise and comprehensive direction on the formulation of the widest array of official documents and correspondence. The encyclopedic aspect of the manual was clearly appreciated by later generations even if its stylistic sensibility had become antiquated; Bayezid's library contains three separate copies of this work (219 {16}, 219 {17–18}, 220 {11}).

Mahmud Gavan's aforementioned two works demonstrate the stylistic direction of the Persian chancery in the fifteenth century. The first of these works, *Riyāz al-inshā'*, is simply a prose collection of official and private correspondence produced by the pen of the great statesman. As with all of the works in this mold, its purpose was to offer its readers examples of fine prose upon which they might draw in their own compositions. In their full embrace of varied references and a willingness to playfully employ rhymed prose, Gavan's letters highlight stylistic developments in the Timurid period, which, by the turn of the sixteenth century, were also having an impact in Ottoman domains. Gavan's other work, *Manāẓir al-inshā'*, underscores the more technical aspect of a secretary's craft. The work, which opens with extended discourses on the definition and attributes of composition (*inshā'*), contains samples of all of the titles of address and types of documents that a secretary would need to compose in the course of his official duties and private affairs.

The predominance of Persian in this subsection of the library is further underscored by the significant lacuna with respect to Arabic secretarial manuals. Whereas the library contains three copies of Nakhjavani's manual, not a single volume of the most famous Arabic manual from the fifteenth century, al-Qalqashandi's *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā'*, is included in 'Atufi's list.⁴² While the exclusion may be accidental, it also speaks to the outsize status of Persian, especially its formulation in a late-Ilkhanid and Timurid mold, within the Ottoman palace library. Indeed, this prominence substantiates the point

raised at the beginning of this piece, namely that the salient features of a sixteenth-century Ottoman Turkish idiom—both administrative and literary—are located more soundly in the fifteenth-century ecumenical Persian Timurid and Turkmen cultural environment that stretched from the Balkans to Central Asia, and not, as is often presumed, in the fifteenth-century Anatolian Turkish context.

This point is also demonstrated in the library's collection of secretarial accounting (*siyāqat*) manuals. The proper maintenance of revenue and expenditure accounts was a fundamental duty of secretaries, and many writers subsumed knowledge of these techniques within the larger category of secretarial prose writing. Nakhjavani, for instance, considered the knowledge of how to collect and record revenue (*'ilm-i istīfā'-i māl*) and bookkeeping (*navīsandag, siyāqat*) as components of prose composition (*inshā'*). Yet, even if 'Atufi distinguished *siyāqat* from *inshā'* in his ordering of the library's collection, he clearly endorsed their close relationship. The section (*taṣnīf*) heading indicates *siyāqat* works as distinct from *inshā'*, even as titles pertaining to *siyāqat* are interspersed among the more numerous works concerning *inshā'*. The royal collection includes several works focused on secretarial accounting, all of which are products of Persephone administration from the fourteenth century. Modern scholars have long noted the importance of these works to the economic and administrative history of Anatolia in the Ilkhanid period, but their inclusion in the palace library suggests their lasting impact on Ottoman scribal culture as well.⁴³ Two of these works—*Sa'ādāt-nāma* (Bliss Book, 219 {2–3, 8}) by 'Ala-yi Tabrizi and *Risāla-yi falakīya* (The Falakian Epistle, 219 {9}, 220 {10}) by Abdallah bin Muhammad Mazandarani (fl. 1363)—are represented in multiple copies.⁴⁴ Indeed, the impact of these Ilkhanid *siyāqat* models can be observed in the strong parallels between them and Ottoman accounting registers produced at the turn of the sixteenth century, such as *Īn'āmāt Defteri* (Gift Register) in the last ten years of Bayezid's reign.⁴⁵

In broad terms, then, the collection of mostly Arabic and Persian prose and scribal works in the library reflects clearly the classic works and useful models available to Ottoman secretaries and stylists at the turn of

the sixteenth century. With few exceptions, such works were composed in earlier centuries and constitute something of the accepted canon of prose writing in Arabic and Persian. Indeed, one of the striking features of this collection is the relative scarcity of some of the most celebrated stylists at the turn of the sixteenth century. Colin Mitchell has pointed to the Timurid cultural efflorescence of the late fifteenth century as a high watermark in the Persian *inshā'* tradition. To substantiate his point, he enumerates the great number of *inshā'* collections that were produced by men affiliated with Timurid chanceries in the fifteenth century.⁴⁶ The Ottoman library contains several of these works, including Yusuf Ahl's aforementioned *Farā'id-i ghiyāsi* and the prose collection of 'Abd al-Rahman Jami (222 {3–4}). Yet some of the most important works produced at the turn of the century are missing, most notably Husayn Va'iz Kashifi's *Makhzan-i inshā'* completed in Herat in 907. The absence of Kashifi's work speaks to the limitation of the collection, one that is understandable, however, given the proximity between the completion of Kashifi's work and the compilation of 'Atufi's inventory. For despite the Ottoman court's pronounced interest in Timurid literary offerings, books circulated slowly and unevenly. Kashifi's *inshā'* was completed just two years before 'Atufi produced the library book list; perhaps this was not enough time for the work to find its way to the Ottoman palace library. Prominent works of living scholars and statesmen frequently arrived as gifts at the Ottoman palace—Jami's *Munsha'āt* likely belongs in this category—but more often than not, works arrived in Ottoman lands through private channels, either with the arrival of foreign scholars or the return of Ottoman scholars after study and travel abroad.

Another contemporary booklist sheds some light on the nature of this circulation, especially as it pertains to prose collections. This list of the private collection of the Ottoman chief military judge Mü'eyyedzade 'Abd al-Rahman Efendi was compiled shortly after his death in 1516 and represents the judge's wide-ranging interests, from religious learning to history, poetry, astronomy, and many fields in between.⁴⁷ Significantly, the collection also mirrors the interests of the palace library. With respect to prose collections, Mü'eyyedzade's library, like the palace library, possessed a copy of Mahmud

Gavan's *inshā'* and generally demonstrates a marked interest in Persian literature and prose writing from the Timurid period.⁴⁸ Notably, Mü'eyyedzade's collection also includes the prose writing of the great Timurid historian, Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi (d. 1454), an apparent lacuna in the holdings of the palace library at the time of 'Atufi's work.⁴⁹ Yet, in contrast to the palace library, Mü'eyyedzade's collection also contains several prose collections of his peers and contemporaries at the Ottoman court. These include the Persian prose writing of Mawlana Muhammad Munshi, a secretary of the Aqqoyunlu chancery, who, after his capture by the Ottomans at Otlukbeli in 1473, spent the remainder of his career at the Ottoman court; and the prose collection of Idris Bidlisi, another Persian émigré, chronicler of the Ottoman dynasty, and advisor to Sultan Selim I on his eastern campaigns of 1514–17.⁵⁰ The inclusion of the prose works of these two men of Persian letters in the library of a top Ottoman scholar of Bayezid's reign further underscores the Timurid influence on Ottoman scribal culture that may be observed through an examination of the palace library in isolation. While it is certainly true that late-Ilkhanid and Timurid prose exercised a profound influence on Ottoman stylists in the fashioning of a distinctly imperial idiom, more temporally proximate Persian writers also had an impact. In light of Mü'eyyedzade's collection, it seems appropriate to conclude that the emergence of a hyperliterate Ottoman Turkish idiom was equally the consequence of a stylistic dialectic—shaped by the models of the past as reflected in the palace library—that nonetheless also unfolded between recent arrivals from Iran and their Ottoman interlocutors.

NOTES

1. Miscellanea documenti turchi, no. 250, Archivio di Stato di Venezia. The Venetian archives have preserved many official documents in Greek received from Ottoman sultans that predate 1529. There are a few pieces of correspondence in Greek after this date, but these were mostly produced by Ottoman judges whose jurisdictions bordered Venetian territory. None of these are from the sultan.
2. For letters between Selim and Isma'il, see Feridun Beğ, *Münşe'âtü's-selâtin*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Takvimhane-yi Âmire, 1265), 1:379–81, 1:383–86.

3. The Turkish materials of Lami'i Çelebi's collection have been published: Lami'i Çelebi, *Münşeât-ı Lâmiî*, ed. Hasan Ali Esir (Trabzon: Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi, 2006). Lami'i Çelebi's Persian letters are found only in manuscript copies of the work; see, for instance, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi 3316, 3317.
4. For Kemalpaşazade's collection, see Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Yazma Bağışlar 3143/22; for Celalzade Salih's collection, see Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Uşşaki Tekkesi 49. The prevalence of these letter collections from scholars outside the chancery in the early sixteenth century would appear to nuance Christine Woodhead's observation of almost thirty years ago that personal letter collections emerge only in the seventeenth century with the work of stylists such as Nergisi (d. 1635) and Veysi (d. 1628): Christine Woodhead, "Ottoman İnşa and the Art of Letter-writing: Influences upon the Career of the Nişancı and Stylist Okçuzade (d. 1630)," *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 7–8 (1988): 143–59, at 145.
5. Linda Darling, "Ottoman Turkish: Written Language and Scribal Practice, 13th to 20th Centuries," in *Literacy in the Persianate World*, ed. Brian Spooner and William L. Hanaway (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2012), 171–95, at 177–78; Ekin Emine Tusalp Atiyas, "Political Literacy and the Politics of Eloquence: Ottoman Scribal Community in the Seventeenth Century" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2013), 52–55.
6. Şinasi Tekin, *Kırımlı Hafız Hüsam Teressül (Hacı Selimağa, Nurbanu No:122/5)* (Cambridge, MA: The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 2008); Yahya bin Mehmed el-Katib, *Menâhicü'l-inşâ*, ed. Şinasi Tekin (Cambridge, MA: Orient Press, 1971); on Ahmed Da'i, see Şinasi Tekin, "Fatih devrine ait bir inşa mecmuası," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 20 (1996): 282–90.
7. For a discussion of perhaps the oldest Ottoman document written in Turkish, see Feridun Emecen, *İlk Osmanlılar ve Batı Anadolu Beylikler Dünyası* (Istanbul: Kitabevi), 187–200.
8. Kaya Şahin has noted the significance of vernacular Turkish in the apocalyptic writings of Ahmed Bican in the middle of the fifteenth century, "Constantinople and the End Time: The Ottoman Conquest as a Portent of the Last Hour," *Journal of Early Modern History* 14 (2010): 317–54, at 351; for a survey of the mostly religious Turkish works produced in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see Mustafa Kara, "XIV. ve XV. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Toplumunu Besleyen Türkçe Kitaplar," *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 8, no. 1 (1999): 29–58.
9. Şinasi Tekin in the introduction to *Menâhicü'l-inşâ*, 16.
10. See, for example, the contents and context of Kırımlı Hafız Hüsam's *Teressül* in Şinasi Tekin, "Fatih Devrine Ait bir İnşa Mecmuası," 282–90.
11. An exception might be made here for Ahmed-i Da'i's poetry. Christine Woodhead suggests that Ahmed-i Da'i's prose collection was well known in the sixteenth century on the basis of Sehi Beg's biographical remarks (Christine Woodhead, "From Scribe to Litterateur: The Career of a Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Katib," *British Society for Middle East Studies Bulletin* 9, no. 1 [1982]: 55–74, at 62). Ahmed-i Da'i was likely much more renowned for his poetry. 'Aşık Çelebi, whose biographical dictionary is more detailed and comprehensive, does not even include an entry for Ahmed-i Da'i and only mentions his name once in his introduction as an early example of a Turkish poet whose verse, in his own day, is still found among compendia and recited orally (*nâmlarına olan qaşâ'idları mecmû'alarda meşûr ve efvâhda mezkûr*): 'Aşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-Şu'arâ: inceleme-metin*, ed. Filiz Kılıç, 3 vols. (Istanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010), 1186.
12. Şinasi Tekin offers details on Hüsamzade's collection in the introduction to *Menâhicü'l-inşâ*, 11; see also Linda Darling, "Ottoman Turkish: Written Language and Scribal Practice," 177.
13. Mecdi, *Hadâ'iq al-shaqâ'iq*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989), 208.
14. Ibid.
15. *Laṭâ'ifnâme* (SK, Reisülküttab 887).
16. Ibid., 2b–3a.
17. The contents of the work are detailed in the preface (ibid., 3b–4b).
18. Christopher Markiewicz, "The Crisis of Rule in Late Medieval Islam: A Study of Idris Bidlîsî (861-926/1457-1520) and Kingship at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century" (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2015), 272–73; Christopher Markiewicz, "History as Science: The Fifteenth-Century Debate in Arabic and Persian," *Journal of Early Modern History* 21, no. 3 (2017): 216–40.
19. Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafâ Taşköprüzâde, *Miftâḥ al-sa'âda wa-miṣbâḥ al-siyâda fî mawḍû'ât al-'ulûm*, 3 vols. (Beirut: Dâr al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, 1998), 1:247.
20. 'Imâd al-Dîn Maḥmûd Gâvân, *Manâẓir al-inshâ* (Tehran: Farhang-i Zabân va Adab-i Farsi, 1381 [2002 or 2003]), 54.
21. Taşköprüzâde, *Miftâḥ al-sa'âda*, 1:204.
22. Abû Sa'd Maṣṣûr ibn al-Ḥusayn Âbî, *Nathr al-durr* (Cairo: al-Ḥay'a al-Miṣriya al-'Ammâ li'l-Kitâb, 1990).
23. Bilal Orfali, "The Works of Abû Maṣṣûr al-Tha'âlibî (350-429/961-1039)," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 40, no. 3 (2009): 273–318, at 276.
24. MS Török F. 59, 107b.
25. L. A. Giffen, "al-Ḥuṣrî, Abû Ishâq Ibrâhîm ibn 'Alî (d. 413/1022)," *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, 2 vols., ed. Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (Routledge, 1988), 1:298.
26. Ibid.
27. On the relationship between Ottoman scholars and traditional centers of Islamic learning, see Hanna Sohrweide, "Dichter und Gelehrte aus dem Osten im osmanischen Reich (1453–1600)," *Islam* 46 (1970): 263–302; Ertuğrul Ökten, "Scholars and Mobility: A Preliminary Assessment from the Perspective of *al-Shaqâ'iy al-Nu'mâniyya*," *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 41 (2013): 55–70; Sara Nur Yıldız, "From Cairo to Ayasuluk: Ḥacı Paşa and the Transmission of Islamic Learning to Western Anatolia in the Late 14th Century," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 25, no. 3 (2014): 263–97.

28. On the significance of Ibn Nubāta, see Thomas Bauer, "Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī (686-78/1287-1366): Life and Works Part I: The Life of Ibn Nubātah," *Mamluk Studies Review* 12, no. 1 (2008): 1-35, at 2-3.
29. Julie Scott Meisami, "History as Literature," in *Persian Historiography*, ed. Charles Melville, A History of Persian Literature 10 (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012), 1-53, at 21.
30. For a discussion of this phenomenon with respect to Arabic, see Thomas Bauer, "In Search of a 'Post-Classical Literature': A Review Article," *Mamluk Studies Review* 11, no. 2 (2007): 137-67; for a similar re-assessment of Persian literature, see Wali Ahmadi, "The Institution of Persian Literature and the Genealogy of Bahār's 'Stylistics,'" *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 31, no. 2 (2004): 141-52.
31. See, for example, Thomas Bauer, "Ayna hādhā min al-Mutanabbī! Toward an Aesthetics of Mamluk Literature," *Mamluk Studies Review* 17 (2013): 5-22; Muhsin J. al-Musawi, *The Medieval Islamic Republic of Letters: Arabic Knowledge Construction* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015).
32. Stefan Leder, Sabine Dorpmüller, and Muhammad Helmy at the Orient-Institut Beirut are currently working on a critical edition of al-Qadi al-Fadil's prose.
33. Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Mu'ayyad al-Baghdādī, *Tavassul ilā al-tarassul* (Tehran: Shirkat-i Sahāmī-i Chāp, 1937).
34. *Encyclopedia of Islam* 2, s.v. "Inshā'," by H. Roemer.
35. Abū Bakr ibn Zakī Ṣadr, *Rawḥat al-kuttāb wa-ḥadīqat al-albāb*, ed. Ali Sevim (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1972).
36. Muḥammad ibn Hājji, *Miftāḥ al-inshā'* (SK, Nuruosmaniye 2405). This manuscript was in the royal library collection, as evidenced by the seal of Bāyezid II on the last folio.
37. Muḥammad ibn Hindūshāh Nakhjavānī, *Dastūr al-kātib fī ta'yīn al-marātib*, 2 vols. in 3, ed. A. A. Alizade (Moscow: Nauka, 1964-76).
38. Jalāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Ahl, *Farā'id-i Ghiyāṣī*, ed. Heshmat Moayyad, vol. 53, Zabān va adabīyāt-i Fārsī (Tehran: Foundation for Iranian Culture, 1977).
39. Maḥmūd Gāvān, *Riyāz al-inshā'*, ed. Chānd Ḥusayn and Ghulām Yazdānī (Ḥaydarābād-i Dakkan: Sarkār-i 'Āli, 1948); Maḥmūd Gāvān, *Manāẓir al-inshā'*, Farhangistān-i Zabān va Adab-i Fārsī 12 (Tehran: Farhangistān-i Zabān va Adab-i Fārsī, 1381).
40. Colin Mitchell, "Safavid Imperial *Tarassul* and the Persian *Inshā'* Tradition," *Studia Iranica* 26 (1997): 173-209, at 188-90.
41. Nakhjavānī, *Dastūr al-Kātib*, 1:1:9.
42. The palace may not have acquired a portion of Ahmad al-Qalqashandī's magnum opus until after the conquest of Syria, as the work appears in a booklist of titles acquired by the Ottomans from the Mamluk citadel in Aleppo in 1516 (TSMA, D. 9101, 2a).
43. Zeki Velidi Togan, "Moğollar Devrinde Anadolu'nun İktisadî Vaziyeti," *Türk Hukuk ve İktisad Tarihi Mecmuası*, 1 (1930), 1-42; Walter Hinz, *Die Resāle-yi Falakiyyā des 'Abdollāh ibn Mohammad ibn Kiyā al-Māzandarānī* (Wiesbaden, 1952); Nejat Göyünç, "Das sogenannte Game'o'l-Hesab des 'Emad as-Sarawi: Ein Leitfaden des staatlichen Rechnungswesen von ca. 1340" (PhD diss., Göttingen, 1962).
44. In addition to these works, the library also had one copy of the fourteenth-century *Jāmi' al-ḥisāb* (The Compilation of Accounting, 219 {8-9}).
45. *Īn'āmāt Deftari* (Atatürk Kitaplığı, Muallim Cevdet O.71).
46. Mitchell, "Safavid Imperial *Tarassul*," 189.
47. TSMA, D. 9291/1, D. 9291/2. This collection is analyzed in Judith Pfeiffer's essay in the present volume.
48. TSMA, D. 9291/2, 6b.
49. Ibid., 5b.
50. For mention of Bidlisi's collection, see TSMA, D. 9291/1, 1b; for Mawlana Munshi's collection, see ibid., 2a; on the activities of Mawlana Munshi at the Ottoman court, see Christopher Markiewicz, "The Crisis of Rule in Late Medieval Islam," 66-68; and Christopher Markiewicz, *The Crisis of Kingship in Late Medieval Islam: Persian Emigres and the Making of Ottoman Sovereignty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2019).

LIST OF ENTRIES

BOOKS ON ORATIONS, RHYMED PROSE, PROVERBS, OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS, PROSE
COMPOSITION, AND SECRETARIAL ACCOUNTING

(*Tafşilu ... kutubi al-khuṭabi wa-al-kutubi al-musajjaʿati wa-al-kutubi al-amthāli wa-kutubi al-tarassuli
wa-al-inshāʾi wa-al-siyāqati*)

The following list is organized according to the order in which the entries appear in the book inventory.

1. “*Risālat qānūn jawāb al-aḥmaq fi iṣlāḥ al-khaṭīya fi al-amthāl*” (A Treatise on the Manner of the Response of the Fool in the Righting of Error, concerning Proverbs), 218 {6}.
2. “*Majmūʿa fi al-nawādir wa-al-fawāʾid bi-khaṭṭ al-sultān al-maghfir al-marḥūm Muḥammad Khān ṭāba tharāhu*” (Compendium of Rarities and Observations in the Hand of the Deceased Sultan Mehmed Khan, May He Rest in Peace), 218 {7–8}.
3. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Naṣr Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Athīr (d. 1259), *Rasāʾil ibn al-Athīr* (Treatises of Ibn al-Athīr), 218 {8}, ca. 1257, Arabic. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2630. EDITION: Anīs Maqdisī, *Rasāʾil ibn al-Athīr*, Beirut: Maṭābiʿ Dār al-ʿIlm li-l-Malāyīn, 1959.
4. Ibn Nubāta (d. 984–85), *Kitāb khuṭab Ibn Nubāta* (Book of the Sermons of Ibn Nubāta), 218 {9}, 10th c., Arabic.
5. Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1108–9), *Majmaʿ al-balāgha* (Miscellanies of Eloquence), 218 {9}, 11th c., Arabic. EDITION: ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sārīsī (ed.), *Majmaʿ al-balāgha*, Amman: Maktabat al-Aqṣá, 1986.
6. “*al-Itlāqāt al-badīʿa*” (Marvelous Outbursts), 218 {10}.
7. Abū Maṣṣūr b. al-Marzubān (d. after 951), *al-Tahānī wa-al-taʿāzī* (listed in the inventory as *Rusūm al-balāgha*, which is an abridged version of *al-Tahānī wa-al-taʿāzī*)¹ (Felicitations and Condolences), 218 {10}, 10th c., Arabic. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Yeni Cami 1188/1.
8. ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad al-Thaʿālibī (d. 1039), *Nathr al-naẓm wa-ḥall al-ʿaqd* (The Scattering of the String of Pearls and the Loosening of the Knot), 218 {10–12}, 11th c., Arabic. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Yeni Cami, 1188/2. EDITION: ʿAlī Khāqānī, *Nathr al-naẓm wa-ḥall al-ʿaqd*, Baghdad: Maktabat Dār al-Bayān, 1972.
9. ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad al-Thaʿālibī (d. 1039), *Sajʿ al-manthūr* (Rhymed Prose), 218 {10–12}, Arabic. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Yeni Cami, 1188/2.
10. Ṣalāh al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 1363), *Kitāb alḥān al-sawājiʿ bayn al-bādīʿ wa-al-murājiʿ* (The Melodies of the Practitioners of Rhymed Prose among the Initiators and the Verifiers), 218 {12–13}, 14th c., Arabic. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 2358 and A. 2501. EDITION: *Kitāb alḥān al-sawājiʿ bayn al-bādīʿ wa-al-murājiʿ*, 2 vols., Damascus: Dār al-Bashāʾir, 2004.
11. Same as 5 above, 218 {14}.
12. Same as 8 above, 218 {15}.
13. Same as 8 above, 218 {16}.
14. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Kāshī, *Rawḍat al-nāẓir va nuzhat al-khāṭir*² (The Garden of the Observer and the Excursion of the Mind), 218 {17}, Persian. MANUSCRIPT: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Arab 3365.

15. “*Kitāb fī al-amthāl ‘alā tartīb ḥurūf al-tahqījī*” (Book on Proverbs, Organized by the Letters of the Alphabet), 218 {17–18}.
16. Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Maydānī (d. 1124), *Kitāb majma‘ al-amthāl* (The Book of Compendium of Proverbs), 218 {18}, 12th c., Arabic. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, MS A. 2615. EDITION: Na‘īm Zarzūr, *Hādhā Kitāb majma‘ al-amthāl*, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1988; Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (ed.), *Majma‘ al-amthāl*, Cairo: ‘Isā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1978–79.
17. Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd Āmūlī (fl. 1340), *Nafā‘is al-funūn wa ‘arā’is al-‘uyūn* (Delicacies of the Arts and Brides of the Eyes), 218 {18–19}, 14th c. Persian. EDITION: Abū al-Ḥasan Sha‘rānī (ed.), *Nafā‘is al-funūn wa ‘arā’is al-‘uyūn*, Tehran: Kitābfurūshī-yi Islāmīya, 1377–79 [1957–59].
18. Bahā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Mu‘ayyad Baghdādī (fl. 12th c.), *Kitāb al-tavassul ilā al-tarassul* (Entreatment for the Art of Letter Writing), 218 {19}–219 {1}, 12th c., Persian. EDITION: Aḥmad Bahmanyār, *Kitāb al-tawassul ilā al-tarassul*, Tehran: Shirkat-i Sahāmī-yi Chāp, 1315 [1937].
19. Same as 18 above, 219 {1–2}.
20. Falak ‘Alā’-yi Tabrizī, *Sa‘ādatnāma* (Bliss Book), 219 {2–3}, 707/1307, Persian.
21. Rażī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd Samarqandī, *Nafā‘is al-kalām wa ‘arā’is al-aqlām* (Delicacies of Speech and Brides of Pens), 219 {3}, Persian. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya MS 4336.³
22. “*al-Risāla al-ṣāhibiyya fī al-tarassul wa-qawā‘id al-daftar*” (The Sahibian Epistle on Producing Documents and the Rules of Recordkeeping), 219 {4}.
23. “*Kitāb al-miṣbāḥ fī al-tarassul*” (The Book of the Lantern on Official Correspondence), 219 {4–5}.⁴
24. “*Tarassul fārsī*” (Persian Official Correspondence), 219 {5}.
25. Maḥmūd ibn Edhem Amāsyavī, *Gülşen-i inşā* (The Rose Garden of Epistolography), 219 {5–6}, 1496, Turkish.
26. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī al-Lakhmī al-Baysānī al-‘Asqalānī (al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil) (d. 1200), *Rasā’il al-Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Raḥīm fī al-tarassul* (Epistles of the Judge ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, concerning Official Correspondence), 219 {6}, 12th c., Arabic and Persian. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2497.
27. “*Kitāb al-alfāz fī al-lughā al-‘arabiyya*” (Book of the Expressions of the Arabic Language), 219 {6–7}, Arabic.
28. “*Kitāb latīf fī al-tarassul*” (A Pleasing Book on Official Correspondence), 219 {7}.
29. Same as 20 above, 219 {8}.
30. ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Sarāwī (d. 1340?), *Jāmi‘ al-ḥisāb* (The General Compilation on Accounting), 219 {8–9}, 14th c., Persian. EDITION: Nejat Göyünç, “Das Sogenannte Gāme‘o’l-Hesāb des ‘Emād as-Sarāwī: Ein Leitf. d. staatl. 30. Rechnungswesens v. ca. 1340,” Göttingen, 1962.
31. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad Māzandarānī (fl. 1363), *Risāla-yi falakiyya* (The Falakian Epistle), 219 {9}, 1363, Persian. MANUSCRIPT: SK, Ayasofya MS 2756. EDITION: Walter Hinz, *Die Resalā-ye Falakiyyā des ‘Abdollah ibn Moḥammad ibn Kiyā al-Māzandarānī: Ein persischer Leitfaden des staatlichen Rechnungswesens (um 1363)*, Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1952.
32. “*Rasā’il al-‘ushshāq fī al-tarassul*” (Epistles of the Lovers on Producing Documents), 219 {9–10}.⁵
33. “*Kitāb ṭarā’if al-ṭurāf*” (Book of the Curiosities of the Curious), 219 {10}.
34. “*Kitāb fī ikhtiyārāt al-abyāt wa-al-ashjā’ wa-al-mukātabāt*” (A Book on the Preferences among Couplets, Rhymed Prose, and Written Correspondence), 219 {10–11}.
35. Ibn Qutayba (d. 889?), *Kitāb adab al-kātib* (Book of the Etiquette of the Secretary), 219 {11}, 9th c., Arabic. EDITION: *Kitāb adab al-kātib*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1900; *Kitāb adab al-kātib*, Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Āmira al-Sharafiyya, 1910; ‘Alī Fā‘ūr, *Kitāb adab al-kātib*, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1988.
36. Same as 35 above, 219 {12}.

37. Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ or Rashīd al-Dīn Faṣl Allāh Hamadānī (d. 1318), *Tarassul* (Official Correspondence), 219 {12}.
38. Abū Bakr al-Qunawī (d. 1391 or 1392), *Rawḍat al-kuttāb wa ḥaḍīqat al-albāb* (Meadow of the Secretaries and Garden of the Intellects), 219 {12–13}, 14th c., Persian. EDITION: Ali Sevim (ed.), *Rawḍat al-kuttāb wa ḥaḍīqat al-albāb*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1972.
39. “*Kitāb al-wasā’il al-ilāhiyya*” (The Book of the Divine Causes), 219 {13}.
40. Yazıcıoğlu Mehmed Efendi (d. 1451), *er-Resā’ilü’l-Muḥammadiyye* (The Muhammadian Epistles), 219 {13}, 15th c., Turkish.
41. “*Kitāb al-shajara fī dhikr nasab al-nabī*” (The Tree in Mention of the Lineage of the Prophet), 219 {13–14}.
42. Same as 37 above, 219 {15}.
43. Muḥammad ibn Hindūshāh Nakhjavānī (fl. 1358), *Dastūr al-kātib fī ta’yīn al-marātib* (The Protocol of the Secretary in the Appointment of Ranks), 219 {16}, 14th c., Persian. EDITION: A. A. Alizade (ed.), *Dastūr al-kātib fī ta’yīn al-marātib*, Moscow: Nauka, 1964–76.
44. “*Kitāb bayāḍ al-nabāt fī al-makātib al-naẓmiyya*” (The Book of Fine White Sugar on Versified Letters), 219 {16–17}.
45. Same as 43 above, 219 {17–18}.
46. “*Kitāb al-tadhkira fī al-siyāqa wa-al-inshā*” (Compendium on Recordkeeping and Composition), 219 {18}.
47. “*Kitāb sharḥ abyāt Kalīla*” (A Book of Commentary on the Couplets of *Kalila and Dimna*), 219 {19}.
48. “*Kitāb fī al-inshā*” (A Book on Prose Composition), 219 {19}.
49. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥājji ibn Muḥammad al-Bukhārī al-Sa’īd, “*Tarjamat miftāḥ al-inshā’ bi-al-turkiyya*” (Turkish Translation of the Key of Prose Composition), 220 {1}, 15th c., Turkish. MANUSCRIPT: Staatsbibliothek (Vienna), MS Flügel 247 (Turkish translation with dedication to Mehmed II).⁶
50. Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ (d. 1182), ‘*Arā’is al-khawāṭir wa-naḥā’is al-nawādir*’ (The Brides of Minds and the Delicacies of Rarities), 220 {1–2}, 12th c., Arabic and Persian.
51. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Alī al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 1022), *Kitāb zahr al-ādāb* (The Book of the Flower of Politesse), 220 {2}, 11th c., Arabic. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2566.
52. “*Kitāb nathr al-ṣāhib*” (Book of Prose of the Master), 220 {3}.
53. “*Kitāb ādāb al-jalīs*” (The Book of Politesse of the Companion), 220 {3}.
54. “*Kitāb fī al-rubā’iyāt al-fārisīya fī al-aḥwāl al-mutaḥarriqa marqūm bi-qunyat al-inshā*” (A Book of Persian Quatrains for Various Occasions, Entitled “The Profit of Prose Composition”), 220 {4–5}.
- Yūsuf Ahl, *Kitāb farā’id-i ghiyāṣī* (The Ghiyathian Precious Gems), 220 {5}, 15th c., Persian. MANUSCRIPTS: Keir Collection (London); SK, Ayasofya MS 4155, EDITION: (partial) Ḥishmat Mu’ayyad (ed.), *Kitāb farā’id-i ghiyāṣī*, Tehran: Foundation for Iranian Culture, 1977.
55. Same as 55 above, 220 {6}.
56. Same as 55 above, 220 {6–7}.
57. “*Risāla ukhrā fī al-inshā*” (Another Book on Prose Composition), 220 {7}.
58. Same as 50 above, 220 {8}.
59. “*Kitāb uṣūl al-khuṭab li-mawlānā al-khaṭīb bi-al-‘imāra al-murād-khāniyya*” (A Book on the Principles of Sermons by Mawlānā al-Khaṭīb in the Mosque Complex of Sultan Murad), 220 {8–9}.
60. “*Kitāb al-tashīl bi-al-tamthīl fī al-inshā*” (The Book of Easing the Formation of Proverbs concerning Prose Composition), 220 {9–10}.

61. Same as 31 above, 220 {10}.
62. Same as 43 above, 220 {11}.
63. "*Kitāb mawsūm bi-al-durra al-fākhira fī al-amthāl al-sā'ira*" (A Book Entitled "The Precious on Other Proverbs"), 220 {11–12}.
64. "*Jawharat al-sharāf fī al-makātīb wa-al-inshā'*" (The Jewel of Eminence on Letters and Prose Composition), 220 {12–13}, Arabic.⁷
65. "*Risāla al-musajja'āt fī al-inshā'*" (The Treatise of Rhymed Prose, on Prose Composition), 220 {13}.
66. Maḥmūd Gāvān (d. 1481), *Riyāz al-inshā'* (Gardens of Prose Composition), 220 {14}, 15th c., Persian. EDITION: *Riyāz al-inshā'*, Hyderabad: Sarkār-i 'Āli, 1948.
67. "*Kitāb al-balīgh al-muntakhab min kalām al-'ajam wa-al-'arab*" (The Book of the Eloquent Selected from the Words of the Persians and Arabs), 220 {14–15}.
68. "*Tarassul bi-khaṭṭ dīwānī bi-al-farsiyya*" (A Work of Official Correspondence in *dīwānī* Script in Persian), 220 {15}, late 15th c., Persian. MANUSCRIPT: Atatürk Kitaplığı, Muallim Cevdet K.10.⁸
69. "*Jawāhir al-qalā'id min qibal al-inshā'*" (The Jewels of the Necklaces, pertaining to Prose Composition), 220 {16}.
70. "*Risālat Mafātīḥ al-ḥikma*" (Keys of Wisdom), 220 {16}.
71. Maḥmūd Gāvān (d. 1481), *Manāẓir al-inshā'* (Vistas of Prose Composition), 220 {17}, 15th c., Persian. EDITION: *Manāẓir al-inshā'*, Tehran: Farhangistān-i Zabān va Adab-i Fārsī, 2002 or 2003.
72. "*Risālat al-asrār al-ilāhiyya fī al-taṣawwuf*" (The Epistle of Divine Secrets concerning Sufism), 20 {17–18}.
73. Muḥammad ibn Ḥājji, *Miftāḥ al-inshā'* (The Key of Prose Composition), 220 {18}, Persian. MANUSCRIPT: Nuruosmaniye MS 2405.
74. Bahā' al-Dīn 'Alī ibn 'Isā al-Irbīlī (d. 1266), *al-Tadhkira al-fakhriyya* (The Fakhrian Missive), 220 {18–19}, 13th c., Arabic. EDITION: Nūrī Ḥammūdī al-Qaysī and Ḥātim Šāliḥ al-Damīn (eds.), *al-Tadhkira al-fakhriyya*, Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, Maktabat al-Nahḍa al-'Arabiyya, 1987.
75. Bahā' al-Dīn 'Alī ibn 'Isā al-Irbīlī (d. 1266), *Risālat al-ṭayf* (The Epistle of Fantasy), 220 {19}–221 {1}, 13th c., Arabic. EDITION: 'Abd Allāh Jaburī (ed.), *Risālat al-ṭayf*, Baghdad, 1968.
76. "*Kitāb rawḍ al-ādāb*" (The Book of the Flower Gardens of Politesse), 221 {1}.
77. Same as 18 above, 221 {2}.
78. "*Kitāb fī al-musajja'āt wa-al-manẓūmāt 'alā ṭarīq al-tarassul*" (A Book concerning Rhymed Prose and Verse, pertaining to Official Document Production), 221 {2–3}.
79. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 1454), *Manāḥij al-tawassul fī mabāḥij al-tarassul* (Paths of Entreatment on the Splendors of Writing), 221 {3–4}, 15th c., Arabic. EDITION: Maḥdī As'ad 'Arar (ed.), *Manāḥij al-tawassul fī mabāḥij al-tarassul*, Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān Nāshirūn, 2009.
80. "*Kitāb rawḍat al-'āshiq*" (The Book of the Garden of the Lover), 221 {4}.
81. Ibn al-Qāṣiḥ Abī al-Baqā' 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān al-Muqrī (?), *Qurrat al-'ayn fī al-amthāl* (Pleasure for the Eye, pertaining to Proverbs), 221 {4–5}, Arabic.⁹
82. "*Kitāb fātīḥat al-kamāl fī al-tarassul wa-al-inshā'*" (The Book of the Inception of Perfection, concerning Official Correspondence and Prose Composition), 221 {5}.
83. "*Kitāb al-ṣalāḥ bayn al-qarīḍ wa-al-khuṭab*" (The Book of Rightness among Verse and Speeches), 221 {6}. MANUSCRIPT: possibly SK, Ayasofya MS 4162.
84. Same as 65 above, 221 {6–7}.
85. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad al-Tha'ālībī (d. 1039), *al-Yawāqūt fī ba'd al-mawāqūt* (Rubies for Some Specified Times), 221 {7}, 11th c., Arabic.¹⁰ MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2535. EDITION: Muḥammad Jāsim Ḥadīthī (ed.), *Al-Yawāqūt fī ba'd al-mawāqūt*, Baghdad: Dār al-Shu'ūn al-Thaqāfiyya al-'Āmma, 1990.

86. Muntajab al-Dīn Badī' al-Kātib al-Juwaynī, *'Atabat al-kataba fī bayān ta'lim al-kitāba wa-al-inshā'*¹¹ (The Doorstep of Writing on the Description of Teaching Writing and Prose Composition), 221 {8}, Persian.
87. Same as 14 above, 221 {8}.
88. Same as 14 above, 221 {9}.
89. Ibn Nubāta (d. 1366), *Saj' al-muṭawwaq* (The Cooing of the Ringdove), 221 {9–10}, 1317, Arabic.
90. Rashīd al-Dīn al-Waṭwaṭ (d. 1182 or 1183), *'Umdat al-bulaghā' wa-'uddat al-fuṣahā'* (Prop of the Eloquent and Instrument of the Euphonic), 221 {10–11}, 12th c., Arabic.
91. *"Sharḥ khuṭbat Ibn Sīnā min qibal al-ḥikma"* (Commentary on the Sermon of Ibn Sina, pertaining to Wisdom), 221 {11}.
92. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Faḍl al-Mu'ayyadī al-Tālaqānī (fl. 1030), *Risālat al-amthāl al-baghdādiyya* (Epistle of the Baghdadian Proverbs), 221 {12}, 11th c., Arabic. EDITION: Louis Massignon (ed.), *Risālat al-amthāl al-baghdādiyya*, Cairo, 1913.
93. Muṣliḥ al-Dīn ibn Ḥusām (Ḥūsāmzāde) (fl. 1488), *al-Risāla al-shawqiyya* (The Treatise of Amicable Wishes), 221 {13}, 893/1488, Arabic, Persian, Turkish.¹²
94. Rashīd al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Waṭwāṭ al-Balkhī (d. 1182), *Abkār al-afkār fī al-rasā'il wa-al-ash'ār* (Maidens of Meditations on Epistles and Poetry), 221 {13–14}, 12th c., Arabic and Persian. EDITION: of the Persian letters: Qāsim Tūysirkānī (ed.), *Nāma-hāyi Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ*. Tehran: Dānishgāh-i Tīhrān, 1960; of the Arabic letters: Muḥammad Fahmī (ed.), *Majmū'at rasā'il Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ*, 2 parts, Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Ma'ārif, 1897–98.
95. Yūsuf ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Barr (d. 1070), *Bahjat al-majālis wa-uns al-mujālis wa-shaḥdh al-dhāhin wa-al-hājis* (The Splendor of Polite Gatherings and the Intimacy of the Participants), 221 {14–15}, 11th c., Arabic. EDITION: Muḥammad Mursī Khawli and 'Abd al-Qādir Qitṭ (eds.), *Bahjat al-majālis wa-uns al-mujālis wa-shaḥdh al-dhāhin wa-al-hājis*, 2 vols., Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya li-l-Ta'lif wa-al-Tarjama, 1967–70.
96. Abū Sa'd Manṣūr ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ābī (d. 1030), *Nathr al-durr* (The Scattering of Pearls), 221 {15–16}, 11th c., Arabic.¹³ EDITION: Muḥammad 'Alī Qurna (ed.), *Nathr al-durr*, Cairo: al-Hay'at al-Miṣriyya al-Āmma li-l-Kitāb, 1980–. TRANSLATION: Charles Archibald Owen, "Selections from Abu Sa'id Mansur's Kitab Nathr al-Durar" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1921).
97. *"Risāla 'alā al-munshī fī al-inshā'"* (A Treatise of the Stylist [*al-munshī*] on Prose Composition), 221 {16}.
98. *"Nuzhat al-qulūb bi-al-turkiyya fī al-tarassul wa-al-inshā'"* (The Excursion of Hearts in Turkish, on Official Correspondence and Prose Composition), 221 {16–17}, possibly a Turkish translation of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's *Nuzhat al-qulūb*.
99. *"Risālat al-ḥurūf al-mufrada wa-al-murkaba bi-al-khaṭṭ al-mughūl"* (Epistle of the Individual Letters and Cursive in the Uyghur Script), 221 {17–18}.
100. Ibn Nubāta (d. 1366), *Zahr al-manthūr* (The Flower of Prose), 221 {18–19}, 14th c., Arabic.
101. *"Risālat mukātabāt 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwān ma' al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī"* (A Treatise on the Written Correspondence of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān with al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī), 221 {19}, Arabic.
102. *"Risāla al-ta'ziyya bi-al-'arabiyya min qibal al-inshā'"* (The Treatise of Condolences in Arabic, pertaining to Prose Composition), 222 {1}, Arabic.
103. Same as 76 above, 222 {1}.
104. *"Risāla gharibiyya fī al-laṭā'if"* (A Strange Treatise on Bon-Mots), 222 {2}.
105. al-Mu'izz ibn Bādīs (d. 1062), *'Umdat al-kuttāb wa-'uddat dhawī al-albāb* (Prop of the Eloquent and Instrument of the Euphonic), 222 {3}, 11th c., Arabic. TRANSLATION: Martin Levey, *Medieval*

- Arabic Bookmaking and Its Relation to Early Chemistry and Pharmacology*, Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1962.
106. ‘Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī (d. 1492), *Munsha’āt* (Letter Collection), 222 {3–4}, 15th c., Persian. EDITION: A. Urumbaev and Asror Rakhmonov (eds.), *Nāma-hā va-munsha’āt-i Jāmī*, Dushanbe: Nashriyāt-i Dānish, 1989.
 107. Same as 76 above, 222 {4–5}.
 108. Abū al-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī (d. 1058), *Risālat fi ta’ziyat Abī ‘Alī ibn al-Rijāl* (Treatise on the Condolences of Abī ‘Alī ibn al-Rijāl), 222 {5–6}, 11th c., Arabic. EDITION: Iḥsān ‘Abbās (ed.), *Risālat fi ta’ziyat Abī ‘Alī ibn al-Rijāl*, Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī, n.d.
 109. “*Kitāb fi al-munsha’āt ma’ nuqṣān al-awā’il bi-al-fārisiyya*” (A Book of Letter Collections with the First Part Missing, in Persian), 222 {6}, Persian.
 110. “*al-Qidma al-sa’ida fi al-inshā’*” (Felicitous Antiquity, concerning Prose Composition), 222 {7}.
 111. “*Jawāhir zawāhir fi al-tarassul*” (Jeweled Flowers, concerning Official Correspondence), 222 {7}.
 112. “*Miṣbāḥ al-rasā’il fi al-inshā’ wa-al-tarassul*” (The Lantern of Epistles, concerning Prose Composition and Official Correspondence), 222 {8}.
 113. Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī Nāmūs al-Hārī, *Tuḥfa-yi jalāliyya dar ‘ilm al-mukātaba* (The Jalalian Gift on the Science of Written Correspondence), 222 {8–9}, 14th c., Persian.¹⁴
 114. Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī (d. 1434), *Kitāb al-thamarāt al-shahiyya fi al-fawākih al-ḥamawīyya wa-al-zawā’id al-miṣriyya* (The Book of Appetizing Fruits among the Hamawian Fruits and Egyptian Bounties), 222 {9–10}, before 1433, Arabic.
 115. Abū al-Faḥl Aḥmad ibn Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī (fl. 15th c.), *Kitāb kanz al-balāgha* (Book of the Treasure of Eloquence), 222 {10}, before 1493, Persian. MANUSCRIPT: likely MS Nuruosmaniye 3641.¹⁵
 116. “*Risāla tawqī’āt anūshirwān min qibal al-inshā’*” (An Epistle of the Legal Documents of Anushirvan, pertaining to Prose Composition), 222 {11}.
 117. Same as 95 above, 222 {11–12}.
 118. “*Risālat al-ṭabarī bi-al-fārisiyya fi al-inshā’ wa-al-tarassul*” (al-Ṭabarī’s Treatise in Persian, concerning Prose Composition and Official Correspondence), 222 {12–13}, Persian.
 119. Same as 35 above, 222 {13}.
 120. “*Kitāb al-farīda fi al-amthāl wa-al-ādāb*” (The Book of the Precious Gem, concerning Proverbs and Politesse), 222 {14}.
 121. “*Risāla musajja’a fi al-inshā’*” (An Epistle in Rhymed Prose, related to Prose Composition), 222 {14}.
 122. “*Risālat fattāḥī min qibal al-inshā’*” (Fattāḥī’s Epistle, pertaining to Prose Composition), 222 {15}.¹⁶
 123. Same as 123 above, 222 {15}.
 124. “*Risāla fi khamsīn rasā’il fi al-inshā’*” (Treatise of Fifty Epistles related to Prose Composition), 222 {16}.
 125. al-Ḥasan ibn Mawlānā ‘Abd al-Majīd al-Juwallī al-Muẓaffarī (fl. 14th c.), *Nuzhat al-kuttāb wa-tuḥfat al-aḥbāb* (The Diversion of Secretaries and the Gift of Dear Ones), 222 {16}, before 1327, Persian.
 126. Same as 38 above, 222 {17}.
 127. ‘Ubayd Zākānī (d. ca. 1370), *Laṭā’if-i ‘Ubayd al-Zākānī* (The Bon-Mots of ‘Ubayd-i Zākānī), 222 {18}, 14th c., Persian. EDITION: ‘Abbās Iqbāl Ashtiyānī (ed.), *Kulliyat-i ‘Ubayd-i Zākānī*, Tehran: Nashriyat-i Majalla-yi Armaghān, 1332 [1953].
 128. Same as 103 above, 222 {19}.

129. “*Kitāb fī al-tarassul wa-al-inshā*” (A Book concerning Official Correspondence and Prose Composition), 223 {1}.
130. “*Kitāb al-nawādir*” (The Book of Rarities), 223 {1}.
131. “*Kitāb al-amthāl wa-al-ḥikam*” (The Book of Proverbs and Wisdom), 223 {2}.
132. Same as 14 above, 223 {2}.
133. “*Ṭarāʾif al-ṭuraf*” (The Curiosities of the Curious), 223 {3}.
134. “*Kitāb al-abyāt al-munkhariṭa fī silk al-murāsālāt wa-al-tarassul*” (The Book of Couplets, related to Correspondence and Official Documents), 223 {3–4}.
135. “*Risālat madārij al-wujūd li-l-ḥakīm al-mutāʾla muḥammad al-marqī wa-risāla fī sharḥihā fī al-ḥikma*” (The Treatise of the Degrees of Existence by al-Ḥakīm al-Mutāʾla Muḥammad al-Marqī and an Epistle on Its Exposition, concerning Wisdom), 223 {4–5}, possibly the work of Afzal al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan Marāqī Kāshānī, known as Bābā Afzal (d. ca. 1213–14), Persian.

NOTES

1. See B. Orfali, “Works of Abū Maṣṣūr al-Thaʿālībī (350–429/961–1039),” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 40 (2009): 313.
2. Kātib Ḥalebi, *Kashf al-zunūn* (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941–43), 2:933.
3. *Ibid.*, 2:1966.
4. *Ibid.*, 2:1708.
5. This work is possibly *Rasāʾil al-ʿushshāq wa-wasāʾil al-mushtāq* of Abū al-Maʿālī Maṣʿūd b. Aḥmad al-Sayfī (Storey, *Persian Literature*, III, part 2, 240).
6. C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey* III, part 2 (London: Luzac, 1927), 245.
7. E. G. Browne describes a copy of this work from 920 (1514) in the Cambridge University Library (Or. 578² [no. 369]). The work is in Arabic, on the topic of poetry and rhetoric in ten chapters.
8. See the seal of Bayezid II on 46b.
9. Kātib Ḥalebi, *Kashf al-zunūn*, 2:1325. Also found in the section on Sufism (*taṣawwuf*), 122.
10. See Orfali, “Works of Abū Maṣṣūr al-Thaʿālībī,” 295; possibly also found in the section on Sufism (*taṣawwuf*), 134.
11. Storey, *Persian Literature*, III, part 2, 240.
12. This work is also mentioned in the section on Sufism (*taṣawwuf*), 128.
13. The library contains volume five, which consists of sermons from the Umayyad period and epistles from the Abbasid period.
14. Hasan Gültekin, “Türk Edebiyatında İnşa: Tarihi Gelişim – Kuram – Sözlük ve Metin” (PhD diss., Hacettepe University, 2007), 29.
15. Storey suggests that this work, identified by Kātib Ḥalebi as *Kanz al-balāgha*, is an abridgement (*mukhtaṣar*) of the longer *Kanz al-laṭāʾif* by the same author: Storey, *Persian Literature*, III, part 2, 396–97. The first folio of this manuscript was overlaid with a leaf at the time of the manuscript’s donation to Nuruosmaniye. A seal the size and shape of Bayezid II’s is discernible, but this needs to be confirmed through a more thorough codicological analysis.
16. This work is possibly *Shabistān-i nikāt va gulistān-i lughat* (or *Shabistān-i khayāl* per the work’s conclusion) of Yaḥyā Sībak Fattāḥī (d. 1448), a recognized authority on prosody and poetical figures (Storey, *Persian Literature*, III, part 2, 253–54).

TURKISH/TURKIC BOOKS OF POETRY, TURKISH AND PERSIAN LEXICOGRAPHY: THE POLITICS OF LANGUAGE UNDER BAYEZID II

The present essay discusses questions related to the politics of language in the Ottoman empire in general, and the role of Persian and Turkish in that polity in particular, exemplified by the books in Bayezid II's library, as listed in the inventory compiled by his librarian 'Atufi. The first part of the essay focuses on books of Turkish/Turkic poetry, which is followed by a discussion of Turkish lexicography and a number of other genres in Turkish and Turkic. Poetry in Turkish/Turkic has its own section in the inventory, although, as will be demonstrated, it can also be found in other sections. The second part of the essay discusses Persian lexicography. Lexicographic works, whether in Turkish or Persian, are registered by the learned librarian in a section on lexicography in general, which naturally consists mainly of Arabic lexicography.

PART I: THE POLITICS OF TURKISH IN THE LANDS OF *RUM* BETWEEN THE MID-FOURTEENTH AND EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

In 1350, Hoca Mes'ud, a prominent Turkish poet wielding his pen at the court of the Aydınids in western Anatolia, expressed a great deal of vernacular anxiety when composing a *maşnavî*, i.e., a narrative poem in couplets, in Turkish. Deeming the phonetic structure of this language unfit for the Arabo-Persian poetic metrical system, he recommended avoiding Turkish words in Turkish poetry as much as possible and using Persian and Arabic words instead:

Now please allow me to apologize:
Alas! The Turkish tongue is short breadthwise.

Should I compose verse but in Turkish pure,
it would be such that no tongue ever'd endure.
When masterfully mixed are tongue and speech,
Turkish's like when the salt the soup doth reach.
You should but Arabic and Persian words write,
for when the Turkish tongue is versified,
sometimes it fits the pattern, sometimes not,
clumsily slipping meter, rhythmwise not.
Too many faults the verse has, too much change!
In poetry, Turkish becomes too strange.
It has no words th'original to follow.
Compose your verse just like your heart will allow!
Sing in this tongue; the rules are all transgression:
no meter, no long vowels, no gemination.
If half your verse is not in Arabic,
the other half's in Persian and Turkic.
Compared to Arabic or to Persian,
Turkish is mud beside a pure fountain.
If you've the proper capability,
sieve out the mud, preserve but purity.¹

By contrast, almost two and a half centuries later, sometime between 1592 and 1598/99, the brilliant and prolific litterateur, Mustafa 'Âli (d. 1600), expressed vernacular triumph in a veritable language manifesto for Ottoman Turkish in the preface to his *Künhü'l-ahbâr* (The Essence of History):

The astonishing language current in the state of Rum, composed of four languages [West Turkish, Chaghatay Turkic, Arabic, and Persian], is a pure gilded tongue, which, in the speech of the literati, seems more difficult than any of these. If one were to equate speaking Arabic with a religious obligation (*farz*), and the use of Persian with a sanctioned tradition (*sünnet*), then the speaking of a Turkish made up of these sweetnesses becomes a meritorious act (*müstaḥabb*), and, in the view of those eloquent in Turkish, the use of simple Turkish should be forbidden.²

The poet Hoca Mes'ud was looking to the centers of Islamic learning for Persian and Arabic models, and he found his own idiom clumsy in its capacity to catch up with them. While implicitly boasting that he still manages to pull off the feat of composing a narrative poem in Turkish despite the fact that he considers this idiom unwieldy in its adaptation of Arabo-Persian rules of poetry, his poem nonetheless displays his fascination with and submission to these two prestigious literary traditions. Hoca Mes'ud's patrons, the Aydinids, were presiding over a courtly culture that attempted to outdo other local courts in Anatolia by adopting Arabo-Persian cultural models as conveyed to them by the Seljuks and their overlords, the Ilkhanid Mongols, while simultaneously trying to reflect the ethos of these models to their Turkophone subjects. At the end of the sixteenth century, on the other hand, Mustafa 'Ali was writing not as a court litterateur but as a self-conscious bureaucrat working in the full-fledged, proud literary tradition of Ottoman Turkish. Inasmuch as he conceptualizes the Ottoman Turkish language as a *summa* of Anatolian Turkish, Chaghatay Turkic, Arabic, and Persian, Mustafa 'Ali expresses a political theology in which the Ottoman imperial enterprise is conceived as heir to the grand political, religious, and cultural traditions of high Islam on par with Persian and Arabic. 'Atufi's inventory provides very interesting insights on the transition between these two stages of the Turkish literary tradition.

This first part of the present essay is about the Turkish and Turkic books of poetry and lexicography in the library inventory (henceforth referred to simply as "the inventory") of Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512), prepared by the palace librarian 'Atufi. Straddling literary and cultural history, I address the symbolic and political functions of Turkish in the Ottoman imperial venture, from the second half of the fifteenth century through the early sixteenth century, i.e., during the respective reigns of Mehmed II (r. 1444–46, 1451–81) and Bayezid II. The paper takes as a premise that the inventory expresses the politics of the patronage of learning and of the literary arts during the respective reigns of the aforesaid rulers. While my focus is on poetry and lexicography, I will also touch on other genres inasmuch as they pertain to the discussion of literary language. Although the section of Turkish/Turkic poetry books in 'Atufi's inventory also

includes historical narrative poetry, that subject is examined by other contributors to the present volume and is thus dealt with only cursorily here. In the first part, I give a general thematic and structural analysis of the distribution of Turkish/Turkic works in the inventory, followed by a discussion of issues involved in the identification of individual works, which are enumerated according to genre. In addition to the sections in 'Atufi's inventory that are dedicated to Turkish poetry and lexicography, I will also touch upon Turkish/Turkic works listed in other sections of the document, although they are discussed in greater detail by other contributors to the present volume.

The inventory contains approximately 200 titles in Turkish/Turkic. This may seem to be a small number compared to the more than 5,000 volumes in Arabic and Persian, the two prestige idioms in the Persianate Islamic world at the time. It is also disproportionately small if we compare it to the burgeoning Turkish literary output in the rest of the sixteenth century, which overshadowed the importance of Arabic and Persian after the 1590s in the Ottoman context. However, we should bear in mind that the Turkish literary tradition was much younger than the Persian and Arabic traditions. We should also compare the percentage of Turkish books in the library of Bayezid II to the number of vernacular-language works in contemporary Western royal libraries. Under the librarianship of the famous Bartolomeo Sacchi, known as "Platina," the librarian of Pope Sixtus IV (1471–84), the Vatican Library expanded to include about 3,500 volumes. Around the same time, the Corvinian Library of King Matthias of Hungary (r. 1458–90), the largest collection in the Christian world outside the Vatican at the time, had around 2,500 volumes; and the libraries of Henry VIII of England housed approximately 1,000 volumes after the sequestration of the holdings of English monasteries.³ Each of these libraries contained books almost exclusively written in Greek and Latin, i.e., the cosmopolitan languages of culture in the West during the Renaissance: the number of works in vernacular languages was probably minimal in the case of the Vatican, zero in the case of the Corvinian Library, and also relatively small in that of Henry VIII.

East of the Ottoman empire, the situation was no different. The number of Turkish books in Bayezid II's

collection certainly surpassed the holdings in other libraries of contemporary Turkophone dynasties in the Islamic world, such as the Aqqoyunlu or the Mamluks. It probably equaled or even exceeded the number of Turkic books in the collection of Sultan Husayn Bayqara's (r. 1470–1506) court in Herat, although we have no comparable royal book lists from the Timurid realm.⁴ This is despite the significant patronage and ideological importance given to Turkic there during the so-called "Timurid Renaissance," primarily at the instigation of the prominent Maecenas and litterateur of Turkic, Mir 'Ali Shir Nava'i (d. 1501). Just as there was a change in the role of Turkish in the Ottoman empire, particularly in its relation to Arabic and Persian, so too the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the Latin West saw the growing importance of vernacular languages—e.g., German, French, English, Italian, Spanish—in relation to the main prestige idiom, Latin. Undoubtedly, there was a sizeable literary tradition in such vernaculars prior to the fifteenth century, and some of these languages had already started to fulfill administrative and religious functions much earlier. In this period, however, vernaculars began to expand into new domains and absorbed much of the vocabulary, genres, topoi, and other features of the prestige languages, i.e., Latin in the West, Persian and Arabic in the Ottoman empire. Indeed, Ottoman and European vernacularization were not only conterminous but also structurally similar processes.

One of the questions addressed in this essay is how to situate the compiling of the inventory by 'Atufi into this story of linguistic and literary vernacularization, a phenomenon that is closely connected to other broad historical processes such as early modern state building and confessionalization. Could the Ottomans have turned to Persian as the language of power, i.e., the language of administration and the chief idiom for religious and creative literary purposes, keeping their Turkish vernacular at a lower register? This is in fact what had happened in the case of most other dynasties in the era from the Seljuks to the Mongols, the Qaraqoyunlu, the Aqqoyunlu, even the Timurids to a great extent; and this would also occur in Safavid Iran and Mughal India between the sixteenth and the early eighteenth centuries. Each of these Turkophone dynasties headed a Turkic

military and sponsored a Persophone bureaucracy. It should also be remarked that the expansion of Turkish into the domains hitherto reserved for Persian and Arabic was not even. In the Ottoman context, Arabic continued to be used at the madrasa, and it was reserved for fields like philosophy, theology, and the sciences. Turkish expanded primarily at the expense of Persian, which was the language of courtly *adab* culture, the dynasty, and Sufi mysticism.

The development of Turkish literary culture in Anatolia and the Balkans, however, stood in marked contrast to the development of Turkic literature under the other Turkophone regimes mentioned above. Before the region came under Ottoman dominion, Turkish had already been one of the languages of oral communication as well as literary expression at various Turkophone courts of the so-called *beyliks* (petty principalities that arose in the wake of declining Mongol and Seljuk control over Anatolia) and in Sufi circles. To what extent Ottoman Turkish culture, which became increasingly prominent after the mid-fifteenth century, and especially in the late sixteenth century, was a direct continuation of the traditions of fourteenth-century Anatolia remains a point of debate. As I will argue below, there seems to have been a shift in direction in the late fifteenth century in terms of the kind of Turkish literature patronized by the Ottoman elite, a process that came full circle by the late sixteenth century. The fact that the Ottomans ended up espousing Turkish as the language of culture and administration, i.e., "the language of power," to use Sheldon Pollock's phrase, arguably had as much to do with the political, social, and cultural context of the late fifteenth and sixteenth century in Ottoman-held territories as it did with the cultural capital Turkish had accumulated in the previous two centuries.⁵ In other words, I will also argue that the exponential increase in Turkish literary output in the latter half of the sixteenth century did not flow directly and organically from the literary traditions of the previous two centuries but was the result of new tastes and patronage networks under the imperial elite that took up key positions in the administration after the capture of Constantinople in 1453.

Indeed, this conquest of historic magnitude provided the Ottoman venture with a new symbolic meaning, an imperial consciousness of being the new Rome. The

Ottomans' consequent political, military, ideological, and religious competition with Christian powers in the West and Muslim powers in the East also brought about cultural engagement and exchange.⁶ The imperial mission, the enormous increase of resources that accompanied conquest and revenues, the intensive transfer of knowledge between Ottoman territories and the regions to the east and west, together with the search for various ways to project power both internally and externally, were all key factors in the Ottoman rulers' patronage of learning and the arts. In addition, the most important key positions in the central administration were filled by a new palace slave elite (Christian converts to Islam known as the *kul*), and there was a hierarchical network of institutions of religious instruction for training new religious and administrative cadres. The Ottoman dynasty and the new Ottoman elite espoused a distinctive imperial mission that synthesized ancient and current Mediterranean symbols of rule, as well as Islamo-Persianate and Turco-Mongol ideals.⁷

The imperial mission that perpetuated such a complex heritage could not be expressed in a single language; it was a highly multilingual undertaking. As illustrated by 'Atufi's inventory, the majority of the sultan's book collection was in Arabic and Persian, and only a relatively small number of works were in Turkish/Turkic. Remarkably, however, most of the existing modern scholarship on Turkish literature is dedicated solely to the Turkish production of the Ottomans, either neglecting its relationship with Arabic and Persian entirely, or thinking about Turkish literature only in terms of the philological correspondence between Ottoman and Persian or Arabic works. Further, classical Orientalist scholarship, which is rife with decline theories about the Islamic world in general and the Ottoman empire in particular in the service of a Western colonizing narrative, maintained that the Ottoman project was of a secondary, derivative nature, and that Ottoman literary culture was at best a pale imitation of the grand traditions of Persian and Arabic.⁸ Much Turkish nationalist historiography, on the other hand, which arose in the wake of the paradigmatic Fuad Köprülü (d. 1966), emphasized the specifically Turkish character of Turkish literature, claiming it derived mainly from Central Asian origins.⁹ It would be futile to deny the importance of the relation-

ship between Oghuz Turkish literature produced in Anatolia and other Turkish literary traditions that sprung up in Central and Inner Asia. However, the precise nature of this relationship is open to debate, and such a nationalist thesis fails to adequately consider the complexity of cultural dynamics, especially literary multilingualism, at Anatolian courts and among certain dervish communities, as the breeding ground for a Turkish literary idiom. Despite its shortcomings, this thesis calls attention to the fact that, by the early fourteenth century, the waning Seljuk or Ilkhanid courts were less capable of projecting political prestige or providing literary and artistic models at the *beyliks* of Anatolia. The nascent courts of these principalities engaged in cultural competition with each other, and thus sponsored literature and learning mainly in Arabic and Persian and, to a lesser degree, in Turkish. The courts of independent dynasties such as the Germiyanids, the Aydinids, or the Ottomans themselves, were therefore highly multilingual literary settings. Most recently, Selim Kuru and Sara Nur Yıldız have decried the fact that, despite the multilingualism of the cultural scene in fourteenth- to fifteenth-century Anatolia—which we can extend to the period under consideration here as well, i.e., to the late fifteenth into the early sixteenth century—most modern literary historiography is only concerned with the rise of a Turkish vernacular as the cultural-political expression of the Turkophone elite. Ironically, as Sara Nur Yıldız argues in her article about the literary culture patronized at the Aydinid court in West Anatolia (1308–1426), it was the increased availability of patronage to Persian and Arabic; the growing volume of literary output in these two languages; and the resultant need to convey such literary products to an audience unversed in Persian and Arabic that produced literary works in the Turkish vernacular. This analysis can be extended to the Ottomans as well.¹⁰ In other words, vernacularization may well have resulted from the multilingualism of the courtly context and the patronage available to literary production therein, rather than being the product of some putative, rising proto-nationalist consciousness on the part of the Ottoman elite in pursuit of pro-Turkish language policies. In short, more Persian and Arabic literary production triggered more Turkish literature. This is corroborated by the book list of the Ottoman

scholar-statesman Mü'eyyedzade 'Abd al-Rahman Efendi's personal library from 922/1516, which contains approximately 2,000 items, including twenty to twenty-five entries in Turkish.¹¹ We may also speculate that since the new palace elite, the *kul*, largely came from the *devşirme* and had to be taught Turkish, it would have been impractical to also teach them Persian on a sufficiently advanced level to make everyday communication in Persian possible. In addition, knowledge of Turkish may well have been an identity marker for Turkophone Muslims and the *kul*, which further strengthened the position of Turkish. Perhaps even more importantly, the other Turkophone dynasties, such as the Aqqoyunlu and the Timurids, ruled regions with strong urban elites that perpetuated Iranian notions of authority, supported by language ideologies related to Persian. In the Ottoman realm, however, urban life was dominated by languages other than Turkish, such as Greek, Armenian, and Serbo-Croatian-Bosnian, with Turkish increasingly rising to prominence. In Ottoman lands, Persian literary culture was thus maintained primarily in court circles as part of *adab* and in dervish communities, and was strengthened at times by the influx of Persophone literati from the East.

DISTRIBUTION OF TURKISH/TURKIC BOOKS IN THE INVENTORY

The Turkish contents of the palace library inventory have been analyzed by İsmail Erünsal in a number of excellent articles.¹² What follows is a more thorough account of the Turkish works in the inventory accompanied by a cultural-historical analysis focused on issues such as the state, status, and cultural-political function of Turkish in the Ottoman empire from the mid-fifteenth through the very early sixteenth century, especially vis-à-vis the two prestige languages of the Islamic world, Arabic and Persian. I also discuss the significance of Turkish books for the Ottoman project, the possible collecting policies of the Ottoman court regarding Turkish books, and the function of such policies in relation to the Ottoman imperial enterprise.

As has already been indicated above, 'Atufi dedicates a special section of the inventory to Turkish and Turkic

books of poetry. This is significant in and of itself, in that it demonstrates a high linguistic consciousness on his part, and suggests that he attached particular importance to works written in the Turkish vernacular. As 'Atufi points out in the Turkish preface to the inventory, it is only for works written in verse that he has linguistically separate sections for Arabic, Persian, and Turkish/Turkic, respectively, categorizing other works according to genre and subject matter. 'Atufi places every versified Turkish work under the category of Turkish divans, unless he considers a particular work to be highly significant or foundational for its genre, in which case he places it within the relevant discipline.¹³

As Erünsal also observes, 'Atufi faced a problem when a single volume contained multiple works written in different genres or languages.¹⁴ Indeed, in a number of cases, Turkish works appear alongside Persian or Arabic ones in the same volume. If a volume contains more than one work, 'Atufi categorizes it either under the subject that is the most dominant in the volume, or the subject that is the most important to him, or that might have attracted the most readers. When a Turkish work is found in a volume together with works in Arabic or Persian, that volume is never listed in the section on Turkish divans, which arguably indicates the lower rank of Turkish vis-à-vis the two prestige idioms. For example, both of the known divans of Qabuli (d. 1478), a member of the coterie of poets surrounding Bayezid II, include mostly Persian poems and only a handful in Turkish; 'Atufi places this work in the Persian poetry section. However, since we have no information about the chronology of Qabuli's poems, we should consider the possibility that Qabuli wrote poems in Turkish only later on in his life, or that his Turkish pieces simply may have been left out of the copy consulted by the learned cataloguer. In this case, it is also possible the manuscript of Qabuli's divan that 'Atufi registered in the inventory contained no Turkish poems at all.¹⁵ Another noteworthy example is a volume with heterogeneous contents, including Qutbüddinzade İzniki's (d. 1480) jurisprudential *Mukaddima* (Introduction), which the cataloguer lists among works on jurisprudence. 'Atufi thereby prioritizes Qutbüddinzade's jurisprudential work over the other works and genres represented in this volume: 'Aşık Paşa's (d. 1332) *Ğaribnâme* (The Book of the Sufi), a

lengthy Sufi didactic poem; Elvan-i Shirazi's (d. after 1426) Turkish translation of Shabistari's (d. 1340) mystical treatise entitled *Gulshan-i Rāz* (The Rose Garden of Secrets); Şeyhoğlu Mustafa's (d. 1414?) romantic narrative poem *Hurşidnâme* (The Book of *Hurşid*); another, unidentifiable romantic narrative poem entitled *Hüsrev ü Şîrîn*; and an unknown work on astrology with the title *Kitāb al-mulhama* (Book of Inspiration by the Stars).¹⁶ In two cases, 'Atufi misidentifies works: he is apparently unaware that the *Hibat al-ḥaqā'iq* (The Gift of Truths), which he classifies as a work on Sufism, is the same as a *Risāla* (Treatise) written in "Mongolian," i.e., in the Uyghur script, which he places in the Turkish poetry section. Both titles, however, refer to the same didactic Sufi work better known as *Atabat al-ḥaqā'iq* (The Threshold of Realities) written by Ahmed Yükneci in the twelfth century in a literary idiom usually referred to as Qarakhanid Turkic.¹⁷ A similar confusion is evident in the case of the *divan* of Lutfi (d. 1462–63?), one copy of which is penned in Arabic and listed in the Anatolian/Ottoman Turkish poetry subsection, whereas four other copies of the work, which are written in the Uyghur script, are placed in the Chaghatay Turkic (*Mughūliyya*) subsection. It thus appears that 'Atufi may have been confused by the different scripts—and possibly the different titles—used for various manuscripts of the same work. In this case, he might have had in mind a different author named Lutfi, for example, the Anatolian Turkish poet with this penname who is included in 'Ömer b. Mezzid's (d. after 1437) collection of poetic paraphrases from 840/1437, to be mentioned below.¹⁸ Similar to 'Atufi's treatment of Persian and Arabic, it is only Turkish/Turkic *poetry* that gets a separate section in the inventory, whereas other Turkish/Turkic works are included in various other sections according to their subject matter, although they are very often placed close to each other within these other sections. There are also entries that cannot be identified at all (or only conjecturally), as well as ones where the author can be identified but the work is not placed in the Turkish poetry section for the above-mentioned reasons.

The section on Turkish/Turkic poetry lists eighty-six titles, which are distributed in eighty-three volumes. These are broken down into eight subsections according to genre and literary idiom. 'Atufi distinguishes between

two Turkic/Turkish literary traditions: Anatolian Turkish, which is referred to in the inventory as *Turkī*, and Chaghatay Turkish or Chaghatay Turkic, which 'Atufi refers to as Mongolian (*Mughūliyya*) and Tatar (*Tātārī*), a distinction I will return to a little later. The subsections are the following:

1. Anatolian or Ottoman Turkish *divans*: nos. 1–14.
2. Works of Mir 'Ali Shir Nava'i: nos. 15–21.
3. "Mongolian" *divans*: nos. 22–26.
4. Anthologies of Turkish poetry: nos. 27–31.
5. Turkish didactic or narrative verse: nos. 32–58.
6. "Mongolian" didactic or narrative verse: nos. 59–62.
7. Turkish *mawlıds* (poems celebrating the birth of the Prophet) and lives of prophets: nos. 63–70.
8. Turkish historical narrative verse: nos. 71–82.

Anatolian or Ottoman Turkish Divans

The first subsection, Anatolian Turkish poetry, has fifteen titles, to which we should add thirteen further titles found in the sections on jurisprudence and Persian poetry. Of the books on this list and other pertinent Turkish poetry books, not one dates from before the fifteenth century and virtually all are related to the Ottoman court or the Ottoman elite from the reigns of Mehmed II and Bayezid II. It thus appears that many of the manuscripts were acquired through the personal connections of the sultans or their court personnel. It also appears that Mehmed II and Bayezid II and the palace elite surrounding them had little interest in the Turkish poetry of the preceding period, i.e., the literature practiced at the courts of the so-called *beyliks* of Anatolia.

There are very few books of courtly poetry from the fourteenth through the first half of the fifteenth century, or earlier. Such volumes in the inventory are the *divans* of Ahmed-i Da'i (d. after 1421) and Ahmedi (d. 1412–13). Ahmedi started out as an Aydınid and later became a Germiyanid protégé, but after the fall of the latter polity to Ottoman hands, he found patronage with the Ottoman sultan Mehmed I (r. 1413–21). One of the possible reasons that Ahmedi's *divan* was acquired by the palace library is the importance and prestige of the author's *İskendernâme* (Alexander Romance), a versified world history based on the Persian *Shāhnāma* tradition and

Tabari's chronicle. It inserts early Ottoman history into a broader narrative of world history, which would later become a highly important subject for Ottoman manuscript illustration. Ahmedi was also noted as a poet of ghazals, as is attested by the inclusion of some of his lyrics in contemporary collections of *naẓīres* (parallel poems, imitations, paraphrases).¹⁹ Another of the few poets represented in the inventory from before the reign of Mehmed II is Safi, a painter from Bursa who was active during the reign of Murad II (r. 1421–51).²⁰

The new generation of poets at the courts of Mehmed II and Bayezid II is arguably best represented by Ahmed Pasha (d. 1496–97). As will be discussed below, he is one of the poets whose highly Persianized language—a style perhaps partly inspired by Hafiz's (d. ca. 1390) Persian poetry as well as Timurid models and most prominently by Nava'i—was important in the adaptation of Turkish to Arabo-Persian poetic meters and in the appropriation of the Arabic and Persian vocabulary of high-style verse.²¹ In Bursa, he held a veritable literary salon with poets like Hariri, Resmi, Miri, Remzi, Çağşırı, Şeyhi, and Hamidi, whose poetry was not compiled in divans.²² There were other poets, such as Melihi, who were also held in great esteem at the court at the time but whose poetry was not collected in divans and who are therefore not listed by 'Atufi.²³

We find divans and other books of poetry by prominent members of Sufi orders that were closely associated with the courts of Mehmed II or Bayezid II, such as Dede 'Ömer Revşeni (d. 1487), a shaykh of the Halveti order. This is unsurprising, given that the Halvetis were important supporters of Bayezid in his bid for the throne, associating with him already when he was governor of Amasya as a prince. We should mention Şeyh Vefa (d. 1491) as well, who belonged to the Zeyniyye Sufi order but was also affiliated with the Mevlevis. He founded a dervish lodge in Istanbul, an important hub of poets, which was funded by Mehmed II. Bayezid II augmented the lodge with a madrasa, despite the fact that Şeyh Vefa had supported Prince Cem (d. 1495), Bayezid II's brother and rival in the struggle for the throne. As for the divan of Şeyh Vefa, it is placed in the Persian poetry section of the inventory. It has two extant manuscripts, both of which carry the seal of Bayezid II. However, only one of them (Süleymaniye, Fatih 3899) contains Turkish po-

etry, in addition to poems in Arabic and Persian. Therefore it is more likely, although not entirely certain, that 'Atufi would have placed the other copy (Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 3925) among the Persian divans.²⁴ The literary activities of the dervish lodge founded by Şeyh Vefa likely influenced the Ottoman court in general and the palace library in particular, which should not be surprising, considering that 'Atufi's predecessor as royal librarian, Molla Lutfi (d. 1495), was one of Şeyh Vefa's disciples. 'Atufi's inventory contains two works by another disciple of Şeyh Vefa, Safa'i of Sinop (d. 1491): a historical narrative poem on the conquest of Lepanto and Methoni; and the poetic summary of the Sufi legacy of Şeyh Vefa, whom Safa'i succeeded as shaykh of the dervish lodge after Şeyh Vefa's death.²⁵ As will be discussed below, we can also find traces of literary activities in Turkish by members of the Bayramiyye order, such as Hamdullah Hamdi (d. 1503), the son of Mehmed II's spiritual advisor, Akşemseddin (d. 1459); and İbrahim Tennuri, another prominent Bayramiyye shaykh and Hamdullah Hamdi's mentor. Inasmuch as these Sufi traditions and networks were formative for Ottoman piety, the poets affiliated with them—or rather, the members in their ranks who wrote poetry—were instrumental in the formation of the literary and poetic manifestation of that piety, an increasing part of which was in Ottoman Turkish.

A few prominent circles of Ottoman poets who did not originally write for the central court are also represented in the inventory. One is the coterie of poets at the Konya princely court of Cem Sultan, son of Mehmed II, who is well-known for both his Persian and Turkish poetry and whose works are placed in the inventory's Persian poetry section.²⁶ One of the poets at his court was La'li (d. before 1538–39?), whose divan is listed in the section of Persian poetry. But La'li surely wrote in Turkish as well, as Sehi Beg (d. 1548) notes in his biographical entry on La'li, although we do not know whether the particular copy inventoried by 'Atufi also contained writing in Turkish.²⁷ In the Persian poetry section of the inventory is also the divan of Tali'i of Kastamonu (d. before 1548), who, together with Necati and Sun'i, was in the circle of Prince Mahmud (d. 1506), son of Bayezid II. After the prince's death, Tali'i filled various secretarial jobs, including secretary of the Janissary corps. The

sources mention both his Persian and Turkish divans, but only the former is extant.²⁸

We should also mention Firaki, who is featured in the Persian section of the inventory, but whom Erünsal mentions as a Turkish poet. Erünsal probably has Firaki the Preacher (*Va'iz*) in mind, who, according to the biographical anthology of poets by Latifi (d. 1582), came from a line of shaykhs in Kütahya and was in the circle of Lami'i Çelebi (d. 1532). Little is known of Firaki's poetry, except for quotations of his work in Latifi and a ghazal in the *Cāmi'ü'n-nezā'ir* (Compendium of Paraphrase Poems), an anthology of poetic paraphrases compiled by Hacı Kemal of Eğridir in 1512.²⁹ The Persian poetry section of the inventory also lists the divan of Zati (?), although whether this refers to the prominent Ottoman Turkish poet of the first half of the sixteenth century is uncertain. As we do not know of Zati's (d. 1546) Persian poetry from any other source, it is difficult to ascertain whether his placement in the Persian section is due to oversight or whether the learned librarian had access to a copy of Zati's divan that might have contained at least some Persian. Of course, it is also possible that the Zati included in the Persian section of the inventory is a different versifier and not the famous Ottoman poet.³⁰

There are also entries of divans in the inventory that we cannot identify, such as that of a certain Mübarek and one 'Ali.³¹ The inventory lists two divans as belonging to an author named Haqiqi, one in the section of Persian poetry and another under Turkish books. We know of two poets by this name in the general time period: Jahanshah "Haqiqi" (d. 1467), a prominent ruler of the Turkmen Qaraqoyunlu dynasty that governed northwestern Iran, eastern Anatolia, and northeastern Iraq between 1375 and 1468, who was a bilingual poet of Turkic and Persian. Alternatively, this Haqiqi may be the Sufi poet Yusuf Haqiqi (d. 1488), although we do not know of his Persian poetry.³²

The period from the latter half of the fifteenth through the first half of the sixteenth century saw the migration of literati from the core Iranian lands to the Ottoman empire, many of them prompted by the promise of patronage and prestige.³³ Quite a few of these Persophone and, at least in a few cases, possibly bilingual, émigrés indulged in writing in Turkish on occasion, in addition

to Persian. One such poet was Qabuli (d. 1478), whose divan, compiled in 880/1475, is included in the inventory. A poet of Iranian origin, Qabuli arrived in the Ottoman empire after a stint at the court of the Aqqoyunlu ruler Farrukh-siyar (r. 1465–1500). He first stayed at the court of Prince Bayezid, the future sultan, in Amasya and then tried his luck at the court of Mehmed II, apparently with little success. As indicated above, Qabuli had two divans, both of which contain a separate short section of Turkish poetry, and a few other Turkish poems of his have been preserved in anthologies.³⁴ Another Persian émigré was Basiri (d. 1534–35). Prior to Bayezid II, Basiri was patronized by the Aqqoyunlu prince Ughurlu Muhammad b. Uzun Hasan Bayandur (d. 1477) and Ya'qub b. Uzun Hasan (r. 1478–90). In approximately 1487, Basiri appeared at the court of Husayn Bayqara in Herat, where he became acquainted with Mir 'Ali Shir Nava'i and 'Abd al-Rahman Jami, both of whose poetry, according to Latifi, he brought to the Ottoman empire. Basiri arrived in the Ottoman empire as an envoy of the Aqqoyunlu ruler Ahmed Gövde (Göde, r. 1497–98), who was born from a daughter of Bayezid II, and entered the circles of such grandees and maecenases of the Ottoman elite as Tacizade Ca'fer Çelebi, Mü'eyyeddade 'Abd al-Rahman Çelebi, and Defterdar İskender Çelebi. Sources refer to both his Persian and Turkish divans, but only the former is extant with a section of Turkish inserted into it.³⁵ Another poet whose divan is listed in the Persian section of the inventory, although it contains Turkish pieces as well, is Hamidi (d. 1485). Born in Isfahan, he spent some time in Baku under the tutelage of the Shirvanshah, and also in Kastamonu under the Jandarid Isma'il Beg (r. 1443–61). Later Hamidi became a protégé of Mahmud Pasha (d. 1474), Mehmed II's grand vizier, who managed to pave the way for Hamidi to the sultan's court. However, Hamidi fell out of favor and had to be content with his appointment as guardian of the mausoleum of Murad I in Bursa.³⁶ Finally, we should mention Visali, a poet from Aydın who lived in Edirne during the reigns of Bayezid II and Selim I (r. 1512–20) and served as instructor for the *ğilmân-ı hâşşa* (palace pages).³⁷

There are still other poets whose divans are listed in the section of either the Persian or the Arabic divans. One is Kami, whose divan is placed in the Arabic poetry

section. As 'Atufi provides no additional language markers, we might assume the work is in Arabic, although we should also consider the possibility that Kami's divan is only placed in the Arabic poetry section because the work with which it was bound, titled *Kitāb dābiṭat ḥall mu'ammā* (The Rules of Solving Riddles), is in Arabic. Erünsal believes this Kami is a Turkish poet, in all likelihood having in mind Kami of Kastamonu, who is mentioned by Sehi Beg together with a quote from Kami's Turkish poetry.³⁸ Similarly, Latifi claims that Le'ali, a poet from the reign of Mehmed II, who is also mentioned in the inventory, wrote in both Turkish and Persian, but only his Turkish divan is extant.³⁹

In certain cases, Erünsal boldly identifies works listed in other sections of the inventory as Turkish. Often, his reason for doing so is that the poets in question are mentioned in the sources along with a quotation of their poetry in Turkish. However, there are a number of instances where more caution is warranted. First, the fact that several of the works designated by Erünsal as Turkish are placed alongside Persian divans in 'Atufi's inventory should give us pause; more likely, these divans contained only, or at least mostly, Persian poetry. For instance, the Persian poetry section lists the autograph copy of Ahmed-i Da'i's divan without indication of any other language. Perhaps the entry refers to another, Persophone, Da'i, but more probably this is Ahmed-i Da'i's Persian divan, since Ahmed-i Da'i's Turkish divan features in the Turkish poetry section in the inventory.⁴⁰ Erünsal also states that the entry of Ahmed-i Da'i's *Kitāb sittā* (Six Books) is relevant for Turkish poetry; the entry is listed in the Persian poetry section of 'Atufi's inventory, however, and there is nothing to indicate that it refers to a work in Turkish.⁴¹ Another poet Erünsal identifies as Turkish but who was classified by 'Atufi as Persian is the renowned statesman-scholar of Mehmed II's court, Karamani Mehmed Pasha, who used the nom de plume "Nişani" (d. 1481). Today, his poetry in Turkish, Persian, and Arabic survives only in anthologies, since it was never collected in a comprehensive divan. Therefore, 'Atufi designates the copy of Nişani's works as a collection of ghazals and qasidas in the inventory, rather than a properly arranged divan. However, one wonders if this particular volume might have contained Turkish poetry, too.⁴²

The majority of these poets lived during the reign of either Mehmed II or Bayezid II, although some would flourish subsequently under Selim I. Most of the poets were closely associated with the imperial court, signifying that they did not come from the patronage networks at the courts of the *beyliks* or from the period before the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul. These poets were read by the new palace elite, which, as has been emphasized above, was dominated by the so-called *kul*, patronized by the Ottoman sultans and granted primacy by them beginning with Mehmed II. The preponderance in the inventory of poets coming from the circles around the courts of Mehmed II and Bayezid II also suggests the highly selective nature of the royal library collection when it came to Turkish books.

Eastern Turkic Works: The Poetry of Mir 'Ali Shir Nava'i

The section in the inventory listing Turkish/Turkic books of poetry contains three subsections dedicated to Eastern Turkic works, which is significant and shows the high prestige of the Timurid and, more broadly, Turco-Mongol cultural-political traditions. One of these subsections is devoted exclusively to works by Mir 'Ali Shir Nava'i (d. 1499), the most important figure of the Eastern or Chaghatay Turkic literary tradition, whose prestige was so enormous that 'Atufi felt it warranted a separate subsection. Nava'i made it his life's work to produce works in Turkic in almost every genre of the Persianate literary tradition. This was achievable only by thoroughly imbuing Chaghatay Turkic with features of Persian in terms of tropes, vocabulary, rhetoric, etc. The Eastern or Chaghatay Turkic literary tradition, especially in the form patronized by the Timurids, had a huge impact on the formation of the Ottoman tradition. All of the previous Turkic polities that ruled the Iranian-Islamic world since the beginning of the second millennium had abandoned their Turkic literary pursuits, if they had any, and espoused Persian as the language of culture. The Turco-Mongol Timurids, however, had a strong Mongol identity, and their cadre of Turkophone secretaries perpetuated Turkic literacy in the Arabic and the Uyghur scripts; and Sufi traditions in Central Asia were also producing literature in Turkic. As a language for cultural communication, Turkic received lavish support under the Timurids.⁴³ At the same time, being heirs

to Irano-Islamic culture, they gave generous patronage to Persian literary pursuits as well, one of the best-known examples being ‘Abd al-Rahman Jami, who was invited to Istanbul by Mehmed II.

The impact of Timurid culture (and Turkic with it) on the Ottomans is symbolized in the well-known story preserved by Latifi. According to this account, Nava’i sent thirty-three ghazals as a gift to Bayezid II, who, as a gesture of competition and also acknowledgment of the cultural prestige of the Timurid poet, then ordered his aging poet laureate and former grand vizier Ahmed Paşa to write poetic replies or paraphrases (*naẓīre*) to each of the ghazals.⁴⁴ Indeed, the practice of writing Chaghatay Turkic poems in Nava’i’s style continued among Ottoman literati down to the nineteenth century. The transfer of Nava’i’s oeuvre was carried out at least in part by intellectuals flocking to the Ottoman court from Timurid lands, such as the aforementioned Basiri, who arrived from Husayn Bayqara’s court in Herat to Bayezid II in the early 1480s. Carrying recommendations from Nava’i and Jami, he ingratiated himself with the Ottoman ruler by presenting to him a copy of Nava’i’s divan.⁴⁵

The Nava’i entries in the inventory indicate not only the propaganda efforts of the Timurid court of Husayn Bayqara and the success of those efforts, but also show the extent to which the thoroughly Persianized Turkic literary idiom of Nava’i resonated with the tastes of the new Ottoman court elite. Moreover, the presence of so many copies of Nava’i’s divan in the inventory suggests that the prestige of the Eastern Turkic literary tradition in the eyes of its Ottoman enthusiasts had at least as much or perhaps even more to do with the personal efforts of Nava’i to impress Ottoman Istanbul as with the prestige of Timurid Herat more broadly. As illustrated by other essays in the present volume, ‘Atufi indicates that many Persian and Arabic works existed in multiple copies in Bayezid II’s library. It is telling for the status of Turkish in the collection that Nava’i’s divan is one of the few Turkish/Turkic works with multiple copies, and that of all such works registered in the inventory, Nava’i’s divan has the highest number of copies.

Interestingly, the inventory does not list Nava’i’s *Kulliyāt* or his complete works. Therefore, we can deduce that the Nava’i *Kulliyāt*s extant in Turkish manu-

script holdings must be later acquisitions or commissions by the courts of subsequent sultans, perhaps Selim I, Süleyman (r. 1520–66), or even later rulers. As observed by Judith Pfeiffer in her essay in the present volume, another agent in the transfer of Nava’i’s oeuvre to the Ottoman court is the aforementioned Mü’eyyadzade, who had to flee from the Ottoman empire during the reign of Mehmed II. Mü’eyyadzade spent several years in Shiraz and was only invited back to Ottoman lands when Bayezid II succeeded to the throne in 1481.⁴⁶

Other Eastern Turkic Poetry (“Mongolian” Divans and Romances)

There are two other subsections consisting of books that the cataloguer regarded as coming from the Eastern Turkic literary tradition. In one of these subsections, we find Gada’i and Lutfi from the Timurid Chaghatay Turkic tradition. As with the works of Nava’i, ‘Atufi notes the language of these divans as “Mongolian” (*al-mughūliyya*). The designation probably permitted the cataloguer to distinguish between the Anatolian and Chaghatay Turkic traditions. Aside from this, ‘Atufi may have been inspired by the Uyghur scriptural traditions maintained by the Timurids; indeed, we know of Uyghur scribes occasionally working for the Ottomans. As has already been mentioned, the Uyghur script was part of the Chingisid heritage adhered to by the early Timurids. For the Ottomans, and for Mehmed II in particular, it seems the Uyghur script served mainly a ceremonial purpose, being used on occasion for the composition of *yarlıghs* (diplomas) or *fethnāmes* (declarations of conquest); and use of the Uyghur script is also attested in early fourteenth-century Anatolia, when it was still under Ilkhanid Mongol rule. We also know of poetry written by Ottomans that has survived in the Uyghur script. Sporadic use of the script fit Mehmed II’s broad cultural-political policies that were aimed to unify Mediterranean, Perso-Islamic, and nomadic conceptions of authority.⁴⁷

‘Atufi glosses two other works as *al-mughūliyya* (Mongolian) that linguists today would describe as coming from different traditions. One is the divan of Sayf-i Sarayī, who was a military slave active in Mamluk Egypt in the fourteenth century but originally came from Khwarazm.⁴⁸ Historical linguists classify the work as Mamluk Qipchaq. The other is the divan of one Mir

Hidayat, who may be the same Hidayat known from the court of Ya'qub the Aqqoyunlu and who left a divan written in Turkish. However, Hidayat's yet unpublished divan is not in Chaghatay, but in the third literary dialect of the Muslim Turkish tradition spoken in Iran, which we can call Azeri or Ajemi Turkic. For 'Atufi, both works were written in "Mongolian," i.e., in a literary idiom that he associated with the steppe traditions of the former Mongol empire, despite the fact that one of these works came from Egypt, and the other from western Iran. In this regard, we should also mention Qutb, who penned a Nizami paraphrase romance titled *Khusraw u Shīrīn* in Qipchaq Turkic between 727–40/1327–40 in Saray, the capital of the Golden Horde. The work was written for Cemile Khatun, the wife of Özbek Khan's (d. 1341) son Tini Beg (d. 1342). It is known to have survived in a single copy, executed by one Berke b. Baraqiz Qandud b. Edgü in Egypt in 785/1383.⁴⁹ The provenance of Sayf-i Saray's Mamluk Qipchaq work, the origin of the sole known copy of Mahmud Kashghari's *Dīwān lughāt al-turk* (Compendium of the Turkic Dialects) written in Qarakhanid Turkic and discussed further below, as well as the provenance of the copies of both, not to mention Qutb's *Khusraw u Shīrīn*, all point to Mamluk Egypt as another possible source of Eastern Turkic works for the Ottomans.⁵⁰

The other subsection of "Mongolian" verse comprises romances, such as the aforesaid *Khusraw u Shīrīn* by Qutb, Haydar Khwarizmi's (d. first half of the fifteenth century) *Gul u Nawrūz* (Gul and Navruz) from 1411, which is a paraphrase of Jalal-i Tabib's (d. 1395–96) Persian work, and Haydar Khwarizmi's version of Nizami's *Makhzan al-asrār* (The Treasury of Mysteries),⁵¹ which is in an anthology written in the Uyghur script, accompanied by interlinear transcription in the Arabic script. It can be safely said that this manuscript in the Uyghur script is identical with Ayasofya 4757 in the Süleymaniye Library, which was executed by the scribe 'Abd al-Razzaq Bakhshi in Istanbul in 884/1480. Remarkably, the volume also contains a copy of Ahmed Yükeki's *Atabat al-ḥaqā'iq*, another Qarakhanid Turkish work with Ottoman Turkish annotations, in Uyghur and Arabic script, which scholars date to the twelfth century.⁵² Finally, we should mention a translation of al-Busiri's (d. 1294) *al-Burda* (The Mantle), a famous panegyric on the Prophet

Muhammad: *Risālat tarjamat al-Burda bi-naẓm lugha tātār* (Translation of the Burda in Verse in the Tatar Language).⁵³ The work is likely in Chaghatay (or Qipchaq) Turkic; the fact that 'Atufi designates its language as Tatar and not Mongolian might indicate that the work was written in the Arabic script but in a Turkic idiom that the cataloguer regarded as distinct from his own and perhaps also as different from the idiom used by Nava'i. This matter needs further research.

Anthologies of Turkish Poetry

The next subsection of Turkic/Turkish poetry is dedicated to anthologies. Four of the five are difficult to identify, but one may very well be 'Ömer b. Mezid's *Mecmū'atü'n-neẓā'ir* (Anthology of Paraphrase Poems) completed in 840/1437, which is a collection of "reply poems," i.e., paraphrases or imitations of other works. Compiled during the reign of Murad II, this collection contains 397 poems written by 84 poets from the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century. In all likelihood considered a rarity even during the reign of Bayezid II, the anthology survives in a single manuscript, and it is among the very few examples of poetry from before the second half of the fifteenth century in the inventory.⁵⁴ The divans of most poets included in it are no longer extant, and several of the poets are unlikely to have collected their poetry in a divan. Such an anthology serves both as an inventory of the past and as a source of poetic models for contemporary poets. A few years after 'Atufi composed the inventory, another important anthology of paraphrases was compiled by Hacı Kemal with the title *Cāmi'ü'n-neẓā'ir* (Compendium of Paraphrase Poems) in 918/1512. Containing 2,848 poems by 262 poets, this anthology is a quantum leap above 'Ömer Mezid's and may reflect the enormous increase in poets seeking patronage at the time, as indicated in a register of gifts from Bayezid's court, which will be discussed further below.⁵⁵

Of the four unidentifiable anthologies of poetry, one is listed as having been written "in the Turkic script," and the other, in "the old Turkic script." Both of these comments likely refer to the Uyghur script, although it is impossible to determine why 'Atufi does not use the term "Mongolian" here as he does in the case of other works written in the Uyghur script. No such anthology

is known to be extant at the present time; however, the very existence of these two anthologies in the inventory attests to the breadth of Mehmed II's cultural program, which included an interest in the Chingisid heritage. At the same time, the fact that minimal information about these works is provided in the inventory—we can only glean that they are anthologies (*mecmū'a*) and that they are possibly written in the Uyghur script—might also hint at 'Atufi's unfamiliarity with this literary tradition, which he probably considered somewhat alien or exotic.

This list of poetry anthologies is significant. The rest of the sixteenth century saw a great deal of anthologizing, with the aforesaid two anthologies of Ottoman Turkish poetic paraphrases followed by two other monumental collections: that of Nazmi of Edirne written before 967/1559, and of Pervane b. 'Abd Allah, which was probably compiled in 968/1560-61. We should also mention the wave of Ottoman biographical anthologies of poets that was inspired by Timurid models, and that the first of these anthologies, from Sehi Beg to Latifi to 'Aşık Çelebi (d. 1572), explicitly cited 'Abd al-Rahman Jami's and Nava'i's biographical anthologies as models. 'Abd al-Rahman Jami and Nava'i were representatives of the widespread literary inventorying that occurred under the Timurids, who endeavored to sponsor the "codification and systematization of the tradition."⁵⁶

The importance of these collections is particularly well borne out if we consider that premodern anthologies of poetry are spaces for memory as well as models for future works. They are both personal, reflecting the anthologizer's particular taste, and potentially communal, serving a whole "textual community," to use Brian Stock's phrase, i.e., a network of people with varying degrees of literacy who might either access a certain text directly by reading it, or indirectly, by listening to its recitation.⁵⁷

Turkish Didactic and Narrative Verse: Maṣnavīs

The next subsection, which includes works of advice and narrative poetry, most of them *maṣnavīs*, is the largest one in the entire section on Turkish poetry, with 29 titles, a number complemented by titles in other sections of the inventory. *Maṣnavī* is not a genre but a poetic form consisting of poems written in couplets. Lyric poetry is rarely written in *maṣnavī* form, which is usu-

ally reserved for subject matter also contained in other sections of the inventory: religious didactics, versified biographies of the Prophet, and romances written primarily in the fourteenth to fifteenth century under the inspiration of Persian classical courtly *adab*.

One such romance is the quasi-historical *İskender-nāme* (Alexander Romance), which may well be Ahmedi's famous *İskendernāme* mentioned above, or an unidentified work titled *Şāhinşāhnāme* (Book of the King of Kings), which is described as a chronicle.⁵⁸ The section of the inventory on biography and history lists another work under this title, which is said to have been translated from Greek, but it is difficult to tell whether this is also Ahmedi's work or a prose *İskendernāme*.⁵⁹ Of the very rich romance poetry from the fourteenth to the first half of the fifteenth century, there are only a handful of examples represented in the inventory, such as Hoca Mes'ud's *Süheyl ü Nevbahār*, written in 1350 and quoted at the beginning of this essay; the *Ḥurşid ve Farahşād* by Şeyhoğlu Mustafa (d. 1414?); the *Hümā ve Hümāyün* by Cemali (d. ca. 1512), a poet likely from Bursa or Karaman who started his career during the reign of Murad II and lived through the reign of Bayezid II, enjoying the patronage of such Ottoman grandees as Çandarlı Halil Pasha (d. 1453) and Mahmud Pasha, both grand viziers under Mehmed II. Cemali dedicated his *Hüma ve Hümāyün* to Murad II in 850/1446. Also listed in this subsection is the *Hüsrev ü Şirîn*, which can be attributed to either Fahri (b. after 1318), who dedicated his version of the story to the Aydınid 'İsa Beg in 768/1367; Tutmacı, who wrote his version, titled *Gül ü Hüsrev* and based on 'Attar's Persian *Khusrawnāma* (Book of Khusraw), in 808/1406; or Şeyhi (d. after 1429), who penned his work sometime between 1421 and 1430, dedicating it to Murad II.⁶⁰ Another work represented in this subsection of Turkish poetry is the *Mihr ü Müşterî*, which can be attributed to either Hassan, who wrote his version in 835/1431-32; or to Müniri İbrahim Çelebi (d. 1421), who authored his in 892/1487, both versions being the Turkish renditions of 'Assar-i Tabrizi's (d. 1377) Persian narrative poem.⁶¹ Other narrative romances in this subsection include a work titled *Bülbül-nāme* (Book of the Nightingale) and a certain Belayi's *Tercüme-yi kıssa-yi Leylā ve Mecnūn-i Niẓāmī* (Translation of Nizami's *Leylā and Mecnūn*), neither of which, however, can be identified at present.⁶²

Remarkably, there is only a single allegorical romance from the time of Mehmed II and Bayezid II in the inventory. This is likely Hamdullah Hamdi's (d. 1503) *Uşşāknāme* (Book of Lovers), which is probably identical with his *Tuḥfetü'l-üşşāk* (Gift of Lovers), one of the books of his *khamṣa* (quintet of versified romances). Hamdullah Hamdi was closely associated with the court, at least for a time, because his father, Akşemseddin (d. 1459), a shaykh of the Bayramiyye dervish order, was a tutor and spiritual guide to Mehmed II.⁶³ There is another narrative poem in this subsection titled *Kışsa-yi Ḥamza* (The Story of Hamza), which is probably about the legendary exploits of the Prophet's paternal uncle. We cannot as yet identify it, however, because the known works bearing the title *Ḥamzanāme* (The Book of Hamza) are in prose, whereas this particular one is in verse.⁶⁴ Also listed here is the aforementioned Ahmed-i Da'i's (d. after 1421) *Çengnāme* (Book of the Harp) or *Uşşāknāme* (Book of Lovers) written in 808/1405.⁶⁵

As has been indicated above, the inventory lists only a small fraction of the plethora of Turkish romances written in the fourteenth through the first half of the fifteenth century, which was a veritable golden age of the genre.⁶⁶ On the basis of 'Atufi's inventory alone, one might get the impression that the Ottoman court under Mehmed II and Bayezid II was turning away from the court culture of the fourteenth through the first half of the fifteenth century. If the court was not redefining its tastes, it certainly sponsored new authors instead of reading the Turkish narrative poetic output of the preceding two centuries. This seems to suggest that there was as yet no established literary canon to draw on, which would have made such a transition easier. The lack of a set Ottoman Turkish literary canon is also demonstrated by the fact that, in contrast with many a work written in Arabic or Persian, very few works in Turkish are recorded by 'Atufi as having multiple copies.

Since verse is a mnemonic device, some of the Turkish *maṣnavī*s in the inventory were written in this form purely for religious didactic purposes, likely in the context of the madrasa. Such works are the otherwise unknown *Risāla fī aḥkām al-khusūf wa-al-kusūf* (Treatise on the Rules of Prayer after Solar and Lunar Eclipse);⁶⁷ the *Tarjumat matn al-'aqā'id bi-al-turkiyya al-manzūma fī 'ilm al-kalām* (Versified Translation of the Tenets of

Theology into Turkish),⁶⁸ probably a versified catechism; and the *Durj al-naṣā'ih li-'Abd al-Raḥīm* (Casket of Advice for 'Abd al-Rahim, or Casket of Advice by 'Abd al-Rahim), which are both anonymous and non-extant;⁶⁹ Hisari's (d. after 1500) *Tuḥfetü'l-mü'min* (Gift for the Believer), a work from 906/1500 about the fundamental tenets of the faith and orthopraxy interspersed with didactic stories;⁷⁰ or the *İbret-nāme* (Book of Admonition) by Yetimi of Germiyan (d. 1378), which is in fact not a *maṣnavī* but a mono-rhymed narrative poem of advice about death in an eschatological framework. Remarkably, both Hisari and Yetimi's works are written in what linguists today call Old Anatolian Turkish, which indicates that their authors addressed them to a popular audience.⁷¹ Also in the vein of popular religion are two works bundled together in the same volume, which are versified biographies of the Prophet: Cefayi's *Daḳāyiku'l-ḥaḳāyik* (Fine Points of the Truths) from 1484, an anonymous *Siyerü'n-Nebi* (Life of the Prophet), perhaps identical with Yazıcıoğlu Mehmed's (d. 1451) work (about which see below), and an otherwise also unknown description of Mecca titled *Risāla fī faḍl Makka sharāfahā Allāhu ta'ālā* (Treatise on the Virtuosity of Mecca, May God Most High Honor It).⁷² The subsection on the nativity of the Prophet Muhammad includes a lengthy, two-volume poetic telling of his life, and a legendary versified biography of Joseph, based on the Qur'an.⁷³

As has already been noted above, certain Sufi networks were also influential at the court, which is attested by their output of poetic didacticism in Turkish as listed in 'Atufi's inventory. A number of manuscripts present introductions to the Sufi path, such as the *Sāzü'l-irfān* (The Long-Necked Lute of Gnosis) written by the aforementioned shaykh of the Zeyniyye order, Şeyh Vefa, which is a collection of didactic Sufi poetry;⁷⁴ the *Kitāb-i tercüme-yi vaṣāyā-yi Şeyh Vefā* (Book of Translation of Şeyh Vefa's Last Wills) by Şeyh Vefa's disciple, Safa'i of Sinop, mentioned above;⁷⁵ a volume titled *Manzūmāt* (Verses) by Dede 'Ömer Revşeni, likely a collection that includes his *Çobānnāme* (Book of the Shepherd, 880/1475-76) and *Neynāme* (Book of the Lute), which are two partial paraphrases of Rumi's *Maṣnavī*, as well as his *Miskinnāme* (Book of Misery), *Ḳalemnāme* (Book of the Pen), and *Silsilenāme* (Book of the Chain of Transmis-

sion);⁷⁶ the Bayrami shaykh İbrahim Tennuri's *Gülzâr-i ma'nevî* (Spiritual Rose Garden), which he dedicated to Mehmed II in 1453;⁷⁷ and *Meşnevîyât* (Poems Written in Couplets) by a prominent member of the Bayramiyye dervish order, Akbıyık Sultan (d. 1455–56, or perhaps soon after 1481), which are probably identical with his *Hikâyât-i Nây* (Stories of the Flute) and *Hikâyât-i Şemsü'd-Dîn* (Stories of Şemsü'd-Dîn).⁷⁸ There are three works of popular Sufism about which we know nothing other than that they are probably didactic works about the mystical path: the *Kitâb al-irşād bi-al-turkiyya al-manzûma fî al-taşawwuf* (Book of Guidance in Turkish Verse), *Risâla turkiyya manzûma fî al-taşawwuf* (Versified Treatise in Turkish on Sufism), and the *Aṭwâr al-qalb* (The Modes of the Heart).⁷⁹ Aside from its author, we know little else about the abovementioned Visali's *Risâlat manzûmât* (An Epistle of Verses).⁸⁰

Indeed, Sufi didactics, along with the *mawlıds* and the few Turkish works on Islamic theology and jurisprudence in the inventory, demonstrate the religiously contested nature of the nascent Turkish literary canon and Ottoman vernacular piety. Thus, it is not surprising that poets associated with mystical dervish orders are prominently represented in Bayezid II's library, since Sufi popular piety had always been an important factor in the production of Islamic literature in vernaculars.

Turkish Mawlıds

A separate subsection is dedicated to *mawlıds*, i.e., panegyric poems celebrating the Prophet Muhammad's nativity, telling his biography, and praising his qualities and miracles. The genre is closely associated with the public celebrations of this anniversary; indeed, the most popular *mawlıds* were recited at the court and even in the mosque. In this subsection of the inventory is the first known Ottoman version of the genre, Kerimi's *İrşād* (Guidance) from 863/1458.⁸¹ We can also identify in this subsection Müniri's *Sîyer-i Nebî* (Life of the Prophet), a versified biography of Muhammad that includes a section on the Prophet's birth, which might be why 'Atufi inserts it among the *mawlıds*.⁸² It may be surmised that one of the yet unidentifiable Turkish *mawlıds* in 'Atufi's inventory is Süleyman Çelebi's (d. 1421) celebrated example of the genre from 812/1409, titled *Vesîletü'n-necât*

(The Way to Salvation), but this cannot be verified.⁸³ It is also possible that this subsection of the inventory (or the previous one) contains Yazıcıoğlu Mehmed's *Muḥammediyye*, a monumental and extremely popular life of the Prophet complete with further information about the faith including Paradise and Hell, the Last Judgment, the angels, prophets, etc., written in 853/1449. As argued by Carlos Grenier, the Ottoman Turkish representatives of this genre in the fifteenth century should be read against the background of religious polemics with Christian communities, and the need to consolidate Muslims' personal attachment to their faith and thus strengthen communal identity and confessional boundaries.⁸⁴

Turkish Historical Narrative Verse

The section on Turkish poetry ends with eleven historical narrative poems, five of them detailing events connected to the reign of Mehmed II, four pertaining to the reign of Bayezid II, and two hitherto unidentified epic poems that cover the entire history of the Ottoman dynasty up to Bayezid II,⁸⁵ which are probably Kemal's (d. after 1490) *Selâṭinnâme* (Book of Sultans), a versified telling of Ottoman history from its beginnings to Bayezid II's reign, and a work celebrating Bayezid II's conquest of Lepanto and Methoni in 1500, written by the already mentioned Safa'i (d. 1521).⁸⁶ The number of historical narrative poems in the period is significant, considering that there had been no such epics since Ahmedî's *İskendernâme*. If our identification is correct, the latter work by Ahmedî features among the poetic romances listed above, although it also has a chapter on early Ottoman history inserted within the larger framework of Islamo-Persianate history. Since these historical epics are not listed in the section on romances or in the large thematic section of history and biography, it is clear that 'Atufi differentiated them from the romance literature and chronicles that arose in imitation of Persian models. The emergence of historical verse epics during the time of Mehmed II, their continuation under Bayezid II, and the interest in them at the palace as evidenced by 'Atufi's inventory, all suggest that the Ottoman elite were concerned to project a historical image on the popular level. This is in keeping with the interest of the Ottoman

elite in the high genre of historiography in general and its vernacular Turkish rendition in particular, which we can see in the Turkish prose chronicles included in the inventory.

Not only does 'Atufi's inventory attest to the production of Turkish verse histories, but it also lists a cluster of eight versified histories in Persian, which are included in the Persian poetry section. Erünsal identifies these as being written in Turkish, but the fact that they are in the Persian poetry section, most of them without an additional language marker, makes his designation unlikely.⁸⁷ Although we are yet unable to identify these works, they are part of the tradition of Persian history writing at the Ottoman court that started under Mehmed II and continued for one and a half centuries, ending during the reign of Mehmed III (r. 1595–1603).⁸⁸

Indeed, the Ottoman court showed an increasing interest in sponsoring the writing of history in both Persian and Turkish. One can think of such major works as Uzun Firdevsi's (d. after 1512) *Süleymānnāme*, or Kemalpaşazade's paradigmatic history of the Ottoman dynasty in Ottoman Turkish, which was commissioned by Bayezid II at the recommendation of Mü'eyyedzade. The latter work was clearly and explicitly modeled on the highly ornate chancery or epistolary prose style of Idris-i Bitlisi's Persian *Hasht Bihisht* (Eight Paradises). Neither work can be found in 'Atufi's inventory, as both were completed after its compilation.⁸⁹ This subject is dealt with more extensively by Cornell H. Fleischer and İbrahim Şahin Kaya in the present volume. Suffice it to say that there was a clear demand for historiography at the court; according to Halil İnalcık, Bayezid II used these written histories strategically to boost his legitimacy over against his brother Cem.⁹⁰

TURKISH LEXICOGRAPHY

The inventory also contains works on lexicography and grammar. Most of them treat Arabic, fewer deal with Persian, and only a handful treat Turkish. Several of the lexicographical works that utilize Turkish would have served practical language learning purposes and are actually aids to facilitate the study of Arabic and Persian. This is certainly true of most of the lexicography pro-

duced prior to the sixteenth century. However, as we will see below, 'Atufi's inventory reveals an interest in Turkish as a subject of study in its own right, too. In the present state of research, it is impossible to fully identify all the Turkish lexicographical items in the inventory, which makes the following observations about them preliminary. The primary intended audience for such lexicographical compilations likely included members of the chancery and madrasa novices, but in fact, such works could have attracted readers from other literate circles and strata as well.⁹¹

Examples in which Turkish is used for the instruction of Arabic include two copies of al-Zamakhshari's (d. 1144) practical Arabic glossary, the *Muqaddimat al-adab* (Introduction to Literature) translated into Persian and Turkish probably in an interlinear fashion. As is also attested by the inventory, many copies of al-Zamakhshari's work differ in terms of the language of the interlinear translations that accompany the Arabic original, some of these translations being in Persian, Turkish/Turkic, or even Latin (*al-afranjiyya*).⁹² As suggested by the provenance and number of its existing copies, al-Zamakhshari's work became a staple glossary for the study of Arabic already in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the Khwarazmian territories of the Golden Horde.⁹³

'Atufi lists the *Tuhfetü'l-hādiye* (Gift of the Rod), also known as *Risāle-i* (or *Kitāb-i*) *dānisten* (Treatise on [or Book of] Knowledge, 294 {6}) from its first entry, which is a Persian-Turkish glossary and grammatical essay written by Muhammed b. Hacı İlyas before 1460.⁹⁴ Finally, the inventory lists Lutfullah Halimi's (d. end of fifteenth century) *Muṣarriḥat al-asmā'* (Explanation of Nouns) dated 872/1467–68, a glossary of names selected from al-Jawhari's (d. ca. 1007–10) *Şihāḥ al-'arabiyya* (Correct Arabic), Ibn Durayd's (d. 933) *Jamhara fi al-lugha* (Collection of the Language), and Ibn Faris's (d. 1004) *Mujmal al-lugha* (Compendium of the Language), accompanied by—probably interlinear—translations in Turkish and Persian. Halimi served at the court of Mehmed II, and was a protégé of Mahmud Pasha (d. 1474).⁹⁵ Remarkably, Halimi's better-known and more substantial work, a Persian-Turkish rhyming glossary titled *Baḥr al-gharā'ib* (Sea of Curiosities) and composed in 850/1446, cannot be found in the inventory or

at least not under this title; neither does 'Atufi mention the shortened version of this work, known under the title *Luġat-i Ḥalīmī*.⁹⁶ Grammatical instruction is also the subject of two additional works enumerated by 'Atufi, an otherwise unknown trilingual (Arabic-Persian-Turkish) verse treatise, and a list of Arabic conjugations accompanied by Turkish translations.⁹⁷

There are surprising items, too. We can find in the inventory the first volume of Mahmud Kashgari's celebrated *Dīwān lughāt al-turk* (Compendium of the Turkic Dialects), a Qarakhanid Turkic-Arabic dictionary, a monumental compendium from the eleventh century dedicated to the language spoken in East Turkestan under the Qarakhanids. Based on the vocabulary of the Qarakhanids' aristocratic tribal culture in East Turkestan and dedicated to the Abbasid caliph al-Muqtadi (r. 1075–94), Kashgari's work is one of the few surviving monuments of a literary tradition that was discontinued. The lexicon survives in a unique manuscript, which is likely based on the author's own manuscript. It is preserved today in Millet Genel Kütüphanesi, and was copied in 664/1266 in Damascus, probably as an appeal to the Mamluks' interest in their own cultural heritage; it may also represent an endeavor on the part of local Syrian scholars to integrate their overlords into the Muslim intellectual universe. 'Atufi designates the copy listed in his inventory as only the first volume of Kashgari's work, and thus, it probably cannot be identical with the single-volume full copy extant today. Nevertheless, the provenance of the extant manuscript might be taken to suggest that the copy mentioned in the inventory also comes from Mamluk Egypt or Syria.⁹⁸ Be that as it may, the presence of such a *recherché* item in Bayezid II's library speaks to a heightened interest in scholarly, linguistic treatments of Turkish at the Ottoman court, signifying the presence of ideologies which strengthened the position of that language vis-à-vis Arabic and Persian.

Given the multilingual context of the empire at large and the palace in particular, it is not surprising that Turkish was also used as a medium to learn languages associated with non-Muslim communities. One such example of this is an otherwise unknown treatise on the Greek language, which is most likely a Greek word-list with interlinear Turkish translations.⁹⁹

MISSING WORKS IN TURKISH

Having briefly discussed the Turkish poetry that can be found in the inventory, now it is time to consider what cannot be found in it. Of course, every library has items that are missing from it for idiosyncratic reasons, such as oversight, the personal taste of the librarian or its patrons, unavailability of funds for the development of the collection, the personal and intellectual networks of those involved in its development, or sheer happenstance. However, in the case of Bayezid II's library as reflected in 'Atufi's inventory, there are certain gaps that may have been intentional or ideologically motivated.

İsmail Erünsal published the contents of an *În'âmât Defteri* (Register of Rewards), which includes, among others, the names of poets and other rewardees who received gifts, clothes, or money for the poetry they presented to Bayezid II between 10 Muharram 909/July 15, 1503 and 27 Dhu'l-hijja 917/March 26, 1512. Hence, it starts right after 'Atufi's library inventory was compiled and ends close to the sultan's death.¹⁰⁰ Of the names of the almost one hundred poets mentioned in this register as having received gifts, there are a handful of professional poets; but only six of these are mentioned by 'Atufi: Le'ali, Basiri, Visali, Zati, and Hamdi (although, as has been indicated above, the inclusion of the latter two in the inventory is not entirely certain). The inventory does not even contain a reference to Necati (d. 1509) or Revani (d. 1523–24), the two most celebrated Turkophone poets of the age, or the woman poet Mihri Hatun (d. after 1512), whose career roughly corresponds to Bayezid II's reign (she was based in Amasya, where Bayezid had been a governor before he succeeded to the throne, and where his son Ahmed followed him).¹⁰¹ The work of these poets may have been included in some of the aforesaid anthologies, but there is no reference to their *divans*. It is probable that their *divans* were collected at a later time; thus, the inventory seems to have been compiled when there was no systematic patronage for Turkish poetry at the court, or at least that patronage was not strong enough to be reflected in the commissioning of *divan* copies. As we have intimated above, the inventory does not do justice to the huge number of works, mainly narrative poetry, translated during the

fourteenth century (primarily from Persian), or to the rich *mawlid* tradition.

The inventory has notable lacunae in terms of Turkish lexicography, too. Today, we have nineteen extant Persian-Turkish rhyming and prose dictionaries that were compiled in Anatolia prior to the composition of the inventory, whereas 'Atufi mentions only two works by Hacı İlyas.¹⁰² We find no copies of such well-known lexicographic works as 'Abd al-Latif b. Melek (Firişte)'s versified Qur'an glossary, *Luğat-i Firişte* (Glossary of Firişte), from 795/1392, or the prose Qur'an glossary, *Luğat-i qānūn-i ilāhī* (Glossary of the Divine Canon), written by his son 'Abd al-Majid in 854/1450.¹⁰³ It is perhaps the *hurūfī* affinities of the latter that made his work undesirable in Bayezid II's library, but the matter needs further research.

But perhaps we should not be surprised by this state of affairs. A more solid and extensive lexicographic literature arose to fulfill two fundamental functions in the Ottoman context, one practical and another symbolic. As for the practical function of Turkish lexicography, the teaching of Turkish to the *kul* likely did not take place in a classroom setting. State slaves acquired through the child levy system often learned Turkish as young people through their exposure to a Turkish-speaking environment, whereas at the palace school, teachers taught Turkish to royal pages probably through oral methods in combination with reading basic texts.¹⁰⁴ As for the symbolic function, a solid Turkish lexicographic tradition demonstrates the power and high status of the language concerned, i.e., it is indicative of a sufficiently prestigious literary tradition. On the other hand, the grammatical categories used in Turkish/Turkic lexicography were derived from the well-established Arabic lexicography, which also informed the Persian lexicographic tradition. Kashghari's *Compendium*, which was produced in the early twelfth century, reflects the background of the author, as he carried on the aristocratic pre-Islamic traditions of the freshly converted Oghuz and other Turkic tribes. This work is based on the Arabic grammatical tradition, reflecting its categories and patterns of arrangement. In the case of Turkish lexicography, most works are study aids, facilitating the reading of literature in the prestige languages. However, their very presence in the inventory suggests an important

shift in the language ideologies regarding the status and use of Turkish under the Ottomans. That is, they suggest that Turkish was now seen as a *necessary* vehicle for understanding high culture.

This view is also confirmed by works dedicated to the discussion of Turkish. There are four such works in the inventory contained in two separate volumes. One of the volumes is almost certainly the one entitled *Jāmi' al-lughāt* (Collection of Languages) copied in 870/1466 by Sirac b. Tayyib b. Ahmed, secretary at the law court of Edirne, to be discussed in more detail in the section on Persian lexicographical anthologies. This collection of glossaries and grammatical treatises contains a discussion of the Turkish language intended for a learned audience, or at least one skilled in Persian and Arabic. It is titled *Kitāb al-lughā al-turkiyya al-mutarjam bi-al-fārisiyya 'alā tartīb al-ḥurūf wa-al-ḥarakāt* (Book in Persian on the Turkish Language Arranged in an Alphabetical Order and according to Vowel Signs), which was composed by the compiler of the anthology, who intended his work for Persophones interested in Turkish.¹⁰⁵ The other two items in the inventory are more elusive, and I have been unable to identify the volume in which they are included. One of these two is a colligatum of eleven grammatical treatises, some of which are also contained in the volume just mentioned (*Kitāb al-lughā al-turkiyya al-mutarjam bi-al-fārisiyya 'alā tartīb al-ḥurūf wa-al-ḥarakāt*). Most relevant for our discussion of Turkish lexicography here are two treatises, one in Arabic and another one in Persian, about the Turkish language, respectively titled *Kitāb al-lughā al-turkiyya al-mutarjam bi-al-'arabiyya* (A Book on the Turkish Language Translated into Arabic) and *Kitāb al-lughā al-turkiyya al-mutarjam bi-al-fārisiyya* (A Book on the Turkish Language Translated into Persian).¹⁰⁶ Unfortunately, we do not know more about these works, but the titles indicate that there was some level of scholarly interest in the study of Turkish at the Ottoman court, regardless of whether these books came from outside the Ottoman realm or were produced within it.

The lacunae in Turkish books of poetry and lexicography in Bayezid II's library are surprising, considering the significant Turkish literary production of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century. It is even more surprising when we observe the quantum

leap this tradition underwent in every genre throughout the rest of the sixteenth century. One has the impression that 'Atufi's inventory reflects a transition in the interests of the court with regard to Turkish literary production. Or we might speculate that the very compilation of the inventory signals an upsurge in the patronage of arts and literature, which would have included Turkish works as well. It is even possible that it was these very gaps in the library that prompted Bayezid II and the Ottoman elite to give more patronage to Turkish literary activities. The prominence of Turkic products from Timurid lands and, most importantly, from Mir 'Ali Shir Nava'i, must also have inspired the Ottoman elite to sponsor more Turkish works.

FURTHER GENRES AND SUBJECTS IN TURKISH

As has been indicated above, an important reason for the vigor of the Turkish literary tradition at the Ottoman court in the early sixteenth century is that Turkish was used in almost every genre of the Perso-Islamic literary tradition, both in popular genres and in higher registers. While it was poetry that was most extensively committed to writing (especially poetry of the court and poetry with a Sufi bent), prose genres in other fields are also visible in the inventory. Of course, the number of such works is dwarfed by the deluge of Turkish literary production from the rest of the sixteenth century and onward, a phenomenon connected to the process of Ottoman confessionalization, i.e., the association of Ottoman political identity with Sunnism and the crystallization of an early modern bureaucratic state, in which the bureaucratic elite looked upon Ottoman Turkish as a key component of its identity. Of the sciences, Turkish works are represented in the fields of medicine, astrology, and alchemy, but in terms of philosophy, there is only a single Turkish work on logic. In what follows, I will not detail all the remaining items in 'Atufi's inventory that refer to Turkish books, as these have been discussed by other contributors to this volume under such subjects as medicine, geomancy, astrology, etc. Rather, I shall limit myself to fleshing out some characteristic features of the collection, which can also help us to bet-

ter contextualize the books of Turkish poetry that it contains.

Certain genres in the inventory are connected to the context of religious education, either at the palace school or at madrasas. The establishment of eight madrasas by Mehmed II, known as the *Şahin-i Şemân*, at the mosque complex in his new capital Istanbul and the hierarchical educational system that developed for training a religious and bureaucratic cadre was a key step in Ottoman centralization and in nurturing a ruling elite that espoused the imperial ethos. Because the language of instruction at the madrasas was Arabic, translations or commentaries in Turkish were probably used mostly in the novice stages. It is, therefore, not a surprise that we encounter a Turkish Qur'an translation in the inventory, although the number of full Turkish translations of the Qur'an did not rise significantly until modern times. The first full rendition of the Qur'an in Anatolia was completed by Muhammed b. Hamza in 827/1424, and we do not know if the untitled Qur'an translation listed by 'Atufi is identical with this interlinear piece.¹⁰⁷ But the inventory does contain the anonymous *Cevāhirü'l-aşdāf* (The Essences of Pearls), a popular explanatory Qur'an commentary commissioned by the Jandarid ruler Isfandiyar b. [Kötürüm] Bayezid (r. 1392–1440).¹⁰⁸ 'Atufi also lists another unidentifiable exegetical work, and two on the art of reciting the Qur'an, one of them versified.¹⁰⁹ Interestingly, none of the three known fifteenth-century Turkish translations of Abu al-Layth al-Samarqandi's *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Karīm* (Commentary on the Magnificent Qur'an), by Ahmed-i Da'i (d. after 1421), Musa b. Hac Husayn al-İzniki (d. 1430), and Shihab al-Din Ahmad b. Muhammad b. 'Arabshah (d. 1450), respectively, can be found in the inventory, for reasons unknown to me at present. However, one might speculate that they are missing from the inventory for the same reason that we see a scarcity of pre-1450 Turkish poetry: they came from different patronage networks.¹¹⁰ There are only three prayer books and sermons, genres that would proliferate from the late sixteenth century onward, and all of them are in verse: the Turkish verse translation of *al-Du'ā'-i sayfi* (The Prayer of a Sword) attributed to 'Ali, also known as *Ḥīrz-i yamānī* (Amulet against Evil), and two verse translations from the Arabic of the *al-Lāmīya fi al-Tawḥīd* (Poem on Unity Rhyming

in the Letter *Lām*), a versified confession of faith written by al-Ushi (d. 1179), who was an important Hanafi scholar of jurisprudence; one of these translations is the work of an unidentifiable Şem'î.¹¹¹ Indeed, it is Hanafi jurisprudence that is best represented among Turkish works on the subject, which is in line with the Ottomans' favoring of Hanafism since the end of the fifteenth century. Turkish works on Hanafi jurisprudence include Qutbūd-dinzade İzniki's *Mukaddime* (Introduction), a jurisprudential manual for beginners written in simple language; the translations of Qadikhan's (d. 1196) collection of legal opinions; and a volume that is likely the Turkish rendition of Ibn al-Sa'ati's (d. 1294) foundational compendium of Hanafi law. In addition, we also find in the inventory the unidentified *Kitāb al-farā'id* (Book on the Distribution of Inheritance Shares), probably also representing the Hanafi school.¹¹²

Only one book in Turkish was dedicated to grammar in Bayezid II's library, despite the fact that grammar constituted a core subject in the madrasa curriculum. This work, which was likely written to help those learning Arabic, is the otherwise unknown Muhammad b. al-Khatib al-Ladhiqi's *Kitāb-i tarjuma-yi Sharḥ [al-] 'Izzī* (Translation of the Commentary on al-'Izzī), a work not extant today. It is the Turkish translation of a commentary on 'Izz al-Din al-Zanjani's (fl. mid-thirteenth century) highly popular book on Arabic morphology titled *Mabādi' al-taṣrīf* (Beginnings of Morphology), or *al-Taṣrīf al-'izzī* (The Magnificent Morphology), written in 625/1228. Indeed, al-Zanjani's textbook on Arabic morphology received great attention at the Ottoman court library, as is evidenced by several copies of the work, as well as the commentaries written on it in Arabic and Persian, including al-Taftazani's abridged version listed by 'Atufi. We know of at least one commentator on al-Zanjani's work who was active at the Ottoman court, Hocazade Muslihuddin Efendi (d. 1488), whose treatise in Arabic may well be identical with one of the commentaries listed in the inventory. Although we know nothing about the Turkish translation of the commentary aside from the name of the translator, in all likelihood the great interest in Arabic grammar in general and Zanjani's morphology in particular at this time can account for the many copies of this work, the commentaries on it, and its Turkish translation.¹¹³

TRANSLATIONS AND COURT PATRONAGE

Muhammad b. al-Khatib al-Ladhiqi's translation of a commentary on Zanjani is representative of an important aspect in the development of the Ottoman royal library collection at the time 'Atufi compiled the inventory. The number of Turkish works in the inventory that are translations or, in the case of poetry, paraphrases of works written in Arabic and Persian might tell us something about how active the library of Bayezid II and the Ottoman court were in commissioning such translations, and, more broadly, in facilitating literary and scholarly activities. However, undertaking such an investigation presents certain obstacles. Even if there are correspondences between Persian and Arabic works, on the one hand, and their Turkish translations or paraphrases, on the other, a translation of any given work could be based on a Persian or Arabic copy (or copies) of the work that was not held at the palace library, just as its creation might have had nothing to do with Bayezid II's court. Nevertheless, even when one cannot prove their direct connection with Mehmed II or Bayezid II's court patronage, such correspondences bespeak the sensibilities and tastes of the Ottoman palace elite for the Perso-Arabic literary canon of the time, as well as its Turkish rendition. The matter needs further research than the few preliminary examples pointed out here. A sufficiently large number of such correspondences would be additional proof that the Ottoman court was highly, and likely intentionally, active in the transfer of knowledge between the Perso-Arabic and the Turkish literary traditions.

Didacticism at an elementary madrasa level must have also inspired the court to acquire copies or even commission the translation of instructional books in Hanafi law. For example, 'Atufi lists the following works, which have already been mentioned, in both the Arabic original and their Turkish translations: al-Ushi's *al-Qaṣīda al-lāmiyya fī al-tawḥīd* (Poem on Unity Rhyming in the Letter *Lām*),¹¹⁴ Qadikhan's collection of legal opinions, and Ibn al-Sa'ati's *Majma' al-baḥrayn* (Confluence of the Two Seas).¹¹⁵

Another example is a treatise on music by Mehmed Çelebi of Ladik (d. beg. of the sixteenth century), titled *Zayn al-alḥān fī 'ilm al-ta'līf wa-al-awzān* (Decking of Melodies in the Science of Composition and Measures)

and written in 888/1483-84 in Arabic. For some unknown reason, this work is not included in 'Atufi's inventory, but a copy of it that bears the seal of Bayezid II is housed in the Ayasofya collection at the Süleymaniye Library. A year after its composition, Mehmed Çelebi of Ladik translated his own work into Turkish, dedicating his translation, too, to Bayezid II; 'Atufi includes this translation in his inventory.¹¹⁶ Another Persian historical work is Fazl Allah Qazvini's (d. 1329) *Mu'jam fi āthār mulūk al-'ajam* (Alphabetical [Account] of the Deeds of the Kings of Persia), seven copies of which are listed in the inventory. The work was translated into Turkish by Sarıca Kemal (d. after 1489) as *Tercüme-yi Kitābü'l-mu'cem* (Translation of the Alphabetical Book), better known as *Tercümān-i belāğat* (Translation of the Book of Eloquence) or *Belāğatnāme*.¹¹⁷

In poetry, illustrative examples include narrative romances that are Turkish translations or paraphrases of Persian samples of the genre. For example, we find in the inventory both the abovementioned Cemali's Turkish *Hümā ve Hümāyūn* and its model, Khwaju Kirmani's Persian version of the story, the latter in at least two copies.¹¹⁸ Haydar Khwarizmi's aforementioned *Gul u Nawrūz*, which is a paraphrase of Jalal Tabib's Persian version written in 734/1333-34, is likewise not the result of Ottoman court patronage, but rather signifies Bayezid II and his librarian's interest in collecting different versions of a particular tale in his library, which is evident in the inventory. 'Atufi lists several copies of a Persian *Gul u Nawrūz*, some of which preserve the better-known version written by Khwaju Kirmani (d. 1349?), but the copies listed without an author in the inventory might refer to Jalal Tabib's version, especially because a manuscript of the latter exists in the Süleymaniye Library (Ayasofya 3857).¹¹⁹

The issue of the missing works and poets that would become prominent right after the compilation of the inventory, along with the dramatic leap in the production of Turkish poetry and historiography, suggests that the very compilation of the inventory, and more generally, the inventorying of resources at the palace library, must have been a motivating factor for the production of more Turkish works. It may well be that after 'Atufi took stock of what existed in the library, he and his patron realized the need for more literature in Turkish and

set out to outline new directions for developing the collection. The contrast between the great number of poets represented in the *Īnāmāt Defteri* and the relatively meager number of Turkish divans in the inventory, as well as the leap in the production of Turkish historiography, epistolary, and poetry in the rest of the sixteenth century, might hint at a conscious strategy on the part of Ottoman elites regarding language policies in general and library development in particular.

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON TURKISH AND TURKIC IN BAYEZID II'S LIBRARY

To sum up, the palace library inventory represents a stage when there was not yet a solid Turkish literary canon. The small quantity of works in Turkish and the lack of divans by most of the contemporary Turkish poets show that this language was still regarded as the idiom of popular culture at the time. To be sure, virtually all genres are represented in Turkish in the inventory, and the presence of Chaghatay Turkic works, mostly coming as gifts from Timurid lands, certainly provided a model for literary creativity and patronage. However, there were no institutions that perpetuated a Turkish literary canon or conveyed it to Istanbul; therefore, the Ottoman elite had to rely on its own networks when commissioning literary works in the Turkish vernacular.

We have seen that the majority of volumes in Turkish in the inventory derive from the patronage networks surrounding the courts of Mehmed II and Bayezid II. The long tradition of narrative court poetry and popular mystical poetry of the preceding period is mostly unattested. Equally unattested is most of the translation activity that had not been undertaken on behalf of the Ottoman court in the late fifteenth century. In keeping with Tahera Qutbuddin's argument that the palace library served didactic purposes, as well as Abdurrahman Atçıl's conclusion that it was a lending library, we might add that Turkish played an increasingly important role in the training of the palace elite. The literary production in Turkish was generated by the requirements of the palace cadre, most of whom had slave origins. As Arabic continued to be the language used at the madrasa, it was mainly introductory, elementary works of

theology that were translated into Turkish, probably to facilitate the study of novices at the beginning stages of their madrasa education.

According to Gönül Tekin, the Ottoman court played a central role in the spread and development of Turkish literature. She suggests that Ottoman literature developed in a pyramidal fashion: first at the palace and then among the Ottoman state elite, and only later spreading to the lower echelons of society.¹²⁰ This may be true in certain genres starting in the late sixteenth century, but such a phenomenon is hard to detect at the beginning of the sixteenth century when 'Atufi compiled the inventory. As we have seen, it is striking how selective the book collection of Bayezid II was: much of the Turkophone literature of the previous two centuries was left out and many contemporary poets do not feature in the inventory, either. It is probably more correct to say that after the conquest of Istanbul and especially from the early sixteenth century on, the Ottoman court gradually emerged as the chief sponsor of Turkophone literature, and would increasingly define the literary taste and style. However, as has been convincingly suggested by Sooyong Kim and Suraiya Faroqhi, the role of the court should never be exaggerated, since poetry was practiced in various social venues that included, amongst others, the dervish cloister and the marketplace, as well as provincial towns. Indeed, most Ottoman poets were not court poets; their relationship with their patrons was usually on and off; and the sultan was not necessarily the chief taste-maker. Both in poetry and in other arts, there were varied proclivities, even at the court.¹²¹

Building the book collection, at least the Turkish part of it, was a highly personal and political affair. As remarked by Cornell Fleischer, there may well have been books that were accessible to only a narrow circle of courtiers around the sultan.¹²² In this regard, one might ask why the *divan* of Mehmed II himself is missing from the inventory, although it is also possible that it was compiled at a later date.¹²³ Just as there were no institutionalized procedures or set bureaucratic channels for book acquisition, there was also no Ottoman Turkish literary canon to speak of, which might help to account for some of the gaps in the collection.¹²⁴

The inventory reflects how the Ottoman court tried to shape the Turkish literary tradition. Instead of continuing the heritage of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the new, madrasa-trained palace elite was mostly interested in the literati from the networks around the palace. We also find in the inventory works from Sufi groups affiliated with the court. Many literati sought inspiration from the highly Persianized and Arabicized Turkic of their Timurid contemporaries. As such, the inventory belongs to a transitional period of Ottoman Turkish as a language and literary tradition. It does not reflect the great transformations of the sixteenth century, when the language became thoroughly imbued with Persian and Arabic vocabulary, as well as syntactic and stylistic elements. By the end of the sixteenth century, Ottoman Turkish supplanted Persian for purposes of poetry at the court. The Turkish works in the palace library collection were part of the universalist cultural-political aspirations of Mehmed II and Bayezid II, which found expression in multiple languages and triggered a growing need for Turkish literature. The latter thus came to be conceived not as the continuation of a parochial, tribal tradition, but as heir to the prestigious heritage of Arabic and Persian. With respect to Turkish items in the inventory, then, the contrast between the lacunae and the sudden increase of Turkish literary production immediately after 'Atufi compiled his inventory makes it possible to speculate that the lacunae in this catalogue triggered a demand for more works in Turkish. Or, more broadly, we can at least say that the inventorying of knowledge and the literary past that the inventory represents was part of the Ottoman effort to lay claim to that heritage, while increasingly conceiving of Turkish as an integral part of it.

PART II: PERSIAN LEXICOGRAPHY IN THE LIBRARY OF BAYEZID II

The remainder of this essay discusses the presence of Persian lexicography in the inventory compiled by 'Atufi. It attempts to contextualize such items and addresses the question of what role Persian lexical works might have played in the Ottoman intellectual enter-

prise. Although the focus here is on Persian, we continue to consider the issue of its relationship with Ottoman Turkish and the broader role of lexicography. Falling between the fields of Iranian and Ottoman studies, which are still largely compartmentalized along ethno-linguistic and nationalist lines, the use and role of Persian in Ottoman intellectual and literary history is a greatly unexplored field in scholarship. Some of the contributions to the present volume are starting to remedy this lacuna.¹²⁵

'Atufi's inventory contains almost fifty volumes, comprising over seventy titles, related to Persian lexicography and grammar. There are a number of Persian monolingual dictionaries, but most of the titles are Arabic-Persian bilingual glossaries. There are also a handful of glossaries or word lists that use multiple languages, including Persian. As has already been argued above, the sponsorship of Persian was an important part of the Ottomans' intellectual heritage and of Mehmed II's cultural policies that combined Islamic, Turko-Mongol, and Mediterranean notions of authority.¹²⁶ Persian gave the Ottomans access to a cosmopolitan high culture patronized at courts and in urban contexts throughout the entire post-Mongol Persianate world. In what follows, I will also discuss works that may not have been strictly dictionaries or glossaries but were rather rudimentary expositions of Persian grammar, since in certain cases, the difference between a glossary and a grammatical treatise of verbal paradigms, for example, proves difficult to draw.

As is indicated by 'Atufi's inventory, the Ottoman elite were highly receptive connoisseurs of Persian lexicography from various traditions. Unfortunately, however, few correspondences between 'Atufi's entries and extant manuscript copies of these works can be established. Therefore, the inventory does not give us a full picture of whence the Ottoman elite inherited this tradition; i.e., we do not know where most manuscripts preserving Persian lexicographic material originated. However, it is still possible to tentatively connect the book collection of Bayezid II with later copies from the sixteenth century, and claim that Persian continued to be part of the Ottoman enterprise, giving rise to a Perso-Turkish lexicographical tradition on Ottoman soil that came down to modern times. On a different note, Per-

sian lexicography was the product of a vast geo-cultural space covering Iran, the Ottoman territories, and India. Naturally, 'Atufi's collection does not reflect the contributions of India, where Persian lexicography picked up in speed and volume under the Mughals between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Nevertheless, it is safe to hypothesize that lexicography was part of the Persian literary heritage, which had been shared and sponsored by both the Ottomans and other *beyliks* in Anatolia during the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries. That tradition received a huge boost with the Timurid and Turkmen dynasties' patronage of Persian letters, which constituted an important source of inspiration for the Ottoman literary scene from the mid-fifteenth century onwards.

The number of Persian lexicographical works in 'Atufi's inventory is dwarfed by that of Arabic dictionaries.¹²⁷ The latter had a much older and more extensive tradition, while the institutional, cultural, and ritual sphere available for Persian in the Ottoman context was considerably limited. As has already been pointed out above, Arabic had long been the language of theology, jurisprudence, and philosophy, and was thus the language used at the madrasa. By contrast, Persian was chiefly taught in private settings, probably with an emphasis on rote memorization, especially large chunks of poetry. The glossaries and short grammatical descriptions discussed below reveal that students were also required to learn Persian grammatical paradigms such as conjugations. The demand for Persian was partly due to the court's need for a cadre versed in Persian to work in the chancellery, and Persian was required in order to maintain a prestigious court culture. In addition, Persian was also in demand among various Sufi communities, most prominently the Mevlevis, as well as other literati who wanted to be conversant in this cosmopolitan language of culture. Signifying the high prestige in which Persian literature was held at the Ottoman court, dictionaries were used for instructional purposes and as reference manuals. As such, dictionaries also facilitated translation and imitation, thereby aiding the transfer of Arabic and Persian vocabulary into the nascent Ottoman Turkish literary tradition and language, which would be espoused by the Ottoman elite as a key part of their identity in the sixteenth century.

It is common knowledge that from the late fifteenth century onwards, Ottoman Turkish was thoroughly saturated with features of Persian and Arabic, including vocabulary, style, rhetoric, topoi, imagery, and even syntax. The agents of this transfer were mainly the new bureaucratic elite—literati trained at the imperial madrasas built by Mehmed II. This is not to suggest that Persian and Arabic elements had not entered vernacular Turkish before that time. However, the first transmission of such elements probably occurred orally through the evangelizing activities of dervish communities and as part of the Islamic high culture cultivated at various Anatolian courts, from where it trickled down to the level of popular lore. This process was not necessarily dependent on literati who were proficiently bilingual or trilingual in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. Hence Turkish vocabulary continued to dominate the Turkish vernacular of Anatolia prior to the sixteenth century. This stage of linguistic influence is termed by John Perry *vernacular borrowing*. The Persian lexicographic works listed in ‘Atufi’s inventory, however, bear witness to the second stage, which Perry terms *scriptural borrowing*, which occurred in the late fifteenth century and was brought about by the palace elite and the nascent bureaucracy—i.e., highly literate multilinguals. As Perry argues concerning the role of Persian-Arabic bilingualism in the evolution of New Persian, at the linguistic level this learned or literary stage meant not only “the incorporation of single loanwords but [also] the evolution of systematic lexical strategies and semantic and syntactic calques on Arabic—the true sign of bilingual interference.”¹²⁸ While lexemes transferred through vernacular borrowing are phonologically and morphologically integrated into the receiving language, scriptural or literary borrowing is characterized by a certain conservatism, because self-conscious multilingual elites engaged in transferring elements from the prestige languages try to preserve the features of those languages. Interestingly, this process had already taken place in New Persian, prior to Ottoman borrowings from both Arabic and Persian. In the Ottoman case, it is difficult to tell how much of a role the Ottoman literati played in this conservatism and to what extent they relied on the linguistic strategies of Iranian literati from previous centuries.¹²⁹

Persian Monolingual Dictionaries

‘Atufi lists a number of important Persian monolingual dictionaries. Some of these lexicographic works were originally produced as reference manuals written by eastern Iranian literati for poets in western Iran in the eleventh century. The dictionaries enabled the latter group to read and imitate the East Iranian, Khurasanian poetic tradition, which was sponsored initially at the Samanid court in the tenth century and would become the basis of the New Persian literary language. We know of but a few of these monolingual dictionaries, and only one of them is extant today, the *Lughat-i furs* (Dictionary of Persia), compiled by ‘Ali b. Ahmad Asadi Tusi (d. after 1066), two copies of which ‘Atufi registers in the library inventory. It is a rhyme dictionary, arranged in a way similar to a poetic divan and containing quotations from Persian poetry as illustrations.¹³⁰ The popularity of the work is demonstrated by the fact that the extant manuscript copies were subject to numerous alterations and interpolations, attesting to their active use. The inventory registers a commentary on this work, an imitation, as well as an abridged version thereof.¹³¹

Another of the monolingual Persian dictionaries is Shams al-Din Muhammad b. Hindushah Nakhjivani’s *Siḥāḥ al-furs* (Sound Ones of Persia, or *Siḥāḥ al-‘ajam* in some manuscripts). Composed in Tabriz in 1328, it was dedicated to Ghiyath al-Din (d. 1336), vizier to the Ilkhanids and a noted patron of the arts and learning in the wake of his father, the famous historian Rashid al-Din (d. 1318). Also a rhyming dictionary, this work follows Asadi Tusi, but its arrangement is modeled on Jawhari’s *Siḥāḥ*, a prominent Arabic monolingual dictionary of Samanid and Ghaznavid times. Accordingly, it is divided into chapters defined by the last letter of the words therein, but the chapters themselves are subdivided according to the first letter of the lemmata.¹³² The composition of Nakhjivani’s *Siḥāḥ* may well exemplify the consolidation of Persian as the language of administration and literature in the Persianate world in general and in Mongol-period Iran in particular, when Arabic was finally relegated to the realms of theology, jurisprudence, and philosophy.

Staples of any book collection that emphasized Persian literary products, the rhyme dictionaries by both

Asadi Tusi and Muhammad b. Hindushah were lexicons that helped Ottoman literati who wished to wield their reeds in Persian. Moreover, such works also facilitated the composition of poems in Ottoman Turkish, a literary idiom that was increasingly suffused with Arabic and Persian vocabulary elements.¹³³

Arabic-Persian Dictionaries

‘Atufi’s inventory contains several Arabic-Persian dictionaries, written at the same time as the Persian monolingual dictionaries mentioned above. The tradition of compiling Arabic-Persian dictionaries, too, was part of the process in eastern Iran under such dynasties as the Samanids and Ghaznavids, whereby Persian emerged as an Islamic literary language and spread to western Iran. Such dictionaries facilitated the addition of Arabic vocabulary elements to Persian, or rather, they aided the *interpretation* of new vocabulary that was being incorporated into the language. These works also represented a scholarly need to monitor and control the process of vocabulary borrowing.¹³⁴ Along with other Persian lexicographic works, Arabic-Persian dictionaries probably fulfilled similar functions in the Ottoman context for the increasingly vigorous and prominent Ottoman Turkish literary tradition.¹³⁵

Topical Arabic-Persian Dictionaries

Arabic-Persian dictionaries arranged according to topic are limited to a definite corpus or subject. Most characteristic are Qur’an glossaries, whose number is quite small in ‘Atufi’s inventory. They include only the *Tarājim al-a‘jīm fī al-lughā al-qur’āniyya* (Translation of Persian Loans in the Language of the Qur’an) by Abu al-Ma‘ali Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Ghaznavi (fourteenth century), and two others that cannot be identified.¹³⁶ At this point, it can only speculatively be proposed that the reason for this small number of such works is that the study of the Qur’an was the domain of the madrasa, where Arabic ruled supreme.

Maṣādir and Asāmī Glossaries

Due to the non-segmental character of Arabic morphology, early Arabic lexicography listed action nouns and

nouns as appendices, which gave rise to two separate lexical genres: vocabularies of *maṣādir* (action nouns) and of *asāmī* (nouns). Such glossaries facilitated, documented, and perhaps codified the transfer of these elements from Arabic into Persian, and thence into Turkish. *Maṣādir* vocabularies are particularly important, as both Persian and Turkish action nouns of Arabic origin are extensively used in analytical verb formation: an Arabic *maṣdar* is complemented by an auxiliary verb, such as *kardan* (to do) or *shudan* (to be, to become) in Persian, and *etmek* or *olmak* in Turkish, thereby producing complex verbs such as *tashakkur kardan* and *teşekkür etmek* (to thank).

‘Atufi lists the best-known and most popular representatives of the *maṣādir* genre, arranged in order of morphological complexity and the characteristic vowels of conjugated forms. One of these is Abu ‘Abd Allah al-Husayn b. Ahmad al-Zawzani’s (d. 1093) *Maṣādir* (Action Nouns), a copy of which is at the Topkapı Palace Library with the seal of Bayezid II.¹³⁷ The other is the *Tāj al-maṣādir* (The Crown of Action Nouns/Sources) by Ahmad b. ‘Ali al-Bayhaqi (1077–1150), known as Bu Ja‘farak, of which three copies are listed in the inventory.¹³⁸ In addition, the learned librarian registers a list of Arabic verbs, accompanied by their Persian translations, which cannot be identified at this point.¹³⁹

Asāmī type dictionaries contain nouns as well as adjectives and sometimes particles. The inventory lists the *al-Sāmī fī al-asāmī* (The Exalted Names, dated 1104), compiled by Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Maydani al-Nishapuri (d. 1124), who divided it into four topical parts (*qism*): on religion, animals, and the terrestrial and celestial spheres.¹⁴⁰ The popularity of the work can be seen from the fact that ‘Atufi’s inventory even lists a commentary on it, which cannot be identified.¹⁴¹ ‘Atufi also has an entry on two alphabetically arranged noun dictionaries, one titled *Kitāb al-asmā’ ‘alā tartīb al-ḥurūf* (Book of Nouns in Alphabetical Order), identifiable as part of an anthology of lexica copied by one Siraj b. Tayyib al-Sunisa’i on 3 Rabi‘ I 870/2 November 1465, which will be discussed below.¹⁴² In addition, the inventory cites another alphabetically organized glossary of nouns, which might be either in Arabic or in both Arabic and Persian.¹⁴³

Universal Arabic-Persian Dictionaries

There are a number of comprehensive dictionaries in 'Atufi's inventory. For example, he lists several manuscripts of Zamakhshari's (d. 1144) *Muqaddimat al-adab* (Introduction to Literature), already touched upon when we discussed Turkish/Turkic lexicography. The author—a Mu'tazilite theologian, Hanafi jurist, and philologist—dedicated his work to one of the rulers of the Khwarizmshahid dynasty, Abu al-Muzaffar 'Ala al-Din Qizil Arslan Atsiz b. Muhammad (r. 1127–56), who was the Seljukid governor of Khwarazm at the time. Remarkably, the various copies of this Arabic-Persian dictionary are different in terms of the language of interlinear translations that accompanies them, demonstrating the popularity of the work and the many different contexts in which it was used. For instance, aside from four copies with Persian interlinear translation, 'Atufi registers a copy with Persian and Latin (*afranjiyya*), and two with Persian and Turkish.¹⁴⁴ At this point it is difficult to explain why the extant manuscripts, one of which bears the seal of Bayezid II, have Eastern (Chaghatay) Turkic glosses, which 'Atufi would normally designate as "Mongolian" (*al-mughūliyya*), whereas these particular interlinear glosses he only designates as Turkish.¹⁴⁵ As the case may be, such entries of Zamakhshari's *Muqaddimat al-adab* either refer to copies with Ottoman Turkish interlinear glosses or to ones with Eastern Turkic glosses. But because these items are in a section with entries in Persian and Arabic, here the learned librarian does not deem it necessary to indicate the linguistic difference between Eastern Turkic ("Mongolian") and Ottoman Turkish, in contrast to the entries in the section of Turkish and Turkic books of poetry. Be that as it may, the Eastern Turkic glosses of the extant copies in Ottoman libraries tentatively indicate that at least some manuscripts of Zamakhshari's dictionary listed by 'Atufi might have originated in the territories of the Golden Horde, Transoxiana, Khorasan, or Mamluk Egypt or Syria.

The inventory also registers the *Qānūn-i adab* (The Code of Literature, dated 1150–51) by Hubaysh Tiflisi (d. 1231–32?), a noted physician, astrologist, and litterateur under the Seljuks.¹⁴⁶ This is the earliest strictly alphabetical bilingual dictionary, which mainly served as a rhyme dictionary and thesaurus for a readership in

western Iran and Seljuk Anatolia. Its appendices also provide information on *maṣḍars*, plurals, and biographies of Arab poets and notables. Although we cannot be entirely certain, it appears that 'Atufi lists the *al-Ṣurāḥ min al-Ṣiḥāḥ* (Explication of [Jawhari's] *Ṣiḥāḥ*, dated 1282) by Abu al-Fazl Jamal al-Din Qarshi of Kashghar (d. after 1303). Another rhyme dictionary, this work is an abridged translation of Jawhari's monolingual Arabic dictionary titled *al-Ṣiḥāḥ fī al-lughā* (Sound Forms in Arabic), dispensing with the verse citations of the model and glossing each of the 40,000 entries with a single word in Persian.¹⁴⁷ In addition, 'Atufi registers a volume with two lists of Arabic verbs accompanied by Persian interlinear translations, which cannot be identified at this point.¹⁴⁸

Versified Arabic-Persian Glossaries

The inventory contains a few versified vocabularies, composed in such manner to facilitate rote learning. One is the immensely popular *Niṣāb al-ṣibyān* (Basics for Youth) by Abu Nasr Farahi (d. 1242), two copies of which are listed by 'Atufi. One of these can be identified as featuring in the abovementioned anthology of lexica; the other is included in a similar anthology that cannot be identified in existing manuscript collections. The work enjoyed great popularity and was part of primary education; aside from an abundance of copies, it gave rise to countless imitations and commentaries.¹⁴⁹ 'Atufi registers one such imitation: the *Naṣīb al-fityān* (The Allotment of Youth) by Husam al-Din Hasan b. 'Abd al-Mu'min al-Khoyi (d.?), which can also be found in the aforesaid anthology housed at the Topkapı Palace Library, and which bears the seal of Bayezid II.¹⁵⁰ Finally, we should mention two copies of the work that 'Atufi registers as *Uqūd al-zawāhir* (Flower Garlands), which is perhaps identical with Ahmed-i Da'i's (d. after 1421) *Uqūd al-javāhir* (Chains of Pearls), a 650-couplet verse glossary and translation of Rashid al-Din Vatvat's (d. 1133–34) *Nuqūd al-zavāhir* (Coins of Flowers). This identification, however, is yet to be confirmed by further evidence. Ahmed-i Da'i allegedly wrote the work for Murad II, while the latter was still a prince. Its presence in the inventory, along with that of other works by this prominent litterateur, demonstrates Ahmed-i Da'i's high prestige at successive Ottoman courts and

confirms the continuity of a Persian lexicographic tradition prior to the rule of Mehmed II.¹⁵¹

Glossaries Using More than Two Languages

It is remarkable how many dictionaries using more than two languages 'Atufi lists. Some of them might have originally been conceived as bilingual dictionaries, to which later copyists added interlinear translations, but others were actually addressed to an audience with a varied linguistic background in the multilingual context of the Ottoman court. Several of these glossaries employ Persian, too, either as a medium or as the primary language of the dictionary or wordlist.

Some of these dictionaries were written primarily for Turkish speakers, a tradition that grew exponentially in the sixteenth century.¹⁵² Although it has already been discussed above with regard to Turkish lexicography, we should mention again Lutfullah Halimi's (d. end of fifteenth century) *Muṣarriḥat al-asmā'* (Explanation of Nouns, dated 872/1467-68). This is a dictionary of names selected from al-Jawhari's *Ṣiḥāḥ*, Ibn Durayd's *Jamhara fī al-luḡa*, and Ibn Faris's *Mujmal al-luḡa*, etc., accompanied by interlinear translations in Turkish and Persian.¹⁵³ As has already been mentioned, Halimi is better known for his Persian-Turkish rhyming glossary titled *Baḥr al-gharā'ib* (Sea of Wonders) and composed in 850/1446, which cannot be found in the inventory. Likely trained in Iran, Halimi seems to have already been at the court of Bayezid in Amasya, where the prince showered lavish patronage on the arts and learning, Persian letters being particularly welcome.

In the latter half of the fifteenth century, Persian was part of a multilingual universe along with the languages of non-Muslim communities in the Ottoman empire, where Arabic, Persian, and Turkish were used by Muslim communities for literary purposes. Most conspicuous in this regard are quadro- and pentalingual glossaries in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Greek, and Serbian in the inventory. There is a list of names of medicaments in Arabic with translations into Persian, Turkish, and Greek, and a general wordlist of undefined subject matter in Arabic, Persian, Greek, and Serbian.¹⁵⁴ Two such copies carrying the seal of Bayezid II with glossaries and guides in multiple languages are preserved today (Ayasofya 4749 and 4750).¹⁵⁵ Scholars suggest that these were

used as teaching aids for either Mehmed II or palace scribes, and that the order of the languages in these compositions correspond to their relative prestige at the time, with Arabic in the lead, followed by Persian; arguably the real target was the instruction of these two languages.¹⁵⁶ If such multilingual volumes were indeed intended for the instruction of recent converts, the linguistic hierarchy enshrined in these books could also serve to remind students of the cultural values accompanying their new religion. One of these volumes contains the *Tuḥfetü'l-hādiye* (The Gift of the Rod) by Muhammed b. Hac İlyas, a Persian-Turkish dictionary also known as *Kitāb-i Dānistān* (Book of Knowledge). Interestingly, the copy that 'Atufi registers has interlinear translations in Greek, Latin, and other languages as well.¹⁵⁷ The volume contains further glossaries and grammatical manuals, such as the standard guidebook on regular Arabic inflection and conjugation titled *Risālat al-amthila al-muṭṭarida* (Treatise on Regular Examples [of Conjugation]), accompanied by interlinear translations in Persian and other languages, as well as a treatise on Greek astronomical terms.¹⁵⁸ 'Atufi lists another anthology with almost identical content: a list of Arabic words with interlinear Persian, Greek, and Serbian translation; Porphyry's introduction to his logic; and the aforesaid guide to Arabic conjugation.¹⁵⁹

There are also a few works registered by 'Atufi that are not multilingual but are certainly indicative of the linguistically inquisitive ethos at the court. Accordingly, we find in the inventory a treatise on an unidentifiable northwestern Iranian dialect, *Fahlawīyya*, which might also refer to Middle Persian or Pahlavi.¹⁶⁰ Also worthy of mention is another unidentifiable work, which might be a Persian treatise on the Hebrew language.¹⁶¹

Books on Grammar

The prominence of Persian at the Ottoman court is also demonstrated by the inclusion of Persian translations of books on Arabic grammar in 'Atufi's inventory. We have no information as to the readership these works attracted. Were they produced and used by Iranian emigrants? This is possible, but not in the least certain; the glossaries of Halimi, Ahmedi, and perhaps Ahmed-i Da'i (mentioned below) show that there were Persian glossaries produced in Anatolia in the fifteenth century. The

inventory lists the Persian translations of Ibn Babashadh's (d. 1077) grammatical treatise, *Kitāb al-hādī fī sharḥ al-muqaddima fī al-naḥw* (Book of Guidance Commenting on the Introduction to Grammar); Ibn Qayyim Jawziyya's (d. 1350) *Ma'ānī al-adawāt wa-al-ḥurūf* (Meanings of Particles and Letters); Mutarrizi's (d. 1213) *al-Miṣbāḥ fī 'ilm al-naḥw* (Lantern in the Science of Grammar); 'Izz al-Din Zanjani's (d. 1262?) *Kitāb al-taṣrīf* (Book on Morphology), and two unidentifiable treatises on grammar and morphology, respectively.¹⁶²

Two Lexicographical Anthologies

'Atufi lists two lexicographical anthologies that use Persian to such an extent that they warrant a separate treatment. One of them is almost certainly identical with the anthology housed at the Topkapı Palace Library titled *Jāmi' al-lughāt* (Compendium of Dictionaries). It was compiled and copied, and partially composed, in 869–70/1465–66 (Karatay erroneously reads 867/1466) by a certain Siraj b. Tayyib b. al-Haj Ahmad al-Sunisa'i, secretary at the law court of Edirne, who came from the village of İrek (?) in the Amasya province.¹⁶³ The collection was undoubtedly put together with instructional purposes in mind. In addition to the two standard Arabic-Persian versified dictionaries discussed above—the *Niṣāb al-ṣibyān* (Basics for Youth) by Abu Nasr Farahi and the *Naṣīb al-fityān* (The Allotment of Youth) by Husam al-Din al-Khoyi¹⁶⁴—Siraj al-Sunisa'i includes in his anthology three other Arabic-Persian versified dictionaries: Ahmedī's *Mirqāt al-adab* (The Staircase to Literature);¹⁶⁵ Muhammad b. al-Bavvab's *Tuḥfa-yi 'alā'ī* (Lofty Gift);¹⁶⁶ and the *Uqūd al-jawāhir* (Garlands of Jewels), which was likely written by Ahmed-i Da'i (d. after 1421) and dedicated to Murad II.¹⁶⁷ Also intended for the instruction of Arabic is a list of nouns used in Zamakhshari's seminal Qur'an commentary titled *al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq al-tanzīl* (The Unveiler of the Truths of the Revelation), an important textbook in Ottoman madrasa education. This particular copy of the work is accompanied by an interlinear translation of the nouns into Persian.¹⁶⁸ In addition, Siraj al-Sunisa'i includes a treatise on Persian grammar composed by one Lujja-yi (?) Pir Hamid al-Sivasi, which comprises a list of Persian verbs with interlinear Turkish transla-

tions followed by a grammar of Persian verbs and a list of nouns in alphabetical order;¹⁶⁹ a treatise on Arabic morphology with Turkish explanations composed by Siraj al-Sunisa'i himself;¹⁷⁰ and a glossary of Turkish accompanied by explanations in Persian, also composed by Siraj al-Sunisa'i.¹⁷¹

Also consisting of works written for instructional purposes, the other lexicographical anthology is considerably similar in terms of content, but I have not yet been able to connect it to any extant manuscript. It contains works written for the instruction of Arabic, such as an alphabetically arranged list of Arabic nouns; versified glossaries like Abu Nasr Farahi's *Niṣāb al-ṣibyān* (Basics for Youth) and its imitation, the *Naṣīb al-fityān* (The Allotment of Youth), Ahmedī's *Mirqāt al-adab* (The Staircase to Literature), and Ibn Bavvab's *Tuḥfa-yi 'alā'ī* (Lofty Gift); and an alphabetically arranged glossary of Persian. Remarkably, this anthology also contains two treatises—most likely wordlists—on Turkish, one of them accompanied by Arabic translations, and the other with Persian glosses. Finally, in this volume is what appears to be a list of Arabic conjugations and inflections.¹⁷²

LEXICOGRAPHY AND THE POLITICS OF PERSIAN UNDER BAYEZID II

As demonstrated by the more than 500 volumes and 700 titles in Persian that are listed in 'Atufi's inventory, there was an active readership for Persian among the Ottoman elite. Dictionaries, glossaries, word lists, and grammatical sketches using Persian either as a medium or as the target language reveal that this elite was heavily invested in learning Persian in order to gain access to the prestigious literary tradition of the language, which in turn made it possible for literati to take up positions in the administration or to win high esteem by producing translations and writing poetry in Persian, even just a few ghazals to show off one's erudition.

The fact that there are so many works registered by 'Atufi that use Persian as a medium language for the study of Arabic certainly highlights that many literati reached a considerable level of conversance in Persian. While it is unlikely that Persian was used extensively as

the language of oral instruction, glossaries where Arabic is the target language and Persian is the medium suggest that it was often unnecessary to add Turkish interlinear translation, because of many Ottomans' proficiency in Persian. We can also speculate that even glossaries in which Arabic was the target language, but which contained interlinear Persian translations, could have been used for instruction in Persian or as reference works to facilitate the reading of Persian literary texts. In addition, we should not forget that both literacy and multilingualism are gradational: in the case of Persian, just as with Arabic, there were people who could speak, read, and write in the language, but some people could only read, whereas some could even compose poetry with the help of a rhyme dictionary, etc. Those who had a strong basis in Arabic thanks to their madrasa education could certainly start reading Persian texts with the help of an Arabic-Persian glossary and grammatical sketch, especially because most of the Persian texts they would have read contained a considerable amount of Arabic vocabulary. Undoubtedly, it is this interconnected matrix of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, memorialized in dictionaries like the ones discussed above, that also enabled such an enormous amount of Arabic-Persian vocabulary to be transferred into Turkish.

It is also apparent that aside from inheriting the lexicographical tradition of Persian, the Ottomans also actively contributed to the tradition by producing their own word lists, glossaries, and grammatical sketches. We know very few names of literati (Ahmedi, Ahmed-i Da'i, Siraj al-Sunisai) from fourteenth- to fifteenth-century Anatolia who wrote glossaries using Persian. However, the proliferation of Persian-Turkish glossaries produced in the Ottoman empire from the sixteenth century on certainly accompanied the proliferation of Ottoman Turkish literary practices in that period, and was prefigured by the accumulation of lexicographic material in the library of Mehmed II and Bayezid II.¹⁷³ We might also speculate that the ebbs and flows of the influx of Iranian intellectuals into Ottoman lands must also have contributed to Persian literary activities in general and Persian lexicography in particular.

CONCLUSION

'Atufi's inventory is located at a time when Ottoman Turkish had not yet entirely assumed the functions of the main prestige languages of Persianate Islamic culture, Persian and Arabic, despite the fact that Turkish was already represented in virtually all the literary genres. The court seems to have given further impetus to Turkish as part of the general cultural efflorescence and overarching ethos and policy of patronizing literature, though it mainly sponsored literary production in Persian and Arabic and, equally important, was chiefly interested in reading in these two languages. The inventory reflects the tastes and interests of Mehmed II and Bayezid II, as well as that of the new court elite, the *kul*, who had been trained at the palace school or the new Ottoman madrasas and who increasingly espoused Turkish as part of their identity throughout the sixteenth century. Due to the lack of a stable Ottoman Turkish literary canon, the inventory only partially represents the Turkish literary production of the fourteenth through the early fifteenth century. Rather than being guided by a canon, members of the extended court acquired and commissioned works in Turkish by relying on their own networks. Such networks were by no means limited to the territories under Ottoman control; the Chaghatay literary tradition, especially in the form produced in Timurid Herat during the time of Nava'i, served as a paradigmatic model of a Turkophone literary tradition with all the characteristics of an elite Islamic literary idiom, to which Ottoman litterateurs would aspire in the sixteenth century.

Persian was the primary model for literary purposes in Ottoman circles when the inventory was compiled. Lexicography using Persian, whether as a target or as a medium language, served as reference works and for didactic purposes. The Ottomans had several copies of the best-known Persian lexica, but they also produced their own glossaries to facilitate the reading of Persian works, a tradition that would continue afterwards. An Ottoman litterateur would be trained in the so-called *elsine-i selāse* "the triad of languages": Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish. The latter was conceived of as the corollary of the former two, just as the nascent Ottoman

literary tradition would come to be considered the heir of the literary traditions of high Islam. 'Atufi's inventory documents precisely the moment before that shift occurred.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

TDVİA	<i>Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi</i> (Üsküdar, Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İslâm Ansiklopedisi Genel Müdürlüğü, 1988–2013). Online: http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/
Storey	Charles Ambrose Storey, <i>Persian Literature: A Bio-bibliographical Survey</i> (London: Luzac & Co., 1927).
Munzavi	Aḥmad Munzavī, <i>Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi fārsī</i> (Tehran: Mu'assasa-yi Farhang-i Minṭaqa'ī, 1350/1971).
El2	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition</i> (Leiden: Brill, 1954–).
Elr	<i>Encyclopaedia Iranica</i> (London; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983). Online: http://www.iranicaonline.org/
Flügel	Gustav Flügel, <i>Die Arabischen, Persischen und Türkischen Handschriften</i> (Vienna: Der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien: Im Auftrage der Vorgesetzten K. K. Wien: Druck und Verlag der K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1865).
Karatay, T	Fehmi Edhem Karatay, <i>Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu</i> (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961).
Karatay, F	Fehmi Edhem Karatay, <i>Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu</i> (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961).
Karatay, A	Fehmi Edhem Karatay, <i>Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu</i> (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1962–69).
Öz	Yusuf Öz, <i>Tarih Boyunca Farsça-Türkçe Sözlükler</i> (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2010).
Sehi Beg	Sehi Beg, <i>Heşt bihişt: The Tezkere</i> , ed. Günay Kut (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978).

NOTES

1. Mes'ūd bin Aḥmed, *Süheyl ü Nev-bahār: İnceleme, Metin, Sözlük*, ed. Cem Dilçin (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1991), 573–74 (vv. 5590–99). The reader should note that my translation is in iambic pentameter and does not follow the *mutaqārib* of the original. Further, it cannot reflect the pun in Hoca Mes'ud, *dil* having the double meaning of “tongue, language,” and “heart.”
2. Muṣṭafā 'Ālī, *Künhü'l-aḥbār*, 5 vols. (Istanbul: Taḳvīmḥāne-yi Āmire, 1277 [1870–71], 1:11; Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa 'Āli (1541–1600)* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 22.
3. Konstantinos Sp. Staikos, *The Great Libraries: From Antiquity to the Renaissance (3000 B.C. to A.D. 1600)*, trans. Timothy Cullen (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press; London: The British Library, 2000), 294, 446–63; James P. Carley, *The Libraries of King Henry VIII* (London: The British Library in association with the British Academy, 2000).
4. Unfortunately, we have no information about the holdings in the book collections of any of these dynasties. An educated guess can only be made on the basis of, say, Mir 'Ali Shir Nava'i's biographical anthology of poets, the *Majālis al-nafā'is* (Gatherings of Delicacies), which lists a few dozen Turkophone poets from former and current Timurid territories. As for the personal libraries of scholars who had no books in Turkish and operated in a sphere that was distinct from the royal court, see Maria Eva Subtelny and Anas B. Khalidov, “The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning in Timurid Iran in the Light of the Sunni Revival under Shāh-Rukh,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115, no. 2 (1995): 210–36; Shahab Ahmed, “Mapping the World of a Scholar in Sixth/Twelfth Century Bukhāra: Regional Tradition in Medieval Islamic Scholarship as Reflected in a Bibliography,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 120, no. 1 (January 1, 2000): 24–43.
5. Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006). For a general view on vernacularization in early modern Europe, see Peter Burke, *Language and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
6. Gülru Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople,” *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 1–81; Hanna Sohrweide, “Dichter und Gelehrte aus dem Osten im Osmanischen Reich,” *Der Islam* 46 (1970): 263–302.
7. Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation.”
8. A paradigmatic expression of classical Orientalist scholarship may be found in Elias John Wilkinson Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, 6 vols. (London: Luzac, 1900).

9. See the influential work of Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1966); *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*, ed. and trans. Gary Leiser and Robert Dankoff (London; New York: Routledge, 2006).
10. Selim Kuru, "Portrait of a Shaykh as Author in Fourteenth-Century Anatolia: Gülşehri and His Falaknāma," in *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia*, ed. A. C. S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2016), 173–96; Sara Nur Yıldız, "Aydınid Court Literature in the Formation of an Islamic Identity in Fourteenth-Century Western Anatolia," in *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia*, 197–242.
11. TSMA D. 9291/1, D. 9291/2. The collection is analyzed by Judith Pfeiffer in the present volume.
12. Erünsal's most prominent article on the subject has been republished in a revised form; see İsmail E. Erünsal, "Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinin Arşiv Kaynakları 6: 909/1503 Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb," *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 32, no. 1 (2008): 203–19; and his "908 (1502) Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi," *Edebiyatı Tarihi Yazıları: Arşiv Kaynakları, Yazma Eserler ve Kayıp Metinler* (İstanbul: Dergâh, 2016): 257–83.
13. Cf. the English translation of 'Atufi's Turkish preface in Appendix IV at the end of this volume.
14. Erünsal, "908 (1502) Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu," 263.
15. MS Török F. 59, 246 {19}. The problem is further complicated by the fact that Qabuli seems to have compiled two divans. See further below. Erünsal also lists as Turkish Qabuli's otherwise unknown obscene poem titled *Bahş-i kün va kus* (Contest of the Arse and the Pussy), but, since the item is included in the Persian poetry section, it does not appear to have been written in Turkish (MS Török F. 59, 255 {7}). On Qabuli's Turkish poems, see Günay Kut, "Kabûlî'nin İlk Divanındaki Türkçe Şiirler," in *Yazmalara Adanmış Bir Ömür - Nîmet Bayraktar'a Armağan* (İstanbul: Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği İstanbul Şubesi Yayınları, 2006), 102–20; Günay Kut, "Kabûlî'nin İkinci Divanı'ndaki Türkçe Kaside ve Gazeller," *Journal of Turkish Studies = Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları* 31, no. 2 (2006), 107–22.
16. MS Török F. 59, 98 {16–19}.
17. MS Török F. 59, 264 {18}, 138 {18}.
18. MS Török F. 59, 138 {18}, 264 {18}, 262 {11–13}. Although it is unlikely, the Lutfi mentioned in the Anatolian section might also refer to Molla Lutfi (d. 1495), a prominent Ottoman litterateur and 'Atufi's predecessor as palace librarian. However, there is no indication in the sources that Molla Lutfi had a divan of poetry. See also 'Ömer bin Mezîd, *Mecmû'atü'n-nezâ'ir*, ed. Mustafa Canpolat (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1982), 36. A similar case can be found in the section on lexicography, where 'Atufi lists several copies of Zamakhshari's (d. 1144) glossary entitled *Muqaddimat al-adab* (Introduction to Literature), referring to two of them as the work of Jarullah, failing to realize that Jarullah was in fact Zamakhshari's personal name (*ism*) and thus these must be different copies or versions of the same work (MS Török F. 59, 294 {11–14, 15–16}, 300 {15–17}).
19. Sooyong Kim, "Minding the Shop: Zati and the Making of Ottoman Poetry in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century" (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2005), 176.
20. MS Török F. 59, 262 {2}; İsmail Erünsal, "II. Murad Devri Şâirlerinden Nakkaş Safi ve Divânı," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 34 (2009): 105–18. The sole copy of Safi's divan was originally in Fuat Köprülü's possession, whence it found its way into Erünsal's hands, who informs us that he is planning to publish the work. On Safi, see Sehi Beg, 184–86; Latifi, 357–58.
21. Kim, "Minding the Shop," 176; Sooyong Kim, *The Last of an Age: The Making and Unmaking of a Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Poet* (London; New York: Routledge, 2018), 97, where he suggests that the story is not so much based on Ahmed Pasha's actual poetry, which was inspired by Hafiz, as on the image that sixteenth-century Ottoman biographers wished to project about Ottoman poetry.
22. Gönül Tekin, "Fatih Devri Türk Edebiyatı," in *İstanbul Armağanı: 1. Fetih ve Fatih*, ed. Mustafa Armağan (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1995), 161–235, at 184–86.
23. Sabahattin Küçük, "Melihî," *TDVİA* 27 (2004), 50.
24. Dede 'Ömer (Revşeni) Rusheni's divan: MS Török F. 59, 262 {1–2}; Mustafa Kemal Tavukçu, *Dede Ömer Rüşenî: Hayatı, Eserleri, Edebî Kişiliği ve Divânının Tenkidli Metni* (<http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR/78365/dede-omer-rusenî-divanı.html>, last accessed: November 12, 2017). For a time, the aforesaid Melihî was also affiliated with Revşeni. For Şeyh Vefa's divan, see: MS Török F. 59, 245 {19}–246 {1}, 248 {1–2}. One of these manuscripts has the title *Risâle-yi manzûmât-i Şeyh Vefâ* (Süleymaniye, Fatih 3899); the other copy (Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 3925), also carrying Bayezid II's seal, contains only Arabic and Persian poems. See Abdülkadir Turgut, "Ebû'l-Vefâ Muslihuddîn Mustafâ'nın Farsça Şiirleri" (master's thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2009), 71–74; Reşat Öngören, "Muslihuddîn Mustafa," *TDVİA* 31 (2006), 269–71; Reşat Öngören, *Tarihte Bir Aydın Tarikatı Zeyniler* (İstanbul İnsan, 2003), 130–54; John J. Curry, *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought in the Ottoman Empire: The Rise of the Halveti Order, 1350–1650* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 65–72.
25. Avni Erdemir, "Sinoplu Safâyî ve bir Eseri: Terce-me-i Vasâyâ-yı Şeyh Vefâ," *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 9 (2001): 219–35; Reşat Öngören, "Muslihuddîn Mustafa," *TDVİA* 31 (2006): 269–71.
26. MS Török F. 59, 244 {19}; TSMK, R. 739 (Karataş, T 2282, vol. 2, 98–99); Süleymaniye, Fatih 3794; İ. Halil Ersoylu, *Cem Sultan'ın Türkçe Divanı* (Ankara: Atatürk, Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1989). The reason 'Atufi registers Cem Sultan's divan among the Persian books of poetry, despite the poet-prince's sizable output in Turkish, might be that Turkish was considered less prestigious. This is indicated by the arrangement of Persian and Turkish poetry

- in copies of Cem Sultan's divan: see TSMK, R. 739, copied during the reign of Selim I (Karatay, T 2282, vol. 2, 98–99); and Süleymaniye, Fatih 3794. In both copies, which are probably related to each other, Prince Cem's Persian poetry is placed in the center of the folios, while his Turkish poems are relegated to the margins.
27. MS Török F. 59, 246 {16}; Sehi Beg, *Heşt Bihişt: The Tezkere*, ed. Günay Kut, Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 5 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 246. Not all members of the poetic circle around Cem Sultan are listed in the inventory, as several of them probably did not have their own divans. On members of the circle, see Tekin, "Fatih Devri Türk Edebiyatı," 184–86.
 28. Sehi 223–24; Aşık Çelebi 647–50; Latîfî 372–74; MS Török F. 59, 248 {1}; Sedat Kardaş, *Tâli'nin Farsça Divanı ve Necâtî Bey Divanı ile Mazmunlar Açısından Mukayesesi (İnceleme-edisyon kritik- transkripsiyonlu metin-tercüme-mukayese)* (master's thesis, Erzurum T.C. Atatürk Üniversitesi, 2012).
 29. MS Török F. 59, 246 {17}; Erünsal, "908 (1502) Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu," 273; Latîfî, *Tezkiretü's-Şuarâ ve Tabsıratu'n-Nuzamâ*, ed. Rıdvan Canım (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 2000), 423–24; Yasemin Ertek Morkoç, *Eğridirli Hacı Kemal'in Câmîü'n-Nezârî: Metin ve Mecmua Geleneği Üzerine bir İnceleme* (İzmir: T.C. Ege Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı, 2003): 522–23.
 30. MS Török F. 59, 246 {11}. Ali Nihad Tarlan, Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, and M. Ali Tanyeri, *Zatî Divanı: Edisyon Kritik ve Transkripsiyon* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1967). 'Atufi mentions a work titled *Kitâb-i Shikâyatnâme* (Book of Complaints) in the Persian poetry section and attributes it to Zati (MS Török F. 59, 255 {7}). Erünsal puts the work in his list of Turkish works, but in actuality, we know nothing about it. The fact that 'Atufi lists it as Persian, even though we only know of Zati's Turkish works, should make us cautious in designating it as having been written in Turkish. We might also take heed of Judith Pfeiffer's pertinent remark in her essay in the present volume: "the contributors to this volume have established that the copy of the inventory that is in our hands can be dated to 909. We have therefore assumed that entries of otherwise unusually late authors recorded in Bayezid's inventory, such as Zati (d. 1546, e.g., 246 {11}) and the famous Khayali (d. 1557), refer to different, earlier authors using the same penname, or they were explained in other ways."
 31. MS Török F. 59, 98 {17}, 261 {19}, 262, {2}.
 32. MS Török F. 59, 248 {1}, 261 {18–19}; Erdoğan Boz, *Yusuf Hakiki Baba Divanı: Karşılaştırmalı Metin* (Ankara, 2009). For Jahanshah Qaraqoyunlu, see Süleymaniye, Fatih 3808, fols. 70b–107a; Firüz Rafahî 'Alamdârî, *Dīvân-i Mürzâ Jahânshâh Haqîqî-yi Fârsî-Türkî: bar asâs-i nuskhâ-yi dastnîvis-i Kitâbkhâna-yi Markazî-yi Dānîshgâh-i Tihirân* (Tehran: Firūzān, 1390/2011). For Jahanshah's Turkish poetry, see Lale Demirci, *Cihānshāh Haqîqî Divanı: İnceleme – Metin – Dizin* (Ankara: Köksav, 2001).
 33. Sohrweide, "Dichter und Gelehrte aus dem Osten im Osmanischen Reich," 263–302. Cemal Kurnaz, *Anadolu'da Orta Asyalı Şairler* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1997); Christopher Markiewicz, "The Crisis of Rule in Late-Medieval Islam: A Study of Idris Bidlisi (861–926/1457–1520) and Kingship at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century" (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2015).
 34. MS Török F. 59, 246 {19}. Manuscripts: Süleymaniye, Aya-sofya 3958, published as Qabûlî-i Haravî, *Dīvân-i Qabûlî-i Haravî: Bar Asâs-i Châp-i 'aksî-i Ismâ'îl Hikmat Artâylân* (Tehran: Bunyād-i Mawqûfât-i Duktur Mahmûd Afshâr, 2007); TSMK, H. 884 (Karatay, F 677, 233–34) with the seal of Bayezid II; published in Elif Namıoğlu, "Fatih Dönemi Şairi Kabûlî'nin İkinci Farsça Divanı: Metin-İnceleme" (PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2018). İsa Kayaalp, "Kabûlî," *TDVİA* 24 (2001): 43. I thank Elif Namıoğlu for giving me access to her unpublished dissertation.
 35. MS Török F. 59, 247 {8}. Manuscript: Süleymaniye, Âşir Efendi 292, fols. 229b–289b; Mehmet Çavuşoğlu, "Basîrî," *TDVİA* 5 (1992): 105–6.
 36. MS Török F. 59, 248 {4}. Manuscripts: Türk Tarih Kurumu, no. 68; İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi 1184. Edition: İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan, *Külliyat-ı Divan-ı Mevlana Hamidi* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1949). On his Turkish poetry, cf. İsmail Ünver, "Hâmîdî'nin Türkçe Şiirleri," *Türkoloji Dergisi* 6, no. 1 (1974): 197–233.
 37. MS Török F. 59, 248 {2}; Sehi 237–38; Latîfî 562–63; Ahmet Mermer, *Türkî-i Basit ve Aydınli Visâlî'nin Şiirleri* (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2006).
 38. MS Török F. 59, 225 {17}; Sehi Beg, 292.
 39. MS Török F. 59, 246 {18}. See also Süleymaniye, Hacı Mahmud Efendi 3298 (only his Turkish divan), copied in 1001/1593; Gülçiçek Korkut, *"Dīvân-i Le'âlî: İnceleme-Metin"* (master's thesis, Ankara, Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2004); Sehi Beg, 207–8; Latîfî 473–75; Mustafa bin Ahmet, Âlî, *Künhü'l-ahbâr'ın Tezkire Kısım*, ed. Mustafa İsen (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1994), 42.
 40. MS Török F. 59, 247 {13}, 267 {1}. Cf. Mehmet Özmen, *Ahmed-i Da'i Divanı* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2001).
 41. MS Török F. 59, 248 {5}.
 42. MS Török F. 59, 248 {7}. Cf. Sehi Beg, 117–18; Yusuf Küçükdağ, "Karamânî Mehmed Paşa," *TDVİA* 24 (2001): 449–51.
 43. On Chaghatay Turkic literature, see János Eckmann, "Die tschaghataische Literatur," in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ed. Louis Bazin et al., 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, Aquis Mattiacis: Steiner, 1959), 2:304–402; Maria Eva Subtelny, "Art and Politics in Early 16th Century Central Asia," *Central Asiatic Journal* 27, nos. 1–2 (1983): 121–48; and Maria Eva Subtelny, "Socioeconomic Bases of Cultural Patronage under the Later Timurids," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 20, no. 4 (1988): 479–505. On the influence of Chaghatay Turkic on Ottoman literature, see Eleazar Birnbaum, "The Ottomans and Chagatay Literature (An Early 16th Century Manuscript of Navâ'i's *Divan* in Ottoman Orthography)," *Central Asiatic Journal* 20 (1976): 164–74; Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, "Kanuni Devrinin Sonuna

- Kadar Anadolu'da Nevâî Tesiri Üzerine Notlar," in *Atsız Armağanı* (İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınevi, 1976), 75–90. On Ahmed Pasha's Nava'i paraphrases, see Sigrid Kleinmichel, "Mîr 'Alîşêr Navâ'î und Ahmed Paşa," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 17 (1999): 77–212.
44. Libraries in Turkey contain many Nava'i manuscripts dating from the last decade of the fifteenth century, for example Nava'i's *khamisa* (pentology of narrative poems): TSMK, R. 810, copied by Sultan 'Ali Mashadi in 900/1495–96 (Karatay T 2297, vol. 2, 105); and another *khamisa* copy (Süleymaniye, Fatih 3755, copied in 895/1490–91). But at this point it would be difficult to determine whether they are identical with the copies in 'Atufi's inventory or whether they made their way to the Ottoman empire after the battle of Chaldiran in 1514, or even later. On Nava'i manuscripts in Istanbul libraries, see Ağâh Sırrı Levend, "Türkiye Kitaplıklarında Nevai Yazmaları," *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı (Belleten)* 6 (1958): 127–209.
 45. Latifi, 189; MS Török F. 59, 247 {8}. For a copy of Basiri's works, see Süleymaniye, Âşir Efendi 292, fols. 229b–281a.
 46. As for Nava'i's *khamisa* (pentology of romances), however, it is unlikely to have been brought by Mü'eyyedzade to Istanbul, since Nava'i completed it only in the latter part of the 1480s. By that time Mü'eyyedzade had already left Timurid Shiraz and returned to Ottoman service.
 47. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*, 273–92. On Chaghatay Turkic manuscripts written in the Uyghur Script that survive in Ottoman libraries, see Birnbaum, "The Ottomans and Chaghatay Literature," 160–61, 164; Osman F. Sertkaya, "Osmanlı Şairlerinin Çağatayca Şiirleri," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, 18 (1970): 133–38; and Osman F. Sertkaya, "Osmanlı Şairlerinin Çağatayca Şiirleri III: Uygur Harfleriyle Yazılmış Bazı Manzum Parçalar I," *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 20 (1972): 157–84; Reşid Rahmeti Arat, "Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Yarlığı," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 6 (1936–39): 285–322.
 48. András J. E. Bodrogligeti, *A Fourteenth Century Turkic Translation of Sa'di's Gulistan: Sayf-i Sarâyî's Gulistan bi't-turki* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1970).
 49. MS Török F. 59, 265 {2}; Paris BN, Manuscripts turcs, Ancien fonds, nr. 312. See also Necmettin Hacıeminoğlu, *Kutb'un Husrev ü Şirin'i ve Dil Hususiyetleri* (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1968).
 50. This is also corroborated by a Chaghatay Turkic translation of 'Attar's *Tazkirat al-awliya*, copied in 917/1511 (Süleymaniye, Fatih 2448); cf. Ayşe Gül Sertkaya, "Feride'd-dîn-i 'Attâr'ın Tezkire-i Evliya'sının Doğu Türkçesi Çevirisi Üzerinde Bazı Görüşler," *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları* 17 (2007): 305–18.
 51. There is a long-standing debate in scholarship about the authorship of this particular Chaghatay Turkic rendition of the *Gul u Nawrûz*, with a great many scholars favoring the authorship of Lutfi, and others attributing the work to Haydar Kwarizmi. It has now convincingly been settled that the work belongs to the latter. On the debate, see Ferenc Csirkés, "Lutfi and the Gül u Nawrûz," in *Altaica Budapestiensia MMI: Proceedings of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference Budapest, Hungary, June 23–28, 2002*, ed. Alice Sárközi and Attila Rákos (Budapest: Research Group for Altaic Studies, Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Department of Inner Asian Studies, Eötvös Loránd University, 2003), 79–86; and Ferenc Csirkés, "Aspects of Poetic Imitation in 15th–17th-Century Turkish Romances. *Gul u Nawrûz*: A Case Study," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 60, no. 2 (2007): 195–220. For the final word of the debate, see Devin DeWeese, "The Predecessors of Navâ'î in the *Funûn al-balâghah* of Shaykh Aḥmad b. Khudâydâd Ṭarâzî: A Neglected Source on Central Asian Literary Culture from the Fifteenth Century," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 29, no. 1 (2005 = *Festschrift for Eleazar Birnbaum*): 73–164, at 119–20n208.
 52. MS Török F. 59, 265 {1}; Lutfî, *Tanlangan asarlar*, ed. Sodir Erkinov (Toshkent: UzSSR davlat badiii adabiёт nashriёti, 1960). MS Török F. 59, 264 {18}–265 {1}; Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4757, fols. 70–84, 29–34, 85–110, 35–40, 110–59; copyist: 'Abd al-Razzâq Bakhshî (seal of Bayezid II). See also Ayet Abdülaziz Goca, "Haydar Tilbe'nin Mahzenü'l-Esrar Mesnevisi" (PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2000); Avni Gözütok, *Haydar Tilbe, Mahzenü'l-Esrar (Gramer-Metin-Dizin-Tipkibasım)* (Erzurum: Fenomen Yayıncılık, 2008). MS Török F. 59, 264 {18}; Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4757, fols. 1b–27a, 884/1490, with the seal of Selim I; this volume has the same title as in the inventory: "*Risâla bi-al-lugha al-mughlîyya al-manẓûma wa-al-khaṭṭ al-mughlî min qibal al-naṣā'ih*" (Book of Advice in the Mongolian Language and Mongolian Script). Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4012, copied in 848/1444 at Samarqand by Zayn al-'Âbidîn Sulţān Bakht al-Jurjānî, with the seal of Bayezid II; TSMK, H. 244 (Karatay, T 3077, vol. 2, 389) with the seal of Bayezid II, which is written in the Arabic alphabet, and followed by an introduction to the Uyghur alphabet in the volume (fols. 30b–49b). Cf. Edib Ahmed b. Mahmud Yükneci, *Atebetü'l-hakayik*, ed. Reşid Rahmeti Arat (İstanbul: Ateş Basımevi, 1951).
 53. MS Török F. 59, 265 {2–3}.
 54. MS Török F. 59, 263 {1}. Manuscript SOAS, 27, 689; 'Ömer bin Mezîd, *Mecmû'atü'n-nezâ'ir* ed. Mustafa Canpolat (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1982).
 55. Ertek Morkoç, "Eğridirli Hacı Kemal'in Câmî'ü'n-nezâ'iri: Metin ve Mecmua Geleneği Üzerine bir İnceleme" (PhD diss., İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2003).
 56. Paul E. Losensky, *Welcoming Fighānī: Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1998), 145–54.
 57. Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretations in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983).
 58. MS Török F. 59, 264 {4–5}.
 59. Erünsal adds here a nine-volume *İskendernâme* from the inventory (MS Török F. 59, 182 {12}), which, however, is not

- marked as being written in Turkish, and is thus more likely a prose *İskendernâme* written in Persian. Be that as it may, the matter needs further scrutiny.
60. MS Török F. 59, 264 {6–7}; Faruk Kadri Timurtaş, *Şeyhi Husrev ü Şîrin'i: İnceleme – Metin*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü, 1980); Ali Osman Solmaz, “Tutmacı'nın Gül ü Hüsnü Adlı Eseri (İnceleme – Metin – Dizin)” (PhD diss., Erzurum, Atatürk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı, 2007); Özlem Güneş, “Fahri'nin Husrev u Şîrin'i (metin ve tahlil), Nizâmî ve Şeyhî'nin eserleriyle karşılaştırılması” (PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2010); Barbara Flemming, *Fahris Husrev u Şîrin* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1974).
 61. MS Török F. 59, 264 {7–8}; Hâssân, *Mihr ü müştêrî*, Paris, BN, Ancien fonds 313. The text of Münîrî's Turkish work has been prepared as an undergraduate thesis (Neslihan Özdoğan [vr. 1b–13a]), and in five master's theses, all from İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü in 1986: Hüseyin Kara [vr. 13b–20a]; Nasrullah Özsoy [vr. 20a–26b]; Kâmil Tiken [vr. 27a–33b]; M. Okan Baba [vr. 33b–39b]; Fatma Nur Yılmaz [vr. 39b–45b]. See also A. Azmi Bilgi, “Mihr ü Müştêrî,” *TDVİA* 30 (2005): 28–29; Ayten Akmandor, “Münîrî ve Mihr ü Müştêrî Mesnevisi” (PhD diss., Ankara Üniversitesi, 1986). Manuscripts: British Library 7742; Millet Ktp., Ali Emîrî Efendi, Manzum 1185.
 62. MS Török F. 59, 263 {10}, 264 {8–9}.
 63. MS Török F. 59, 263 {12}; British Library, Or. 7115. See also Mustafa Güneş, *Hamdî ve Tuhfetü'l-Uşşâk'te: Âşıklara Armağan* (Kütahya: Mustafa Güne, 2014); Zehra Öztürk, “Hamdullah Hamdî,” *TDVİA* 15 (1997): 452–54.
 64. MS Török F. 59, 263 {13}. For prose *Hamzanâmes*, see: TSMK, K. 918 (Karatay, T 2779, vol. 2, 289–90); Flügel 795, vol. 2, 29–39; BN, Ancien Fonds 352; and Supplement 632, 647–49, 654, 656.
 65. MS Török F. 59, 267 {1–2}. Aḥmed-i Dā'î, *Çengnâme* (Cambridge, MA: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1992). The work is a mystical allegory dedicated to Emir Süleyman b. Yıldırım Bayezid I. 'Atufî glosses it as *Ushshâq-nâma fî târiḫ Amîr Sulaymân b. Yıldırım Bâyezîd Khân -khullîdat khilâfatuhum* (The Book of Lovers, a book of history on Amîr Sulaymân b. Yıldırım Bâyezîd Khân – may God perpetuate their caliphates!). 'Atufî likely read the title as *Cengnâme* (The Book of War) and so misplaced it in the inventory's subsection of verse chronicles.
 66. Amil Çelebioğlu, *Türk Mesnevî Edebiyatı 15 yy. kadar (Sultan II. Murad Devri) (824–855/1421–1451)* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1999); Muhsin Macit, “Mesneviler,” in *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, ed. Talât Sait Halman et al., 4 vols. (İstanbul: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2006), 2:55–72.
 67. MS Török F. 59, 263 {5}.
 68. MS Török F. 59, 263 {7}.
 69. MS Török F. 59, 263 {8}.
 70. MS Török F. 59, 263 {6}; Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 1701 (seal of Bayezid II) copied by Maḥmûd b. Aḥmed (?). See Selcen Çiftçi, “Hisârî ve Eseri 'Kitâbu tuhfetü'l-mü'min' Hakkında,” *Türk Dünyası İncelemeleri Dergisi / Journal of Turkish World Studies* VII, no. 2 (Winter 2007): 81–89.
 71. MS Török F. 59, 263 {6–7}; Mahmut Kaplan and Şirvan Kalsın, “Germiyanlı Yetimî ve 'İbretnâmesi,” *Turkish Studies* 4, no. 2 (Winter 2003), 705–22. The work is undated, but because both Aşık Çelebi and Kınalızade Hasan Çelebi mention Yetimî in their respective biographical anthologies, he probably lived in the fifteenth or early sixteenth century. See Aşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü's-şuarâ: İnceleme, Metin*, ed. Filiz Kılıç (Tepebaşı-Beyoğlu, İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010), 1:672; Kınalızade Hasan Çelebi, *Tezkiretü's-şuarâ*, ed. İbrahim Kutluk, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1989), 2:1076–77.
 72. MS Török F. 59, 264 {1–2}; 263 {19}. Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 1782 (seal of Bayezid II). Edition: Muharrem Güzeldir, “Cefâyî – Dakâyıku'l-hakâyık (Gramer İncelemesi – Metin – İndeks)” (master's thesis, Erzurum, Atatürk Üniversitesi, 1995).
 73. MS Török F. 59, 265 {13–16}.
 74. MS Török F. 59, 263 {8–9}. Süleymaniye, İbrahim Efendi 652; Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 1851, 1853. See Reşat Öngören, “Muslihuddin Mustafa,” *TDVİA* 31 (2006): 269–71.
 75. MS Török F. 59, 263 {18–19}.
 76. MS Török F. 59, 263 {14}. Hidayet Ünal, “Ruşeni Ömer Dede'nin Çoban-name Mesnevisi: İnceleme-Metin” (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2003); Dede Ömer Ruşeni, *Ney-nâme*, ed. Mustafa Uzun (İstanbul: s.l., 1990); Mustafa Uzun, “Dede Ömer Rûşenî,” *TDVİA* 9 (1994): 81–83.
 77. MS Török F. 59, 263 {17–18}. İbrahim Tennuri, *Gülzâr-ı Ma'nevî: Giriş, İnceleme, Metin, Sözlük, Tıpkıbasım*, ed. Mustafa Demirel (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 2005).
 78. MS Török F. 59, 263 {13}. Cf. Milli Ktp., Yz. A 374. See Gürol Pehlivan, “Akbiyık Sultan: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Hikâyât-i Nây Mesnevisi,” *Sûfî Araştırmaları = Sufi Studies* 6, no. 11 (Winter 2015): 31–72; and his “Akbiyık Sultan'ın Bilinmeyen bir Mesnevisi: Hikâyet-i Şemseddin,” *Sûfî Araştırmaları = Sufi Studies* 7, no. 13 (Winter 2016): 31–72.
 79. MS Török F. 59, 263 {16–17}, 113 {12}.
 80. MS Török F. 59, 263 {11–12}.
 81. MS Török F. 59; 265 {7}. Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Kütüphanesi, İ. Saib Kitapları, no: 4574, copied in 985/1577–78. See Üzeyir Arslan, “Fetihten Sonra Yazılmış İlk Mevlid-i Manevi: Kerimi'nin İrşad'ı,” *Divan Edebiyatı Araştırmaları* 2 (2009): 19–80.
 82. MS Török F. 59, 265 {8}. TSMK, Koğuşlar 994 (books 4–6) and 995, copied in 930/1523–24 by Mustafa b. Hacı Mehmed b. Mahmud, books 1–3 in a single volume: Karatay, T, vol. 1, 337–38). See Mustafa Özkat, “Münîrî (öl. 1521?)'nin Manzum Siyer-i Nebî'si, Cilt IV-V (İnceleme-Metin)” (PhD diss., İstanbul, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2011).
 83. The earliest known copy of the work is Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 3485, dated 916/1510–11.

84. MS Török F. 59, 265 {13–14}: “*Siyar al-Nabī – ʿallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama*” (Biography of the Prophet – God bless Him and grant Him salvation!), 2 vols. Carlos Grenier, “The Yazıcıoğlu and the Spiritual Vernacular of the Early Ottoman Frontier” (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2017), 137–54. See also *EL2*, s.v. “Mawlid,” by H. Fuchs and F. de Jong, 6:895–97.
85. MS Török F. 59, 266 {5–7}: *Tawāriḫ al-salāṭin al-‘uthmāniyya -ṭayyaba Allāhu ta‘ālā tharāhum- ilā dhikr Sulṭān al-Salāṭin Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān bin Meḥemmed Khān—zāda Allāhu ta‘ālā sa‘adatahum fī al-dārayn* (The Histories of the Ottoman Sultans—May God Most High Make Their Earth Light!—to the Sultan of Sultans, Bayezid Khan, son of Mehemmed Khan—May God Most High extend their bliss in both worlds!). MS Török F. 59, 266 {18–19}: *Kitāb tawāriḫ al-salāṭin al-‘uthmāniyya khullidat khilāfatuhum* (History of the Ottoman Sultans—May Their Caliphate Be Eternal!).
86. MS Török F. 59, 266 {3–7}: Şafā’ī of Sinop, *Fethnâme-yi İnebahtı ve Moton* (Book on the Conquest of Lepanto and Methoni). TSMK, R. 1271 (Karatay, T 626, vol. 1, 205–6), seal of Bayezid II. Necdet Öztürk, *XV. Yüzyıl Tarihçilerinden Kemal, Selâtin-nâme (1299–1490)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2001); İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Türkçe Yazmalar 331. Although probably not cited by ‘Atufi, we should also mention an anonymous *masnavî* poem eulogizing Bayezid II, titled *Medḥ-i Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān*, copied in 887/1482–83 (TSMK, K 954; Karatay, T 2940/1, vol. 2, 341).
87. MS Török F. 59, 249 {19}: *Naẓm-i Qışṣa-yi Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān -khallada Allāhu ta‘ālā khilāfatahū* (Verse about the Legend of Sultan Bayezid Khan—May God Most High perpetuate his caliphate!). MS Török F. 59, 250 {15–16}: *Naẓm-i ghazānāma-yi Rūm fī tawāriḫ-i Meḥemmed Khān bin Murād Khān -ṭāba tharāhumā* (Book of the Conquest of Rum, about the History of Mehmed II Son of Murad II—May Their Dust Be Fragrant!). MS Török F. 59, 251 {5–6}: *Naẓm-i tawāriḫ Sulṭān Meḥemmed Khān b. Murād Khān -khullidat khilāfatuhum- wa-ghayruhū* (Verse History of Mehmed II son of Murad II—May Their Caliphate Be Eternal!). MS Török F. 59, 251 {14–15}: *Kitāb-i naẓm-i tawāriḫ-i Sulṭān Meḥemmed Khān -ṭāba tharāhu* (Verse History of Mehmed II—May His Dust Be Fragrant!). MS Török F. 59, 253 {19}: *Kāshifī, Fathnāma-i Eğriboz* (Book of the Conquest of Euboea). MS Török F. 59, 254 {19}: *Naẓm-i qışṣa-yi ibtidā’-i khilāfat-i Sulṭān al-Salāṭin Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān -a‘ānahū al-musta‘ān* (Story of the Beginning of the Caliphate of the Sultan of Sultans, Bayezid Khan—May the One Whose Aid Is Begged Succor Him!). MS Török F. 59, 255 {2–3}: *Midḥat Sulṭān al-Salāṭin Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān -a‘ānahū al-musta‘ān* (Praise of the Sultan of Sultans, Sultan Bayezid Khan—May the One Whose Aid Is Begged Succor Him!). MS Török F. 59, 257, {8–9}: *Risāla fī madḥ Sulṭān al-Salāṭin Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān -a‘ānahū al-musta‘ān* (Treatise in Praise of Sultan Bayezid—May the One Whose Aid Is Begged Succor Him!).
88. Sara Nur Yıldız, “Ottoman Historical Writing in Persian, 1400–1600,” in *A History of Persian Literature*, ed. Charles Melville, vol. 10, *Persian Historiography* (London and New York: I.B. Taurus, 2012), 436–502.
89. Christopher Markiewicz, “The Crisis of Rule in Late-Medieval Islam.” Partial editions of Uzun Firdevs’s work include Gülnaz Genç, “Firdevsî-i Rûmî, Süleymân-nâme (25 ve 26. Ciltler) Giriş-Metin-Sözlük” (PhD diss., İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1995); Hamdi Güleç, “Firdevsî-i Rûmî’nin Süleymân-nâme’si-42. Cilt, Dâsîtân-ı Ceng-i Âheng-i Efrâsiyâb-ı Türk- Üzerinde bir Metin İncelemesi” (PhD diss., İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1994); Halil İbrahim Usta, “Firdevsî-i Rûmî, Süleymân-nâme-i Kebîr, İnceleme-Metin-Sözlük” (PhD diss., Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1995); Asuman Akay, “Firdevsî: Süleymân-nâme (44. Cilt) Metin ve Fiiller Üzerine Bir İnceleme” (PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1990); M. Ata Çatıkkaş, *Firdevsî-i Rûmî, Süleymân-nâme-i Kebîr* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2009); Mehmet Dursun Erdem, “Kitâb-ı Kissanâme-i Süleymân Aleyhisselâm Üzerine Söz Dizimi Çalışması, Süleymân-nâme 74. Cilt” (PhD diss., Samsun: On Dokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2005); Yasemin Abul, “Süleymân-nâme-i Kebîr’in 43. Cildi Üzerinde Metin ve İnceleme” (master’s thesis, Manisa: Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2004); Sezer Özyaşamış Şakar, “Firdevsî-i Rûmî’nin Süleymân-nâme Yazmasının (81. Cilt, 28 yk.) Bilimsel Yayını ve Üzerinde Dil İncelemeleri” (master’s thesis, İstanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2003); İlham Jafarova, “Firdevsî-i Rûmî’nin Süleymân-nâme Yazmasının (81. Cilt, 28 yk.) Bilimsel Yayını ve Üzerinde Dil İncelemeleri” (master’s thesis, İstanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2003); İbrahim Köz, “Firdevsî-i Rûmî’nin Süleymân-nâme Yazmasının (81. Cilt 70, 54 b.yk.) Bilimsel Yayını ve Üzerinde Dil İncelemeleri” (master’s thesis, İstanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2004). See also Sezer Özyaşamış Şakar, “Firdevsî-i Rûmî ve Terceme-i Câmeşûy-nâme,” *Turkish Studies, International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic* 2, no. 4 (Fall 2007): 723–30, at 724–25.
90. Halil İncalcık, “The Rise of Ottoman Historiography,” in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 152–67, at 164.
91. On the subject, see Yusuf Öz, *Tarih Boyunca Farsça-Türkçe Sözlükler* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2010); Yorgos Dedes, “Luğat-i Rûmiye: A Turkish Greek Dictionary from the Late Ottoman Period,” *Journal of Turkish Studies* 31, no. 1 (2007): 238–80.
92. MS Török F. 59, 294, {12–13}. TSMK, A. 2243, 2740, 2741. See Nuri Yüce, *Mukaddimetü’l-edebe: Hıvârizm Türkçesi ile Tercümeli Şuşter Nüshası* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988). The latter is the edition of only the Khwarizm Turkish section of one of the manuscripts of the work. Remarkably, ‘Atufi does not designate the lan-

- guage of the interlinear translations here as “Mongolian,” although they were written in Eastern Turkic, more precisely Khwarazmian Turkic, which suggests that the designation “Mongolian” likely refers to the script and not the dialect.
93. Zeki Velidi Togan, “Zimahşerî'nin Doğu Türkçesiyle Muḳaddimetü'l Edeb'i,” *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 14 (1965): 81–92. At the present state of research, it is impossible to track the itinerary of Zamakhshari's work to Ottoman lands. Did it get there through the lands of the Mongol Ilkhans in Iran, or did it have a stop-over in Mamluk Egypt? On Zamakhshari, see further below.
 94. Cf. Leiden University Library, MS Acad. 74 (6) and Acad. 79 (1): Jan Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and Other Collections in the Netherlands: Minor Collections* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 164. See Öz, *Tarih Boyunca Farsça-Türkçe Sözlükler*, 100–103. The inventory also lists a work under the title *Kitāb-i dānisten* (MS Török F. 59, 294 {6}), which might be another copy of the same work, if 'Atufi was unaware of their identity. Or it could correspond to a lesser known short treatise: Süleymaniye, Hacı Mahmut, 6115/3 (fols. 42b–55b). See Şirvan Kalsın and Mahmut Kaplan, “Müellifi Meḥlul bir Lugat: Haza Kitab-ı Lugat-ı Dānisten,” *Turkish Studies, International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic* 4, no. 4 (Summer 2009): 555–98.
 95. MS Török F. 59, 295 {19}–296 {1}. Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4773, copied in 884/1479. Halimi's better known work is his *Baḥr al-gharā'ib*. Cf. Öz, *Tarih Boyunca Farsça-Türkçe Sözlükler*, 94–100.
 96. Lutfullah b. Ebu Yusuf al-Halimi, *Lügat-i Halimi*, ed. Adem Uzun (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2013).
 97. MS Török F. 59, 294 {10}: *Risāla manẓūma* (Treatise in Verse). MS Török F. 59, 298 {17}: *Kitāb al-amthila mutarjam bi-al-turkiyya* (Book of Examples Translated into Turkish). See also: İsmail Durmuş, “el-Emsile,” *TDVİA* 11 (1995): 166–67.
 98. MS Török F. 59, 298 {4}; Millet Ktp., Ali Emiri, Arabî 4189. See Maḥmūd al-Kāşğari, *Türk Şiveleri Lügatı (Dīvānū Luġāt-it-Türk)*, ed. and trans. Robert Dankoff and James Kelly, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982–85).
 99. *Risāla fi al-lugha al-yūnāniyya mutarjama bi-al-turkiyya* (Treatise on the Greek Language Translated into Turkish): MS Török F. 59, 294 {7–8}.
 100. İsmail Erünsal, “Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinin Arşiv Kaynakları I: II. Bayezid Devrine Ait Bir İn'amat Defteri,” *İ.Ü.Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 10–11 (1981): 303–42.
 101. Erünsal, “908 (1502) Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu,” 269.
 102. Öz, *Tarih Boyunca Farsça-Türkçe Sözlükler*, 79–133.
 103. Cemal Muhtar, *İki Kur'an Sözlüğü: Luġat-ı Ferišteoğlu, Abdullatîf İbn Melek, ve Luġat-ı Kânûn-ı İlâhî, Abdulmecid İbn Ferište* (Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Vakfı Yayınları, 1993).
 104. I thank Gülru Necipoğlu for this comment. See also her essay in the present volume.
 105. MS Török F. 59, 298 {6–12}. TSMK, A. 2732 (Karatay, F 304, 116).
 106. MS Török F. 59, 298 {13}, {14–15}.
 107. MS Török 59, 13 {14}. Mehmet bin Hamza, *XV. Yüzyıl Başlarında Yapılmış Satır-arası Kur'an Tercümesi* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi: Devlet Kitapları, 1976). There are four Turkish Qur'an translations at the Topkapı Palace Library that were likely executed in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, but none of them is dated or bears the seal of Bayezid II; therefore, we do not know whether 'Atufi's entry corresponds to any of them (TSMK, K. 47, K. 252, K. 270, K. 610 [Karatay, T, vol. 1, 1–2]).
 108. MS Török F. 59, 26 {18–19}. TSMK, H. 22 (Karatay, T 20, vol. 1, 7); TMSK, A. 32 (Karatay, T 3087, vol. 2, 393) copied in 913/1508, with the seal of Bayezid II. See Ahmet Topaloğlu, “Cevahirü'l-asdâf (Giriş-Metin-Sözlük)” (PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1982).
 109. MS Török F. 59, 28 {8}, {7–8}, {10}.
 110. Abdülhamit Birişik and Recep Arpa, “Osmanlı Dönemi Tefsir Tercümeleri,” *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 9, no. 18 (2011): 191–232.
 111. MS Török F. 59, 48 {6–7}. I have not been able to locate any Turkish version. For manuscripts of the original Arabic version (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 3649/38), see Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der Arabischen Handschriften* (Berlin: A. Asher, 1891), 4:329–30. See also Āqā Buzurg al-Ṭihirānī, *al-Dharia ilā taṣānif al-Shī'a*, 3rd ed. (Bayrūt: Dār al-Adwā', 1403/1983), 6:394. For the two Turkish al-Ushi translations, see MS Török F. 59, 62 {4–7}.
 112. MS Török F. 59, 86 {9}, 88 {13}, 98 {16–17}, 99 {18–19}. See also Süleymaniye, Hamidiye 550/1, copied in 1458 by order of Mehmed II: Kerime Üstünova, *Kutbe'd-Dîn İzniki Mukaddime: Giriş - İnceleme - Metin - Sözlük (Şahâbe'dîn Kudsi Nüşası)* (Bursa: T.C. Uludağ Üniversitesi, 2003).
 113. Copies of al-Zanjani's *Taşrif* mentioned by 'Atufi include MS Török F. 59, 282 {1, 2, 5, 6}, 284 {17}. Copies of commentaries on it in Arabic are cited in 61 {4}, 282 {18}, 283 {2–3, 5, 6}, 284 {17}. Copies of commentaries in Persian: 283 {3–4}, 300 {4}. al-Taftazani's *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar*: MS Török F. 59, 283, {7}. Edition: Mas'ūd b. 'Umar Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-'Allāmah Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī 'alā al-Taşrif al-'Izzī*, ed. İbrāhīm 'Umar Sulaymān Zubaydah (Ṭarābulus, Libiyā: al-Hay'ah al-Qawmiyah li al-Baḥṭh al-'İlmī, 2003). On Hocazade Muslihuddin Efendi, see Süleymaniye, Antalya-Tekelioğlu, 628; Saffet Köse, “Hocazâde Muslihuddin Efendi,” *TDVİA* 18 (1998): 207–9.
 114. For copies in the original Arabic, see MS Török F. 59, 26 {8}, 62 {8}, 96 {3}.
 115. Ibid.
 116. Lâdikli Meḥmed Çelebi, *Zayn al-alḥān fi 'ilm al-ta'rif wa-al-awzān* (in Arabic). Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 3655, copied in 888/1483–84. MS Török F. 59, 337 {3–4}: *Zeynü'l-elḥān* (Turkish), Ankara, Milli Ktp., İbn-i Sina Salonu, A. 1267, copied 889/1484. See Ahmet Pekşen, “Zeynü'l-elḥān isimli Eserin Metin ve Sözlük Çalışması: Lâdikli Mehmed Çelebi”

- (master's thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2002); Recep Uslu, "Mehmed Çelebi, Lâdikli," *TDVİA* 28 (2003): 449.
117. MS Török F. 59, 185 {5}. TSMK, R. 1465 (Karatay, T 1011, vol. 1, 327), dedicated to Bayezid II. For Qazvini's Persian original, see MS Török F. 59, 184 {19}–185 {4}; Ethé, IO 534 (vol. 1, 211–12).
 118. MS Török F. 59, 242, {1}, 249, {14}. Of course, we could also mention Cemali's uncle Şeyhi's *Hüsrev ü Şirîn*, but it is more likely that copies of this work and its model written by Nizami Ganjavi found their way into Bayezid II's library because of their general popularity than because of court patronage.
 119. MS Török F. 59, 253 {11, 12}, 255 {12}. Jalal Tabib, *Gul u Nawrûz*, ed. Ali Muhaddis (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2001).
 120. Tekin, "Fatih Devri Türk Edebiyatı," 161.
 121. Suraiya Faruqi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2000), 188–89; Kim, "Minding the Shop," 76, 106; Kim, *Last of an Age*, 8, 22; Gülru Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *The Art Bulletin* 1, no. 3 (1989): 401–27, at 139.
 122. Cornell H. Fleischer, personal communication, September 10, 2017.
 123. Manuscript: Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri Mnz. 305; the copy is not dated, but was in all likelihood executed later than the fifteenth century. See also Fâtih Sultan Mehmed, *Fâtih Dîvânı ve Şerhi=Dîwân of Sultan Mehmed II with Commentary*, ed. Muhammet Nur Doğan (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2014).
 124. See Zeynep Altok, "Âşık Çelebi ve Edebî Kanon," in *Âşık Çelebi ve Şairler Tezkiresi Üzerine Yazılar*, ed. Hatice Aynur and Aslı Niyazioğlu (İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011), 117–32. Altok makes the convincing case that canonization is connected with institutionalization, which in the Ottoman context occurred towards the end of the sixteenth century.
 125. Cf. Sooyong Kim, Judith Pfeiffer, and Christopher Markiewicz's respective essays in the present volume. On Persian as the mainstay of an international, cosmopolitan Persianate literary culture, see Bert G. Fagner, *Die "Persophonie": Regionalität, Identität und Sprachkontakt in der Geschichte Asiens* (Berlin-Charlottenburg: Das Arabische Buch, 1999); Brian Spooner and William L. Hanaway, eds., *Literacy in the Persianate World: Writing and the Social Order* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archeology and Anthropology, 2012). See also the papers by Andrew Peacock (19–45), Sara Nur Yıldız (173–96), Selim Kuru (197–241), and Sooyong Kim (383–400) in *Islamic Literature and Intellectual Life in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Anatolia*. For a descriptive account of Persian dictionaries, see Muḥammad Amīn Riyāḥī, *Zabān va adab-i fārsī dar qalamraw-i 'uṣmānī* (Tehran: Pāzhang, 1990). On Iranian studies in Turkey, see Metin Yüksel, "Iranian Studies in Turkey," *Iranian Studies* 48 (2015): 531–50. On Persian dictionaries, see Muḥammad Dabīr Siyāqī, *Farhanghā-yi fārsī va farhang'gūnahā* (Tehran: Isparak, 1989); S. I. Baevski, *Early Persian Lexicography: Farhangs of the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Centuries* (Folkestone, UK: Global Oriental, 2007); *Elr*, s.v. "Dictionaries," by multiple authors; Storey, vol. 3, part 1, 1–175; Aḥmad Munzavī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi fārsī* (Tehran: Mu'assasa-yi Farhang-i Miṭṭaqa'ī, 1350/1971), 3:1919–2046.
 126. See Gülru Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation."
 127. In order to better evaluate the role of Persian in the Ottoman enterprise, the discussion below also touches on dictionaries dedicated to other languages, mostly Arabic, that use Persian as a medium language.
 128. John R. Perry, "Persian-Arabic Bilingualism in the Evolution of New Persian," in *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Bilingualism in the Iranian World* (Bamberg, July 1992), 6: <https://nec.uchicago.edu/sites/nec.uchicago.edu/files/Perry1992paper%20Pers-Arab%20biling.pdf>, last accessed on May 13, 2018.
 129. For example, the Ottoman Turkish word *tercüme* ("translation"), with a labial vowel in the second syllable, clearly reflects a Persian antecedent, *tarjuma*, and not Arabic *tarjama* with an illabial vowel in the same position.
 130. MS. Török F. 39, 296 {17}, 299 {12–13}; Asadī Tūsī, *Kitāb-i lughat-i furs*, ed. 'Abbās Iqbāl Āshtiyānī (Tehran: Asātir, 2010); *Asadī's Neupersisches Wörterbuch Lughat-i Furs: Nach der einzigen Vaticanischen*, ed. Paul Horn (Berlin: Weidmann Buchhandlung, 1897). As 'Atufi has no entries on other Persian monolingual dictionaries known from this early period, such as Qatran and Abu Hafṣ Sughdī's respective glossaries, we have to assume that these works must have been lost by his time. Remarkably, 'Atufi indicates the former copy (i.e., Török F. 39, 296 {17}) to be a translation into Persian, which—if our identification is correct—is a mistake, as the work itself was written in Persian. See also Storey, vol. 3, part 1, 3–4; Orhan Bilgin, "Esedī-i Tūsī," *TDVİA* 11 (1995): 370; Baevski 52–55; *Elr*, s.v. "Asadī Tūsī," by Jalal Khaleghi Motlagh.
 131. *Kitāb ḥall mushkilāt lughat al-furs 'alā tartīb al-ḥurūf* (Solution of Difficulties in the Language of the Persians Arranged according to the Letters [of the Alphabet]), MS Török F. 59, 296 {19}; *Kitāb lughat al-furs al-mutarjam bi-al-fārisiyya* (The Language of the Persians Translated into Persian), MS Török F. 59, 296 {17–18}; *Mukhtaṣar fī al-lughati al-furs 'alā tartīb al-ḥurūf* (Abridged Persian Dictionary Arranged according to Letters), MS Török F. 59, 299 {13}.
 132. MS Török F. 59, 297 {2}. Cf. Milli Ktp. FB 33 (904/1498); Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4697 (877/1472–73), 4698 (901/1495–96); Fatih 5204 (892/1487); TSMK, A. 2697 (Karatay, T 2046, vol. 2, 22), Koğuşlar 1197 (899/1493–94; Karatay T 2045, vol. 2, 22); R. 1885 (Karatay T 2051, vol. 2, 23). Storey, vol. 3, part 1, 5–7; Baevski 55–57. In some of its extant manuscripts, the work is accompanied by Turkish interlinear notes. On such copies, see Fikret Turan, "Adventures of a Mediaeval Language Book into Modern Times: Persistence of *Sıḥāhu'l-*

- 'Ajam in Ottoman Language Learning and Its Textual Problems," in *Turcology and Linguistics: Éva Ágnes Csató Festschrift*, ed. Nurettin Demir, Birsal Karakoç, and Astrid Menz (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2014), 441–48.
133. There is another unidentifiable volume listed by 'Atufi (MS Török F. 59, 295 {18}), which might also be a Persian monolingual dictionary, but it is impossible to ascertain this with any degree of certainty: *Kitāb 'alā tartīb ḥurūf al-tahajjī fī lughat al-furs* (A Book on the Language of Persia Arranged according to the Letters of the Alphabet).
 134. John R. Perry, "Early Arabic-Persian Lexicography: The *Asāmī* and *Maṣādir* Genres," in *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Arabic Lexicology and Lexicography* (C.A.L.L.), Part I, ed. K. Dévényi, T. Iványi, and A. Shvitiel (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University Chair for Arabic Studies: Csoma de Kőrös Society, 1993), 247–60, at 258.
 135. The following classification of Arabic-Persian dictionaries is based on John Perry's treatment of the subject in *Elr*, s.v. "Dictionaries, ii. Arabic-Persian," by John R. Perry.
 136. MS Török F. 59, 299 {4–5}; Abū al-Ma'ālī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Tarājim al-a'ajim: Farhang-i kuhan-i vāzha-hā-yi qur'ān*, ed. Mas'ūd Qāsimī and Maḥmūd Mudabbirī (Tehran: Ittilā'āt, 1389/2010–11). *Nuqūd al-jumān fī tafsīr lughāt al-Qur'ān* (Piercing the Pearl: Exegesis of the Words of the Qur'an), MS Török F. 59, 300 {1}, in which case it is difficult to determine whether it was written in Persian or Arabic; *Kitāb tarājum lughāt al-qur'ān al-'aẓīm bi-al-fārisiyya* (Book of the Persian Translation of Words from the Great Qur'an), Persian, MS Török F. 59, 296 {15–16}.
 137. MS Török F. 59, 295 {1}. TSMK, A. 2778 (Karatay, A 7552, vol. 4, 21; Karatay, F 311, 118); copied by Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allah b. al-Ḥasan in (796/1394); cf. Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad Zawzanī, *Kitāb al-maṣādir*, ed. Taqī Binīsh (Mashhad: Chāp-i Tūs, 1960); Storey, vol. 3, part 1, 80–81.
 138. MS Török F. 59, 295 {2–3}; Bū Ja'farak, *Tāj al-Maṣādir*, ed. Hādī 'Alimzāda (Tehran: Mu'assasah-'i Muṭāla'āt va Taḥqīqāt-i Farhangī, 1987); Storey, vol. 3, part 1, 84–85.
 139. *Kitāb al-aḥkām fī al-lughā al-mutarjam bi-al-fārisiyya* (Book on Verbs in the [Arabic] Language Translated into Persian), MS Török F. 59, 294 {15}.
 140. MS Török F. 59, 295 {1–2}; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Maydānī, *al-Sāmī fī al-asāmī* (Tehran: Bunyād-i Farhang-i Irān, 1967). There is a copy of the work at the Topkapı Palace Library (TSMK A. 2745, Karatay, A 7556, vol. 4, 22) executed on 18 Safar 633/9 November 1235 by one Ḥusayn b. Yūsuf b. al-Khiẓr b. al-Bugharī al-Khalatī, but we do not know whether it was already in the library during the reign of Bayezid II or was acquired later.
 141. *Sharḥ al-kalimāt al-mushkila fī Kitāb al-sāmī fī al-asāmī* (Explication of the Difficult Words in al-Maydānī's *al-Sāmī fī al-asāmī*), Török F. 39, 297 {2–3}.
 142. MS Török F. 59, 298 {6}. Cf. TSMK A. 2732, fols. 1b–40a; seal of Bayezid II (Karatay, F 304, 116).
 143. *Kitāb al-asmā' 'alā tartīb al-ḥurūf* (Book of Nouns Arranged according to the Alphabet), MS Török F. 59, 298 {12–13}.
 144. MS Török F. 59, 294, {12}–{16}, 300 {16–17}. In one case (300 {14–16}), 'Atufi refers to Zamakhshari by his other name, Jarullah, which suggests that 'Atufi may not have considered this copy of the work to have been written by the same author as the *Muqaddimat al-adab*. For an edition, see Zamakhshari, *Muqaddimat al-adab*, ed. Mahdī Muḥaqqiq (Tehran: Mu'assasa-yi Muṭāla'āt-i Islāmī, 2007). For the edition of a Khwarizm Turkic interlinear translation, see Nuri Yüce, *Mukaddimetü'l-'edeb: Ḥvārizm Türkçesi ile Tercümeli Şuşter Nüshası* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988). Cf. also Storey, vol. 3, part 1, 82–84; Aḥmad Munzavī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī* (Tehran: Mu'assasa-yi Farhangī-yi Mintaqa'ī, 1350 sh./1971), 3:2031–33.
 145. TSMK, A. 2243 (Karatay, A 7559, vol. 4, 23–24). On the basis of a death note for one Sharaf al-Dīn on 1b, this manuscript was copied around 776/1374; seal of Bayezid II. Arabic with Arabic explanatory marginalia and Eastern Turkic interlinear translations; the first two parts are consistently translated, but the third part has few Turkic translations. There is a colophon on 247a, likely by a hand different from that of the copyist, with the date 910/1504–5. TSMK, A. 2740; Chaghatay Turkic and Persian; according to Togan, it was copied in the mid-fourteenth century by one Shams of Khiva. TSMK, A. 2741 (Karatay, A 7561, vol. 4, 24). Persian and—at least according to Togan—also Eastern Turkic interlinear translation, although I have not been able to find any of the latter. The colophon at the end of a short treatise titled *Miftāḥ al-najāt* in Arabic is written in a different hand between chapters 2 and 3 of Zamakhshari's work (fols. 102a–103a), dated 890/1485–86 (fol. 158), but we do not know when the manuscript made its way into the Ottoman palace library. On manuscripts of the work with Eastern Turkic interlinear translation, see Zeki Velidi Togan, "Zimahşeri'nin [sic] Doğu Türkçesi ile «Muḥaddimetü'l-'edeb»i," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 14 (1965): 81–92.
 146. MS Török F. 59, 300 {5–6}. According to 'Atufi, it is only the first volume of the work, down to the letter *ṣād*. See Storey, vol. 3, part 1, 87; Ahmed Ateş, "Hicrî VI.-VIII. (XII.-XIV.) Asırlarda Anadolu'da Farsça Eserler," *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, 7–8, no. 2 (1945): 94–135; Munzavī 2013–14.
 147. *Kitāb mukhtaṣar ṣiḥāḥ al-Jawharī al-mutarjam bi-al-fārisiyya* (Abridgment of the Persian Translation of Jawharī's *Correct Arabic*); MS Török F. 59, 293 {16}; TSMK, A. 2692 (Karatay, A 7579, vol. 4, 14); Storey, vol. 3, part 1, 78–80; Munzavī 1999–2000. Cf. *Elr*, s.v. "Dictionaries, ii. Arabic Persian," by John R. Perry.
 148. "*Risāla kalimāt 'arabiyya mutarjama bi-al-fārisiyya*" (A Treatise of Arabic Words Translated into Persian), MS Török F. 59, 296 {13–14}; "*Risāla fī kalimāt 'arabiyya mutarjama bi-al-fārisiyya*" (A Treatise on Words Translated into Persian), MS Török F. 59, 296 {14–15}.
 149. MS Török F. 59, 298 {10–11}; TSMK A. 2732; seal of Bayezid II (Karatay, F 304, 116), 241b–262b, copied on 24 Dhu al-Hijja 869/August 26, 1465; Abū Naṣr Farāhī, *Niṣāb al-ṣibyān*, ed. Muḥammad Javād Mashkūr, 2nd ed. (Tehran: Sāzmān-i

- Intishārāt-i Ashrafi, 1975); Storey, vol. 3, part 1, 88–91. MS Török F. 59, 298 {15}.
150. MS Török F. 59, 298 {11}; TSMK A. 2732 with seal of Bayezid II (Karatay, F 304, 116), fols. 263b–296a, copied on 27 Muharram 870; cf. Munzavī 2044–45.
 151. MS Török, F. 39, 300 {7–9}. İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan, *Ahmed-i Dâî: Hayatı, ve Eserleri*. (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1952), 265–72; Storey, vol. 3, part 1, 86–87.
 152. See Yusuf Öz, *Tarih Boyunca Farsça-Türkçe Sözlükler*.
 153. MS Török F. 59, 295 {19}–296 {1}; Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4773 (copied in 884/1479).
 154. *Asāmī al-adwīya* (Names of Medicaments), MS Török F. 59, 299 {6–7}, 296 {2}. Also multilingual, though presently unidentifiable, are the works included in another volume, titled *Mulḥaqāt Dānistan min al-lughā al-rūmiyya wa-al-sarfiyya* (Appendices of the *Dānistan* [Book of Knowledge?] from Greek and Serbian) and *Risālat ḥikāyat Qirīsūs bi-khattʿ arabī wa-ghayrihī wa-awraq fihā khuṭūṭ mukhtalifa* (The Story of Qirisūs in the Arabic and Other Scripts, and pages with various writings on them.) The latter work is described by ʿAtufi as using other scripts—possibly Greek, Syriac, and Glagolitic—apart from Arabic, but we do not know exactly which scripts are used (MS Török F. 59, 297 {1}).
 155. The latter has been published: Werner Lehfeldt, *Ein arabisch-persisch-griechisch-serbokroatisches Sprachlehrbuch in arabischer Schrift aus dem 15./16. Jahrhundert* (Bochum: Ruhr-Universität Bochum, 1970); Werner Lehfeldt, *Eine Sprachlehre von der Hohen Pforte: Ein arabisch-persisch-griechisch-serbisches Gesprächslehrbuch vom Hofe des Sultans aus dem 15. Jahrhundert als Quelle für die Geschichte der serbischen Sprache* (Cologne; Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1989). I thank Marijana Mišević for this reference.
 156. Ahmed Caferoğlu, “Note sur un manuscrit en langue serbe de la bibliothèque d’Ayasofya,” *Revue internationale des études balkaniques* 1, no. 3 (1936): 185–90; Speros Vryonis, Jr., “Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman Istanbul: Evolution in a Millennial Imperial Iconography,” in *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, ed. Irene A. Bierman, Rifaʿat A. Abou-El-Haj, and Donald Preziosi (New Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1991), 13–52, at 39–40; Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation,” 60n36; Lehfeldt, *Ein arabisch-persisch-griechisch-serbokroatisches Sprachlehrbuch*, 6–8.
 157. Török, F. 39, 296 {3}; Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4749, fols. 57b–66b; seal of Bayezid II. See also Storey, vol. 3, part 1, 65; Öz 100–103.
 158. MS Török F. 59, 296 {3–8}. In addition, the anthology contains Porphyry’s (*Ἰσαγῆγι*) introduction (*Eisagoge*) to his work on logic in Arabic and Greek, a treatise on the philosophical sciences, and a list of the names of Greek philosophers. See also İsmail Durmuş, “el-Emsile,” *TDVİA* 11 (1995): 166–67.
 159. MS Török F. 59, 296 {12–13}.
 160. “*Risāla fi al-lughā al-fahlawīyya*” (A Treatise on the Fahlawīyya Language), unknown NW Iranian dialect, MS Török F. 59, 298 {19}. The volume also contains Shams Khattat Balkhī’s (fourteenth century) *Kanz al-zawāhir fi maʿrifat al-jawāhir* (Treasury of Flowers in Knowledge about Jewels). According to the catalogue of the library holding the manuscript, it is the Persian translation of a quasi-Aristotelian alchemical treatise titled *Dhahīrat Iskandar* or *Dhahīrat Aristātālīs*. Cf. Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), 4:103. <http://www.aghabozorg.ir/showbookdetail.aspx?bookid=147443>, last accessed on May 15, 2018. MS Török F. 59, 298 {18–19}; Shams Khaṭṭāt Balkhī, *Kanz al-zawāhir fi maʿrifat al-jawāhir* (Qum: Majmaʿ-i Zakhāʿir-i Islāmī, 1395/2016).
 161. *Tarjamat al-ʿibrīyya bi-al-fārisīyya fi al-lughā* (A Treatise on the Hebrew Language Translated into Persian), MS Török F. 59, 299 {19}–300 {1}.
 162. “*Kitāb al-hādī al-mutarjam bi-al-fārisīyya*” (The Guide Translated into Persian), MS Török F. 59, 296 {16–17}; “*Kitāb al-hādī fi tafsīr maʿānī al-adawāt*” (Book of Guidance Commenting on the *Maʿānī al-adawāt wa-al-ḥurūf*), MS Török F. 59, 300 {2–3}; “*Sharḥ al-miṣbāḥ*” (Exegesis of the Lantern), MS Török F. 59, 300 {3–4}; “*Sharḥ [al-] ʿIzzī*” (The Commentary by [al-]ʿIzzī), MS Török F. 59, 300 {4}; “*Risāla min ʿilm al-naḥw*” (Treatise on the Science of Grammar), MS Török F. 59, 297 {4}; “*Risāla min ʿilm al-taṣrīf*” (Treatise on the Science of Morphology), MS Török F. 39, 297 {4}. On Ibn Qayyim Jawziyya, see Hüseyin Avni Çelik, “İbn Kayyim el-Cevziyye ve Meʿānī el-Edevāt veʾl-Hurūf Adlı Eseri,” *Atatürk Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 8 (1988): 143–64.
 163. TSMK A. 2732, seal of Bayezid II (Karatay, F 304, 116). The inside of the cover has the slightly different title, *Majmaʿ al-lughāt*. The order of the individual titles in the manuscript differs from how ʿAtufi gives them in the inventory. Aside from the dictionaries discussed below, the manuscript also contains a short treatise on law written in Arabic by the compiler of the anthology: *Risāla fi maktūbāt sharʿiyya* (Treatise of Writings on Holy Law), MS Török F. 59, 298 {9}; TSMK A. 2732, 105b–121a.
 164. MS Török F. 59, 298 {10–11}; TSMK A. 2732, fols. 241b–262b; MS Török F. 59, 298 {11}; TSMK A. 2732, fols. 263b–296a.
 165. MS Török F. 59, 298 {9–10}; TSMK A. 2732, fols. 121b–207b. Remarkably, the Aydınid ruler İsa Beg (r. ca. 760–792/1360–1390) had four copies of the work in his library (Sara Nur Yıldız, “Aydınid Court Literature in the Formation of an Islamic Identity in Fourteenth-Century Western Anatolia,” 233); Storey, vol. 3, part 1, 95–96.
 166. MS Török F. 59, 298 {10}; TSMK A. 2732, fols. 209b–238a. The copy is dedicated to one ʿAlaʾ al-Dawla wa-al-Din, whose identity is unknown. According to the preface, his patron commissioned the work to supersede the rhyming dictionaries of Abu Nasr Farahi and Husam al-Din Khoiy.
 167. MS Török F. 59, 298 {11–12}; TSMK A. 2732, fols. 297b–350a. The authorship of the work is slightly problematic. Aside from Ahmed-i Daʿi, other manuscripts indicate ʿAbd al-Jalil

- b. Rashid al-Din 'Umar al-Waṭwati or Rashid al-Din al-Qawi 'Abd al-Jalil b. 'Umar al-Waṭwati as the author. See Storey, vol. 3, part 1, 86–87. According to the preface, this work is a metrical version of Watwati's *Ḥamd u ṣanā*.
168. *Kitāb al-asmā' 'alā tartīb al-ḥurūf* (Book of Nouns in Alphabetical Order), MS Török F. 59, 298 {6}; TSMK A. 2732, fols. 1b–40a. See also Shahab Ahmed and Nenad Filipovic, "The Sultan's Syllabus: A Curriculum for the Ottoman Imperial Medreses Prescribed in a Fermān of Qānūnī I Süleymān, dated 973 (1565)," *Studia Islamica* 98/99 (2004): 183–218, at 196.
169. "*Kitāb al-lughā al-fārisiyya 'alā tartīb al-ḥurūf wa-al-ḥarakāt*" (Book on the Persian Language Arranged in an Alphabetical Order and according to Vowel Signs), MS Török F. 59, 298 {6–7}; TSMK A. 2732, fols. 41b–78a.
170. "*Risālat al-amthila al-taṣrīfiyya bi-al-quyūd al-turkiyya*" (A Treatise of Morphological Examples According to the Rules of Turkish), MS Török F. 59, 298 {8–9}; TSMK A. 2732, fols. 97b–104b.
171. "*Kitāb al-lughā al-turkiyya al-mutarjam bi-al-fārisiyya 'alā tartīb al-ḥurūf wa-al-ḥarakāt*" (Book on the Turkish Language Arranged in an Alphabetical Order and according to Vowel Signs), MS Török F. 59, 298 {7–8}; TSMK A. 2732, fols. 79b–96b.
172. MS Török F. 59, 298 {12–18}. The volume also contains a treatise on accountancy, titled "*Ashkāl al-ḥisāb min al-siyāqat*" (The Forms of Calculating in Accountancy), which remains to be identified (MS Török F. 59, 298 {17–18}).
173. On the exponential increase of Persian-Turkish lexicography in the Ottoman empire from the sixteenth century on, see Öz, *Tarih Boyunca Farsça-Türkçe Sözlükler*, 79–297.

LIST OF ENTRIES

PART I: TURKISH AND TURKIC *DĪWĀNS**(al-Dawāwīn al-turkiyya wa-al-mughūliyya)*

1. Volume containing:
 - 1a. Aḥmed Pasha (d. 1496). *Dīwān*, Turkish, 261 {15}. EDITION: Ali Nihad Tarlan, *Ahmed Paşa Divanı*, Istanbul: M.E.B. Devlet Kitapları Müdürlüğü, 1966.
 - 1b. “*Majmū‘at al-ash‘ār al-turkiyya*” (Anthology of Turkish Poems), Turkish, 261 {15}.
2. Same as 1a above, 261 {15–16}.
3. Aḥmedī (d. 1412–13). *Dīwān*, Turkish, 261 {17}. MANUSCRIPTS: Vatican, Turco 196; Süleymaniye, Hamidiye 1082, copied in 840/1437 by Aḥmed b. Ḥācī Maḥmūd al-Aḫsarāyī, dedicated to Murad II (r. 1421–44, 1446–51); TSMK, K. 1015 (Karatay, T 2261, vol. 2, 91–92). EDITION: Yaşar Akdoğan, “Ahmedi Divanı I-II: Tenkitli Metin ve Dil Hususiyetleri,” PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türkiyat Araştırma Merkezi, 1979. PARTIAL EDITION: Yaşar Akdoğan, *Ahmedi Divanı’ndan Seçmeler*, Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1988.
4. Same as above, 261 {17}.
5. Same as above, 261 {17}.
6. Luṭfī (Molla Luṭfī? d. 1495). *Dīwān*, Turkish, 261 {18}. Or Luṭfī, the poet of Chaghatay Turkish mentioned below, but this volume is in the Arabic script, whereas the one below is in the Uyghur script (?). Alternatively, he might be another Luṭfī.
7. Hafī (d. before 1538). *Dīwān*, Turkish, 261 {18}. EDITION: Sedanur Dinçer, “Hafī Hayatı, Sanatı, Şiirleri,” master’s thesis, Kırıkkale University, 2010.
8. Ḥaḫīkī (d. 1486–87). *Dīwān*, Persian and Turkish, 261 {18–19}. EDITION: Erdoğan Boz, *Yusuf Hakiki Baba Divanı Karşılaştırmalı Metin*. Ankara: [s.n.], 2009. This may be the divan of Jahānshāh Qaraqoyunlu, MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Fatih 3808. EDITION: Firūz Rafāhī ‘Alamdārī, *Dīwān-i Mirzā Jahānshāh Ḥaḫīqī-yi fārsī-turkī: Bar asās-i nuskha-yi dastnīvīs-i Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-yi Dānishgāh-i Tihārān*, Tehran: Firūzān, 1390/2011. Jahānshāh’s Turkish poetry: Lale Demirci, *Cihānshāh Ḥaḫīkī Divanı: İnceleme – Metin – Dizin*, Ankara: Köksav, 2001.
9. “*Dīwān mubārak bi-al-turkiyya fī al-taşawwuf*” (The Divan of Mubārak on Sufism), Turkish, 261 {19}.
10. Münirī (d. 1520?). *Dīwān*, Persian and Turkish, 262 {1}. EDITION: Ersen Ersoy, “II. Bayezıt Devri Şairlerinden Münirī: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Dīvānı (İnceleme - Tenkitli Metin),” PhD diss., İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, 2010.
11. Dede ‘Ömer Rüşenī (Revşenī) (d. 1487). *Dīwān*, Turkish, 262 {1–2}. EDITION: Kemal Orhan Tavukçu, *Dede Ömer Rüşenī: Hayatı, Eserleri, Edebî Kişiliği ve Dīvānının Tenkidli Metni*, <http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,78365/dede-omer-ruseni-divani.html>, last accessed January 23, 2017.
12. Şafī. *Dīwān*, Turkish, 262 {2}. Cf. İsmail Erünsal, “II. Murad Devri Şâirlerinden Nakkaş Safi ve Dîvânı,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 34 (2009): 105–18.
13. ‘Alī. *Dīwān*, Turkish, 262 {2}.
14. Kâtibī (fl. ca. 1481–1512). *Dīwān*, Turkish, 262 {3}. Cf. Sehi Beg, 254–55.
15. ‘Alī Shīr Navā‘ī (d. 1501). *Dīwān*, Chaghatay Turkic (“mughūliyya”), 262 {6}. MANUSCRIPTS: Many MSS at the Topkapı and Süleymaniye libraries, but they are mostly dated after the compilation of ‘Atufi’s inventory, except Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 3981, copied in 889/1484 at Herat by Sulṭān

- ‘Alī al-Mashhadī; seal of Bayezid II. Of Navā’ī’s works, this manuscript contains his *divan* titled *Gharā’ib al-ṣiḡhar* and his *Ḥadis-i arba’īn*. EDITION: *Beday’i’ü’l-bidāye, Nevadirü’ş-şebab*, ed. Metin Karaörs, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2016; *Garaibü’s-sıgar: İnceleme—Karşılaştırmalı Metin*, ed. Günay Kut, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2003; *Beday’i’u’l-vasat: Üçünçi divan*, ed. Kaya Türkay, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2002; *Fevayidü’l-kiber*, ed. Önal Kaya, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1996; *Khazoinu’l-maoni*, Tashkent: Özbekiston Fanlar Akademiyasi, 1959.
16. Same as above, 262 {6}.
 17. Same as above, 262 {6}.
 18. Same as above, 262 {7}.
 19. Same as above, Mongolian (“mughūliyya,” Uyghur script?), 262 {7}.
 20. ‘Alī Shīr Navā’ī (d. 1501). *Ḥamse*, Chaghatay Turkish, 262 {7–8}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, R. 810 (copied by Sultān ‘Alī Mashhadī in 900/1495–96; Karatay T 2297, vol. 2, 105); Süleymaniye, Fatih 3755 (copied in 895/1490–91). EDITION: *Hayrat ul-abror: Nasriy bayoni bilan*, Tashkent: Ghafur Ghulom nomidagi nashriyot-matbaa ijodiy uyi, 2006; *Ferhad ü Şirin: İnceleme, Metin*, ed. Gönül Alpay, Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası, 1975; *Layli va Majnun: Nasriy bayoni bilan*, Tashkent: Ghafur Ghulom nomidagi nashriyot-matbaa ijodiy uyi, 2006; *Sab’ai Saiēr: Nashrii baēni bilan*, Tashkent: Ghafur Ghulom nomidagi nashriēt-matbaa birlashmasi, 1991; Hatice Tören, *Alī Şīr Nevâyî Sedd-i İskenderî: İnceleme-metin*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Türk Dil Kurumu, 2001.
 21. Same as above, 262 {8}.
 22. Seyf-i Sarāyī (d. after 1394). *Dīwān*, Mamluk Qipchak Turkish (“mughūliyya”), 262 {11}. MANUSCRIPT: Leiden, Cod. Or. 1553. EDITION: András J. E. Bodrogligeti, *A Fourteenth Century Turkic Translation of Sa’di’s Gulistān (Sayf-i Sarāyī’s Gulistān Bi’t-turki)*, Bloomington: Indiana University, 1970; András J. E. Bodrogligeti, “A Collection of Turkish Poems from the 14th Century,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 16, no. 3 (1963): 245–311.
 23. Lutfī (d. 1492?). *Dīwān*, Chaghatay Turkish (“mughūliyya”), 262 {11}. EDITION: Günay Karaağaç, *Lutfi Divanı: Giriş, Metin, Dizin, Tipkibasım*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1997.
 24. Volume containing:
 - 24a. Same as above, 262 {12}.
 - 24b. Same as above, 262 {12}.
 25. Mīr Hidāyat. *Dīwān*, Azeri Turkish, 262 {13}. Possibly Amīr Hidāyat Allāh (d. late fifteenth century), who was on the staff of Sultān Khalīl Aqqoyunlu (d. 1478). MANUSCRIPTS: Chester Beatty 401 (Vladimir Minorsky, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1958, 1–3); Hungarian Academy, MS Török, O. 358 (İsmail Parlatır, György Hazai, and Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*, Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences: TÜBA, 2007, 184. The Chester Beatty Library manuscript indicates the language of the work to be *al-mughūliyya*).
 26. Same as nos. 23–24, 262 {13}.
 27. “*Majmū’a bi-khaṭṭ turkī*” (Anthology in Turkish Script), Turkish, 262 {18} (Uyghur script?).
 28. “*Majmū’a min ash’ār al-shu’arā*” (Anthology of Poetry), Turkish, 262 {18}.
 29. “*Jarīdat majmū’at al-ash’ār*” (Volume of Poetic Anthology), Turkish, 262 {19}.
 30. “*Majmū’a bi-khaṭṭ turkī qadīm*” (Anthology in Old Turkish Script), Turkish, 262 {19}. Probably an anthology in the Uyghur script.

31. “*Majmū‘at al-naẓā‘ir*” (Anthology of Paraphrase Poems), Turkish, 263 {1}. Perhaps by ‘Ömer bin Mezīd (d. after 1437). EDITION: ‘Ömer bin Mezīd, *Mecmū‘atü’n-neẓā‘ir*, ed. Mustafa Canpolat, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1982.
32. “*Risāla fī aḥkām al-khusūf wa al-kusūf*” (Treatise on the Rules of Prayer after the Solar and Lunar Eclipse), Turkish, 263 {5}.
33. [Hisārī]. *Tuḥfetü’l-mü’mīn* (Gift for the Believer), 906/1500, Turkish, versified, 263 {6}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 1701 (seal of Bayezid II), copied by Maḥmūd b. Aḥmed (?); likely the copy listed in the inventory because it has the same title given by ‘Atufi: *Kitāb tuḥfat al-mu’mīn bi-al-turkiyya al-manẓūma*. LITERATURE: Selcen Çiftçi, “Hisārî ve Eseri ‘Kitābu tuḥfetü’l-mü’mīn’ Hakkında,” *Türk Dünyası İncelemeleri Dergisi / Journal of Turkish World Studies* 7, no. 2 (Winter 2007): 81–89.
34. [Germiyanlı Yetimī]. *İbret-nāme* (Book of Admonition), Old Anatolian Turkish, versified, 263 {6–7}. EDITION: Mahmut Kaplan and Şirvan Kalsın, “Germiyanlı Yetimī ve ‘İbretnāmesi,” *Turkish Studies* 4, no. 2 (Winter 2003): 705–22.
35. “*Tarjumat matn al-‘aḳā‘id bi-al-turkiyya al-manẓūma fī ‘ilm al-kalām*” (Versified Translation of the Tenets of Theology into Turkish), Turkish, 263 {7}.
36. “*Durj al-naṣā‘ih li-‘Abd al-Raḥīm*” (Casket of Advice for ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, or Casket of Advice by ‘Abd al-Raḥīm), Turkish, versified, 263 {8}.
37. Şeyh Vefā, Muşlihu’d-Dīn Muştafā (d. 1491). *Sāzū’l-‘irfān* (The Long-Necked Lute of Gnosis), Turkish, versified, 263 {8–9}. MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye, İbrahim Efendi 652, fols. 16b–52b; Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 1851, 1853 (seal of Bayezid II).
38. “*Dāsītān-i Bulbul-nāma*” (Story of the Nightingale), Turkish, versified, 263 {10}.
39. Same as no. 37, 263 {10–11}.
40. Vişālī (late fifteenth century). *Risālat manẓūmāt* (An Epistle of Verses), Turkish, 263 {11–12}.
41. [Ḥamd Allāh Ḥamdī? (d. 1503)]. *Uṣṣāknāme* (Book of Lovers), Turkish, 263 {12}. Probably identical with his *Tuḥfetü’l-‘uṣṣāk* (Gift of Lovers). MANUSCRIPT: British Library, Or. 7115. EDITION: Mustafa Güneş, *Ḥamdī ve Tuḥfetü’l-Uṣṣāk’l: Âşıklara Armağan*, Kütahya: Mustafa Güneş, 2014.
42. “*Qışsa-yi Ḥamza*” (The Story of Hamza), Turkish, versified, 263 {13}. (*Ḥamzanāme*? The known popular works bearing this title are in prose, whereas this particular one is in verse.) MANUSCRIPTS (?): TSMK, K. 918 (Karatay, T 2779, vol. 2, 289–90); Flügel 795 (vol. 2, 29–39); BN. Ancien fonds 352; Supplement 632, 647–49, 654, 656.
43. Akbıyık Sulṭān (d. 1455–56, or soon after 1481). *Meşneviyyāt* (Poems Written in Couplets), Turkish, 263 {13}. Probably the author’s *Hikāyāt-i Nāy* and *Hikāyāt-i Şemsü’d-Dīn*. MANUSCRIPT: Milli Ktp. (or Türk Dil Kurumu?) Yz. A 374. STUDIES: Gürol Pehlivan, “Akbıyık Sultan: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Hikāyāt-i Nāy Mesnevisi,” *Sûfî Araştırmaları = Sufi Studies* 6, no. 11 (Winter 2015): 31–72; and his “Akbıyık Sultan’ın Bilinmeyen bir Mesnevisi: Hikāyet-i Şemseddin,” *Sûfî Araştırmaları = Sufi Studies* 7, no. 13 (Winter 2016): 97–124.
44. Dede ‘Ömer Rüşenī (Revşenī, d. 1487). *Manẓūmāt* (Verses), Turkish, 263 {14}.
45. [Cemālī (d. early sixteenth century)]. *Hümā ve Hümāyūn*, 850/1446, Turkish, 263 {14–15}. EDITION: Osman Horata, *Cemālī Hümā vü Hümāyūn: Analysis – Critical Text – Facsimile*, Cambridge, MA: The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 2016.
46. [Hoca Mes‘ūd]. *Süheyl ü Nevbahār* (Süheyl and Nevbahār), 1350, Turkish, 263 {15}. MANUSCRIPT: Berlin, likely copied in 830/1427, seal of Bayezid II (not in Pertsch’s catalogue of the Staatsbibliothek, *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*). EDITION: Hoca Mes‘ūd, *Süheyl ü Nevbahār: İnceleme, Metin, Sözlük*, ed. Cem Dilçin, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1991.

47. “*Kitāb al-irshād bi-al-turkiyya al-manzūma fī al-taṣawwuf*” (Book of Guidance on Sufism in Turkish Verse), Turkish, 263 {16}.
48. “*Risāla turkiyya manzūma fī al-taṣawwuf*” (Versified Treatise in Turkish on Sufism), Turkish, 263 {16–17}.
49. Şeyh İbrāhīm Tennūrī (d. 1482). *Gülzār-i ma’nevī* (Spiritual Rose Garden), 1453, Turkish, 263 {17–18}. EDITION: İbrahim Tennuri, *Gülzār-ı Ma’nevî: Giriş, İnceleme, Metin, Sözlük, Tıpkıbasım*, ed. Mustafa Demirel, Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 2005.
50. Volume containing:
 - 50a. Şafā’ī of Sinop (d. 1521), *Tercüme-yi vaṣāyā-yi Şeyh Vefā* (Book of Translation of Şeyh Vefa’s Last Wills), Turkish, 263 {18–19}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 2154, seal of Bayezid II.
 - 50b. “*Risāla fī fādī Makka sharafahā Allāhu ta’ālā*” (Treatise on the Virtuosity of Mecca, May God Most High Honor It), Turkish, 263 {19}.
51. Volume containing:
 - 51a. Cefāyī. *Dakāyiku’l-ḥakāyik* (Fine Points of the Truths), 1484, Turkish, 264 {1}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 1782 (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Muharrem Güzelidir, “Cefāyî – Dakāynku’l-hakāynk (Gramer İncelemesi – Metin – İndeks),” master’s thesis, Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi, 1995.
 - 51b. “*Siyar al-nabī*” (Life of the Prophet), Turkish, 264 {1–2}.
52. Şeyhoğlu Muştafā (d. 1414?). *Hurşidnâme* (Book of Hurşid), 789/1387, Turkish, 264 {2–3}. EDITION: Şeyhoğlu Mustafa, *Hurşid-nâme = Hurşid ü Feraḥşād: İnceleme, Metin, Sözlük, Konu Dizini*, ed. Hüseyin Ayan, Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1979.
53. “*Shahinshāh-nāma*” (Book of the King of Kings), Turkish, versified, “history,” 264 {4}. Perhaps one of the following translations of Firdawsī: Ḥamidizāde Celilī (cf. Hasan Aksoy, “Celilî, Hâmidizāde,” TDVİA 7 [1993], 269–70); or Şerîfî-yi Âmidî (d. ca. 1514), one of the protégés of Sultan Cem, who dedicated the work to Qanṣūh al-Ghawrî (cf. Ramazan Şeşen, “Onbeşinci Yüzyılda Türkçeye Tercümeler,” in *XI. Türk Tarih Kongresi (Ankara: 5–9 Eylül 1990) Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, Ankara: TTK Yayınları [1994], vol. 3, 899–919).
54. Aḥmedî (? d. 1413). *İskender-nâme* (Alexander Romance), Turkish, 264 {4–5}. EDITION: Ahmedî, *İskender-nâme: İnceleme-tıpkıbasım*, ed. İsmail Ünver, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1983.
55. Same as no. 52 above, 264 {5–6}.
56. Şeyhî (? d. after 1429). *Hüsrev ü Şîrîn* (ca. 1429–30), Turkish, 264 {6–7}. EDITION: Faruk Kadri Timurtaş, *Şeyhi Husrev ü Şirin’i: İnceleme – Metin*, 2nd ed., Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü, 1980; or: Tutmacı. *Gül ü Hüsrev* (808/1406). EDITION: Ali Osman Solmaz, “Tutmacı’nın Gül ü Hüsrev Adlı Eseri (İnceleme – Metin – Dizin),” PhD diss., Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı, 2007; or: Özlem Güneş, “Fahrî’nin Husrev u Şîrîn’i (metin ve tahlil), Nizâmî ve Şeyhî’nin eselerleriyle karşılaştırılması,” PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2010; Barbara Flemming, *Fahrîs Husrev u Şîrîn*, Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1974.
57. “*Mihr ü Müşteri*,” Turkish, 264 {7–8}. This entry can stand for two possible works: Ḥassân. *Mihr ü müşteri* (835/1431–32). MANUSCRIPT: Paris, BN, Ancien fonds 313. EDITION: an undergraduate thesis (Neslihan Özdoğan [fols. 1b–13a]), five master’s theses (Hüseyin Kara [fols. 13b–20a], Nasrullah Özsoy [fols. 20a–26b], Kâmil Tiken [fols. 27a–33b], M. Okan Baba [fols. 33b–39b], Fatma Nur Yılmaz [fols. 39b–45b]), İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1986. Cf. A. Azmi Bilgi, “Mihr ü Müşteri,” TDVİA, vol. 30 (2005), 28–29; or: Münîrî İbrāhîm Çelebi (d. 1521). *Mihr ü müşteri* (1486). MANUSCRIPTS: British Library 7742; Millet Ktp. Ali Emîrî Efendi, Manzum

1185. EDITION: Ayten Akmandor, "Münîrî ve Mihr ü Müşterî Mesnevisi," PhD diss., Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, 1986.
58. Belâyî. *Tercüme-yi kışşa-yi Leylâ ve Mecnûn-i Nizâmî* (Translation of Nizâmî's *Leylâ and Mecnûn*), Turkish, 264 {8–9}.
59. Volume containing:
- 59a. [Ahmad Adib Yüknêkî]. *Atabat al-ḥaqā'iq* (Threshold of Realities), Qarahanid Turkish with Ottoman Turkish annotation, in Uyghur and Arabic script, 264 {18}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4757, fols. 1b–27a, copied by 'Abd al-Razzâq Bakhshî in 884/1480 (seal of Selim I; the volume has the same title as in the inventory: *Risâla bi-al-lugha al-mughûlîyya al-manzûma wa-al-khaṭṭ al-mughûlî min qibal al-naṣā'ih* (Book pertaining to Advice in the Mongolian Language and Mongolian Script); Ayasofya 4012 (copied in 848/1444 in Samarqand by Zayn al-'Abidîn Sulṭân Bakht al-Jurjânî, seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, H. 244 (Karatay, T 3077, vol. 2, 389), seal of Bayezid II. EDITION: Edib Ahmed b. Mahmud Yüknêkî, *Atebetü'l-hakayik*, ed. Reşit Rahmeti Arat, Istanbul: Ateş Basımevi, 1951.
- 59b. [Haydar Khwârizmî]. *Makhzan al-asrâr* (Treasury of Mysteries, 814/1411), Chaghatay Turkish with Ottoman Turkish annotation, in Uyghur and Arabic script, 264 {18}–265 {1}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4757, fols. 70–84, 29–34, 85–110, 35–40, 110–59; copyist: 'Abd al-Razzâq Bakhshî (seal of Bayezid II). EDITION: Ayet Abdülaziz Goca, "Haydar Tilbe'nin Mahzenü'l-Esrar Mesnevisi," PhD diss., Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2000; Haydar Tilbe, *Mahzenü'l-Esrâr (Gramer-Metin-Dizin-Tıpkıbasım)*, ed. Avni Gözütok, Erzurum: Fenomen Yayıncılık, 2008.
60. [Haydar Khwârizmî]. *Gül ü Nevruz*, Chaghatay Turkish, 814/1411, 265 {1}. EDITION: Lutfî, *Tanlangan asarlar*, ed. Sodir Erkinov, Tashkent: ÜzSSR davlat badiii adabiёт nashriёti, 1960.
61. [Qutb]. *Khusraw u Shîrîn* (between 727 and 740/1327 and 1340), Qipchaq Turkish, 265 {2}. MANUSCRIPT: BN, Manuscripts turcs, Ancien fonds 312. EDITION: Necmettin Hacıeminoğlu, *Kutb'un Husrev ü Şirin'i ve Dil Hususiyetleri*, Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1968.
62. "Risâlat tarjamat al-Burda bi-naẓm lugha tâtâr" (Translation of the Burda in Verse in the Tatar Language), Chaghatay (or Qipchaq) Turkish, 265 {2–3}.
63. [Kerîmî]. *İrşâd* (863/1458), *İrshâd fî mawlid al-Nabî - şallâ Allâhu 'alayhi wa sallam* (Guidance about the Nativity of the Prophet—May God Pour Blessings on Him and Grant Him Salvation!), Turkish, versified, 265 {7}. MANUSCRIPT: Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Kütüphanesi, İ. Saib Kitapları no: 4574, copied in 985/1577–78. EDITION: Üzeyir Arslan, "Fetihten Sonra Yazılmış İlk Mevlid-i Manevi: Kerimî'nin İrşad'ı," *Divan Edebiyatı Araştırmaları* 2 (2009): 19–80.
64. Münîrî. *Mawlid al-nabî - şallâ Allâhu 'alayhi wa-sallam* (Nativity of the Prophet—May God Pour Blessings on Him and Grant Him Salvation!), Turkish, 265 {8}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, Koğuşlar 995 (copied in 930/1523–24 by Muştafâ b. Hâcî Mehmed b. Maḥmûd; books 1–3 in a single volume), TSMK, Koğuşlar 994 (books 4–6, defective) (Karatay, T vol. 1, 337–38). EDITION (partial): Mustafa Özkat, "Münîrî (öl. 1521?)'nin manzum Siyer-i Nebî'si, Cilt IV-V (İnceleme-Metin)," PhD diss., Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, 2011.
65. "Mawlid al-nabî - 'alayhi al-salâm" (Versified Book of the Nativity of the Prophet—Peace Be upon Him!), verse, 265 {9}.
66. "Sîyar al-nabî - 'alayhi al-salâm" (Versified Biography of the Prophet—Peace Be upon Him!), Turkish, versified, 265 {9–10}.
67. "Mawlid al-nabî - şallâ Allâh 'alayh wa-sallam" (Book of the Nativity of the Prophet—God Bless Him and Grant Him Salvation!), Turkish, versified, 265 {10–11}.

68. “*Mawlid Fakhr al-Kawnayn wa-Sayyid al-Thaqalayn sayyidinā wa-sanadinā Ḥaḍrat Muḥammad -‘alayhi al-ṣalāt wa-al-salām*” (Nativity of the Glory of Both Worlds and the Lord of the Two Weighty Things, Our Lord and Fundamentum, His Excellence Muḥammad—May There Be Prayers for Him and Peace Be upon Him!), versified, Turkish, 265 {12–13}.
69. “*Siyar al-Nabī – ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama*” (Biography of the Prophet—God Bless Him and Grant Him Salvation!), versified, 2 vols., Turkish, 265 {13–14}.
70. “*‘Ilāhīnāma bi-al-turkiyya al-manẓūma fī qışṣa Yūsuf al-nabī -‘alayhi al-salām*” (Divine Book in Turkish Verse about the Story of Joseph the Prophet—Peace Be upon Him!), versified, Turkish, 265 {15–16}.
71. “*Faṭḥ Sultān al-Salāṭīn Sultān Bāyezīd Khān bin Meḥammed Khān -‘azza naṣruhu- bi al-turkiyya al-manẓūma fī tawārīkh faṭḥ qilā‘ Mora*” (Book of the Conquests of the Sultan of Sultans, Bayezid II—May His Triumph Be Glorified!—in Turkish Verse, on the History of the Conquest of the Fortresses of the Morea), 266 {3–4}. This entry can be identified as either: Şafā’ī of Sinop (d. 1521). *Fethnāme-yi İnebahtī ve Moton* (Book on the Conquest of Lepanto and Methoni). MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, R. 1271 (Karatay, T 626, vol. 1, 205–6), seal of Bayezid II; or: Meḥmed Münşī. BN 1170 (E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 1932–33, vol. 2, 186–87).
72. “*Tawārīkh al-salāṭīn al-‘uthmāniyya -ṭayyaba Allāhu ta‘ālā tharāhum- ilā dhikr Sultān al-Salāṭīn Sultān Bayezīd Khān bin Meḥammed Khān – zāda Allāhu ta‘ālā sa‘ādatahum fī al-dārayn*” (The Histories of the Ottoman Sultans—May God Most High Make Their Earth Light!—to the Sultan of Sultans, Bayezid Khan, Son of Meḥammed Khan—May God Most High Extend Their Bliss in Both Worlds!), Turkish, verse, 266 {5–7}. Probably: Kemāl (d. after 1490). *Selāṭīnnāme* (Book of Sultans) or *Tevārīḥ-i āl-i ‘osmān* (Histories of the Ottoman Dynasty). MANUSCRIPT: İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Türkçe Yazmalar 331. EDITION: Necdet Öztürk, XV. Yüzyıl Tarihçilerinden Kemal, *Selāṭīn-nāme (1299–1490)*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2001.
73. “*Ghazawāt Sultān al-Salāṭīn Sultān Bāyezīd Khān bin Meḥammed Khān -zāda Allāhu ta‘ālā sa‘ādatahū fī al-dārayn*” (The Holy Raids of the Sultan of Sultans, Bāyezīd Khan, Son of Meḥammed Khan—May God Most High Extend His Bliss in Both Worlds!), Turkish, verse, 266 {7–9}. Probably: Anonymous, *Menākīb-ı Sultān Bāyezīd Khān bin Meḥammed Khān*. MANUSCRIPT: E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1932–33, vol. 2, 97, no. 922 (copied in 1145/1733).
74. “*Kitāb faṭḥ ba‘ḍ wilāyat afranj fī yad Sultān al-Salāṭīn Sultān Bāyezīd Khān bin Meḥammed Khān -zāda Allāhu ta‘ālā sa‘ādatahū fī al-dārayn*” (The Book of the Conquest of Some Frankish Lands by the Sultan of Sultans, Bāyezīd Khan, Son of Meḥammed Khan—May God Most High Perpetuate His Bliss in Both Worlds!), Turkish, verse, 266 {9–11}.
75. [Şafā’ī of Sinop, d. 1521]. *Fethnāme-yi İnebahtī ve Moton* (Book on the Conquest of Lepanto and Methoni), Turkish, verse, 266 {12}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, R. 1271 (Karatay, T 626, vol. 1, 205–6). EDITION: Özlem Dereli, “Sinoplu Şafāyī’nin Fetihnāme-i İnebahtī ve Moton adlı eseri (Transkripsiyonlu metin),” master’s thesis, Samsun: Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi, 2017.
76. “*Munāẓarāt-i Gul wa-Mul bi-madḥ Sultān al-Salāṭīn Sultān Bāyezīd*” (Debates between the Rose and the Wine in Praise of the Sultan of Sultans, Sultan Bāyezīd Khan—May God Most High Perpetuate His Bliss in Both Worlds!) [Turkish], 266 {13–14}.
77. “*Risāla fī madḥ Meḥammed Khān -ṭāba tharāhu- wa-madḥ al-jāmi‘ al-jadīd*” (A Treatise in Praise of Meḥammed Khan—May His Earth Be Light!—and Praise of the New Mosque), Turkish, verse, 266 {15–16}.

78. "*Risāla 'ajība fihā qaṣīda fī madḥ Meḥammed Khān bin Murād Khān - ṭāba tharāhuma - wa-hiya muṣanna'a bi-ṣanā'i' al-shi'r turkiyya*" (A Curious Treatise Containing a Qasida in Praise of Meḥammed Khan, Son of Murād Khan—May Their Earth Be Light!—Artistically Fashioned with Poetic Tools in Turkish), Turkish, 266 {16–17}.
79. "*Kitāb tawārīkh al-salāṭīn al-'uthmāniyya - khullīdat khilāfatuhum*" (History of the Ottoman Sultans—May Their Caliphate Be Eternal!), Turkish, versified, 266 {18–19}.
80. "*Sulṭānnāma fī tārikh Sulṭān Meḥammed bin Murād Khān*" (The Book of the Sultan about Sultan Meḥammed, Son of Murād Khan), Turkish, versified, 266 {19}–267 {1}.
81. Aḥmed-i Dā'ī (d. after 1421). *Dīwān*, Turkish, 267 {1}. MANUSCRIPT: Bursa İnebey, Orhan C. 1196, autograph, dated 816/1413, Bursa (?), ownership note of Bayezid II on fol. 1a. EDITION: Mehmet Özmen, *Ahmed-i Dai Divanı*, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2001.
82. Aḥmed-i Dā'ī (d. after 1421). *Çengnāme* (Book of the Harp) or *'Uṣṣāknāme* (Book of Lovers), 808/1405, 267 {1–2}. EDITION: Aḥmed-i Dā'ī, *Çengnāme*, ed. Gönül Alpay Tekin, Cambridge, MA: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1992.
83. "*Kitāb fī tawārīkh Meḥammed Khān bin Murād Khān - ṭāba tharāhumā*" (Book on the History of Meḥammed Khan, Son of Murād Khan—May Their Earth Be Light!), Turkish, verse, 267 {3}.

PART II: ADDITIONAL TURKISH BOOKS IN DIFFERENT SUBSECTIONS OF THE INVENTORY

QUR'ANS (*al-maṣāḥif al-'azīza*)

84. *Qur'ān*, Arabic, with (probably interlinear) Turkish translation, 13 {14}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, K. 247 (Karatay, T 1, vol. 1, 1), K. 252 (Karatay, T 2, vol. 1, 2), K. 270 (Karatay, T 3, vol. 1, 1–2), K. 610 (Karatay, T 4, vol. 1, 2; not a complete translation; Karatay thinks it is from the late fourteenth century); Türk-İslam Eserleri Müzesi 73, copied in 734/1333.

QUR'AN EXEGESIS AND RECITAL

85. *Cevāhirü'l-aṣḍāf* (The Essences of Pearls) Turkish, 26 {18–19}, commissioned by Isfandiyār b. [Kötürüm] Bayazid the Jāndārid ruler (r. 1392–1440) for his son Ismā'īl, an explanatory Qur'an commentary. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, H. 22 (Karatay, T 20, vol. 1, 7); A. 32 (Karatay, T 3087, vol. 2, 393), copied in 913/1508, seal of Bayezid II. EDITION: Ahmet Topaloğlu, "Cevahirü'l-asḍaf (Giriş-Metin-Sözlük)," PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1982.
86. Volume containing:
 - 86a. "*Risāla turkiyya fī 'ilm al-qirā'a*" (A Treatise in Turkish on the Science of Qur'an Recital), Turkish, 28 {7–8}.
 - 86b. "*Risāla tafsīr ba'd al-suwar*" (A Treatise of Exegesis of Certain Qur'an Surahs), Turkish, 28 {8}.
87. "*Risālat al-naẓm al-turkī fī 'ilm al-qirā'a*" (A Verse Treatise in Turkish on the Science of Qur'an Reading), Turkish, 28 {10}.

BOOKS OF PRAYERS, SPECIAL QUALITIES OF THE QUR'AN, AND THE SCIENCE OF MAGIC SQUARES (*al-ad'iya wa-kutub khawāṣṣ al-Qur'ān wa-kutub 'ilm al-wafq*)

88. "*Du'ā'-yi sayfī muqayyad bi-al-turkiyya*" (Prayer of the Sword Recorded in Turkish), Turkish, 48 {6–7}.

89. “*Kitāb naẓm Yaḡūlu al-‘abd bi-al-turkiyya fī ‘ilm al-kalām*” (Translation of “Thus Spoke the Servant [of God],” also known as *Qaṣīdat al-Lāmiyya fī al-tawḥīd* [Poem on Unity Rhyming in the Letter *Lām*], by al-Ūshī [written in 1173] into Turkish Verse), Turkish, 62 {4–5}. Perhaps: Köprülü III. Kısım 232/2 (*Köprülü Kütüphanesi Kataloğu*, III, 105).
90. “*Tarjamat Yaḡūlu al-‘abd bi-al-turkiyya al-manẓūma li-l-Sham‘ī fī ‘ilm al-kalām*” (Translation of al-Ūshī into Turkish Verse by al-Sham‘ī on Theology), Turkish, 62 {6–7}.

DIVANS AND POETRY (*al-fiqh wa manāqib al-a‘imma*)

91. Volume containing:
- 91a. Kūṭbū‘d-Dīn-zāde İznikī (d. 1480). *Muḡaddime* (Introduction), Turkish, 98 {16–17}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Hamidiye 550, fols. 1b–40b, copied in 1458 on the order of Mehmed II. EDITION: Kerime Üstünoğlu, *Kutbe‘d-Dīn İznikī Mukaddime: Giriş – İnceleme – Metin – Sözlük* (*Şahâbe‘d-din Kudsî Nüshası*), Bursa: Uludağ Üniversitesi, 2003.
- 91b. ‘Âşık Paşa (d. 1332), *Dīwān* (better known as *Garibnâme*, “The Book of the Sufi”), 98 {17}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Hamidiye 550, fols. 41b–114a. EDITION: ‘Âşık Paşa, *Garib-nâme* (*Tipkibasım, karşılaştırmalı metin ve aktarma*), ed. Kemal Yavuz, 4 vols., Istanbul: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2000.
- 91c. [Elvān-i Şīrāzī (d. after 1426)]. *Gülşen-i rāz* (Rose Garden of Mysteries), 829/1426, Turkish, 98 {17}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Hamidiye 550, fols. 114b–134a. EDITION: Fatih Ülken, “Elvan-ı Şīrāzī’nin Gülşen-i Raz Tercümesi: İnceleme, metin,” PhD diss., İzmir, Ege Üniversitesi, 2002.
- 91d. [Şeyhoğlu Muṣṭafā (d. 1414?)]. *Hurşīdnâme*, 789/1387, Turkish, 98 {18}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Hamidiye 550, fols. 135b–183a. EDITION: Şeyhoğlu Mustafa, *Hurşīd-nâme = Hurşīd ü Feraḡşād: İnceleme, Metin, Sözlük Konu Dizini*, ed. Hüseyin Ayan, Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1979.
- 91e. Şeyhī (d. after 1429), *Hüsrev ü Şīrīn*, Turkish, 98 {18}. Completed by his nephew, Cemālī. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Hamidiye 550, fols. 188–226b. EDITION: Faruk Kadri Timurtaş, *Şeyhī ve Husrev ü Şīrīn’i: İnceleme, Metin*, Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü, 1980.
- 91f. Şīlāḡu‘d-Dīn Yazıcı. *Kitāb al-mulhama* (Book of Inspiration by the Stars), Turkish, 98 {18–19}, also known as *Şemsiyye* (The Book of the Sun). MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Hamidiye 550, fols. 227b–253b. EDITION: Mehmet Terzi, “Yazıcı Salih (Selahaddin) Kitabuş-şemsiyye (Melhame-i Şemsiyye) Dil Özellikleri-Metin-Söz Dizin,” PhD diss., Malatya, İnönü Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1994.

JURISPRUDENCE (*al-fiqh*)

92. “*Majma‘ al-baḡrayn*” (Confluence of the Two Seas), Turkish, 86 {9–10}, probably a translation of al-Sā‘ātī’s (d. 1296) work on Hanafi jurisprudence.
93. “*Kitāb tarjamat al-Fatāwā al-khāniyya*” (Translation of Qādīkhān’s Fatwa Collection), Turkish, 88 {13}.
94. “*Kitāb al-farā‘id*” (Book on the Distribution of Inheritance Shares), Turkish, verse, 99 {18–19}.

SUFISM (*al-taṣawwuf*)

95. Volume containing:

- 95a. “*Kitāb jawāhir nufūs al-‘arīfīn*” (The Pearls of the Gnostics’ Souls), Turkish, 113 {11}.
- 95b. “*Aṭwār al-qalb*” (Modes of the Heart), Turkish, 113 {12}.
96. “*Kitāb ishārāt al-ilhām fī sharḥ al-abyāt*” (The Signs of Inspiration in the Commentary on the Couplets), Turkish, 124 {2–3}.
97. Kuṭbū’d-Dīn-zāde İznīkī (d. 1480). *Risāla bi-al-turkiyya muta‘allaqa bi-al-tarāwīḥ* [kulluhā ṣaḥḥ], (Treatise in Turkish on the Extra Ramadan Prayers [all of them sound]), 127 {10–11}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 1802.
98. “*Hibatu al-ḥaqā’iq bi-al-mughūliyya fī al-naṣīhat wa-al-taṣawwuf*” (Gift of Truths in “Mongolian,” on Advice and Sufism), Qarakhanid (?) Turkic (Uyghur script), 138 {18}, better known by the title *Atabat al-ḥaqā’iq*, twelfth century. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4012 (copied by Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Sulṭān Bakht al-Jurjānī, in Samarqand, Jumada II 848/1444, seal of Bayezid II); TSMK, H. 244 (Karatay, T 3077, vol. 2, 389), seal of Bayezid II. EDITION: Edib Ahmed [Yükneki], *Atebetü’l-hakayik*, ed. Reşit Rahmeti Arat, Istanbul: Ateş Basımevi, 1951.
99. Şeyh Vefā (Muşlihu’d-Dīn Muṣṭafā, d. 1491, referred to here as *Wafā-zāda*). *Kitāb bi-al-turkiyya al-manẓūma li-Wafā-zāda -quddisa sirruhū- fī al-taṣawwuf* (Book of Verse in Turkish by Wafā-zāda, May God Bless Him, on Sufism), 139 {18–19}. MANUSCRIPT: (possibly) Süleymaniye, Fatih 3899, seal of Bayezid II.
100. “*Majmū‘a min rasā’il bi-al-turkiyya wa-al-fārisiyya fī manāqib al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Kabīr -quddisa sirruhū*” (An Anthology of Treatises in Turkish and Persian on the Legendarium of Sayyid Aḥmad al-Kabīr [al-Rufā’ī]—May His Mystery Be Sanctified!) 141 {19}–142 {1}.
101. [Şūfī Muḥammad Dānishmand-i Zarnūqī]. *Mir’ātu’l-qulūb* (The Mirror of the Hearts), Turkish, 143 {4}. EDITION: Necdet Tosun, “Yesevîliğin İlk Dönemine Âid Bir Risâle: Mir’âtü’l-kulûb,” *İLAM Araştırma Dergisi* 2, no. 2 (Temmuz-Aralık 1997): 41–85.
102. Sinān Pasha (d. 1486). *Taḍarrunāme* (Book of Supplication), [Turkish], 143 {13}. EDITION: Sinan Paşa, *Tazarru’nāme*, ed. A. Mertol Tulum, Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi: [dağıtım] Devlet Kitapları, 1971.
103. “*Kitāb bi-al-turkiyya min qibal al-naṣā’ih*” (Book in Turkish, Pertaining to Advice), Turkish, 146 {11–12}.
104. Gulkhānī. *Sirr qalbī* (Secret of a Heart), Turkish, 146 {18}.
105. “*Risāla*” (Treatise), Uyghur Script, 147 {2}.
106. “*Risāla faḍīlat al-jihād bi-al-turkiyya*” (Treatise on the Virtues of the Holy War in Turkish), Turkish, 147 {12–13}.

MEDICINE (*al-ṭibb*)

107. Khayr al-Dīn Khiḍr ‘Aṭūfī (d. 1541). *Risāla dhukhr al-‘aṭshān fī al-ṭibb al-nabawī* (Treatise on the Treasure of Yearning in Prophetic Medicine), Turkish, verse, 151 {15}.
108. “*Kitāb muhayyij shāh*” (Book of Excitement of the Shah), Turkish, verse, history and medicine, 160 {19}–161 {1}.
109. Jalāl al-Dīn Khiḍr bin ‘Alī (Ḥacı Pāşā, d. 1425?). *Kitāb al-tashīl fī al-ṭibb* (Book of Facilitation in Medicine), Turkish, 165 {8–9}. MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye, Laleli 1621, 1622 (copied in 937/1530–31); Süleymaniye, Fatih 3543, 3544 (copied in 960/1553). EDITION: Zafer Önler, *Celâlüddin Hızır (Hacı Paşa), Müntahab-ı Şifa I [Giriş - Metin]*, Ankara: TDK Yayınları, 1990.
110. [Sharaf al-Dīn Şābūncūoğlu (d. after 1468)]. *Cerrāhiyye ḥāniyye*, or *Cerrāhnāme* (The Royal Book of Surgery, or Book of Surgery), 870/1465, Turkish, 165 {17}. Translation of Abū al-Qāsim Zahrāvī’s (d. 1013) *Kitāb al-taṣrīf*. MANUSCRIPT: Paris, BN, Suppl. turcs 693, seal of Bayezid II. EDITION:

Kitabül cerrahiyei ilhaniye (cerrahname) 870 (1465) / Les illustrations du traité de chirurgie de Cherefeddin Saboundjou oglou, ed. A. Süheyl Ünver, Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Tıp Tarihi Enstitüsü, 1939. FACSIMILE EDITION (with transcription and notes): *Cerrahiyyetü'l-Haniyye*, ed. İltar Uzel, 2 vols., Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992.

111. Aḥī Çelebi (d. 1524). *Risāla fī ḥaṣā al-kullīyya wa-al-mathāna* (Treatise on Kidney and Bladder Stones), Turkish, 166 {6–7}.

PHARMACOPOEIA (*al-qarābādiniyyāt*)

112. “*Kitāb qarābādīn*” (Book of Pharmacopoeia), Turkish, 168 {1–2}.

BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY (*al-siyar wa-al-tawārikh*)

113. “*Siyar al-nabī*” (Life of the Prophet), Turkish, 3 vols, 176 {18}.
114. “*Süleymānnāme*,” illustrated copy, Turkish (?), 178 {5}. Two alternatives: Firdevsī-yi Rūmī, i.e., Uzun Firdevsī (d. after 1512). *Süleymānnāme-yi kebīr*, multiple vols. EDITION (of vol. 72, for instance): M. Ata Çatıkkaş. Firdevsī-i Rūmī, Süleymānnāme-i Kebīr. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2009; or: Sa’dī-yi Sīrozī (fifteenth century), cf. Sehī Beg, 198–99; Hüseyin Akkaya, “Süleyman: Edebiyat,” *TDVİA*, vol. 38 (2010), 60–62, at 61.
115. “*Süleymānnāme*,” unillustrated copy, Turkish (?), 178 {5}. Two alternatives: Firdevsī-yi Rūmī (d. after 1512), *Süleymānnāme-yi kebīr* or: Sa’dī-yi Sīrozī (fifteenth century), cf. Sehī Beg, 198–99; Hüseyin Akkaya, “Süleyman: Edebiyat,” *TDVİA*, vol. 38 (2010), 60–62, at 61.
116. “*Mujallad fī al-futūḥ al-shāmīyya*” (Volume on the Conquest of Syria), Turkish, 179 {15}.
117. “*Baṭṭālnāme*” (Book of Baṭṭāl), Turkish, 179 {16}.
118. “*Ebū Muslimnāme*” (Book of Abū Muslim), Turkish, 179 {16–17}.
119. “*Qışṣat julūs Sultān al-Salāṭīn Sultān Bāyezīd Khān -a’ānahū al-musta’an*” (The Story of the Enthronement of the Sultan of Sultans, Bayezid Khan—May [God] the Provider Sustain Him!), Turkish, 180 {5–6}.
120. “*Dāstān-i Gul u Mul*” (Rose Garden of Rose and Wine), 180 {12}, Persian. Possibility: Sultān Ḥusayn Bayqara (d. 1506). MANUSCRIPT: Kitābkhāna-yi Aṣghar Mahdavi, Tehran, no. 93, copied in 895/1490 by Sultān ‘Alī Mashhadī, which is in Persian (cf. Mahdī Bayānī, *Aḥvāl va āṣār-i khvush-nivīsān*, Chāp-i 2, Tehran: Intishārāt-i ‘Ilmī, 1363/1985, vol. 1, 258; <http://www.aghabozorg.ir/showbookdetail.aspx?bookid=22809>, last accessed on March 2, 2019), although Erünsal suggests the entry refers to a Turkish work (see his “909 [1503] tarihli defter-i kütüb,” 272).
121. “*Kitāb fakhr al-manāqib fī tawārikh al-salāṭīn al-’uthmāniyya - ubbida khilāfatuhum*” (Book of the Glory of Legends in the History of the Ottoman Sultans—May Their Caliphate Be Eternal!” Turkish, 181 {1–2}.
122. [Aḥmedī (d. 1412–13)]. *İskendernāme*, 792/1390, Turkish, 182 {11}, according to the inventory, it was translated from Greek.
123. [Aḥmedī (d. 1412–13)]. *İskendernāme*, 792/1390, Turkish, 182 {11–12}, 9 vols.
124. [Kemāl-i Zerd (or Sarıca Kemāl)]. *Tercüme-yi Kitābu’l-mu’cem* (Translation of the Alphabetical Book, better known as *Tercümān-i belāgat*, Translation of the Book of Eloquence or *Belāgat-nāme*, Book of Eloquence), Turkish, 185 {5}, translation of Faḍl Allāh Qazvinī’s Persian work; the inventory misidentifies the translator as *Tāj-zāda* (i.e., Tacizade). MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, R. 1465 (Karatay, T 1011, vol. 1, 327–28), seal of Bayezid II, dedicated to Bayezid II; Ethé, IO 534 (vol. 1, 211–12).

125. "*Oghūznāma*" (The Book of Oghuz), Turkish, 185 {16}.
126. "*Mujallad thānin min Tārīkh Jangīz Khān*" (Second Volume of the History of Genghis Khan), Turkish, 185 {17}.
127. "*Mujallad rābi' min Tārīkh Jangīz Khān*" (Fourth Volume of the History of Genghis Khan), Turkish, 185 {17}.
128. "*Kitāb hikāyatnāma*" (Book of Stories), Turkish, 187 {6–7}.
129. "*Kitāb tarjuma-yi shāhnāma bi-al-turkiyya fi mujalladayn*" (Translation of the Book of Kings into Turkish in Two Volumes), Turkish, 187 {7}.
130. "*Kitāb hikāyatnāma*" (Book of Stories), Turkish, 187 {8}.
131. "*Kitāb qışsat 'Antar*" (The Tale of 'Antar), Turkish, 188 {5}, 7 vols. MANUSCRIPT (?): TSMK, H. 1145, copied in 1477 and commissioned by Mehmed II (Karatay, T 2805, vol. 2, 296), seal of Bayezid II. Other volumes: H. 1146 (Karatay, T 2806, vol. 2, 296); H. 1147, vol. 3, seal of Bayezid II (Karatay, T 2807, vol. 2, 296); H. 1148, vol. 3 (Karatay, T 2808, vol. 2, 297); H. 1149, vol. 6 (Karatay, T 2809, vol. 2, 297); A. 3113, vol. 8 (Karatay, T 2810, vol. 2, 297); A. 3114, vol. 8 (Karatay, T 2811, vol. 2, 297); K. 889 (Karatay, T 2812, vol. 2, 297).
132. "*Kitāb fākhir fi Qışsat 'Antar*" (A Glorious Book about the Story of 'Antar), Turkish, 188 {6–7}, 3 vols. MANUSCRIPT: See the preceding.
133. "*Samak-i 'ayyār*" (Samak the Vagabond), Turkish, vol. 1, 188 {14}.
134. [Şeyhoğlu (d. 1414?).] *Merzūbānnāme* (Book of Merzūbān), Turkish, 189 {3–4}. EDITION: Şadru'd-Dīn Şeyhoğlu, *Marzubān-nāme Tercümesi: İnceleme, metin, sözlük, tıpkıbasım*, ed. Zeynep Korkmaz, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1973.
135. "*Husn u dil*" (Beauty and Heart), 190 {18}. Erünsal believes it is in Turkish (see his "909 [1503] tarihli defter-i kütüb," 256), but there is no such indication in the inventory. This work was more likely written in Persian by Fattāhī (d. 1448): Fattāhī, *Husn va dil*, ed. Hasan Zū al-Faqārī and Parvīz Aristū, Tehran: Nashr-i Chashma, 2007. The author wrote two versions, one in verse and the other in prose.
136. Ibn Akhī Hizām (d. ca. 1459–60). *Münyetü'l-guzāt* (Wish of the Champions of the Faith), Mamluk Qipchaq Turkish ("bi-al-mughūliyya"), 197 {16}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 3468 (Karatay, T 1912, vol. 1, 619), copied in Egypt for one Amir Altunbugha al-Sayfī in 850/1446–47), seal of Bayezid II. EDITION: Ibn Akhī Hizām, *Münyetü'l-guzāt: 14. Yüzyıla ait Memluk-Kıpçakçasıyla Yazılmış Askerî bir Risâle*, ed. Kurtuluş Öztöpcü, Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 13, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1989.
137. "*'Acā'ibu'l-mahlūkāt ve garā'ibü'l-mevcūdāt*" (Marvelous Creatures and Strange Beings), 200 {9}. Alternatives: 'Alī b. 'Abdu'r-Rahmān, *'Acā'ibu'l-mahlūkāt ve garā'ibü'l-mevcūdāt* (btw. 762/1362 and 857/1453). MANUSCRIPT: İstanbul Üniversitesi Merkez Kütüphanesi, TY 524; or: Anonymous, during the reign of Mehmed I (1413–21). MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Nuri Arlasez 128. EDITION: Günay Kut, *'Acā'yibü'l-Mahlūkāt ve Garā'yibü'l-Mevcūdāt: İnceleme – Tıpkıbasım*, İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2012; or: Yazıcıoğlu Aḥmed Bīcān (d. after 1460), 857/1453. MANUSCRIPT: Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri, Tarih 897M.
138. "*Tarjamat Kitāb Qusṭanṭīniyya wa-Ayāşūfyā*" (Translation of the Book of Constantinople and Hagia Sophia), Turkish, 200 {16–17}. MANUSCRIPT (?): Dervīş Şemseddīn Maḥmūd b. Şemseddīn b. Aḥmed Ḳaramānī, *Tercüme-yi tāriḥ-i binā-i Āyā Şöfyā*, TSMK, R. 1498 (Karatay, T 592 vol. 1, 193); R. 1628 (Karatay, T 593, vol. 1, 193); R. 1409 (Karatay, T 594, vol. 1, 193); İstanbul Üniversite Kütüphanesi, TY 259. It could also be: Ibn Müneccim Yūsuf b. Mūsā Balıkesīrī (d. after 1478), *Tārīḥ-i Āyasufyā*. MANUSCRIPT: İstanbul Üniversite Kütüphanesi, TY 2545.

139. “*‘Ajā’ib al-afkār*” (Marvelous Ideas), Turkish, 201 {15}.

ARABIC DIWANS, ARABIC VERSE, KHUTBAS, RHYMED PROSE, PROVERBS, CORRESPONDENCE, EPISTOLOGRAPHY, ACCOUNTING, NUMBERS, POETIC METER, RHYMING, POETRY, AND RIDDLES (*AL-DAWĀWĪN AL-‘ARABIYYA WA-AL-KUTUB AL-MANẒŪMA BI-AL-‘ARABIYYA WA-KUTUB AL-KHUṬAB WA-AL-KUTUB AL-MUSAJJA‘A WA-AL-KUTUB AL-‘AMTHĀL WA-KUTUB AL-TARASSUL WA-AL-INSHĀ‘ WA-AL-SIYĀQA WA-AL-ARQĀM WA-KUTUB ‘ILM AL-‘ARŪḌ WA-‘ILM AL-QAWĀFĪ WA-AL-SHĪR WA-AL-MU‘AMMĀ*)

140. “*Qaṣīdat burda mukhammasa ma‘a tarjamatihā bi-al-turkiyya bi-ghayr takhmīs*” (Hymn of the *Burda* in Five-Line Strophes, along with Its Turkish Translation not in Five-Line Strophes), Turkish, 210 {8–9}. EDITION: Abdurrahīm Karahisarî, *Tercüme-i Kaside-i Bürde*, ed. İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan, Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1960.
141. “*Kitāb mukātabāt al-wazīr al-Jazarī fī al-tarassul*” (The Correspondence of al-Jazarī the Vizier), 218 {8}. According to Erünsal, it is in Turkish, and the author is Cezeri Kasım Paşa; cf. Erünsal, “Abdürrahim Karahisârî,” *TDVİA*, vol. 1 (1988), 291–92.
142. [Maḥmūd b. Edhem Amasyavî (fifteenth century)]. *Gülşen-i inşā‘* (Rose Garden of Epistolography), Turkish, 219 {5–6}. MANUSCRIPT: Milli Kütüphane, Yz. A. 2276; Süleymaniye, Kadızade Mehmed 421, autograph copy from 901/1496.
143. “*Tercüme-yi Miftāḥü’l-inşā‘*” (Translation of the Key to Epistolography), Turkish, 220 {1}. MANUSCRIPT: Flügel 247/1 (vol. 1, 240–41), a Turkish interlinear translation from the time of Mehmed II, accompanying the Persian original written in 727/1326 by Muḥammad b. Ḥājji.
144. “*Nuzhat al-qulūb*” (Pleasure of Hearts), Turkish, epistolography, 221 {16–17}.
145. “*Risālat al-ḥurūf al-mufrada wa-al-murakkaba*” (Treatise on Single Letters and Ligatures), “bi-al-khaṭṭ al-mughūlî,” Uyghur script, 221 {17–18}.
146. Ḥalīmī (d. late fifteenth century). *Kitāb fī ‘ilm al-‘arūḍ* (Book on the Science of Poetic Meter), Turkish and Persian, 225 {3}. Probably identical with the third part of Ḥalīmī’s *Baḥr al-gharā’ib*, also known as *Lūgat-i Ḥalīmī*, which has the heading *Ṣanā’iyi-‘i şī‘riyye ve kavā’id-i bed‘iyye*.
147. “*Kitāb dābiṭat-i ḥall-i mu‘ammā*” (The Rules of Solving Riddles), 225 {17}. Probably not in Turkish but in Arabic, notwithstanding Erünsal’s claim (see his “908 [1502] Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi,” 273).
148. Kāmī. *Dīwān*, 225 {17}. Unclear which Kāmī it is. Perhaps: Sehi Beg 292. However, ‘Atufi gives no language designation, which strongly suggests it may have been in Arabic, for the item is listed among Arabic diwans.

PERSIAN DIVANS (*al-dawāwīn al-fārisiyya*)

149. Cem Sultān (d. 1495). *Dīwān*, likely in both Persian and Turkish, 244 {19}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, R. 739, seal of Selim I (Karatay, T 2282, vol. 2, 98–99); Süleymaniye, Fatih 3794. EDITION (of his Turkish poetry): İ. Halil Ersoylu, *Cem Sultān’ın Türkçe Dīvanı*, Ankara: Atatürk, Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1989.
150. Şeyh Vefā (Muşlihu’d-Dīn Muştafā, d. 1491). *Dīwān*, 245 {19}–246 {1}. Probably the same as *Risāle-yi manẓūmāt-i Şeyh Vefā* (Süleymaniye, Fatih 3899, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish; seal of Bayezid II).
151. Zātī (d. 1546?). *Dīwān*, 246 {11}. EDITION (of the Turkish part): Ali Nihad Tarlan, Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, and M. Ali Tanyeri, *Zatî Divanı: Edisyon Kritik ve Transkripsiyon*, Istanbul: İstanbul

Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1967). This might also very well be a different Zātī, and thus this volume is probably in Persian.

152. Amīrī. *Dīwān*, 246 {12}. Likely the Persian *dīwān* of the Timurid poet Yūsuf Amīrī (Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 3883 [copyist: Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn; dedicatee: Pīr Budaq Qaraqoyunlu, seal: Shahzade Meḥmed son of Bayezid II]). Although less likely, the item could also refer to an Ottoman poet (cf. Sehi Beg, 162–63).
153. La'li (d. before 1538–39?). *Dīwān*, Turkish (and probably also Persian), 246 {16}.
154. Firākī. *Dīwān*, 246 {17}. Probably mainly Persian; cf. Latīfī, *Tezkiretū'ş-Şuarâ ve Tabsıratu'n-Nuzamâ*, ed. Rıdvan Canım, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 2000, 423–24.
155. Le'ālī. *Dīwān*, Persian and Turkish *dīwāns* in the same volume, 246 {18}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Hacı Mahmud Efendi 3298, fols. 41b–103a, on the margins (only his Turkish *dīwān*). EDITION: Gülçiçek Korkut, “Divân-i Le'ālī: İnceleme-Metin,” master's thesis, Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2004. See also: Sehi Beg, 207–8.
156. Qabūlī (d. 1478). *Dīwān*, 246 {19}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, H. 884 (Karatay, F 677, 233–34), seal of Bayezid II. Mostly in Persian. EDITION: Qabūlī-i Haravī, *Dīwān-i Qabūlī-i Haravī: Bar Asās-i Chāp-i 'Aks-i Ismā'īl Hikmat Artāylān*, Tehran: Bunyād-i Mawqūfāt-i Duktur Maḥmūd Afshār, 2007; Elif Namoglu, “Fatih Dönemi Şairi Kabūlī'nin İkinci Farsca Divanı: Metin-İnceleme” (PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2018).
157. Āhī. *Dīwān*, 246 {19}, likely mainly Persian. See: Sehi Beg, 265–66. Erünsal, “908 (1502) Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi,” 273.
158. Başırī. *Dīwān*, Persian [and Turkish], 247 {8}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Âşir Efendi 292, fols. 229b–89b.
159. Dā'ī. *Dīwān*, 247 {13}, in his own hand. The entry is in the list of Persian divans and does not indicate any other language. It may therefore belong to another, Persophone, Dā'ī, especially because the *Dīwān* of Aḥmed-i Dā'ī, the Turkish poet, features among the Turkish *divans* in the inventory. EDITION: Mehmet Özmen, *Ahmed-i Da'i Divanı*, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2001.
160. Cihānşāh-i Ḥākikī (d. 1467). *Dīwān*, 248 {1}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Fatih 3808.
161. Ṭālī'ī. *Dīwān*, 248 {1}. See Sehi Beg, 223–24.
162. Şeyh Vefā (Muşlihu'd-Dīn Muşṭafā, d. 1491)? *Dīwān*, 248 {1–2}. See above.
163. Vişālī. *Dīwān*, 248 {2}. See Sehi Beg, 237–38.
164. Ḥāmidī (d. 1485). *Dīwān*, 248 {4}. MANUSCRIPT: Türk Tarih Kurumu, no. 68; İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi 1184. EDITION: İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan, *Külliyat-ı Divan-ı Mevlana Hamidi*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1949. For his Turkish poetry, cf. İsmail Ünver, “Hāmidī'nin Türkçe Şiirleri,” *Türkoloji Dergisi* 6, no. 1 (1974): 197–233.
165. Aḥmed-i Dā'ī (? d. after 1421). *Kitāb sitta* (Six Books), 248 {5} (?). Probably mainly Persian, but presumed to be Turkish in: Erünsal, “908 (1502) Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi,” 273.
166. Karamānī Meḥmed Paşa, penname “Nişānī” (d. 1481). *Qaṣā'id wa-ghazaliyyāt* (*Qaṣīdas* and *Ghazals*), 248 {7}. Probably mainly in Persian; see Sehi Beg, 117–18.
167. Havā'ī. *Qaṣā'id* (*Qaṣīdas*), 248 {7}. Probably mainly in Persian, but presumed by Erünsal to be in Turkish (see his “908 [1502] Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi,” 273).
168. Havā'ī. *Kitāb Khayāl wa-Wiṣāl* (Book of Fancy and Attainment), 248 {7–8}. Probably mainly in Persian, but listed by Erünsal as Turkish (see his “908 [1502] Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi,” 273).

169. “*Qaṣīdatān fī madḥ Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān -a‘ānahū al-musta‘ān*” (*Qaṣīdas* by Riyāḍī in Praise of the Sultan of Sultans Sultan Bāyezīd Khān [i.e., Bayezid II], May the One Whose Aid Is Sought Be Preoccupied with Him!), 248 {8–9}. Probably Persian, but listed by Erünsal as Turkish (“908 [1502] Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi,” 273).
170. [Muḥammad ‘Aṣṣār-i Tabrizī]. *Mihr-i Mushtarī*, [Persian], 249 {16–17}. Probably more correctly: *Mihr va Mushtarī* (Sun and Jupiter). MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Fatih 4130, an illustrated copy with the seal of Bayezid II, date and place: 894/1488-89, Shiraz; TSMK, A. 3563 (Karatay, F 618, 213), miniatures, 887/1482, Turkmen-Shiraz, copyist: Na‘īm al-Dīn b. Ṣadr al-Dīn Kātīb; seal of Bayezid II. A vignette on fol. 1a states that the copy is from the library of Bayezid II; it is dedicated to Bayezid II in the back. Erünsal indexes the work as Turkish (see his “908 [1502] Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi,” 273), but if our identification is correct, it is in Persian.
171. “*Naẓm Qīṣṣa-yi Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān -khallada Allāhu ta‘ālā khilāfatahū*” (Verse about the Legend of Sultan Bayezid Khan—May God Most High Perpetuate His Caliphate!), likely in Persian, 249 {19}.
172. [Muḥammad ‘Aṣṣār-i Tabrizī]. *Mihr-i Mushtarī*. Probably more correctly: *Mihr va Mushtarī* (Sun and Jupiter), Persian, no. 170, 250 {1}. See above.
173. Ṣabā‘ī. *Rāḥat al-‘ushshāq, ma‘a ash‘ārihī* (Solace of Lovers, with [Ṣabā‘ī’s] Poetry)], Persian, 250 {12}. Erünsal is probably mistaken to think that it is in Turkish (see his “908 [1502] Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi,” 273); Sehi Beg, 206–7.
174. “*Naẓm-i ghazānāma-yi Rūm fī tawārīkh-i Meḥammed Khān bin Murād Khān-ṭāba tharāhumā*” (Book of the Conquest of Rum, about the History of Mehmed II, son of Murad II—May Their Dust Be Fragrant!), Persian, 250 {15–16}. Erünsal (“908 [1502] Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi,” 273), probably mistakenly, thinks it is in Turkish.
175. “*Naẓm-i tawārīkh Sulṭān Meḥammed Khān b. Murād Khān -khullidat khilāfatuhum -wa-ghayruhū*” (Verse History of Mehmed II son of Murad II—May Their Caliphate Be Eternal!), Persian, 251 {5–6}. Erünsal wrongly designates it as Turkish (“908 [1502] Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi,” 273).
176. “*Kitāb-i naẓm-i tawārīkh-i Sulṭān Meḥammed Khān-ṭāba tharāhu*” (Verse History of Mehmed II—May His Dust Be Fragrant!), Persian, 251 {14–15}. Erünsal wrongly designates it as Turkish (“908 [1502] Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi,” 273).
177. “*Kitāb-i qalandarnāma*” (Book of Vagrant Dervishes), Persian, 252 {2}. Erünsal wrongly designates it as Turkish in “908 (1502) Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi,” 273.
178. Aḥmedī. *Kitāb-i ḥikāyat-i Ḥusayn wa-Yazīd* (Story of Ḥusayn and Yazīd), Persian, 253 {1–2}. Erünsal wrongly designates it as Turkish in “908 (1502) Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi,” 273.
179. Kāshifī. *Fatḥnāma-i Eḡriboz* (Book of the Conquest of Euboea), Persian (?), 253 {19}.
180. Kāshifī. *Naẓm-i ḥikāyat-i Shayb wa-Ḥabīb* (Verse Story of Shayb and Ḥabīb), 253 {19}–254 {1}. Erünsal wrongly designates it as Turkish in “908 (1502) Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi,” 274.

181. "*Majmū'at ash'ār afādil al-shu'arā*" (Anthology of Poems by the Most Virtuous Poets), 10 copies, Persian (?), (254 {6–10}). Erünsal designates it as Turkish in "908 (1502) Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi," 274.
182. "*Naẓm-i qışṣa-yi ibtidā'-i khilāfat-i Sultān al-Salāṭīn Sultān Bāyezīd Khān -a'ānahū al-musta'ān*" (Story of the Beginning of the Caliphate of the Sultan of Sultans, Bayezid Khan—May the One Whose Aid Is Begged Succor Him!), Persian, 254 {19}. Erünsal designates it as Turkish in "908 (1502) Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi," 274.
183. "*Midḥat Sultān al-Salāṭīn Sultān Bāyezīd Khān -a'ānahū al-musta'ān*" (Praise of the Sultan of Sultans, Sultan Bayezid Khan—May the One Whose Aid Is Begged Succor Him!), Persian, 255 {2–3}. Erünsal designates it as Turkish in "908 (1502) Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi," 274.
184. Zāti. *Kitāb-i shikāyatnāma* (Book of Complaint), Persian (?), 255 {7}. Erünsal designates it as Turkish written by the famous Ottoman poet (d. 1546) (see his "908 [1502] Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi," 274), but in fact, it may well be by another Zāti and is probably in Persian.
185. Qabūli. *Kitāb-i baḥth-i Kūn wa Kus* (Contest of the Arse and the Pussy), Persian, 255 {7}. Erünsal, likely mistakenly, designates it as Turkish in "908 (1502) Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi," 274.
186. "*Risāla fī madḥ Sultān al-Salāṭīn Sultān Bāyezīd Khān -a'ānahū al-musta'ān*" (Treatise in Praise of Sultan Bayezid—May the One Whose Aid Is Begged Succor Him!), 257 {7–8}. Probably in Persian, though likely mistakenly designated as Turkish in Erünsal, "908 (1502) Tarihli Saray Kütüphanesi Kataloğu ve Türk Edebiyatı Tarihine Kaynak Olarak Önemi," 274.

GRAMMAR (*al-ṣarf wa-al-naḥw*)

187. Muḥammad ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Lādhiqī. *Kitāb-i tarjuma-yi Sharḥ [al-] 'Izzī* (Translation of the Commentary on 'Izz al-Dīn al-Zanjānī's *al-Taṣrīf al-'izzī*), Turkish, 283 {5–6}.

MAGIC, DREAM INTERPRETATION, ETC. (*al-ta'bīr... al-raml... al-nayrinjāt, al-ṭilsimāt*)

188. "*Kitāb mushkil-gushā' fī al-ta'bīr*" (Book of Problem-Solving in Dream Interpretation), Turkish, 303 {16}.
189. "*Risāla bi-al-turkiyya fī 'ilm al-firāsa*" (Treatise in Turkish on the Science of Physiognomy), 304 {10–11}.
190. "*Bustān al-ḥikmat*" (The Orchard of Wisdom), alchemy, Turkish, 305 {15}.
191. "*Tansukhnāma-yi ilkhānī li-l-Naṣīr [al-Dīn] al-Ṭūsī*" (The Ilkhanid Book of Stones by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī), 307 {7}. According to Erünsal, "909 (1503) Tarihli Defter-i Kütüb," 255, n. 16, the work is identical with Ayasofya 3596 (copied in 713/1313); however, that manuscript is in Persian and the work itself was written by Rashīd al-Dīn. There does exist a Turkish anonymous translation of this work dedicated to Beglerbeg Karaca from the time of Murad II: Laleli 2044/4. EDITION: Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı and Ahmet Süheyl Ünver, *Tanksuknamei ilhan der fūnunu ulūmu Hatai mukaddimesi*, Istanbul: Milli Mecmua Basımevi, 1939; Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb, *Tanksūqnāma yā ṭibb-i ahl-i Khitā*, ed. Muḥtabā Mīnuvī, Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishkada-yi Adabīyāt va 'Ulūm-i Insānī, 1971; Felix Klein-Franke and Zhu Ming, "Rashid Al-Din and the *Tansukhnamah*: The

Earliest Translation of Chinese Medical Literature in the West," *Le Muséon*, 111, no. 3–4 (1998): 427–45.

192. "*Risāla bi-al-turkiyya fī al-raml*" (Treatise in Turkish on Geomancy), Turkish, 307 {17}.
193. "*Jadwal bi-al-turkiyya fī al-raml*" (Prognostication Table in Turkish), Turkish, 307 {17–18}.

ASTROLOGY, ETC. (*al-nujūm*, *al-hay'a*)

194. "*Tarjuma risālat al-jayb*" (Translation of the Treatise on the Sine), Turkish, 316 {10}, on astronomy and stars.
195. "*Tarjuma kitāb al-jadwal al-āfāqī*" (Translation of the Tablets of the Horizons), Turkish, 319 {1}.
196. "*Tarjumat risālat al-ṣafā'ih al-āfāqiyya*" (Translation of the Treatise on the Horizons), Turkish, 321 {4–5}.
197. "*Tarjumat sharḥ al-Sayyid al-Sharīf li-Kitāb al-Chaghmīnī bi-al-turkiyya fī al-hay'a*" (Translation of Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥusayn al-Khwārizmī's Commentary on al-Chaghmīnī's Book on Astronomy), Turkish, 329 {6}.
198. [Lādikli Mehmed Çelebi (d. beg. of sixteenth century)]. *Zeynü'l-elḥān fī 'ilm al-ta'līf wa-al-awzān* (Decking of Melodies in the Science of Composition and Measures), Turkish, 337 {3–4}, on music. MANUSCRIPT: Ankara, Milli Ktp., İbn-i Sina Salonu, A. 1267, copied 889/1484. EDITION: Ahmet Pekşen, "Zeynü'l-elḥān İsimli Eserin Metin ve Sözlük Çalışması: Lādikli Mehmed Çelebi," master's thesis, Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2002.
199. "*Risāla turkiyya fī al-mūsīqī*" (A Turkish Treatise on Music), Turkish, 337 {4–5}.

PHILOSOPHY, LOGIC, ETC. (*al-ḥikma*, *al-falsafīyya*, *al-manṭiq*)

200. Lādikli Mehmed Çelebi (d. beg. of sixteenth century). *Zübdetü'l-beyān* (The Cream of Discourse), Turkish, 344 {4}, on logic. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Ayasofya, 2490, seal of Bayezid II (autograph copy).

PART III: PERSIAN AND TURKISH LEXICOGRAPHY (*al-lugha*)

201. "*Kitāb mukhtaṣar ṣiḥāḥ al-jawharī al-mutarjam bi-al-fārisiyya*" (Abridgment of the Persian Translation of Jawharī's *Correct Arabic*), Persian, 293 {17}. The inventory has the gloss "on loan" (*i'tā olundu*). Likely identical with Abū al-Faḍl Jamāl al-Dīn Qarshī (d. after 1303), *al-Ṣurāḥ min al-Ṣiḥāḥ* (Explication of [Jawharī's] *Ṣiḥāḥ*, 681/1282). MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2692 (Karatay, A. 7579, vol. 4, 14).
202. Volume containing:
 - 202a. "*Kitāb-i dānistan*" (Book of Knowledge), Persian (and Turkish?), Persian-Turkish glossary, 294 {6}. There are many works with this title in various libraries. One of them is: MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Hacı Mahmut, 6115/3 (fols. 42b–55b). EDITION: Şirvan Kalsın and Mahmut Kaplan, "Müellifi Meçhul bir Lugat: Haza Kitab-ı Lugat-ı Danisten," *Turkish Studies: International Periodical for the Languages, Literature, and History of Turkish or Turkic* 4, no. 4 (Summer 2009): 555–98. (Muḥammed b. Ḥāc el-İlyās, *Tuḥfetü'l-ḥādiye* [see 218a] is also known as *Dānisten* or *Lugat-i Dānisten*.)
 - 202b. "*Risāla fī al-lugha al-yūnāniyya mutarjama bi-al-fārisiyya*" (Treatise on the Greek Language Translated into Persian), Persian, 294 {6–7}.

203. "*Risāla fī al-lughā al-yūnāniyya mutarjama bi-al-turkiyya*" (Treatise on the Greek Language Translated into Turkish), Turkish, 294 {7–8}.
204. "*Risāla manẓūma*" (Treatise in Verse), Arabic, Persian, Turkish, 294 {10}.
205. "*Kitāb muqaddimat al-adab fī al-lughā al-mutarjam bi-al-fārisiyya wa-bi-al-afranjiyya*" (Persian and Latin Translation of [al-Zamakhsharī's] Introduction to Literature), probably the original Arabic with interlinear Persian and Latin translations, 294 {11}.
206. "*Kitāb muqaddimat al-adab fī al-lughā al-mutarjam bi-al-fārisiyya wa-bi-al-turkiyya*" (Persian and Turkish Translation of [al-Zamakhsharī's] Introduction to Literature), probably the original Arabic with interlinear Persian and Turkish/Turkic translations, 294 {12}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2243: on the basis of a death note on fol. 1b, it was copied before 776/1374; contains the seal of Bayezid II; Arabic with Arabic explanatory marginalia and Eastern Turkic interlinear translations. The first two parts are consistently translated into Persian and Turkic; the third part has a few Turkic translations; the colophon, likely by a hand different from that of the copyist, on fol. 247a has the date 910/1504–5. TSMK A. 2740: Turkish and Persian; mid-fourteenth-century copy by Shams of Khiva). TSMK A. 2741: Persian and Eastern Turkic. EDITION: Nuri Yüce, *Mukaddimetü'l-edeb: Hıvārizm Türkçesi ile Tercümelî Şuşter Nüshası*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988. This is the edition of only the Khwarizm Turkic section of one of the manuscripts.
207. "*Kitāb muqaddimat al-adab fī al-lughā al-mutarjam bi-al-fārisiyya wa-bi-al-turkiyya*" (Persian and Turkish Translation of [al-Zamakhsharī's] Introduction to Literature), Arabic with interlinear Persian and Turkish/Turkic translations, 294 {13}.
208. "*Kitāb muqaddimat al-adab fī al-lughā al-mutarjam bi-al-fārisiyya*" (Persian Translation of [al-Zamakhsharī's] Introduction to Literature), probably the original Arabic with interlinear translations, 294 {14}.
209. "*Kitāb al-af'āl fī al-lughā al-mutarjam bi-al-fārisiyya*" (Book on Verbs in the [Arabic] Language Translated into Persian), Persian, 294 {15}.
210. "*Kitāb muqaddimat al-adab fī al-lughā al-mutarjam bi-al-fārisiyya*" (Persian Translation of [al-Zamakhsharī's] Introduction to Literature), Persian, 294 {15–16}.
211. Volume containing:
 - 211a. al-Zawzanī, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad (d. 1093). *Maṣādir* (Action Nouns), [Arabic-Persian], 295 {1}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2778 (Karatay, A 7552–F 311), seal of Bayezid II; two copyists with different dates: 'Abd al-Salām al-Ḥasan (796/1394) and Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh (946/1539). EDITION: Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad Zawzanī, *Kitāb al-maṣādir*, ed. Taqī Bīnīsh, Mashhad: Chāp-i Tūs, 1960. LITERATURE: Storey, vol. 3, part 1, 80–81.
 - 211b. al-Maydānī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 1124). *al-Sāmī fī al-asāmī* (The Exalted Names), 497/1104, [Arabic-Persian], 295 {1–2}. EDITION: Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Maydānī, *al-Sāmī fī al-asāmī*, Tehran: Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1967.
212. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Bayhaqī (known as Bū Ja'farak, d. 1150). *Tāj al-maṣādir* (The Crown of Action Nouns/Sources), [Persian], 295 {2}. EDITION: Bū Ja'farak, *Tāj al-Maṣādir*, ed. Hādī 'Ālimzāda, Tehran: Mu'assasa-yi Muṭāla'āt va Taḥqīqāt-i Farhangī, 1987. LITERATURE: Storey, vol. 3, part 1, 84–85.
213. Same as above, 295 {3}.
214. Same as above, 295 {3}.
215. "*Kitāb 'alā tartīb ḥurūf al-tahajjī fī lughat al-furs*" (A Book on the Language of Persia Arranged According to the Letters of the Alphabet), Persian, 295 {18}.
216. Volume containing:

- 216a. Luṭf Allāh Ḥalīmī (d. end of fifteenth century). *Muṣarriḥat al-asmā'* (Explanation of Nouns), 872/1467–68, Persian, Turkish, 295 {19}–296 {1}. A dictionary of names selected from al-Jawharī's *Ṣiḥāḥ*, Ibn Durayd's *Jamhara fī al-lughā*, and Ibn Fāris's *Muḥmal al-lughā*, etc., accompanied by interlinear translations in Turkish and Persian. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4773, copied in 884/1479.
- 216b. *Kitāb al-af'āl fī al-lughā al-mutarjam bi-al-fārisiyya* (Persian Translation of the Book of Verbs in the [Arabic?] Language), Persian, 296 {1}.
217. *"Risāla kalimāt 'arabiyya mutarjama bi-al-fārisiyya wa-al-rūmiyya iy al-yūnāniyya wa-al-sarfiyya"* (A Treatise on Arabic Words Translated into Persian, and Rumi, i.e., Greek, and Serbian), 296 {2}. MANUSCRIPT: *Luḡat-i elsine-i erba'a* (Lexicon of Four Languages), Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4749, fols. 4b–55b, seal of Bayezid II. PUBLICATION: A. Caferoğlu, "Note sur un manuscrit en langue serbe de la bibliothèque d'Ayasofya," *Revue internationale des etudes balkaniques* 1, no. 3 (1936): 185–90.
218. Volume containing:
- 218a. [Muḥammed b. Ḥaccī İlyās]. *Tuḥfetü'l-hādīye* (Gift of the Rod), Turkish, Greek, Latin, and other languages, 296 {3}. Interestingly, the two copies preserved in Leiden (Or. 1028 and Or. 167) are indicated as Persian-Turkish dictionaries in the Leiden catalogue; see also Storey vol. 3, part 1, 65. MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4749, fols. 57b–66b, seal of Bayezid II.
- 218b. *İsāghūjī* (Eisagoge, "Introduction"), Arabic, translated into Greek, 296 {4–5}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4749, fols. 68b–71a.
- 218c. *"Risālat al-amthila al-muṭṭarida al-mutarjama bi-al-fārisiyya wa-ghayrihā"* (Treatise on Regular Examples Translated into Persian and Other Languages), Persian and other languages, 296 {5–6}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4749, fols. 72a–77a, Arabic and Greek, seal of Bayezid II.
- 218d. *"Risāla fī al-'ulūm al-ḥikamiyya"* (Treatise on the Philosophical Sciences), 296 {6}.
- 218e. *"Risāla fī taṣḥīḥ asāmī al-ḥukamā' al-yūnāniyya"* (Treatise on the Emendation of the Greek Philosophers' Names), 296 {6–7}.
- 218f. *"Risāla fī iṣṭilāḥāt 'ulamā' al-hay'a 'alā al-lughā al-yūnāniyya"* (Treatise on the Terminology of Scholars on Astronomy in Greek), 296 {7–8}. MANUSCRIPT: [Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4749, 80a; Greek words translated into Persian.]
219. Volume containing:
- 219a. *"Risāla kalimāt 'arabiyya mutarjama bi-al-fārisiyya wa-al-rūmiyya wa-al-sarfiyya"* (Treatise on Arabic Words Translated into Persian, Greek, and Serbian), Persian, Greek, Serbian, 296 {10–11}.
- 219b. *İsāghūjī* (Eisagoge, "Introduction"), Arabic, translated into Greek, 296 {11–12}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4749, fols. 68b–71a.
- 219c. *"Risālat al-amthila al-muṭṭarida al-mutarjama bi-lughā 'arabiyya"* (Treatise on Regular Examples Translated into Arabic), 296 {12–13}.
220. Volume containing:
- 220a. *"Risāla kalimāt 'arabiyya mutarjama bi-al-fārisiyya"* (A Treatise on Arabic Words Translated into Persian), Persian, 296 {13–14}.
- 220b. *"Risāla fī kalimāt 'arabiyya mutarjama bi-al-fārisiyya"* (A Treatise on Arabic Words Translated into Persian), Persian, 296 {14–15}.
221. Volume containing:

- 221a. "*Kitāb tarājum lughāt al-qurʿān al-ʿaẓīm bi-al-fārisiyya*" (Book of the Persian Translation of Words from the Great Qurʿān), Persian, 296 {15–16}.
- 221b. "*Kitāb al-hādī al-mutarjam bi-al-fārisiyya*" (The Guide Translated into Persian), Persian, 296 {16–17}. Persian translation probably of Ibn Bābushādh's (d. 1077) *Kitāb al-hādī fī sharḥ al-muqaddima fī al-naḥw*; cf. the edition Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2011.
- 221c. "*Kitāb lughat al-furs al-mutarjam bi-al-fārisiyya*" (The Language of the Persians Translated into Persian), Persian, 296 {17–18}. Likely an imitation of Asadī al-Ṭūsī's (d. 1073) *Lughat al-furs* (see no. 237).
222. "*Kitāb ḥall mushkilāt lughat al-furs ʿalā tartīb al-ḥurūf*" (Solution of Difficulties in the Language of the Persians Arranged according to the Letters [of the Alphabet]), Persian, 296 {19}.
223. Volume containing:
- 223a. "*Mulḥaqāt Dānistan min al-lugha al-rūmiyya wa-al-ṣarfiyya*" (Appendices of the *Dānistan* [Book of Knowledge?] from Greek and Serbian), 297 {1}.
- 223b. "*Risāla ḥikāyat Qirīsūs bi-khaṭṭ ʿarabī wa-ghayriḥi wa-awraq fihā khuṭūṭ mukhtalifa*" (The Story of Qirīsūs in the Arabic and Other Scripts, and Pages with Various Scripts on Them," Arabic and other languages, 297 {1}.
224. [Fakhr al-Dīn Hindūshāh (d. 1329–30)]. *al-Ṣiḥāḥ al-ʿajamiyya* (Correct Persian), 677/1279, Persian, 297 {2}. EDITION: Hindū Shāh, *Ṣaḥāḥ al-ʿAjam*, Tehran: Sitād-i Inqilāb-i Farhangī, 1361 [1982 or 1983]. Likely an imitation of the author's *Ṣiḥāḥ al-furs*, but the relationship is unclear. [See TSMK, Koğuşlar 1197 (899/1493–94 (Karatay T 2045, vol. 2, 22; TSMK, A. 2697 (Karatay, T 2046, vol. 2, 22); Karatay considers it a Persian-Turkish dictionary.]
225. Volume containing:
- 225a. "*Sharḥ al-kalimāt al-mushkila fī Kitāb al-sāmī fī al-asāmī*" (Explication of the Difficult Words in [al-Maydānī's] *al-Sāmī fī al-asāmī*), 297 {2–3}.
- 225b. "*Risāla min ʿilm al-naḥw*" (Treatise on the Science of Grammar), Persian, 297 {4}.
- 225c. "*Risāla min ʿilm al-taṣrīf*" (Treatise on the Science of Morphology), Persian, 297 {4}.
226. [al-Jawālīqī (d. 1145)]. *al-Muʿarrab min al-kalām al-ʿajamī ʿalā ḥurūf al-muʿjam* (Arabicized Forms of Non-Arabic Words Arranged Alphabetically), Arabic, 297 {5–6}. EDITION: Mawḥūb ibn Aḥmad Jawālīqī, *Ġawālīkī's Almuʿarrab: Nach der leydeners Handschrift, mit Erläuterungen*, ed. E. Sachau, Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1867.
227. Volume containing:
- 227a. "*Kitāb miṭṭāḥ al-adab fī lughat al-furs ʿalā tartīb al-ḥurūf*" (The Key to Literature in the Language of the Persians, Arranged according to the Alphabet), Persian and/or Turkish, 297 {6–7}. Perhaps: Maḥmūd b. Adham, *Miṭṭāḥ al-lugha* (The Key to Language), 896/1491, a Persian-Turkish glossary dedicated to Bayezid II. MANUSCRIPTS: Flügel I, 121 (1), 896/1491, autograph; TSMK, A. 2765/2 (Karatay, T. 2102, vol. 2, 39), fols. 11b–22a (he gives the name as Şeyḥ Maḥmūd b. İbrāhīm); Leiden Or. 18.691, fols. 69b–99a, copied in 898/1493 by Pīrī b. Oruç (Jan Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and Other Collections of the Netherlands*, vol. 3, Leiden: Leiden University Library, 2006, 604–5). EDITION: Şeyḥ Maḥmūd bin Edhem, *Miṭṭāhu'l-Luga*, ed. Abdülbaki Çetin, Ankara: Sonçağ Yayınları, 2014. LITERATURE: Storey, vol. 3, part 1, 64–65.
- 227b. "*Risāla maʿrifat idmār fākiha min al-fawākih*" (The Skill of Concealment of One of the Fruits), 297 {7–8}.
228. al-Ḥalīmī. *Kitāb durar* (Book of Pearls), Persian, 297 {8–9}, autograph.
229. "*Kitāb sharḥ gharīb al-Qurʿān ʿalā ḥurūf al-muʿjam*" (Commentary on the Strange [Words] of the Qurʿān in Alphabetical Order), Persian (?), 298 {3}.

230. [Maḥmūd Kāshgharī]. *Dīwān lughāt al-turk* (Compendium of the Turkic Dialects), Qarakhanid Turkic, 298 {4}, only vol. 1. MANUSCRIPT: Millet Ktp., Ali Emiri, Arabî 4189. EDITION: *Türk Şiveleri Lügatı (Dīvānū Luḡāt-it-Türk)*, ed. and trans. Robert Dankoff and James Kelly, 3 vols., Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982–85.
231. Volume containing multiple works. Most certainly identical with the *Jāmi‘ al-lughāt*, copied in 870/1465–66, by Sirāj b. Ṭayyib b. Aḥmad, secretary at the law court of Edirne. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2732 (Karatay F. 304, 116, who misreads the date of the manuscript as 867); seal of Bayezid II; fol. 1b has the seal of Ahmed III. The order of the individual titles in the manuscript is slightly different from how ‘Atufi gives them. Contents:
- 231a. “*Kitāb al-asmā’ ‘alā tartīb al-ḥurūf*” (Book of Nouns in Alphabetical Order), Arabic with interlinear Persian translation, 298 {6}. The title page has: *Asmā-yi šāḥib al-Kashshāf* (Nouns from the author of the *Kashshāf*), likely alluding to a glossary of nouns in alphabetical order from al-Zamakhsharī’s *al-Kashshāf ‘an ḥaqā’iq al-tanzīl* (The Unveiler of the Truths of the Revelation), fols. 1b–40a—copied by Sirāj b. Ṭayyib al-Ṣūnisā’ī on 3 Rabi‘ I 870/November 3, 1465.
- 231b. “*Kitāb al-lughā al-fārisiyya ‘alā tartīb al-ḥurūf wa-al-ḥarakāt*” (Book on the Persian Language Arranged in Alphabetical Order and according to Vowel Signs), Persian, 298 {6–7}. Persian verbs with interlinear Turkish translations, followed by a grammar of Persian verbs, then nouns in alphabetical order. The title page has: “Lujja-yi (?) Pīr Ḥamīd al-Sivāsī,” fols. 41b–78a.
- 231c. Sirāj b. Ṭayyib al-Ṣūnisā’ī. *Kitāb al-lughā al-turkiyya al-mutarjam bi-al-fārisiyya ‘alā tartīb al-ḥurūf wa-al-ḥarakāt* (Book on the Turkish Language Arranged in Alphabetical Order and according to Vowel Signs), Persian, 298 {7–8}; fols. 79b–96b, copied at the beginning of Rajab 870/1466.
- 231d. “*Risālat al-amthila al-taṣrīfiyya bi-al-quyūd al-turkiyya*” (A Treatise on Morphological Examples According to the Rules of Turkish), Arabic (?), 298 {8–9}.
- 231e. “*Risāla fī maktūbāt shar‘iyya*” (Treatise on Writings on Holy Law), 298 {9}.
- 231f. [Aḥmedī, d. 1412–13]. *Mirqāt al-adab* (The Staircase to Literature), Arabic and Persian, versified, 298 {9–10}. There is some confusion about its authorship: according to the *TDVİA*, it was compiled by Aḥmedī of Germiyan; according to Storey (vol. 3, part 1, 95–96), by Aḥmadī of Kirmān.
- 231g. Muḥammad b. al-Bavvāb. *Tuḥfa-yi ‘alā’ī* (Lofty Gift), Arabic and Persian, versified, 298 {10}.
- 231h. Abū Naṣr Farāhī (d. 1242). *Niṣāb al-ṣibyān* (Basics for Youth), [Arabic and Persian], verse, 298 {10–11}. EDITION: Abū Naṣr Farāhī, *Niṣāb al-ṣibyān*, 2nd edition, ed. Muḥammad Javād Mashkūr, Tehran: Sāzmān-i Intishārāt-i Ashrafī, 1975.
- 231i. Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Mu‘min al-Khoyī. *Naṣīb al-fityān* (The Allotment of Youth), [Arabic and Persian], versified glossary, 298 {11}.
- 231j. [Aḥmed-i Dā’ī, d. after 1421]. *Uqūd al-jawāhir* (Garlands of Jewels), [Arabic and Persian], verse, 298 {11–12}. Its authorship is problematic: aside from Aḥmed-i Dā’ī, other manuscripts indicate ‘Abd al-Jalīl b. Rashīd al-Dīn ‘Umar al-Waṭwātī—or Rashīd al-Dīn al-Qawī ‘Abd al-Jalīl b. ‘Umar al-Waṭwātī—as the author. See Storey, vol. 3, part 1, 86–87.
- 231k. [Aḥmed-i Dā’ī, d. after 1421, or Bū Ja‘farak, d. 1150]. *Ḥamd u thanā* (Praise and Encomium), Arabic and Persian, 298 {12}. Karatay attributes the work to Aḥmed-i Dā’ī; Storey (vol. 3, part 1, 85–86) to Bū Ja‘farak.
232. Volume containing:
- 232a. “*Kitāb al-asmā’ ‘alā tartīb al-ḥurūf*” (Book of Nouns Arranged according to the Alphabet), [Arabic?], 298 {12–13}.

- 232b. "*Kitāb al-lughā al-turkiyya al-mutarjam bi-al-ʿarabiyya*" (A Book on the Turkish Language Translated into Arabic), Arabic, 298 {13}.
- 232c. "*Kitāb al-lughā al-fārisiyya ʿalā tartīb al-ḥurūf wa-al-ḥarakāt*" (A Book on the Persian Language Arranged according to the Alphabet and Vowel Signs), Persian, 298 {13–14}.
- 232d. "*Kitāb al-lughā al-turkiyya al-mutarjam bi-al-fārisiyya*" (A Book on the Turkish Language Translated into Persian), Turkish, Persian, 298 {14–15}.
- 232e. Abū Naṣr Farāhī. *Niṣāb al-ṣibyān* (Basics for Youth), 298 {15}, see no. 231h.
- 232f. Aḥmedī. *Mirqāt al-adab* (Staircase of Literature), 298 {15–16}, see no. 231f.
- 232g. "*Tuḥfa-yi ʿalāʾī*" (Lofty Gift), 298 {16}, see no. 231g.
- 232h. "*Naṣīb al-fityān*" (The Allotment of Youth), 298 {16}, see no. 231i.
- 232i. "*Kitāb al-amthila mutarjam bi-al-turkiyya*" (Book of Examples Translated into Turkish), Turkish, 298 {17}.
- 232j. "*Ashkāl al-ḥisāb min al-siyāqat*" (The Forms of Calculating in Accountancy), 298 {17–18}.
233. Volume containing:
- 233a. [Shams Khaṭṭāṭ Balkhī (fourteenth century)]. *Kanz al-zawāhir fī maʿrifat al-jawāhir* (Treasury of Flowers in Knowledge about Jewels), 298 {18–19}. EDITION: Shams Khaṭṭāṭ Balkhī, *Kanz al-zawāhir fī maʿrifat al-jawāhir*, Qum: Majmaʿ-i Zakhāʾir-i Islāmī, 1395/2016.
- 233b. "*Risāla fī al-lughā al-fahlawiyya*" (A Treatise on the Fahlawiyya Language), unknown NW Iranian dialect, 298 {19}.
234. [Abū al-Maʿālī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (fourteenth century)]. *Tarājim al-aʿjīm fī al-lughā al-qurʾāniyya* (Translation of Persian Loans in the Language of the Qurʾān), 299 {4–5}. EDITION: Abū al-Maʿālī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Tarājim al-aʿjīm: Farhang-i kuhan-i vāzhahā-yi qurʾān*, ed. Masʿūd Qāsimī and Maḥmūd Mudabbirī, Tehran: Itṭilāʾāt, 1389/2010–11.
235. Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhjivānī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ al-ʿajamiyya* (Sound Ones of Persia), Persian with interlinear Turkish, 299 {5}, 850–77/1446–73 (?). MANUSCRIPTS: Milli Ktp. FB 33 (904/1498); Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4697 (877/1472–73), 4698 (901/1495–96); Fatih 5204 (892/1487); TSMK, A. 2697 (Karatay, T 2046, vol. 2, 22), Koğuşlar 1197 (899/1493–94; Karatay T 2045, vol. 2, 22); R. 1885 (Karatay T 2051, vol. 2, 23). LITERATURE: Storey, vol. 3, part 1, 7–8; Öz, 109–15.
236. "*Asāmī al-adwīya*" (Names of Medicaments), Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Greek, 299 {6–7}.
237. [ʿAlī b. Aḥmad Asadī Ṭūsī (d. after 1066)]. *Lughat-i furs* (Dictionary of Persia), Persian, 299 {12–13}. EDITION: Asadī Ṭūsī, *Kitāb-i lughat-i furs*, ed. ʿAbbās Iqbāl Āshtiyānī, Tehran: Asāṭir, 2010; *Asadī's Neupersisches Wörterbuch Lughat-i Furs: Nach der einzigen vaticanischen Handschrift*, ed. Paul Horn, Berlin: Weidmann Buchhandlung, 1897.
238. "*Mukhtaṣar fī lughat al-furs ʿalā tartīb al-ḥurūf*" (Abridged Persian Dictionary Arranged According to Letters), 299 {13}.
239. "*Tarjamat al-ʿibriyya bi-al-fārisiyya fī al-lughā*" (A Treatise on the Hebrew Language Translated into Persian), 299 {19}–300 {1}.
240. Volume containing:
- 240a. "*Nuqūd al-jumān fī tafsīr lughāt al-Qurʾān*" (Piercing the Pearl, on Exegesis of the Words of the Qurʾān), Arabic, 300 {1}.
- 240b. al-Zawzanī, Ḥusayn (d. 1093). *Al-Maṣādir* (Sources), Arabic, 300 {2}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 2778 (Karatay, A 7552, vol. 4, 21–F 311), Bayezid II's seal.
- 240c. "*Kitāb al-hādī fī tafsīr maʿānī al-adawāt*" (Book of Guidance, Commenting on the *Maʿānī al-adawāt*, The Meanings of Particles), Persian, 300 {2–3}. Perhaps a commentary on Ibn Qaṣṣim Jawzīyya's *Maʿānī al-adawāt wa-al-ḥurūf* (The Meanings of Particles and Letters).

- 240d. “*Sharḥ al-miṣbāḥ*” (Exegesis of the Lantern), Persian, 300 {3–4}. Persian version of Mutarrizī’s (d. 1213) *al-Miṣbāḥ fī ‘ilm al-naḥw*, a treatise on grammar.
- 240e. “*Sharḥ [al-]‘Izzī*” (The Commentary by [al-]‘Izzī), Persian, 300 {4}. A Persian rendition of ‘Izz al-Dīn Zanjānī’s (d. 1262?) *Kitāb al-taṣrīf* (Book of Morphology), which has several Persian versions.
- 240f. Ibn Durayd (d. 933). *Qaṣīda*, Arabic, 300 {4}. EDITION: Ibn Durayd, *Dīwān*. ed. ‘Umar b. Sālim. Tūnis: al-Dār at-Tūnisiyya li-al-Nashr, 1973.
241. [Al-Tiflīsī, Ḥubaysh b. Ibrāhīm (d. 1231–32?)]. *Qānūn-i adab* (The Code of Literature), Arabic-Persian dictionary. 300 {5–6}—first volume down to the letter *ṣād*. LITERATURE: Storey, vol. 3, part 1, 87; Ahmed Ateş, “Hicrî VI.-VIII. (XII.-XIV.) Asırlarda Anadolu’da Farsça Eserler,” *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 8 (1945): 94–135.
242. “*Uqūd al-zawāhir*” (Flower Garlands), Arabic and Persian, 300 {7–8}.
243. Same as above, 300 {8–9}.
244. [Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 1144)]. *Muqaddimat al-adab* (Introduction to Literature), Arabic and Persian, 300 {14–16}. ‘Atufi refers to the author’s other name, Jār Allāh; therefore, he may not have considered this work as identical to that of al-Zamakhsharī.
245. Same as above, 300 {16–17}.

BOOKS ON OCCULT SCIENCES

The 129 codices recorded in this section (*tafṣīl*) of the palace library inventory include more than 200 copies of texts on a diverse range of topics: oneiromancy (*‘ilm al-ta’bīr*), physiognomy (*‘ilm al-firāsa*), alchemy (*‘ilm al-kīmiyā*), the occult properties of stones (*‘ilm al-aḥjār*), the divinatory method known as geomancy (*‘ilm al-raml*), omens or bibliomancy (*al-fāl*),¹ the interrelated “magical” arts of talismans (*al-ṭilsimāt*), *nīranj*,² and *sīmiyā*,³ the adjuration of spirits (*‘azā’im*), the political-eschatological divinatory discourse known as *jafr*; the manufacture of wondrous automata and related devices (*ṣinā’at al-‘ajā’ib*, *al-ḥiyal*), and *siḥr*, another term usually glossed as “magic” or “sorcery.” A final category of works on “wondrous matters” (*al-umūr al-‘ajība*) is found as well, though the heading is noted only in the margin and not in the table of contents at the head of the inventory. The subjects of this section thus roughly fit within the rubric of what modern scholarship calls “occult sciences,” a term for which various cognates are found in Arabic and Persian: “the strange sciences” (*al-‘ulūm al-gharība*), “the hidden sciences” (*al-‘ulūm al-khafiyya*), “the sciences of the concealed” (*‘ulūm al-ghayba*), etc. ‘Atufi employs none of these phrases, however, giving the section no overarching title.

Learned discourses on the occult sciences have a lengthy history in Islamicate thought.⁴ They comprised a significant portion of the texts brought into Arabic during the Abbasid translation movement of the eighth to tenth centuries and were cultivated thereafter in various milieux. Astrology—notably absent from this section, as discussed below—enjoyed a prominent place at many Muslim courts from early on,⁵ while the others survived mostly as minor sciences for the first several centuries of Islamicate history, often in

“associat[ion] with unsavoury doctrinal, confessional, and social spaces,” as Aziz al-Azmeh has put it.⁶ This state of affairs changed considerably over the first few centuries of the “post-classical” or mature period, roughly from the twelfth century onward, during which the occult sciences gained a new prominence and coherence. This is because they were integral to a new cosmological imaginary that rose to prominence during that time, which was emanationist, analogist,⁷ and often millenarian in outlook. In this newly regnant vision of the cosmos, the stars, planets, plants, minerals, bodily humors, colors, scents, letters of the alphabet, numbers, nations, and countless other entities and accidents of creation were enmeshed in a web of sympathetic or antipathetic relationships that vibrated along the “great chain of being” between the godhead and the manifest world.⁸ The occult sciences “made sense” within this collective apprehension of the nature of reality, as they represented much of the operational knowledge of the powers and meanings of things within this web of hidden—that is, “occult”—connections that ordered the cosmos. Furthermore, knowledge of these secrets was often seen as crucial to preparing for the trials of the impending end times. This is not to say that no Muslim thinkers of the period objected to the occult sciences on religio-moral or scientific grounds, but those who did were swimming against the tide.⁹

This new cosmological imaginary of the mature period has been variously described in modern scholarship: by Fazlur Rahman, for example, as “philosophic religion,” and more recently by Shahab Ahmed as “the Sufi-philosophical amalgam.”¹⁰ Matthew Melvin-Koushki’s account of the rising “neopythagoreanism” of this period also captures crucial elements of these developments.¹¹

This emerging *Weltbild* drew heavily on the late antique Platonic and Hermetic inheritances brought into Arabic in the Abbasid period, but was also shaped considerably by the bold claims of Muslim philosophers and mystics regarding their abilities to penetrate the unseen. Rahman and Ahmed both identify Ibn Sina (d. 1037), Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi (d. 1191), and Muhyi al-Din Ibn al-ʿArabi (d. 1240) as central contributors to this intellectual current. Their conjoined impact stems from the fact that, however disparate their systems of thought in certain respects, a basic isomorphism prevails in their visions of the cosmos as emanational and complexly shot through with hierarchies of being(s) and powers, sympathies and antipathies—a similarity seized upon by later commentators who worked to synthesize and reconcile their ideas. Such cosmological concepts had long been cultivated among various Islamicate philosophical, sectarian, and mystical communities, but the upheavals to the status quo of religious and political authority wrought by such civilizational cataclysms as the Crusades, the *Reconquista*, the Mongol invasions, and the Black Death helped clear the ground to expose these concepts to a much larger audience, while also bringing to the fore their potential eschatological significance. The Sufi orders, which rose to fill many gaps in the post-Mongol religio-political landscape and whose systems of graded spiritual authority were seen to embody notions of cosmic hierarchy, played a major role in the spread and popularization of this worldview beyond the small literate circles in which it formerly had been cultivated.¹² The ensuing embrace by many rulers of millenarian narratives and various titles and symbols of sacred kingship was at least equally important in establishing these ideas in the collective consciousness, as well as in encouraging through patronage their ongoing elaboration by intellectuals and cultural producers of various stripes.¹³ The occult sciences were prominent among the applied disciplines of this new vision of the cosmos and were increasingly “sanctified” within it, which is to say that they were linked to prophetic and saintly modes of supernatural power. The public cultivation of these disciplines, both through mastery of the older strata of literature and production of original works, thus became a largely respectable calling in the late medieval and early modern periods. In sum, it

would be strange not to find a significant collection of works on the occult sciences in the inventory of a Muslim ruler’s library at the turn of the sixteenth century.

A key element of the rise of this cosmology was a shift in views about pre-Islamic knowledge that permitted the idea of the ancient sages having tasted some degree of divine inspiration. John Walbridge has discussed this development under the heading of “Platonic Orientalism”: the search by Muslim thinkers for the *prisca theologia* concealed in the symbols and writings of the ancients—or, more accurately, in the large body of Platonic, Pythagorean, Hermetic, and Aristotelian pseudepigrapha that survived from late antiquity.¹⁴ Walbridge’s focus is on the aforementioned Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi, though earlier and later examples of other such thinkers can be enumerated, from the writings of the Basran collective that referred to itself as the “Brethren of Purity” (*ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*) to early Ottoman figures such as the Antiochene Sufi and occultist ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Bistami (d. 1454)—himself much influenced by both the Brethren and al-Suhrawardi—and numerous of his contemporaries.¹⁵ While classical-era Sunni thinkers had tended to draw sharp distinctions between Islamic and non-Islamic knowledge, relegating the latter to legitimacy only with reference to this-worldly concerns, the “Platonic Orientalists” saw flashes or patterns of divine truth in various aspects of pagan metaphysics and religious doctrines. In doing so, they recognized the ancient sages as anticipating the supreme truth of the teachings of the Qurʾan and the Prophet Muhammad while conversely drawing on the wisdom of the ancients to discern a body of secret knowledge encoded in Islamic scriptures but concealed from the *vulgus* of common Muslims. Thus, they posited an esoteric tradition within Islam that was directly descended from one extending into the ancient, and pagan, past. This trend, which arguably first arose in the context of Shiʿi *bāṭin*-ism (the notion of hidden levels of meaning in the Qurʾan and, for some thinkers, other aspects of religious thought and practice), was thence taken up within the “philosophical mysticism” of later Sufism, the strong “Neoplatonic” (viz. emanationist and analogist) coloring of which is well known to modern scholarship.¹⁶

Part and parcel of this reframing of pre-Islamic knowledge was a shift from the classical trend of considering

the occult sciences as belonging strictly to the natural sciences (*al-ʿulūm al-ṭabīʿiyya*) to a new tendency of associating them with sacral power (*walāya*), as Liana Saif, Melvin-Koushki, and the present author have discussed elsewhere.¹⁷ The (somewhat rare) classical-era defenders of the occult sciences had posed them as bodies of knowledge about the created world drawn by the ancients and their Muslim imitators through inference from experience, an epistemic mode quite distinct from prophetic revelation and bereft of any significant religio-moral authority. Later proponents of occultism, however, blurred this distinction, often linking the occult sciences to prophecy or lesser forms of divine inspiration (*kashf*, *ilhām*, *maʿrifa*, etc.). Perhaps the greatest beneficiary of this transition was the Kabbalah-like “science of letters and names” (*ʿilm al-hurūf wa-al-asmāʾ*), which recent scholarship shorthands as “lettrism,” that was introduced to the central Islamic lands by thinkers such as Ibn al-ʿArabi and the Ifriqiyan-cum-Egyptian Sufi Ahmad al-Buni (d. 1225 or 1232–33). This is a mystico-magical discourse on the relationship between divine speech and manifest reality which in certain renderings, most famously al-Buni’s, includes methods of devising talismanic figures involving the names of God, mathematical “magic squares” (*awfāq*, sing. *wafq*), and astrological timing to achieve various ends—techniques vouchsafed by the practitioner’s high spiritual state. While initially an esoteric praxis restricted to certain Sufi cliques, it became widely popularized in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and eventually was widely recognized as a licit, indeed sanctified body of knowledge on the workings of God’s creation and the occult manipulation thereof.¹⁸ The special status afforded to lettrism is demonstrated by that fact that ʿAtufi lists several of al-Buni’s works near the beginning of the inventory, mostly in a section on prayers, invocations, the occult qualities (*khawāṣṣ*) of the Qurʾān, and “magic” squares (*awfāq*) that is included among sections on the most cherished religious sciences (25 {9}, 48 {2, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18}, 49 {10, 15}, 50 {5, 7, 8, 17}).¹⁹ Such a move would have shocked some Muslim thinkers of previous periods. Indeed, in a well-known critique of lettrism written a little more than a century before ʿAtufi compiled his inventory, the historian Ibn Khaldun argued in his *al-Muqaddima* that, contrary to its proponents’

claims that lettrism was a divinely-approved “science of the saints,”²⁰ it was inescapably tainted by pagan astral-magical techniques (of the sort discussed explicitly in some of the works listed in this section) and therefore was an execrable form of sorcery according to Islamic law.²¹ This argument, which relies on a stark distinction between Islamic and pagan knowledge, was already outmoded among the largely occultophilic learned elites of Mamluk Cairo. The aforementioned ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Bistami, for example, a near-contemporary of Ibn Khaldun and denizen of both Cairo and Bursa, some of whose writings are included in the inventory (48 {3}, 50 {12}, 303 {12–13}), heralded lettrism not only as a science possessed by the greatest Sufi saints, but as the secret teachings of a line of initiates that included Plato, Pythagoras, Hermes-Idris, Abraham, et alia, all of whom had been afforded their knowledge by divine dispensation.²² For al-Bistami and many of his contemporaries, it was no accident of history that the reconciliation of ancient and Islamic learning through revelation of the formerly secret tradition of lettrism was occurring in their own period, but rather this constituted proof of the approaching end of time.²³

This is not to say that al-Bistami and his ilk considered all the teachings of the ancients or all the occult sciences to be of the same vaunted status as lettrism—else we would not expect to see these topics relegated to their own section in ʿAtufi’s inventory, quite apart from the religious sciences among which lettrism is nestled. As Melvin-Koushki discusses in his detailed study of the occult sciences in the Islamicate discourse on the “classification of the sciences” (*taṣnīf al-ʿulūm*), the epistemic position of the individual occult sciences was quite fluid throughout the late medieval and early modern periods.²⁴ Timurid and Safavid classificatory thinkers operating within the rising “neoplatonic-neopythagorean” trend of the new cosmology tended to promote astrology, lettrism, and geomancy to the status of mathematical sciences. This category, to their way of thinking, was at once more philosophical and more divine than that of the inductive “natural sciences” to which Ibn Sina and others had relegated most occult discourses. Ottoman thinkers, on the other hand, typically stuck closer to Ibn Sina’s view. In this regard, ʿAtufi’s scheme seems something of a mixed bag: lettrism as a religious science,

astrology as a mathematical science (thus its exclusion from this section of the inventory), and the remainder of the occult sciences in another category that can perhaps be taken as consonant with Ibn Sina's position that they are inductive natural sciences. It is also conceivable that 'Atufi was influenced by al-Bistami's thinking on the division of the sciences,²⁵ which seems to have been strongly influenced by the aforementioned *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity*, also featured in the palace library inventory (319 {9–14}, 324 {2–5}). Al-Bistami designates several occult discourses, including *sihr* (which, following the Brethren, he probably saw as inclusive of the art of talismanry), the exorcism/evocation of spirits (*azā'im*), bibliomancy (*al-fa'l*), alchemy, and the engineering of wondrous devices (*al-ḥiyāl*) as *riyādī*, which is to say “propaedeutic” or “practical,” sciences. He also includes in this category such non-occult disciplines as lexicology (*al-lughā*) and grammar (*al-naḥw*), biography (*siyar*) and history (*ta'rikh*), and the chancery arts (*ilm al-kitāba*), among others. He seems to consider all of these to be “outer” sciences and applied knowledge discourses that are of practical use, but that are also propaedeutic in the sense that they contain evidentiary glimpses of the higher truths of revelation and genuine philosophy.

Ultimately, of course, 'Atufi was acting as a librarian in compiling the inventory, attempting to lend some order to the rich variety of inherited knowledge that was the imperial library collection. As such, his goal was not the striking of a manifesto on *taṣnīf al-ʿulūm*, but rather an inventory, the ordering of which would have been intuitively sensible to the readers he served. That sensibility, I would argue, was fully immersed in what was by then the well-established cosmological imaginary of the mature period. In this framework, the wisdom of the ancients on the secrets of the forces and sympathies that structured the cosmos blended—if somewhat fitfully—with that of the Abrahamic prophets, the Qur'an and Sunna, the Sufis, and many other learned Muslims of the distant and recent past. In what follows, each of the subcategories of works catalogued in the “occult sciences” section (*taḥṣīl*) by 'Atufi is explored, with an eye toward their relationship to this vision of the cosmos. The discussion largely tracks the order in which the subjects are

given in that section, though subjects not contiguous in the inventory are discussed together in a few instances.

ONEIROMANCY AND PHYSIOGNOMY

The works on dream interpretation and physiognomy at the head of the section exemplify the complexities of the evolving position of the occult sciences relative to “Islamic” knowledge, including both the assimilation of pagan discourses with prophetic ones and the impact of later Sufi discourses on the understanding of occult praxes. The oneiromantic works listed by 'Atufi represent a mix of popular older Arabic and Persian works on the topic, and some that were much more recent—including a treatise by 'Atufi himself (303 {17–18}). The best-represented text is the *K. Kāmil al-ta'bīr* (The Complete Book of Dream Interpretation, 302 {16–19} of Husayn Hubaysh bin Ibrahim al-Tiflisi (d. 1231), six copies of which are recorded.²⁶ A classic of the genre originally composed for the Seljuq Sultan of Rum, Qilij Arslan II (r. 1173–92), it combines elements from the Qur'an and Sunna; reports from figures such as the prophet Daniel (*Dāniyāl*), the sixth Shi'i Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq (d. 765), and the early *muḥaddith* and authority on dreams Ibn Sirin (d. 728)²⁷; and numerous elements drawn from the *Oneirocritica* of the second-century CE pagan writer Artemidorus of Ephesus,²⁸ which was translated during the Abbasid era by the famous Hunayn bin Ishaq (d. 873). A copy of al-Dinawari's (d. after 1010) popular *K. al-Qādirī fī al-ta'bīr* (The Book for al-Qadir on Dream Interpretation, 303 {11}) is found here as well,²⁹ as are three copies of *K. al-Mu'allam 'alā ḥurūf al-mu'jam* ([The Book of Dream Interpretation] Arranged according to the Alphabet, 303 {7–9}) by Ibn Ghannam al-Hanbali al-Maqdisi (d. 1294). The latter draws on many of the same authorities as *K. Kāmil al-ta'bīr*, but it was innovative in having cast off the shambolic system of classifying dreams enshrined in Artemidorus in favor of an alphabetized discussion of figures and things that might appear to the dreamer, such as angels, all manner of animals and objects, the letters of the alphabet, etc. Among the more recent works in the palace library collection are two copies of a dream manual (302 {13})

by the scholar and Sufi Qutb al-Din Zada (d. 1480), a one-time student of Molla Fenari (d. 1431) and contemporary of Sultan Bayezid II and 'Atufi, who also authored important commentaries on the works of Ibn al-'Arabi and his disciple Sadr al-Din al-Qunawi (d. 1274).³⁰ 'Atufi's own contribution to the discipline is a work entitled *R. Ramz al-daqa'iq fi 'ilm al-daqa'iq* (The Symbol of the Intricacies regarding the Knowledge of the Intricacies, that is, Knowledge of the Veridical Bodily Dream-Vision, 303 {17–18}).

Taken together, these works represent the main dynamics of the centuries-long maturation of Muslim thought on dream interpretation as a dialogue between prophetic (biblical, Qur'anic, and hadith-based) sources and pagan ones (especially Artemidorus), with the later addition of new Sufi discourses.³¹ This dialogue was based initially on the general concordance between prophetic and pagan sources that dreams could serve as channels of communication from the divine, whether delivered directly to the dreamer by sanctified figures of the past, or as coded messages that require interpretation in order to be understood. While manuals by Muslim authors emphasized the superior nature of the former type—especially dreams in which the Prophet appeared, which were considered unimpeachable—it was the latter type that constituted the focus of *'ilm al-ta'bir*. As set forth by Artemidorus and largely followed by Muslim authors, this science was explicitly analogist, deriving the meanings of oneiric phenomena on the basis of “the juxtaposition of similarities,” and thus allowing for the classification of those phenomena into different categories of prognostications in relation to different dreamers and waking situations.³² Dream interpretation thus is conceived in these manuals as of a piece with the logic of other occult disciplines of the period, and with other diagnostic discourses derived largely from Hellenistic sources, such as humoral medicine. Later mystical discourses then added a new dimension to discourses on dreaming, with theorists such as al-Suhrawardi and Ibn al-'Arabi positing concepts of a mesocosmic plane of reality in which oneiric-cum-visionary phenomena were primary. Such cosmological concepts were integral to the sorts of visionary claims to

knowledge that helped constitute Sufism's religious and epistemic authority in the period.

The works on physiognomy (*'ilm al-firāsa*) in the palace library collection trace an arc similar to that of oneiromancy. The science is concerned with drawing conclusions about the moral and spiritual qualities of a person on the basis of observable physical characteristics.³³ It has a lengthy pre-Islamic provenance, as demonstrated by the numerous volumes listed by 'Atufi translating works attributed to Aristotle and the physician Polemon of Laodicea (d. 144),³⁴ and it was closely tied to Hellenistic and Avicennan medical-diagnostic discourses.³⁵ Sufi thought and practice later contributed new formulations of *firāsa*, portraying it as a form of mystical clairvoyance that enabled Sufi shaykhs to read the inner character of their disciples, and thus as something beyond mere rational induction. An important example of later Sufi contributions to the science is the treatise (304 {18}) listed in the inventory by the Sufi shaykh Muhammad Nurbakhsh (d. 1464), eponym of the Nurbakhshiyya order that was a Shi'i offshoot of the Kubrawiyya.³⁶ In addition to arguing for the reliability and religious lawfulness of physiognomy, Nurbakhsh ties the practice to Sufi discourses of refining and improving the self in the path toward union with the divine. He posits that, as Shahzad Bashir puts it, “[negative] properties associated with bodily organs,” and thus detectable through the science of physiognomy, “can be overcome through deliberate effort and the company of the religious elect.”³⁷

Musings on the body and its relationship to one's spiritual state were central to Nurbakhsh's thought. Possessed of the sort of messianic aspirations sometimes found among Sufis of the period, he theorized that bodies could in fact become vessels for numerous spirits, and claimed that his own body was host to the spirits of Jesus, the Prophet Muhammad, and the Mahdi.³⁸ It has been argued that his thinking along these lines helped pave the way for Safavid ideology.³⁹ As with the discourse on dream interpretation, we thus see that Sufi articulations of occult praxes could be of central importance to the extraordinary, often messianic claims to authority that Sufis sometimes made in this period—

claims that political actors were concerned with harnessing to their own ends.

ALCHEMY AND THE SCIENCE OF STONES

Alchemy (*al-kīmīyā'*), another discourse with ancient roots, is first and foremost the science of the transmutation of metals, particularly non-precious metals into precious ones. It also intersected with fields such as metallurgy, minting, pharmacology, and dye making.⁴⁰ Alchemy was a topic of perennial interest at ruling courts due to its potential as a source of wealth, though it could be a source of royal anxiety as well, due to concerns about counterfeiting. At a theoretical level, it was an important site for philosophical and theological debates about the constitution of physical matter, its relationship to the divine, and the limits of man's ability to understand and manipulate nature. Writings on alchemy are commonly shrouded in pseudonymity, obscurantism, allegories, and the use of elaborate sets of symbols and code names (*Decknamen*) for processes, substances, and laboratory equipment. The resultant ambiguities of alchemical discourse, combined with its themes of transformation and purification, made it an irresistible ground for metaphors for writers of a mystical and esoteric bent. Allusions to alchemy in Sufi writings are common, for example, even to the extent that great Sufi masters such as Dhu al-Nun al-Misri, Sahl al-Tustari, and Jalal al-Din Rumi garnered posthumous reputations as master alchemists.⁴¹

The majority of the books catalogued by 'Atufi under the heading of alchemy contain well-known Arabic texts on the topic. Best represented are works from the large corpus of writings attributed to Jabir bin Hayyan (d. 815?), a figure remembered as having been part of the retinue of the great 'Alid Ja'far al-Sadiq (d. 765), though in historical fact they likely were authored by coterie of anonymous thinkers of the ninth and tenth centuries.⁴² These include *K. Uṣṭuqus al-uss* (The Book of the Elements of the Foundation, 304 {13–14}),⁴³ *K. al-Jumal [al-'ishrīn]* (The Book of Twenty Maxims, 305 {14}), *K. al-'Ahd* (The Book of the Pact, 306 {4–5}),⁴⁴ and *K. al-Rahma* (The Book of Mercy, 306 {6–7}).⁴⁵ A copy of *K. Mawāzīn al-ahjār* (The Book of the Balances of the

Stones, 306 {7}) also listed here could be any one of a number of works from the corpus with similar titles.⁴⁶ Also found are texts attributed to two pre-Islamic sages regarded as primordial authorities on alchemy, Hermes (Hermus) and Zosimos (Rismus, fl. early fourth century),⁴⁷ as well as two well-known works from medieval al-Andalus: the lengthy alchemical poem *Shudhūr al-dhahab* (Nuggets of Gold, 306 {4}) by Ibn Arfa' Ra's (d. 1197) and the *Rutbat al-ḥakīm* (The Rank of the Wise, 305 {12}) of Maslama b. Qasim al-Qurtubi (d. 964).⁴⁸ Other volumes include two compilations of treatises attributed to Ibn Sina, each of which contains a treatise on alchemy,⁴⁹ and a gathering of works by the great theologian and mystic al-Ghazali (d. 1111).⁵⁰ The latter volume seems to have been included under this heading because it contains what is listed as an Arabic translation of his famous *Kīmīyā'-i sa'ādat* (The Alchemy of Happiness, 305 {19}).⁵¹

The works from the Jabirian corpus are largely theoretically oriented, and are deeply concerned with the occult properties of material substances and their places in the cosmic web of sympathetic relationships. Starkly divergent from discourses on cosmology and physic that emerged from early *kalām* and traditionalist movements, it is perhaps unsurprising that they were cultivated in esotericist sectarian circles. By 'Atufi's period, however, such ideas about the nature of matter were largely given. Something similar can be said of al-Qurtubi's *Rutbat al-ḥakīm*, a companion text to the same author's famous grimoire of astral magic, *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* (The Goal of the Wise, known in Europe as *Picatrix*). Both works were composed under the strong influence of the aforementioned quasi-Neoplatonic *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-ṣafā'*, another product of an early coterie of sectarian intellectuals that eventually helped to shape post-classical cosmological speculation.⁵² That these works significantly contributed to the Western Islamic intellectual milieu that birthed Sufi lettrists such as Ibn al-'Arabi and al-Buni no doubt contributed to the wider acceptance of such texts that once might have been considered quite outré. The presence here of treatises on alchemy attributed to Ibn Sina is something of a historical curiosity, as, at least in his early writings, he was a severe critic of the science.⁵³ It is entirely plausible, however, that a reader such as 'Atufi would have

found Avicennan thought, as it had reached him through the commentarial tradition, to be thoroughly compatible conceptually with that of Jabir and the others in the collection. 'Atufi's inclusion of the al-Ghazali volume in this part of the inventory is more puzzling, as the alchemy referred to in the great theologian's popular treatise is strictly a metaphor for spiritual transformation. Like the revered Sufis mentioned above, however, al-Ghazali was often regarded as a master of the occult sciences, with various treatises on alchemy, lettrism, etc. circulating under his name. 'Atufi and other readers at the Ottoman court thus may have credited his work with genuine insights into the art of transmutation.

It must be said that the works collected here hardly seem to constitute the library of a practicing alchemist. The strongest indicator of this is the absence of works by the Mamluk alchemist 'Izz al-Din Aydamir al-Jildaki (fl. fourteenth century), whose writings were fundamental to alchemical practice in the period.⁵⁴ If the palace library collection thus suggests a readership with more of a philosophical interest in the science than a practical one, it is nonetheless remarkable for being early relative to the golden age of Ottoman alchemy, which would commence only in the later sixteenth century, thanks in large part to the writings of Ali Çelebi, known in alchemical circles as *al-mu'allif al-jadid* ("the new author").⁵⁵ The anonymous Turkish work *Bustan al-hikma* (The Garden of Wisdom, 305 {15}) listed here is thus of interest as an early example of alchemical poetry in Turkish. As Tuna Artun has noted based on surviving fragments, it likely was a commentary or synthesis of an older Arabic text, but it stands in any case as one of the earliest traces of alchemical writing in the Turkish vernacular.⁵⁶

Closely related to alchemy is the science of stones (*ilm al-ahjār*), a discourse centered on the occult properties of stones (*khawāṣṣ al-ahjār*), though also dealing with issues of pharmacology, mineralogy, mining, etc.⁵⁷ Numerous works on this science were attributed to the usual ancient authors—Aristotle, Hermes, Dioscorides, et alia—though the identifiable works catalogued here belong entirely to Muslim writers who synthesized and expanded the teachings of the ancients. These include many of the best-known Arabic and Persian works on the topic: at least one copy of Abu Rayhan al-Biruni's (d. 1050) *K. al-Jamāhir fi al-jawāhir* (The Comprehensive

Book on Stones, 307 {3}),⁵⁸ the physician and littérateur al-Tifashi's (d. 1253) *K. Azhār al-afkār fi jawāhir al-ahjār* (The Blossoms of Contemplation on the Natures of Stones, 307 {1–2}), and Nasir al-Din Tusi's (d. 1274) *Tansukhnāmah-i ilkhānī* (Book on Precious Stones for the Ilkhan, 307 {7}),⁵⁹ Also listed here is a title given as *Uyūn al-ḥaqā'iq fi ṣanā'i' al-ḥiyal al-ajība* (The Sources of Truths on the Manufacture of Wondrous Devices, 307 {3–4}). This is most likely *Uyūn al-ḥaqā'iq wa-iḍāh al-ṭara'iq* (The Sources of Truths and the Explanations of Paths) by Abu al-Qasim al-Iraqi al-Simawī (fl. early thirteenth century), a work—discussed in greater detail below—on various "magical" operations and artificial wonders that includes a section on gems and minerals and their sympathetic relationships to the planets.⁶⁰ The science of stones was a major site for discussions of the occult properties (*khawāṣṣ*, sing. *khaṣṣa*) of things, a concept that was also an indispensable element of discourses on alchemy, astrology and astral magic, medicine, etc. That it earns a heading in 'Atufi's inventory testifies to the importance in the period of the discourse on occult properties and its analogist approach to comprehending the concrete things of the terrestrial world, as interlaced with the movements of the heavens and the hidden workings of the divine.

GEOMANCY, BIBLIOMANCY, AND JAFR

While astrology and oneiromancy were time-honored methods of prognostication across the Mediterranean and Near East, Islamic civilization gave rise to three relatively unique divinatory discourses that were popular enough by the turn of the sixteenth century to merit their own subheadings in this section of the inventory: geomancy (*al-raml*), omens (*fa'l*) based on rhapsodomantic procedures, and the complex of political-eschatological texts and lettrist divinatory practices known as *jafṛ*. Each claimed roots in prophetic knowledge and in the earliest period of Islam, but by the late medieval period had been elaborated as highly technical divinatory praxes fully enmeshed in the new cosmological imaginary.

The art of geomancy, which became wildly popular across Arab and Persianate milieux from the thirteenth

century onward, had noteworthy advantages over astrology, which it in some ways resembles.⁶¹ Requiring almost no equipment or mathematical skills, it was highly practicable by almost anyone. Furthermore, through references to the Qur'an and certain hadiths, its Muslim practitioners could make credible-enough claims of divine/prophetic approval of the art, though the survival of an extensive Judeo-Arabic literature on the topic makes clear that its appeal was hardly limited to Muslims.⁶² Often compared to Chinese I Ching divination, the art consists of drawing sixteen series of lines (in sand or on a piece of paper) while concentrating on a query; totaling the number of lines in each series for an odd or even number; and then, according to a relatively simple set of rules, extrapolating from that data a series of figures, each consisting of four rows with either one or two dots in each row (for a total of sixteen possible figures). A typical reading produces fifteen of these figures in a set arrangement, the interpretation of which could then lead to anything from simple yes or no answers as to the advisability of a given action to intricately detailed forecasts of future events.

While the literature on geomancy often locates the genesis of the science with the prophet Idris (who learned it from the angel Jibril), and thence with figures such as the ancient Indian sage Tumtum al-Hindi and a contemporary of the Prophet Muhammad named Khalaf al-Barbari, the name most strongly associated with the late medieval flourishing of the science is an early thirteenth-century Berber by the name of Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad al-Zanati (d. before 1230), to whom various treatises on the topic are attributed.⁶³ An extensive literature on geomancy developed across Arab and Persianate milieux in ensuing centuries, including translations and commentaries on al-Zanati, as well as numerous original works. This growing body of literature saw the sixteen geomantic figures and the fifteen "houses" in which they are arranged as having various correspondences (astrological, numerological, elemental, humoral, etc.), putting the science in dialogue with astrology, alchemy, lettrism, medicine, and other discourses. One work in 'Atufi's list is directly attributed to al-Zanati, *Fathḥ al-aqfāl fī 'ilm al-ashkāl* (Opening the Locks on Knowledge of the Figures, 307 {14}), a title not attested elsewhere to the best of my

knowledge. In addition, the work listed here as *Kitāb Ashkāl al-raml* (The Geomantic Figures, 308 {3}) is perhaps a copy of *Ḥulūl al-ashkāl* (Explanation of the Figures), a popular Turkish translation of al-Zanati's *al-Faṣl fī uṣūl al-raml* (Section on the Sources of Geomancy). The rest of the works listed are anonymous. Of these, the two described as *taqwīm al-raml* (Geomantic Almanac) are of interest. The *taqwīm* is best known in Ottoman contexts as a kind of astrological almanac prepared for rulers each year by court astrologers as part of their normal duties.⁶⁴ These presumably are similar products, based on geomantic castings rather than astrological ones. At least in slightly later periods, it was not uncommon for a court astrologer to also be a geomancer (*rammāl*), so these anonymous almanacs may have been produced by the court astrologers of Bayezid II or an earlier sultan. Whatever the case, they suggest an "official" practice of geomancy at the Ottoman court prior to the sixteenth century, a measure of the status the science had achieved by that time.

The subheading 'Atufi gives as *kutub al-fāl* contains works on various types of prognostication through omens, many dealing with some form of rhapsodomancy, which is to say, divination from written texts. This was sometimes done by opening a text to a random page and then taking the first word or verse on which one's eyes lit as the basis for a prognostication, though more complex operations were often called for.⁶⁵ The first treatise mentioned deals with Qur'anic rhapsodomancy, a practice known since the Umayyad period. The work listed here (308 {12–13}) as having been set down for the Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid (r. 786–809) may be an original, self-contained rhapsodomantic text similar to *al-Qur'a al-Mā'mūniyya* (Prognosticon of al-Ma'mun) discussed by Toufic Fahd. The latter was supposedly composed for Harun's son al-Ma'mun by the famous philosopher al-Kindi (d. 873); it contained, as Fahd describes it, "in the form of tables, 144 questions, followed by 144 chapters, each comprising 12 answers." The work listed by 'Atufi as *K. Dāniyāl al-nabī* (The Book of the Prophet Daniel, 308 {8}) might be the widely circulated *Malḥamat Dāniyāl* (Destinies of Daniel), a book of astro-meteorological prediction,⁶⁶ or perhaps the work discussed by Fahd under the title *Qur'at Dāniyāl* (Prognosticon of Daniel), which is similar to that com-

posed for al-Ma'mun.⁶⁷ In a related but distinct vein is the work listed in the inventory on the *zā'iraja* (308 {9}).⁶⁸ This was a divinatory device and method that seems to have emerged in the late medieval Islamic West, which uses complex circular tables and a combination of astrology and mathematical operations to direct the diviner to various parts of a long and thoroughly opaque poem, from which answers to the query are derived.⁶⁹ Ibn Khaldun writes on the *zā'iraja* at great length in *al-Muqaddima*. He describes it in detail, though predictably rejects the notion that it offers any insights into the world of the unseen (*al-ghayb*).⁷⁰ The *Jām-i sukhan-gūy* (Oracle Cup, 308 {9–10}), listed in two copies by 'Atufi just after the work on the *zā'iraja*, is apparently a similar kind of prognosticative device.⁷¹

The final category of divinatory texts 'Atufi notes is the science of *jafr*—a term rooted in early Shi'i reports of a special text or collection of texts (*al-jafr*) in the possession of the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, 'Ali bin Abi Talib (d. 661), and his descendants. It contained various bodies of otherwise secret prophetic knowledge, such as the names of all earthly rulers until the end of time and the events that would lead to the day of reckoning.⁷² These reports of special political-eschatological knowledge in the hands of the Shi'i Imams belong to a wider body of apocalyptic literature from the early Islamic period, known as *malāḥim* (destinies). The genre seems to have undergone a resurgence in the late medieval period, when numerous texts of end-time predictions were produced by Muslim visionaries of various stripes.⁷³ By the latter period, the notion had arisen of a "science of *jafr*" (*ilm al-jafr*) that encompassed various methods of prognostication, particularly by means of the letters of the Arabic alphabet and their numerical and astrological properties. Analyses of the names of rulers in order to determine the nature of their reigns or the outcomes of battles were among the most prevalent techniques. Like the early sources that inspired it, this later *jafr* literature tended toward matters of political and eschatological prognostication, and from at least the fifteenth century forward, courtly practitioners of the science often analyzed the letters of rulers' names to cast them in roles of eschatological significance. The science was thus an important contributor to the millenarian tenor of the period. The collection of works on this

genre in the palace library is small, though it contains two known titles. One is *K. al-Washy al-maṣūn fī ma'rifat 'ilm al-khaṭṭ alladhī bayn al-kāf wa-al-nūn* (The Book of the Hidden Ornaments of Knowledge of the Line between the *Kāf* and the *Nūn*, 309 {18–19}) by a thirteenth-century author known only as Abu al-'Abbas Ahmad bin Muhammad. It is said by Hajji Khalifa to be a large work on the science of *jafr*, with chapters on 623 methods pertaining to it.⁷⁴ The other is *K. Ṣayḥat al-būm fī ḥawādith al-Rūm* (The Book of the Cry of the Owl regarding the Events of Rome, 309 {17}), a book of apocalyptic predictions popularly attributed to Ibn al-'Arabi. It belongs securely to the category of late medieval *malāḥim* and *ilm al-jafr* literature and, though almost certainly not actually written by Ibn al-'Arabi, is reflective of Sufi millenarianism in the period. It plays a role in the apocalyptic writings of 'Abd al-Rahman al-Bistami, who may in fact have authored it, and whose writings certainly helped popularize it among Ottoman intellectuals.⁷⁵

ARTS OF "MAGIC"

Interspersed among the subsections on divinatory arts are those on various "magical" disciplines, which is to say, practices for actively causing change in the world through occult means.⁷⁶ These are grouped under five headings: talismans (*al-ṭilsimāt*), *nīranj*, *sīmiyā'*, the adjuration of spirits ('*azā'im*'), and *sihr*, another word for magic that often, though not always, carries a negative religio-moral valence. There is a good deal of fluidity and overlap between these categories, as suggested by the multiple titles/descriptions of works dealing with two or more of them. Indeed, the lexical meanings of terms such as *nīranj*, *sīmiyā'*, and *sihr* are unstable even among contemporaneous authors, much less across time and space. A brief survey of the contents of the works 'Atufi has assigned to each category helps illuminate these categories somewhat, or at least his understanding of them. 'Atufi makes no effort by way of *mise-en-page* to distinguish works on *nīranj* from those on talismans, perhaps because the terms are sometimes interchangeable. *Ṭilsam* (talisman) is a relatively straightforward signifier for a manufactured object "charged" with occult forces, often of an astral nature.

The meaning of *nīranj* (pl. *nīranjāt* or *nayranjāt*, from the Persian *nayrang*), however, is less precise. Sometimes glossed as “enchantment,” it can denote talismans or other charged objects as well as operations ranging from tricks of prestidigitation and mechanical wonders to potions and poisons, verbal spells, etc. Of the texts in this group, the best represented is *K. al-Sirr al-Maktūm fī mukhāṭabāt al-nujūm* (The Book of the Hidden Secret of Conversing with the Stars) by the philosopher and Ash‘ari theologian Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 1209–10), six copies or fragments of which are recorded bearing various secondary titles (308 {15–18} and 309 {1–3}).⁷⁷ Al-Razi is best known for his idiosyncratic fusion of Ash‘arism and Avicennism, his monumental Qur‘an commentary, and his writings on medicine. *Al-Sirr al-maktūm* is a major work of Muslim theological engagement with pagan thought, particularly the talismanic arts that allegedly were cultivated by the Sabaeans of Harran, and is ultimately an attempt to reconcile Islamic concepts of prophethood and salvation with Hermetic notions of noesis.⁷⁸ It became widely popular as a theoretical and practical guide to talismanry as the art of astral magic par excellence, reaching audiences far beyond the elite readership in theological and philosophical matters for which al-Razi probably intended it. Also listed here is one of al-Razi’s main sources, the text on talismans/*nayranjāt* attributed to Hermes Trismegistus (Hermus) by way of Apollonius of Tyana (Balinās): *K. Hurmus alladhī tarjamahū Balīnās min qibal al-nayranjāt* (The Book of Hermes Translated by Apollonius, regarding Nayranjat, 308 {19}). Another work on talismans drawing heavily on Hellenistic precedents is *Dhakhūrat al-Iskandar* (The Treasure of Alexander, 309 {5}), which purports to be a treatise written by Aristotle for Alexander the Great. Ullmann notes that a copy held in Paris contains numerous illustrations of images to be inscribed on talismans intended to treat various ailments, such as one to remedy sciatica, which includes the image of a naked queen being swallowed up to her hips by the mouth of a fish.⁷⁹ As for the two entries marked *K. al-Shāmil* (The Comprehensive, 308 {14} and 309 {1}), these are most likely copies of *al-Shāmil fī baḥr al-kāmil* (The Comprehensive Book of Perfect Knowledge) by Abu Fadl Muhammad al-Tabasi (d. 1089).⁸⁰ This is a large grimoire that deals extensively with astral

talismans as well as numerous other types of operations, ranging from “Solomonic” techniques for summoning jinn and demons (*‘azā’im*, see below) to love spells and curses. Ullmann notes that *Kitāb al-Shāmil* is unusual for the genre in that it makes little mention of the Hellenistic authorities whom al-Razi and many others cite, but instead adduces only the prophets and saints of Islamic/Abrahamic tradition. For all this apparent piety, it includes such transgressive procedures as direct calls to Iblis (Satan) to curse one’s enemies.⁸¹ Also worthy of note is *K. Tuhfat al-gharā’ib* (The Book of the Precious Gift of Prodigies, 309 {3–4}), which according to ‘Atufi addresses *nīranj* and wonders (*‘ajā’ib*).⁸² Largely concerned with fantastical geography, it is best known as one of the major sources for the famous cosmographical work *‘Ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharā’ib al-mawjūdāt* (The Wonders of Creation and Prodigies of Existence) by Abu Yahya Zakariyya al-Qazwini (d. 1283),⁸³ though its inclusion under this heading suggests that it also contains some practical magical material.

‘Atufi lists three volumes (containing a total of four texts) under the subheading of *sīmīyā*, a term that, like *nīranj*, is quite flexible in its meaning, and indeed can denote much the same range of occult operations as *nīranj*. The word is from the Greek *semeia*, by way of Syriac, and some premodern authorities—Ibn Khaldun being the best-known example—associate it especially with letter magic and the Sufi science of letters. However, this limited sense of the term is not borne out by other sources, such as those recorded by ‘Atufi in this subsection.⁸⁴ Three of the four texts ‘Atufi lists are closely interrelated: the *K. al-Nawāmīs* (The Book of Sacred Secrets, 309 {7}) of (pseudo-)Plato, the *‘Uyūn al-ḥaqā’iq wa-idāh al-ṭarā’iq* (The Sources of Truths and the Explanations of Paths, 307 {3–4} and 309 {8}) of Abu al-Qasim al-Iraqi al-Simawi (d. ca. 1260), and an abridgement (*mukhtaṣar*) of the latter (309 {9}). The first, which is well attested in Arabic sources but now survives as an independent work only in a Latin version (*Liber Vaccae*), details, as Liana Saif puts it, “experiments which involve the gruesome slaughter and mutilation of a cow to magically produce a rational animal or bees... [and] other recipes or experiments for causing extraordinary transformations, such as splitting the moon in half and causing the appearance of incredible giants.”⁸⁵ The second

work, by al-Simawi (i.e., one who does *sīmiyā'*), is derived in part from *K. al-Nawāmīs* and probably includes extensive excerpts from it. However, it also contains a range of other materials, such as invisibility spells, fire spells, tricks for avoiding hunger and fatigue, mind-reading techniques, various potions, and information on the occult properties of minerals, plants, and animals. Because many of the operations proceed wholly through the manipulation of material and organic substances, modern scholars have sometimes glossed *sīmiyā'*—and *nīranj*, for that matter—as “natural” or “white magic,” as opposed to demonic or “black” magic. However, as Saif argues, this ignores the fact that works such as *Uyūn al-ḥaqā'iq* also include procedures involving supplications to spirits and other supernatural beings, implying that authors like al-Simawi seem not to have been concerned with these distinctions.⁸⁶ The natural/demonic magic distinction arises quite specifically out of Christian-European discourses in any case, and, in the opinion of the present author, causes more problems than it solves when ported to Islamic contexts.

The next category is works of *'azā'im*, which deals with the adjuration of jinn or other spirits. This can be exorcism, i.e., driving spirits out of a possessed person, or the evocation of spirits to cause them to do one's bidding. Notions of jinn adjuration have a lengthy history in Islamicate thought, deriving from both Bedouin and Hellenistic precedents.⁸⁷ Writing in the tenth century, the Baghdadi bookseller Ibn al-Nadīm delineates licit and illicit strains of the practice, and links it to the story of Solomon imprisoning a legion of jinn in the vessel of brass.⁸⁸ Much of the aforementioned *Kitāb al-Shāmil* is concerned with these arts, as are parts of many of the other works discussed previously, again demonstrating the fluidity of these categories. 'Atufi mentions three other titles in the section of works on *'azā'im*. The *Sirr al-asrār* listed here may be the well-known pseudo-Aristotelian work by that title, though it seems odd to list this work under the heading of *'azā'im*. The *Sifr al-asrār fī 'ajā'ib al-umūr wa-al-'azā'im* (The Secret Scroll on Wondrous Matters and Adjuration [of spirits], 309 {11}) and *Risāla fī da'awāt al-ra's wa-l-dhanab* (Treatise on Invocations of the Head and Tail, 309 {12–13}) cannot be identified at this time. The title of the latter suggests that it contained invocations of the lunar nodes (the head

and tail of the dragon), perhaps in the style of *Ghayāt al-ḥakīm* (The Goal of the Wise), which to some extent personifies the astral emanations (*rūḥāniyyāt*) as spirit-beings.⁸⁹

The final category of magical arts, *siḥr* (magic, sorcery), is at first glance the most eyebrow raising, as this term frequently connotes categorically illicit magical practices in the hadith literature and in classical theological and legal discourses. Nonetheless, *siḥr* is sometimes used without disapprobation, as in the *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'*, for example, where it is represented as the ultimate science of the secrets of nature.⁹⁰ The relevance of any of those considerations to 'Atufi is highly questionable, however, as the works he lists here are mostly concerned with the procedure known as *al-ghālib wa-al-maghlūb* (the victor and the vanquished). This is a complicated method for divining the outcomes of battles based on the numerical values of the names of the rulers involved, and could be seen as a branch of the science of *jafr*. The *K. fī ma'rifat al-ghālib wa-al-maghlūb min al-mutaḥāribayn* (The Book on Knowledge of the Victor and the Vanquished among the Combatants, 311 {1–2} and 311 {4}) listed here in three places is a known work on the topic.⁹¹ The method also finds detailed treatments in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Sirr al-asrār* (Secret of Secrets, probably 309 {11}),⁹² the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* (Repose of Hearts, 185 {19}) of the Seljuq historian Muhammad bin 'Ali al-Rawandī (d. early thirteenth century),⁹³ and other sources.⁹⁴ Another title listed here, *R. Jihād al-mulūk 'alā ṭarīqat aḥkām al-nujūm* (The Treatise on the Holy War of Kings by Way of Astrology, 311 {6–7}) would seem to confirm the martial-divinatory nature of the works gathered in this subsection. It is clear why this sort of divination would have been of great interest at the Ottoman imperial court, but it is a mystery (at least to the present author) as to why works on this topic should predominate under the heading of *siḥr*.

WONDROUS AUTOMATA AND WONDROUS MATTERS

Two final categories rounding out this section of the inventory contain works on “wondrous mechanical arts” and related “devices” (*ṣinā'āt al-'ajība*, *al-ḥiyāl*), as

well as on “wondrous matters” (*al-umūr al-‘ajība*). The former two appear after the section on *jafr* and before the one on *sihr*. The third is the last category in the section; as noted above, its heading is not mentioned in the inventory’s table of contents but rather as a marginal note.

The category of “wondrous mechanical arts and tricks” is largely concerned with automata, i.e., human-made objects that move or otherwise perform without visible outside action.⁹⁵ Such objects were important luxury goods at Islamicate courts. Mechanical clocks, often decorated with elaborate figures and vignettes and installed in public spaces, were a particularly important subcategory. More prosaic mechanical devices for use in agriculture, medicine, and industry can also fall under this heading. The best-known work regarding automata is the often lavishly illustrated *al-Jāmi‘ bayn al-‘ilm wa-al-‘amal al-nāfi‘ fī šinā‘at al-ḥiyāl* (Comprehensive Book of Knowledge and Beneficial Practice in the Manufacture of Devices) by Isma‘il bin Razzaz al-Jazari (fl. twelfth century),⁹⁶ two copies of which are included in ‘Atufi’s inventory (310 {11–12} and 201 {16}). These mechanical arts had a much older background, of course, and Hellenistic works make up the bulk of the inventory’s entries. *K. Ayrān fī ḥiyāl raf‘ al-ashyā’ al-thaqīlah* (The Book of Hero on Devices for Raising Heavy Things, 310 {4}) is by the mathematician and engineer Hero of Alexandria (d. ca. 70 CE).⁹⁷ Two copies of a work by Pappus on moving heavy objects and other mechanical feats are mentioned as well, *Madkhal Babūs fī al-ḥiyāl ka-jarr al-athqāl* (Pappus’s Introduction on Mechanical Devices for Lifting Weights, 310 {5}),⁹⁸ as are various treatises by Philo of Byzantium on perpetual motion machines and an automated weapon, *R. al-Dawā‘ir al-mutaḥarrika min dhawātihā* (On Wheels that Move by Themselves, 310 {8}) and *R. ‘Amal al-sā‘āt allatī tarmī bi-al-banādiq* (The Treatise on the Working of a [Water-]Clock that Throws Slingstones, 310 {8–9}).⁹⁹ Also listed is a copy of the three treatises of Muristus (possibly Ctesibius of Alexandria, fl. third century BCE) on air-powered musical instruments (310 {16}).¹⁰⁰

It may strike the modern reader as odd that these works on the construction of mechanical devices—an art typically conceived of as a branch of applied mathematics in the *taṣnīf al-‘ulūm* literature—are included by ‘Atufi alongside texts on matters we would tend to cate-

gorize as “supernatural.” It must be understood, however, that though these mechanical arts seem from our perspective to be of a fundamentally different nature than the others in this section, all the sciences included here share some crucially important characteristics from the “emic” point of view. They are all *thaumatopetic*, as one early modern European thinker put it,¹⁰¹ which is to say, productive of wonder in those who consider or witness them. This was the proper emotional reaction to “interruptions of the customary” (*ikhtirāq al-‘āda*), that is, of the ordinary order of manifest reality. They are also all concerned with the intricate “inner” workings of things in relation to the “outer” world of everyday experience, whether the gears of an ornate mechanical clock whose statuettes move as if alive, the talisman in which subtle astral forces are invested through images and suffumigations in order to concretely influence worldly events, the complex recipes and subtle material transformations of alchemical operations meant to produce the most tangible of precious metals, or the symbol-cloaked language of dreams that reveals the secrets of waking life. Finally, these arts, though difficult to attain, are susceptible to human mastery through some combination of study and sanctity. In being mastered they are, as al-Bistami would have it, propaedeutic to a true understanding of the hidden principles that structure the whole of God’s creation.

As for the texts gathered under the heading of “wondrous matters,” they are a small and motley bunch. The marginal addition of the heading suggests that ‘Atufi inserted them late in the process of writing the inventory. There is a work on the various sects (*madhāhib*) of Christians, which perhaps is included here for lack of a better place: *K. al-Mu‘lam fī bayān madhāhib al-naṣārā* (The Book of the Informed on Explicating the Schools of Christians, 311 {12}). There is also a copy of *K. al-Mukhtār fī kashf al-asrār wa-hatḥ al-astār* (The Book of Selection in the Unveiling of the Secrets and the Rending of the Veils, 310 {16}) by ‘Abd al-Rahim (or al-Rahman) al-Jawbari (fl. thirteenth century), an exposé of the deceptive methods of all manner of unscrupulous tricksters, from fraudulent jewelers to sham alchemists and pretenders to sainthood.¹⁰² Himself a Sufi and alchemist, al-Jawbari’s determination to expose swindlers and debunk false claims to the extraordinary and miraculous is driven not by occultophobia, but rather by a

wish to protect the integrity of God's saints and of true practitioners of the occult sciences. The work's inclusion here suggests that skepticism regarding these matters was not entirely unknown at the Ottoman court.

Finally, there are two codices with translations of a work by Yamistus "the pagan" (*al-wathanī*) on idol worship and the various sects associated with it. This author is George Gemistus Plethon (d. 1450, 1452, or 1454), an idiosyncratic Neoplatonic philosopher of the late Byzantine period who has aroused a good deal of interest in modern scholarship for his alleged crypto-paganism, his possibly having been influenced by al-Suhrawardi, and his significant impact on Renaissance humanism.¹⁰³ As discussed by Maria Mavroudi, the work described in the inventory as *Tarjamat al-bāqīyya min kitāb Yamistūs al-wathanī* (A Translation of the Remains of the Book of Yamistus the Pagan, 311 {12–13}) is an Arabic translation, likely commissioned during the reign of Sultan Mehmed II, of what is said to be a portion of one of his books that was pulled from the fire during a church-decreed public immolation of his works in Constantinople/Istanbul sometime between 1454 and 1462.¹⁰⁴ It contains excerpts from three of his works, including his rendering of the *Chaldean Oracles*—attributed by him to Zoroaster—that deeply influenced Marsilio Ficino and helped inject a powerful strain of occultophilism and Suhrawardi-esque "Platonic Orientalism" into Renaissance humanism. As Mavroudi argues, though some Ottoman intellectuals were hostile to Plethon's pagan inclinations—including the translator of the volume in question, who writes a scathing introduction to it—others perceived the theurgic nature of his writings to be concordant with Suhrawardian thought and various Neoplatonic strands of Muslim philosophy.¹⁰⁵ This is to say that his writings were quite at home within the new cosmological imaginary of the period.

NOTES

1. *Fāl* is given throughout the inventory. *Fa'l* is a common variant.
2. This is vocalized as *nayranj* in the manuscript, which would seem to be a hybrid of the Arabic *nīranj* and its Persian source-word, *nayrang*. See *Elz*, s.v. "Nīrandj," by Toufic Fahd.

3. *Nīranj* and *sīmiyā'* are terms that evade straightforward translation. They are both often rendered as "natural magic" or "white magic"; however, neither gloss stands up to close scrutiny, as discussed below.
4. For overviews of the occult sciences in Islam, see Toufic Fahd, *La divination arabe: Études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1966); Manfred Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1972); Richard Lemay, "L'islam historique et les sciences occultes," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 44 (1993): 19–32; Emilie Savage-Smith, "Introduction," in *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, ed. Emilie Savage-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2004), xiii–li; Travis Zadeh, "Magic, Marvel, and Miracle in Early Islamic Thought," in *The Cambridge History of Magic and Witchcraft in the West*, ed. S. J. Collins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 235–67; Edgar Francis, "Magic and Divination in the Medieval Islamic Middle East," *History Compass* 9, no. 8 (2011): 622–33; Jean-Charles Coulon, *La magie en terre d'Islam au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Éditions du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2017); Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "Introduction: De-Orienting the Study of Islamicate Occultism," in *Islamicate Occultism: New Perspectives*, ed. Matthew Melvin-Koushki and Noah Gardiner, special issue *Arabica* 64, no. 3–4 (2017): 287–95.
5. Covered in this volume by the essay of Cornell H. Fleischer and Tunç Şen. See Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early Abbasid Society (2nd–4th/8th–10th Centuries)* (London: Routledge, 1998), 108–10; George Saliba, "The Role of the Astrologer in Medieval Islamic Society," in *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, 347ff; Sonja Brentjes, "Courtly Patronage of the Ancient Sciences in Post-Classical Islamic Societies," *Al-Qanṭara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* 29 (2008): 403–36.
6. Aziz al-Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldun: An Essay in Reinterpretation* (London: Cass, 1982), 112. It should be noted that, while al-Azmeh's generalization has considerable validity for the classical period, it is far less accurate vis-à-vis the period in which Ibn Khaldun wrote; see Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "In Defense of Geomancy: Sharaf Al-Dīn Yazdī Rebuts Ibn Khaldūn's Critique of the Occult Science," in *Islamicate Occultism: New Perspectives*, 346–403; Noah Gardiner, *Ibn Khaldūn versus the Occultists at Barqūq's Court: The Critique of Lettrism in al-Muqaddimah* (Berlin: EB-Verlag, forthcoming).
7. "Analogist" is intended here in the sense used by the anthropologist Phillipe Descola: "a mode of identification that divides up the whole collection of existing beings into a multiplicity of essences, forms, and substances separated by small distinctions and sometimes arranged on a graduated scale so that it becomes possible to recompose the system of initial contrasts into a dense network of analogies that link together the intrinsic properties of the entities that are distinguished in it" (Philippe Descola, *Beyond*

- Nature and Culture*, trans. Janet Lloyd [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013], 201).
8. For the classic treatment of closely related modes of thought in European intellectual history, see Arthur Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964).
 9. Among the more noteworthy postclassical occultophobes were Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, and Ibn Khaldun. On these thinkers and contemporary responses to them, see John Livingston, "Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah: A Fourteenth-Century Defense against Astrological Divination and Alchemical Transmutation," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 91 (1971): 96–103; Mushegh Asatrian, "Ibn Khaldun on Magic and the Occult," *Iran and the Caucasus: Research Papers from the Caucasian Centre for Iranian Studies*, Yerevan 7 (2003): 73–123; Robert Irwin, "Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Khaldūn: Historians of the Unseen," *Mamluk Studies Review* 7 (2003): 217–30; Yahya Michot, "Ibn Taymiyya on Astrology: Annotated Translations of Three Fatwas," in *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, 277–340; cf. Melvin-Koushki, "In Defense of Geomancy"; Gardiner, *Ibn Khaldūn versus the Occultists*.
 10. Fazlur Rahman, *Islam*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 123–26; Shahab Ahmed, *What Is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 26–31 and passim. Rahman considers this development to have been a disaster for Islamic thought, while Ahmed considers it evidence of the religio-intellectual vitality of the post-classical period. For a Perennialist viewpoint, see Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Three Muslim Sages: Avicenna, Suhrawardī, Ibn 'Arabī* (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1976).
 11. Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "Powers of One: The Mathematization of the Occult Sciences in the High Persianate Tradition," *Intellectual History of the Islamic World* 5, no. 1 (2017): 179 and passim.
 12. For an overview of the hegemonic nature of Sufism in this period, see Nile Green, *Sufism: A Global History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 71–176.
 13. On the embrace of millenarianism and notions of sacred kingship by post-Mongol rulers, see Cornell Fleischer, "Mahdi and Millennium: Messianic Dimensions in the Development of Ottoman Imperial Ideology," in *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilization, Vol. 3: Philosophy, Science, and Institutions*, ed. Kemal Çiçek (Istanbul: Isis, 2000), 42–54; Cornell Fleischer, "Shadow of Shadows: Prophecy in Politics in 1530s Istanbul," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 13 (2007): 51–62; Cornell Fleischer, "Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences: Prophecies at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries," in *Falnama: The Book of Omens*, ed. M. Farhad and S. Bağcı (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2009), 231–44; Cornell Fleischer, "A Mediterranean Apocalypse: Prophecies of Empire in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 61, no. 1–2 (2018): 18–90; Azfar Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign: Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012); İlker Evrim Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran: Sharaf Al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī and the Islamic Republic of Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "Early Modern Islamic Empire: New Forms of Religiopolitical Legitimacy," in *The Wiley-Blackwell History of Islam*, ed. Armando Salvatore and Babak Rahimi (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017), 353–75; Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "Astrology, Lettrism, Geomancy: The Occult-Scientific Methods of Post-Mongol Islamic Imperialism," *The Medieval History Journal* 19, no. 1 (2016): 142–50. See also Hüseyin Yılmaz's contribution to this volume.
 14. John Walbridge, *The Wisdom of the Mystic East: Suhrawardī and Platonic Orientalism*, SUNY Series in Islam (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), 5ff.
 15. On al-Bistāmī, see İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "İlk Dönem Osmanlı İlim ve Kültür Hayatında İhvanu's Safâ ve Abdurrahman Bîstâmî," *Dîvân İlmî Araştırmalar Dergisi* (1996), 229–40; Denis Gril, "Ésotérisme contre hérésie: 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Bîstāmī, un représentant de la science des lettres à Bursa dans la première moitié du XVe siècle," in *Synchrétismes et hérésies dans l'Orient seldjoukide et ottoman (XIV^e-XVIII^e siècle): Actes du Colloque du Collège de France, octobre 2001*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris: Peeters, 2005), 183–95; Fleischer, "Shadow of Shadows," 51–62; Fleischer, "Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences," 231–44; Fleischer, "A Mediterranean Apocalypse," passim; Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks*, 104–14; Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "The Quest for a Universal Science: The Occult Philosophy of Şā'in Al-Dīn Turka İsfahānī (1369-1432) and Intellectual Millenarianism in Early Timurid Iran" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2012), 240–47; Jean-Charles Coulon, "Building al-Būnī's Legend: The Figure of al-Būnī through 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Bîstāmī's *Shams al-āfāq*," *Journal of Sufi Studies* 5, no. 1 (2016): 1–26; Noah Gardiner, "Forbidden Knowledge? Notes on the Production, Transmission, and Reception of the Major Works of Aḥmad Al-Būnī," *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 12 (2012): 114ff; Noah Gardiner, "The Occultist Encyclopedism of 'Abd Al-Rahmān Al-Bîstāmī," *Mamluk Studies Review* 20 (2017): 3–38.
 16. For recent research on the transfer of these ideas from Shi'i thought to Sufism, see Michael Ebstein, *Mysticism and Philosophy in Al-Andalus: Ibn Masarra, Ibn al-'Arabī and Ismā'īlī Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Yousef Casewit, *The Mystics of Al-Andalus: Ibn Barrājān and Islamic Thought in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 57–90. On the phenomena of "philosophical mysticism," see also Anna Akasoy, "What Is Philosophical Sufism?" in *In the Age of Averroes: Arabic Philosophy in the Sixth/Twelfth Century*, ed. Peter Adamson (London: The Warburg Institute and Nino Aragno Editore, 2011), 229–49.
 17. Liana Saif, "From *Ġāyat al-ḥakīm* to *Šams al-ma'ārif*: Ways of Knowing and Paths of Power in Medieval Islam," in *Islamicate Occultism: New Perspectives*, 297–345; Melvin-Koushki, "Powers of One"; Noah Gardiner, "Stars and Saints:

- The Esotericist Astrology of the Sufi Occultist Ahmad Al-Buni," *Journal of Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 12, no. 1 (2017): 39–65.
18. The literature on lettrism is rapidly expanding of late. Some major studies are Denis Gril, "The Science of Letters," in *The Meccan Revelations*, ed. Michel Chodkiewicz, 2 vols. (New York: Pir Press, 2004), 2:103–219; Pierre Lory, *La science des lettres en islam* (Paris: Editions Dervy, 2004); Ebstein, *Mysticism and Philosophy*; Jean-Charles Coulon, "La magie islamique et le « corpus bunianum » au Moyen Âge" (PhD diss., Paris IV - Sorbonne, 2013); Jean-Charles Coulon, *La magie en terre d'Islam*; Noah Gardiner, "Esotericism in a Manuscript Culture: Aḥmad al-Būnī and His Readers through the Mamlūk Period" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2014); Gardiner, "Stars and Saints"; Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "The Occult Challenge to Philosophy and Messianism in Early Timurid Iran: Ibn Turka's Lettrism as a New Metaphysics," in *Unity in Diversity: Mysticism, Messianism and the Construction of Religious Authority in Islam*, ed. Orkhan Mir-Kasimov (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 247–76; Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "Of Islamic Grammatology: Ibn Turka's Lettrist Metaphysics of Light," *Al-'Uṣūr Al-Wuṣṭā* 24 (2016): 42–113.
 19. On which see Guy Burak's contribution to this volume.
 20. Gril, "The Science of Letters," 123.
 21. Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, 3 vols. (New York: Pantheon, 1958), 3:171–82; Gardiner, "Ibn Khaldūn versus the Occultists." Notably, the multivolume copy of *Kitāb al-'Ibar*—the work to which *al-Muqaddima* is the introduction—that Ibn Khaldun had prepared for the Mamluk sultan al-Zahir Barquq (r. 1382–99, with a brief interruption in 1389) found its way into Bayezid II's library. Six volumes (renamed in the Mamluk sultan's honor as *Al-Zāhirī fī al-'ibar bi-akhbār al-'arab wa-al-'ajam wa-al-barbar*) are catalogued as TSMK 2924/3–6 and 13–14. The corresponding volume that contains the text of *al-Muqaddima* is catalogued as Süleymaniye MS Damad Ibrahim 863. All seven volumes are listed in the inventory at 186 {13}.
 22. Al-Bistami's writings remain almost entirely in manuscript. For his thinking regarding the ancients and lettrism, see, for example, his *Naẓm al-sulūk fī musāmarat al-mulūk*, TSMK, A. 1597. See also Fleischer, "Ancient Knowledge and New Sciences"; Fleischer, "A Mediterranean Apocalypse."
 23. Regarding al-Bistami's millenarianism, see Fleischer, "A Mediterranean Apocalypse," passim; Gardiner, "Occultist Encyclopedism," 14–15.
 24. Melvin-Koushki, "Powers of One."
 25. Al-Bistami's thinking on *taṣnīf al-'ulūm* is gestured at in a diagram of "the arts of knowledge" (*funūn al-'ilm*) that he includes in more than one of his works. See, for example, *Naẓm al-sulūk fī musāmarat al-mulūk*, TSMK, A. 1597, fol. 53a.
 26. An edition of the Persian text with an English introduction is Hubaysh ibn Ibrāhīm Tiflīsī, *Kāmil al-ta'bīr: aṣarī jāmi' bi-zabān-i Fārsī dar khvābguzārī va ta'bīr-i ru'yā* = *Kāmil al-ta'bīr: The Complete Persian Book of Dreams and Dream Interpretation*, ed. Mukhtār Kumayli, 2 vols. (Tehran: Markaz-i Pizhūhishī-i Mīrās-i Maktūb, 2015).
 27. On whom see *El2*, s.v. "Ibn Sirīn," by Toufic Fahd.
 28. For a translation of the Greek, see Artemidorus, *The Interpretation of Dreams = Oneirocritica*, trans. Robert White (Park Ridge, NJ: Noyes Press, 1975). On the work's influence on Islamicate oneiromancy, see Fahd, *La divination arabe*, passim.
 29. Published as Naṣr bin Ya'qūb al-Dīnawarī, Fahmī Sa'd, ed., *Kitāb al-Ta'bīr fī al-ru'yā, aw, al-Qādirī fī al-ta'bīr* (Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1997).
 30. See Ed., *El2*, "Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Zāde."
 31. Some overviews of Muslim dream interpretation are Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 247–367; John Lamoreaux, *The Early Muslim Tradition of Dream Interpretation*, SUNY Series in Islam (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002); Pierre Lory, *Le rêve et ses interprétations en Islam* (Paris: Michel, 2003); Nile Green, "The Religious and Cultural Roles of Dreams and Visions in Islam," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 13, no. 3 (2003): 287–313; Elizabeth Sirriyeh, *Dreams and Visions in the World of Islam: A History of Muslim Dreaming and Foreknowing* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015). Numerous valuable essays are also to be found in Louise Marlow, ed., *Dreaming across Boundaries: The Interpretation of Dreams in Islamic Lands* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), and Özgen Felek and Alexander Knysh, eds., *Dreams and Visions in Islamic Societies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012).
 32. Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica*, 2.25.
 33. Some of the relevant scholarship on Islamicate physiognomy is Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 369–429; Robert Hoyland, "Physiognomy in Islam," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 30 (2005): 361–402; Antonella Ghersetti, "A Science for Kings and Masters: *Firāsa* at the Crossroad between Natural Sciences and Power Relationships in Arabic Sources," in *The Occult Sciences in Pre-modern Islamic Cultures*, ed. Nader El-Bizri and Eva Orthmann (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2018), 83–104; Emin Lelić, "Physiognomy ('ilm al-Firāsat) and Ottoman Statecraft: Discerning Morality and Justice," in *Islamicate Occultism: New Perspectives*, 609–46. Numerous insights on physiognomy in later Sufi thought are to be found in Shahzad Bashir, *Sufi Bodies: Religion and Society in Medieval Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011). See also the Swain volume on Polemon in the note following.
 34. Aristotle, 304 {9} and 304 {18}; Polemon, 304 {11–13} and 304 {15}.
 35. On Polemon and his influence on Islamicate thought, see the essays by Robert Hoyland and Antonella Ghersetti in *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul: Polemon's Physiognomy from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam*, ed. Simon Swain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
 36. *El2*, s.v. "Nūrbakhshiyya," by Hamid Algar.
 37. Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*, 47.
 38. *Ibid.*, 40.

39. Algar, "Nūrbakhshiyya."
40. Some overviews of Islamicate alchemy include Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, Band IV* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 1–318. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*, 145–270; Donald Hill, "The Literature of Arabic Alchemy," in *Religion, Learning and Science in the 'Abbasid Period*, ed. M. J. L. Young, J. D. Latham, and R. B. Serjeant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Georges Anawati, "Arabic Alchemy," in *Encyclopedia of the History of Arabic Science*, ed. Roshdi Rashed, 3 vols. (London: Routledge, 1996), 3:853–85; Regula Forster, "Arabic Alchemy: Texts and Contexts," *Al-Qantara* 37, no. 2 (2016): 269–378. Of particular relevance to the Ottoman milieu is Tuna Artun, "Hearts of Gold and Silver: The Production of Alchemical Knowledge in the Early Modern Ottoman World" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2013).
41. On this topic generally, see Pierre Lory, *Alchimie et mystique en terre d'Islam* (Paris: Verdier, 1989).
42. This is according to the widely accepted hypothesis of Paul Kraus, though the notion of relatively late, multiple authorship has been challenged by Nomanul Haq. See Paul Kraus, *Contributions à l'histoire des idées scientifiques dans l'Islam: Volume I, Le corpus d'écrits jâbiriens* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'archéologie orientale, 1943), xvii–lxv; Nomanul Haq, *Names, Natures, and Things: The Alchemist Jabir Ibn Hayyan and His Kitāb Al-Aḥjār* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1994), 8–29.
43. On which see Peter Zirniss, "The *Kitāb Ustuquṣṣ al-Uss* of Jabir ibn Hayyan" (PhD diss., New York University, 1979).
44. Published in Pierre Lory, *L'élaboration de l'élixir supreme: Quatorze traités de Gabir Ibn Hayyan sur le grand oeuvre alchimique* (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1988).
45. It is conceivable that the *Kitāb al-Raḥma* listed here is *Kitāb al-Raḥma al-ṣaghīr*; both can be found in Marcellin Berthelot and Octave Houdas, *La chimie au moyen âge, Tome III, L'alchimie arabe* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1893).
46. A Jabirian work entitled *Kitāb Mawāzīn al-aḥjār* is unknown, but it could represent *Kitāb al-Mizān al-Kabīr*, *Kitāb al-Mizān al-ṣaghīr*, the *Kutub al-Mawāzīn*, or the *Kitāb al-Aḥjār 'alā ra'y Balīnās*, all of which belong to the corpus. Special thanks to Nicholas Harris for his help with these alchemical references.
47. 306 {5} and 306 {6}, respectively. On Zosimos, see Benjamin Hallum, "Zosimos Arabus: The Reception of Zosimos of Panopolis in the Arabic/Islamic World" (PhD diss., Warburg Institute, 2008).
48. On the identification of al-Qurtubī as the author, see M. Fierro, "Bāṭinism in al-Andalus: Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurtubī (d. 353/964), Author of the *Rutbat al-Ḥakīm* and the *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm* (Picatrix)," *Studia Islamica* 84 (1996): 87–112. See also the references in note 52.
49. 306 {8–9} and 306 {10–12}.
50. 305 {18}–306 {2}.
51. The most recent translation of which is Abū-Ḥāmid al-Gazzālī, *The Alchemy of Happiness*, ed. Elton L. Daniel, trans. Claud Field (Armonk: Sharpe, 1991).
52. On *Rutbat al-ḥakīm*, see Godefroid De Callatay, "Magia en Al-Andalus: *Rasā'il Iḥwān al-ṣafā'*, *Rutbat al-ḥakīm* y *Gāyat al-ḥakīm* (Picatrix)," *Al-Qantara* 34, no. 2 (2014): 297–344; Godefroid de Callatay and Sébastien Moureau, "Towards the Critical Edition of the *Rutbat al-Ḥakīm*: A Few Preliminary Observations," *Arabica* 62, no. 2-3 (2015): 385–94; Wilferd Madelung, "Maslama Al-Qurtubī's *Kitāb Rutbat al-ḥakīm* and the History of Chemistry," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 5, no. 1-2 (January 1, 2017): 118–26.
53. On the views of Ibn Sina among Ottoman alchemists, see Artun, "Hearts of Gold and Silver," 20–21.
54. On whom see Nicholas Harris, "In Search of 'Izz al-Dīn Aydamir al-Ġildakī, Mamlūk Alchemist," in *Islamicate Occultism: New Perspectives*, 531–56.
55. On whom see Artun, "Hearts of Gold and Silver," passim.
56. Personal correspondence with Tuna Artun.
57. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*, 95–144.
58. Abū al-Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Jamāhir fī Ma'rīfat al-Jawāhir: Texts and Studies*, ed. Fuat Sezgin and Mazen Amawi (Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 2001).
59. Naṣīr al-Dīn Tūsī, *Tansūkh-nāma-i Ilkhānī*, ed. Muḥammad Razavī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bunyād-i Farhang-i Irān, 1970).
60. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*, 125.
61. On Islamicate geomancy, see Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 196–204; Emilie Savage-Smith, "Geomancy in the Islamic World," in *Encyclopedia of the History of Science, Technology and Medicine in Non-Western Cultures*, ed. Helaine Selin (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1997), 361–63; Emilie Savage-Smith and Marion Smith, "Islamic Geomancy and a Thirteenth-Century Divinatory Device: Another Look," in *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, 211–77. Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "Persianate Geomancy from Tūsī to the Millennium: A Preliminary Survey," in *Occult Sciences in Premodern Islamic Culture*, ed. Nader El-Bizri and Eva Orthmann (Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut, 2018), 161–99; Melvin-Koushki, "In Defense of Geomancy."
62. Blanca Villuendas Sabaté, *La geomancia en los manuscritos judeo-árabes de la Gueniza de El Cairo* (Córdoba, Spain: CNERU-CSIC, Universidad de Córdoba, 2015).
63. Savage-Smith and Smith, "Islamic Geomancy," 212ff.
64. Ahmet Tunç Şen, "Reading the Stars at the Ottoman Court: Bāyezid II (r. 886/1481–918/1512) and His Celestial Interests," in *Islamicate Occultism: New Perspectives*, 571ff.
65. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 214–19; *El2*, s.v. "Fa'l" and "Ḳur'a," by Toufic Fahd.
66. Alexander Fodor, "Malḥamat Dāniyāl," in *The Muslim East: Studies in Honour of Julius Germanus*, ed. Gy. Káldy-Nagy (Budapest: Loránd Eötvös University, 1974), 85–133.
67. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 218.
68. The word *za'iraja* seems to have no translation, i.e., it is effectively a proper name for the device. Franz Rosenthal speculates that it may be a portmanteau of a Persian word for "horoscope, astronomical table" (*zā'icha*) and the Arabic "circle" (*dā'ira*). Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah*, 1:238n64.

69. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 243–45; David Link, “Scrambling T-R-U-T-H: Rotating Letters as a Material Form of Thought,” *Variantology* 4 (2010): 215–66.
70. Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, 3:182–227.
71. Živa Vesel, “Occult Sciences: Compilers and Authority,” in *Texts of Power, the Power of the Text: Readings in Textual Authority across History and Cultures*, ed. Cezary Galewicz (Cracow: Wydawnictwo, 2006), 120. Vesel’s source is the modern Iraqi occultist Shaykh Ḥabīb ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā ibn Shaykh ‘Alī Afshārī Urūmiyyā’ī Najafī’s self-published work, *Kashkūl fī ‘ulūm al-ghariba wa funūn al-latīfa* (1981), 48–61.
72. For the main bodies of early Shi‘i reports on *jafr*, see al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 1:238 (*Bāb fīhi dhikr al-ṣaḥīfa wa-l-jafr wa-l-jāmi‘a wa-muṣḥaf Fāṭima ‘alayhā al-salām*); al-Qummī, *Baṣā’ir al-darajāt* (Qom: AH 1404), 1:170–89 (*Bāb fī al-a‘imma ‘alayhi al-salām annahum u‘tū al-jafr wa-l-jāmi‘a wa-muṣḥaf Fāṭima ‘alayhā al-salām* and the following two *bābs*). An in-depth treatment of these and related sources is Etan Kohlberg, “Authoritative Scriptures in Early Imami Shi‘ism,” in *Les retours aux écritures: Fondamentalismes présent et passés*, ed. Évelyne Patlagean and Alain Le Boulluec (Louvain: Peeters, 1993), 295–312.
73. *El2*, s.v. “Djafr,” “Malḥāma,” by Toufic Fahd; *El3*, s.v. “Apocalypse,” by David Cook; *El3*, s.v. “Jafr,” by Noah Gardiner (forthcoming).
74. Hajji Khalifa, *Kashf al-zunūn ‘an asāmī al-kutub wa-al-funūn* (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941), 2:2012. He gives the title as *K. al-Waṣṣī al-maṣūn wa-al-lu‘lu‘ al-maknūn fī ma‘rifat ‘ilm al-khaṭṭ alladhī bayna al-kāf wa-al-nūn*.
75. On al-Bistāmī’s possible authorship of the work, see Fleischer, “A Mediterranean Apocalypse,” 45.
76. As it has been used in modern scholarship, the term “magic” is fraught with problems. It has been made to serve as a foil to both “religion” and “science,” and to perform all manner of racist, misogynist, heteronormative, and colonial labor in the process. For a detailed discussion of these issues, see Randall Styers, *Making Magic: Religion, Magic, and Science in the Modern World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). The word is nevertheless inescapable, and it has been used often in scholarship on Islamicate thought. For some general discussions of the topic—the earlier of which tend most to exemplify the aforementioned problems—see Edmond Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l’Afrique du Nord* (Paris: La société musulmane du Maghrib, 1984); Toufic Fahd, “Le monde du sorcier En Islam,” in *Le monde du sorcier* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1966), 155–204; *El2*, s.v. “Siḥr,” by Toufic Fahd; Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimpwissenschaften*, 359–426; Savage-Smith, “Introduction” (to her *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*); Coulon, *La magie en terre d’Islam*.
77. E.g., *al-Sirr al-maktūm fī al-ṭilsimāt wa-al-nayranjāt* (The Hidden Secret of Talismans and Nayranjāt); *al-Sirr al-maktūm fī al-ṭilsimāt wa-al-siḥriyyāt wa-al-‘azā’im* (The Hidden Secret, on Talismans, Magical Acts, and Adjuration [of Spirits]); etc.
78. Michael Noble, “The Perfection of the Soul in Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s *Al-Sirr al-maktūm*” (PhD diss., The Warburg Institute, University of London, 2017).
79. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimpwissenschaften*, 419–20.
80. There is a minor chance that one of the entries represents another work on magic, Sirāj al-Dīn al-Sakkākī’s (d. 1228–29) *al-Kitāb al-Shāmil* (The Complete Book). On this work, see Emily Selove, “Literature as Magic, Magic as Literature: Sirāj al-Dīn al-Sakkākī’s Book of the Complete and a Fragment of Spells” (forthcoming). Another work of al-Sakkākī’s, *Miftāḥ al-‘ulūm* (Key to the Sciences), is found in a manuscript bearing Bayezid II’s seal: TSMK A. 1722 (Karatay: A 8028).
81. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimpwissenschaften*, 386. On this work and al-Tabasī, see also Zadeh, “Magic, Marvel, and Miracle in Early Islamic Thought,” 251–55.
82. On which see Maria Kowalska, “Remarks on the Unidentified Cosmography *Tuḥfat Al-Ġarā’ib*,” *Folia Orientalia* 9 (1968): 11–18.
83. Two copies of which are listed elsewhere in the inventory, 202 {12–14}.
84. On the word’s derivation, see *El2*, s.v. “Sīmiyā,” by D. B. MacDonald and Toufic Fahd. For Ibn Khaldūn’s rather tendentious linking of the term to lettrism, see Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, 3:171; Gardiner, *Ibn Khaldūn versus the Occultists*. In the opinion of the present author, the “semitic” element of the term likely originates in the use of cipher alphabets, mysterious *charaktères*, etc. in various areas of magical practice. On such figures in Islamicate talismans, see Tewfik Canaan, “The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans,” in *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, 167ff.
85. Liana Saif, “The Cows and the Bees: Arabic Sources and Parallels for Pseudo-Plato’s *Liber Vaccae* (*Kitāb al-Nawāmīs*),” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 79 (2016): 1.
86. *Ibid.*, 10ff.
87. On the former see Joseph Henninger, “Belief in Spirits among the Pre-Islamic Arabs,” in *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, 1–53.
88. Ibn al-Nadīm, *The Fihrist of Al-Nadīm: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, trans. Bayard Dodge (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 725ff.
89. Saif, “From *Ġāyat al-ḥakīm* to *Šams al-ma‘ārif*,” 306ff.
90. On the Ikhwan’s views on *siḥr*, see Pierre Lory, “La magie chez les Iḥwān al-Ṣafā’,” *Bulletin d’études orientales* 44 (1993): 147–59; Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’, *On Magic: An Arabic Critical Edition and English Translation of Epistle 52a*, ed. and trans. Godefroid de Callatay and Bruno Halflants (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 1–67.
91. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimpwissenschaften*, 366.
92. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī, ed., *Al-Uṣūl al-yūnāniya li-naẓariyyāt al-siyāsīya fī al-Islām* (Cairo: Maṭba‘at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, 1954), 152–55.
93. Rāwandī, Muḥammad bin ‘Alī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr wa-āyāt al-surūr*, ed. Muḥammad Iqbal (Leiden: Brill, 1921), 447–56. See also A. C. S. Peacock and Sarah Nur Yıldız, *The Seljuks*

- of *Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013), 96–97.
94. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*, 366.
 95. *El3*, s.v. “Automata,” by Constantin Canavas.
 96. Translated by Donald Hill as *The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices* (Dordrecht: Reidel, 1974).
 97. In Arabic manuscripts, Hero is often rendered as Hayrūn rather than Ayrān. For an edition and translation, see Carra de Vaux, *Les Mécaniques, ou l’élèveur de Héron d’Alexandrie* (1893, repr. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1988).
 98. Sezgin, *GAS*, 5:174–76.
 99. *Ibid.*, 5:148–49.
 100. *El2*, s.v. “Mūristūs,” by H. G. Farmer.
 101. The term was coined by the Flemish mathematician Adrianus Romanus (d. 1615) with regard to automata; see Anthony Grafton, *Magic and Technology in Early Modern Literature, Dibner Library Lecture 15 October, 2002* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Libraries, 2005), 40.
 102. The most recent edition and study is ‘Abd-ar-Raḥīm bin ‘Umar al-Ġaubarī, *Al-Ġawbarī und sein Kašf al-asrār: ein Sittenbild des Gauners im arabisch-islamischen Mittelalter (7./13. Jahrhundert)*, ed. and trans. Manuela Höglmeier (Berlin: Schwarz, 2006). See also Stefan Wild, “Jugglers and Fraudulent Sufis,” in *Proceedings of the VIth Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Visby 13-16 August, Stockholm 17-19 August, 1972*, ed. Frithiof Rundgren (Stockholm: Almqvist and Iskell International, 1975), 58–63.
 103. For two recent summaries of the scholarship on Plethon and his impact, see Wouter Hanegraaff, *Esotericism and the Academy: Rejected Knowledge in Western Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 28–41; Maria Mavroudi, “Pletho as Subversive and His Reception in the Islamic World,” in *Power and Subversion in Byzantium*, ed. Dimiter Angelov and Michael Saxby (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 177–203.
 104. Mavroudi, “Pletho as Subversive,” 183ff.
 105. *Ibid.*, 188ff.

LIST OF ENTRIES

SECTION ON BOOKS OF OCCULT SCIENCES:

The Science of Dream Interpretation or Oneiromancy, the Science of Physiognomy, the Science of Alchemy, the Science of Stones, Geomancy, Omens, the Science of *Nayranjāt*, Talismans, *Sīmiyā*, the Adjuration of Spirits, the Science of *Jafr*, Wondrous Mechanical Arts/Automata, Engineering Feats, and Sorcery

(*Tafṣīlu kutubi ‘ilmi al-ta’bīri wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-firāsati wa-kutubi al-‘ilmi al-kīmiyā’i wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-aḥjāri wa-kutubi al-ramli wa-kutubi al-fāli wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-nayrinjāti wa-kutubi al-ṭilsimāti wa-kutubi al-sīmiyā’i wa-kutubi al-‘azā’imi wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-jafri wa-kutubi al-ṣinā’āti al-‘ajibati wa-kutubi al-ḥiyali wa-kutubi al-siḥri*)

Because the study of the Islamic occult sciences is a yet underdeveloped field, and because knowledge of the conditions under which manuscripts on these subjects circulated is invaluable to ongoing efforts to improve this state of affairs, the list of entries has been prepared so as to preserve a sense of the individual codices, variant titles, etc. The original order of the titles in the inventory is thus reproduced here, and the names of authors and “authority” titles for works are given only after noting the title given in the inventory (along with the language of composition and line number). For codices containing more than one work, the titles are given in an indented list numbered a through x. A complete list of authors keyed to the entry numbers is given at the end. N.B. Pseudepigraphy is not uncommon in the realm of the occult sciences, and no claims are being made here as to the authenticity of these attributions. Anonymous titles from the inventory are given in quotation marks. Translated titles are given in lowercase (following the first word) when the original appears to be a description rather than a title proper.

A note on translation: The words *nīranj* (pl. *nayranjāt*, sometimes *nīranjāt* or *nayrinjāt*), *sīmiyā*, and *jafr* are left untranslated. *Nīranj* is variously translated elsewhere as “tricks,” “illusions,” “spells,” or “enchantments”; *sīmiyā* is often translated as “natural magic” or “letter magic”; and *jafr* is sometimes rendered as “onomancy” (i.e., divination from names). However, it is the present author’s considered opinion that such translations are in some cases simply inaccurate (e.g., “natural magic”) and in others too limiting, given the fluidity of meaning with which premodern authors strategically imbued them in light of controversies about occultism.

Abbreviations: *El2* = *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. J. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960–2007). *GAS* = Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 13 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967–2007). K. and R. have been used to abbreviate *Kitāb* and *Risāla*, respectively.

I. DREAM INTERPRETATION

1. *K. al-Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn zāda fī ‘ilm al-ta’būr* (The Book of Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Zāda on Dream Interpretation), Persian, 302 {13}. Quṭb al-Dīn Zāda, Muḥammad bin Quṭb al-Dīn Izniqī (d. 1480).
2. Same as no. 1, 302 {13–14}.
3. *“R. Mushtamila ‘alā taḥqīq al-ru’yā fī ‘ilm al-ta’būr”* (A treatise covering the verification of the vision in dream interpretation), 302 {16}.

4. *K. Kāmil al-ta'bir* (The Complete Book of Dream Interpretation), Persian, 302 {16–17}. Al-Tiflīsī, Ḥusayn Ḥubaysh bin Ibrāhīm (d. 1231). MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3169 (Karatay: F 287). EDITION: *Kāmil Al-Ta'bir: The Complete Persian Book of Dreams and Dream Interpretation*, ed. Mukhtār Kumaylī, 2 vols. (Tehran: Markaz-i Pizhūhishī-i Mīrās-i Maktūb, 2015).
5. Same as no. 4, 302 {17}.
6. Same as no. 4, 302 {18}.
7. Same as no. 4, 302 {18}.
8. Same as no. 4, 302 {19}.
9. Same as no. 4, 302 {19}.
10. *K. Ta'bir-i sulṭāniyyin* (The Sultans' Dream Book), Persian, 303 {4}. Ismā'īl bin Nizām al-Dīn (fl. 1362), *K. Ta'bir-i sulṭānī* (The Sultan's Dream Book).¹
11. *K. Ta'bir-i sulṭānī* (The Sultan's Dream Book), 303 {4–5}. Same text as no. 10.
12. Same as no. 10, 303 {5}.
13. *K. al-Mu'lam 'alā ḥurūf al-mu'jam*, Arabic, 303 {7}. Ibn Ghannām al-Maqdisī (d. 1294). *K. al-Mu'allam 'alā ḥurūf al-mu'jam* ([The Book of Dream Interpretation] Arranged according to the Alphabet).² MANUSCRIPT: TSMK 3172 (Karatay: A 7437) and 3173 (Karatay: A 7438).
14. Same as no. 13, 303 {8}.
15. Same as no. 13, 303 {8–9}.
16. *K. al-Qādirī fī al-ta'bir* (The Book for al-Qādir on Dream Interpretation), Arabic, 303 {11}. Al-Dīnawarī, Naṣr b. Ya'qūb (d. after 1010). MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3171 (Karatay: A 7434). EDITION: *Kitāb al-Ta'bir fī al-ru'yā, aw, al-Qādirī fī al-ta'bir*, ed. Fahmī Sa'd (Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1997).
17. *K. Al-Nāṣirī fī tarjamat K. al-Qādirī fī al-ta'bir* (The Book for al-Nāṣir, a translation of the Book for al-Qādir on Dream Interpretation), 303 {11–12}.
18. *K. Durrat al-funūn fī ru'yat qurraṭ al-'uyūn fī al-ta'bir* (The Book of the Pearl of the Arts on Beholding That Which Delights the Eyes on Dream Interpretation), 303 {12–13}. Al-Biṣṭāmī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 1454). MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3167 (Karatay: A 7443).
19. *K. Rawḍat al-misk wa-al-'abīr fī minhāj 'ilm al-ta'bir* (The Book of the Garden of Musk and Fragrance regarding the Method of the Science of Dream Interpretation), 303 {13–14}.
20. *"K. nafīs bi-al-'arabiyya al-manẓūma fī 'ilm al-ta'bir"* (A precious book in versified Arabic on dream interpretation), Arabic, 303 {14}.
21. a. *"K. al-ta'bir al-manẓūm bi-al-fārisiyya"* (A book on dream interpretation in Persian verse), Persian, 303 {15}.
- b. *"R. al-ikhtilāj al-manẓūma bi-al-fārisiyya"* (A treatise in Persian verse on [interpreting] bodily twitching), Persian, 303 {15–16}. See section VI below for a similar work.
22. *"K. Mushkil-kushā'ī fī al-ta'bir"* (The Book of the Problem-Solver on Dream Interpretation), Turkish, 303 {16}.
23. *R. Ramz al-daḡā'iq fī 'ilm al-daḡā'iq wa-huwa al-'ilm bi-al-ru'yā al-ṣādiqa al-badanīyya* (The Treatise on the Symbol of the Intricacies regarding the Science of the Intricacies, that is, the Science of the Veridical Bodily Dream-Vision), 303 {17–18}. 'Atūfi, Khayr al-Dīn Khidr b. Maḥmūd b. 'Umar (d. 1541).
24. a. *"K. muntakhab fārisi fī al-ta'bir"* (A book in Persian on dream interpretation), Persian, 303 {18–19}.
- b. *"R. fārisiyya fī al-fiqh"* (A treatise in Persian on jurisprudence), Persian, 303 {19}.
25. *Al-Juz' al-awwal min al-Muntakhab fī ta'bir al-ru'yā* (The First Part of the Anthology on Dream Interpretation), 303 {19}–304 {1}. Probably Ibn Sīrīn's (d. 728) *Muntakhab al-kalām fī tafsīr al-aḥlām* (Anthology of the Discourse on the Explication of Dreams). EDITION: *Tafsīr al-aḥlām*

al-kabīr al-musammā bi-muntakhab al-kalām fī tafsīr al-aḥlām (Cairo: Maktabat wa-Maṭbaʿat Muḥammad ʿAlī Ṣubayḥ wa-Awlāduḥ, 1963).

II. PHYSIOGNOMY

26. *Tarjamat K. Aristātālīs li-Ḥunayn bin Ishāq fī ʿilm al-firāsa* (Translation by Ḥunayn bin Ishāq of the Book of Aristotle on Physiognomy), Arabic, 304 {9}. Aristotle (d. 322 BCE) and Ḥunayn bin Ishāq (d. 873). MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 1408 (Karatay: A 7479). EDITION: *Il Kitāb Aristātālīs al-faylasūfī al-firāsa nella traduzione di Ḥunayn b. Ishāq*, ed. Antonella Ghersetti (Venice: Università Ca' Foscari, 1999).
27. “*R. bi-al-ʿarabiyya fī ʿilm al-firāsa*” (A treatise in Arabic on physiognomy), Arabic, 304 {10}.
28. “*R. bi-al-turkiyya fī ʿilm al-firāsa*” (A treatise in Turkish on physiognomy), Turkish, 304 {10–11}.
29. *K. Falīmūn al-ḥakīm fī ʿilm al-firāsa* (The Book of Polemon the Wise on the Science of Physiognomy), Arabic, 304 {11}. Polemon of Laodicea (d. 144). EDITION: *Polemonis de Physiognomoniam liber, arabice et latine*, ed. G. E. Hoffman and R. Foerster (Leipzig, 1893).
30. Same as no. 29, 304 {12}.
31. Same as no. 29, 304 {12–13}.
32. *K. Aflīmūn fī ʿilm al-firāsa* (The Book of Polemon on the Science of Physiognomy), 304 {12–13}. Probably the same as no. 29. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3245 (Karatay: A 7485).
33. a. “*R. marqūma bi-al-khulāṣa fī ʿilm al-firāsa*” (A succinctly written treatise on the science of physiognomy), 304 {13}.
- b. “*Tuḥfat al-mulūk min qibal al-mawāʿiz*” (Gift of the Kings Pertaining to Sermons), 304 {14}.
- c. “*R. fī al-firāsa*” (A treatise on physiognomy), 304 {14}.
34. *K. Falīmūn fī al-firāsa* (The Book of Polemon on Physiognomy), Persian, 304 {15}. Polemon of Laodicea. Probably the same as no. 29.
35. “*K. Adillat al-firāsa bi-al-fārisiyya*” (The Book of the Proofs of Physiognomy), Persian, 304 {15}.
36. a. “*R. Ṣanʿat al-yad min qibal al-firāsa*” (Treatise on Skillfulness Pertaining to Physiognomy), 304 {16}.
- b. Same as no. 36, 304 {16–17}.
37. a. “*Sharḥ qaṣīda Ibn Sīnā*” (A commentary on Ibn Sīnā’s poem), 304 {17}.
- b. “*R. fī al-firāsa*” (A treatise on physiognomy), 304 {17–18}.
38. *R. Nūrbakhsh fī ʿilm al-firāsa* (Nūr Bakhsh’s Treatise on the Science of Physiognomy), Persian, 304 {18}. Nūrbakhsh, Muḥammad (d. 1464).³
39. *K. Aristātālīs fī al-firāsa* (Aristotle’s Book on Physiognomy), Arabic, 304 {18}. Aristotle. Same text as no. 26.
40. *K. al-Imām al-Fakhr al-Rāzī fī al-firāsa* (Imām Fakhr al-Rāzī’s Book on Physiognomy), Arabic, 304 {18}–305 {1}. Al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn (d. 1209–10). EDITION: *La physiognomonie arabe et le Kitāb al-firāsa de Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*. Ed. and trans. (French) Youssef Mourad (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1939).⁴
41. “*R. bi-al-fārisiyya fī al-firāsa*” (A treatise in Persian on physiognomy), Persian, 305 {1–2}.
42. “*Mukhtaṣar ʿarabī fī al-firāsa*” (A brief treatise in Arabic on physiognomy), Arabic, 305 {2}.

III. ALCHEMY

43. a. *K. Rutbat al-ḥakīm* (The Book of the Rank of the Wise), Arabic, 305 {12}. Al-Qurṭubī, Maslama b. Qāsim (d. 964).⁵ EDITION: *The Book of the Rank of the Sage*, ed. Wilferd Madelung and Theodore Abt (Einsiedeln: Daimon Verlag, 2016).
- b. *K. al-Rawḍa fī al-kīmīyā* (The Book of the Garden on Alchemy), 305 {12}.
- c. “*Thamāniya wa-thalāthūn kitāban fī al-kīmīyā*” (Thirty-Eight Books on Alchemy), 305 {12–13}.
44. a. *K. Uṣṭuqus al-uss fī al-kīmīyā* (The Book of Elements of the Foundation on Alchemy), Arabic, 305 {13–14}. Jābir bin Ḥayyān (d. 815). EDITION: Peter Ziris, “The *Kitāb Ustuquṣ al-Uss* of Jabir bin Hayyan” (PhD diss., New York University, 1979).
- b. *K. al-Jumal [al-‘ishrīn]* (The Book of Twenty Maxims), Arabic, 305 {14}. Jābir bin Ḥayyān.
45. “*K. Bustān al-ḥikma bi-al-turkiyya fī al-kīmīyā*” (The Book of the Garden of Wisdom in Turkish on Alchemy), Turkish, 305 {15}.
46. “*K. Kanz al-ḥikma fī anwā‘ a‘māl al-kīmīyā*” (The Book of the Treasure of Wisdom regarding [Various] Types of Alchemical Operations), 305 {15–16}.
47. a. “*Al-quṭb al-thānī min khātimat K. Durrat al-tāj fī al-‘itiqād wa-arkān al-islām*” (The second part of the conclusion of *The Pearl of the Crown regarding Faith and the Pillars of Islam*), 305 {16–17}.
- b. “*K. Jawharnāma*” (The Book of Stones), Persian, 305 {17}.
- c. “*K. mukhtaṣar fī ‘ilm al-kīmīyā*” (A brief book on alchemy), 305 {18}.
48. a. *K. al-Munqidh [min al-ḍalāl]* (The Book of the Deliverance from Error), Arabic, 305 {18}. Al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad (d. 1111). EDITION: *Der Erreter aus dem Irrtum = al-Munqid min aḍ-ḍalāl*, ed. Abd-Elamad Abd-Elhamid Elschazli (Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 1988),
- b. *K. Kīmīyā‘-i sa‘ādat bi-al-‘arabiyya* (The Book of the Alchemy of Happiness in Arabic), Arabic, 305 {19}. Al-Ghazālī. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK K. 881 (Karatay: F 33), H. 240 (Karatay: F 34), E.H. 1304 (Karatay: F 36), and Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 1999 are all copies of the work with Bayezid II’s seals; however, none are referred to as being in Arabic. EDITION (Persian): Muḥammad ‘Abbāsī, ed. (Tehran: Tūlū‘ va Zarrīn, 1982).
- c. *K. al-Maḍnūn bihi ‘alā ghayr ahlih* (The Book to be Withheld from Those for Whom It Is Not), Arabic, 305 {19}–306 {1}. Al-Ghazālī. EDITION: Ed. Riyāḍ Muṣṭafa ‘Abd Allāh (Damascus: Al-Ḥikma, 1996).
- d. *R. al-Taqrīb fī ma‘rifat al-tarkīb wa-huwa al-Maḍnūnu bihi ‘alā [ghayri] ahlih* (The Treatise of Approaching the Knowledge of Composition, and it is The Book to Be Withheld from Those for Whom It Is [Not]), Arabic, 306 {1–2}. Al-Ghazālī.
- e. “*Rasā’il ukhrā fī al-riyāḍiyyāt*” (Other treatises on mathematics), 306 {2–3}.
49. a. “*K. al-Rumūz al-dālla ‘alā al-kunūz*” (The Book of the Symbols Indicating the Treasures), 306 {3–4}.
- b. *K. Shudhūr al-dhahab fī al-kīmīyā* (The Book of Nuggets of Gold on Alchemy). 306 {4}. By Ibn Arfa‘ Ra’s (d. 1197). EDITION: Ghazzali Lahouari, ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2018).⁶
- c. *K. al-‘Ahd* (The Book of the Pact), 306 {4–5}. By Jābir bin Ḥayyān. EDITION: In Pierre Lory, *L’élaboration de l’élixir supreme: Quatorze traités de Gabir Ibn Hayyan sur le grand oeuvre alchimique* (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1988).

- d. *R. Hurmus fī al-kīmīyā* (The Treatise of Hermes on Alchemy), 306 {5}. Hermes.
- e. *R. Rismūs fī al-kīmīyā* (The Treatise of Zosimos on Alchemy), 306 {6}. Zosimos (fl. early fourth century).
- f. *K. al-Raḥma* (The Book of Mercy), Arabic, 306 {6–7}. Jābir bin Ḥayyān. EDITION: Marcelin Berthelot and Octave Houdas, *La chimie au moyen âge, Tome III, L'alchimie arabe* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1893), 163–90.
- g. *K. Mawāzīn al-aḥjār* (The Book of Balances of the Stones), 306 {7}. Jābir bin Ḥayyān?
- h. “*Rasā’il ukhrā*” (Other treatises), 306 {7}.
- 50. a. “*R. tārikhihi wa-fihrist kutubihī*” (Treatise on His [Ibn Sīnā’s] History and a Bibliography of His Works), 306 {8–9}. Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). Works with similar titles are listed elsewhere in the inventory, at 181 {13} and 346 {16}. EDITION: Arabic: *The Life of Ibn Sina*, ed. William Gohlman (Albany: SUNY Press, 1974). English trans.: Dimitri Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition: Introduction to Reading Avicenna’s Philosophical Works* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 10–19.
- b. “*R. fī al-kīmīyā*” (A treatise on alchemy), 306 {9}. Ibn Sīnā.
- 51. “*Majmū’a min rasā’il fī al-kīmīyā*” (An anthology of treatises on alchemy), 306 {9–10}.
- 52. a. *R. fī ḥudūth al-ḥurūf* (A treatise on the instantiation of the letters), 306 {10–11}. Ibn Sīnā, *Asbāb ḥudūth al-ḥurūf*. EDITION: M. H. al-Ṭayyān and Y. M. ‘Alam, eds. (Damascus: Majma’ al-Lughā al-‘Arabiyya, 1983).
- b. *R. Ibn Sīnā fī al-kīmīyā* (Ibn Sīnā’s Treatise on Alchemy), 306 {11–12}. Ibn Sīnā.

IV. THE SCIENCE OF STONES

- 53. “*K. Ma’rifat al-aḥjār wa-khawāṣṣihā*” (The Book of the Knowledge of Stones and Their Occult Properties), 307 {1}.
- 54. *K. Azhār al-aḥkār fī jawāhir al-aḥjār* (The Book of Blossoms of Contemplation on the Natures of Stones), Arabic, 307 {1–2}. Al-Tifāshī, Aḥmad bin Yūsuf (d. 1253). MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 1965 (Karatay: A 7168). EDITION: *Azhār al-aḥkār fī jawāhir al-aḥjār*, ed. Muḥammad Yūsuf Ḥasan and Maḥmūd Basyūnī Khafājī (Cairo: Maṭba‘at Dār al-Kutub wa-al-Wathā’iq al-Qawmīyah, 2010).
- 55. “*R. Jawharnāma*” (Treatise on Gems), 307 {2}.
- 56. *K. al-Jamāhīr fī al-jawāhir* (The Comprehensive Book on Stones), 307 {3}. Al-Bīrūnī, Abū al-Rayḥān (d. 1050). MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 2047 (Karatay: A 7167). EDITION: *K. al-Jamāhīr fī ma’rifat al-jawāhir: Texts and Studies*, ed. Fuat Sezgin, Mazen Amawi, Carl Ehrig-Eggert, and Eckhard Neubauer (Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 2001).
- 57. a. “*Uyūn al-ḥaqā’iq fī ṣanā’i’ al-ḥiyāl al-‘ajība*” (The Sources of Truths on the Manufacture of Wondrous Mechanical Devices), 307 {3–4}. Abū al-Qāsim al-‘Irāqī (fl. early thirteenth century), “*Uyūn al-ḥaqā’iq wa-idāḥ al-ṭarā’iq*” (The Sources of Truths and the Explanations of Paths).⁷ See no. 99 for more information.
- b. “*K. al-Ṭibb*” (Book of Medicine), 307 {4}.
- c. “*R. al-Siḥr wa-‘ilm al-naḥās wa-ghayrih*” (Treatise on Sorcery and Science of the Breath, etc.), 307 {4}.
- d. “*K. fī al-kīmīyā*” (A book on alchemy), 307 {4–5}.
- e. “*R. fī ‘ilm al-aḥjār*” (A treatise on the science of stones), 307 {5}.

58. "*K. Jawharnāma*" (The Book of Stones), Persian, 307 {5–6}.
59. *K. Azhār al-afkār fī jawāhir al-ahjār*, Arabic, 307 {6}. Al-Tifāshī. Same as no. 54.
60. *Tansukhnāmah-i ilkhānī* (Book on Precious Stones for the Ilkhān), 307 {7}. Al-Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn (d. 1274). EDITION: Mudarris Razavī, ed. (Tehran: Ittālā'āt, 1984–85).⁸
61.
 - a. "*Zahr al-basātīn fī al-ḥiyāl*" (The Blossom of the Gardens on Automata), 307 {8}.
 - b. *Al-Ṣanā'ī' al-'ajība fī khawāṣṣ al-ahjār wa-al-ashjār* (The Wondrous Arts regarding the Occult Qualities of the Stones and Trees), 307 {8–9}.
62.
 - a. "*K. al-Jawāhir*" (The Book of Stones), 307 {9}.
 - b. *K. Abī al-Rayḥān* (The Book of Abū al-Rayḥān [al-Bīrūnī]), 307 {9–10}. Al-Bīrūnī, probably the same as no. 56.

V. GEOMANCY

63. *Faṭḥ al-aqfāl li-al-Zanātī fī al-raml* (Opening the Locks by al-Zanātī on Geomancy), Arabic, 307 {14}. Al-Zanātī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad (d. before 1230). *Faṭḥ al-aqfāl fī 'ilm al-ashkāl* (Opening the Locks on Knowledge on the Science of the Figures). TSMK A. 1603 (Karatay: A 7477).
64. "*Maḥmū'a min 'idda rasā'il fī al-raml*" (An anthology of numerous treatises on geomancy), 307 {14–15}.
65. "*Maḥmū'a min rasā'il aktharuhā fī al-raml*" (An anthology of treatises most of which are on geomancy), 307 {15}.
66. "*R. fārisiyya fī al-raml*" (A treatise in Persian on geomancy), 307 {16}.
67. "*Taqwīm al-raml*" (Geomantic almanac), 307 {16}.
68. Same as no. 67, 307 {16–17}.
69. "*R. bi-al-turkiyya fī al-raml*" (A treatise in Turkish on geomancy), 307 {17}.
70. "*Jadwal bi-al-turkiyya fī al-raml*" (A chart in Turkish on geomancy), 307 {17–18}.
71.
 - a. "*R. min qibal al-raml*" (A treatise on geomancy), 307 {18}.
 - b. "*R. fī fāl al-Qur'āni al-'azīm*" (A treatise on prognostication with the Exalted Qur'an), 307 {18–19}.
72.
 - a. "*Thalath rasā'il fī al-raml*" (Three treatises on geomancy), 307 {19}.
 - b. "*Kanz al-balāgha fī al-inshā'*" (The Treasure of Eloquence in Letter-Writing), 307 {19}.
73. "*R. bi-al-'arabiyya fī al-raml*" (A treatise in Arabic on geomancy), 308 {1}.
74.
 - a. *K. Idrīs al-nabī 'alayhi al-salām fī ahkām ṭulū'i Shi'rā* (The Book of the Prophet Idrīs, Peace Be upon Him, on Judgments of the Appearance of Sirius), 308 {1–2}. Idrīs (Hermes), *Aḥkām ṭulū' al-shi'rā al-yamāniyya min al-hawādith allatī taḥduth fī al-'alam* (Judgments of the Fortunate Ascents of Sirius and Events that Occur in the World).⁹ Another copy of this work is listed later in the inventory, at 320 {4–5}.
 - b. "*R. bism Allāh*" (A treatise on the *Basmala*), 308 {2}.
 - c. "*R. fārisiyya manzūma fī al-raml*" (A treatise in versified Persian on geomancy), 308 {2–3}.
75. *K. Ashkāl al-raml* (The Book of The Geomantic Figures), 308 {3}. Perhaps *Hulūl al-ashkāl* (Explanation of the Figures), a Turkish translation of al-Zanātī's *al-Faṣl fī uṣūl al-raml* (Section on the Sources of Geomancy).¹⁰
76. "*K. bi-al-fārisiyya fī al-raml*" (A book in Persian on geomancy), 308 {4}.

VI. OMENS

77. “*Rasā’il awwaluhā fāl al-Qur’ān al-‘aẓīm*” (Treatises the first of which is a prognosticon of the Exalted Qur’an), 308 {5}.
78. a. “*Mukhtār Rawḍat al-nāẓir bi-al-manẓūmāt al-‘arabiyya wa-al-fārisiyya*” (Abridgement of the Garden of the Watcher in Arabic and Persian verse), Arabic and Persian, 308 {6}.¹¹
 b. “*K. al-Ikhtilāj bi-al-fārisiyya al-manẓūma*” (The Book of Twitches, in versified Persian), Persian, 308 {7}.
 c. “*R. al-Fāl al-mu’tabar*” (Treatise of the Interpreted Omen), Persian, 308 {7–8}.
79. *K. Dāniyāl al-nabī ‘alayhi al-salām* (The Book of Daniel the Prophet, Peace Be upon Him), Arabic, 308 {8}. Daniel, perhaps either *Malḥamat Dāniyāl* (Destinies of Daniel)¹² or *Qur’at Dāniyāl* (Prognosticon of Daniel),¹³ though numerous works attributed to him were in circulation.¹⁴
80. “*K. al-Za’iraja al-ḥiẓā’iyya fī al-fāl*” (The Book of the Za’iraja of Fortunes in Prognostication), 308 {9}.
81. “*Jām-i sakhun-gūy bi-al-fārisiyya*” (Oracle Cup in Persian), Persian, 308 {9–10}.
82. Same as no. 81, Persian, 308 {10}.
83. “*K. al-Mas’ala wa-al-ṭālī‘ min qibal al-fāl*” (Book of the Question and the Rising Star Pertaining to Prognostication), 308 {11}.
84. a. “*R. Aḥkām al-sinūn*” (The Treatise of Judgments of the Years), 308 {11–12}.
 b. “*K. al-fāl al-mu’tabar alladhī waḍa‘ahū al-‘ulamā’ li-Hārūn al-Rashīd*” (The Book of the Interpreted Prognosticon Prepared by the Scholars for Hārūn al-Rashīd), 308 {12–13}.

VII. ARTS OF “MAGIC”

85. *K. al-Shāmil fī ‘ilm al-‘azā’im wa-al-nayranjāt* (The Comprehensive Book on the Science of Adjuring [Spirits] and *Nayranjāt*), 308 {14}. Probably al-Ṭabasī, Muḥammad bin Aḥmad (d. 1089), *K. al-Shāmil fī baḥr al-kāmil* (The Comprehensive Book of Perfect Knowledge).
86. “*K. bi-al-fārisiyya fī al-nayranjāt*” (A book in Persian on *Nayranjāt*), 308 {14–15}.
87. *K. al-Sirr al-maktūm fī al-ṭilsimāt wa-al-nayranjāt* (The Book of the Hidden Secret of Talismans and *Nayranjāt*), Arabic, 308 {15}. Al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn (d. 1209–10), *Al-Sirr al-maktūm fī mukhāṭabāt al-nujūm* (The Hidden Secret of Conversing with the Stars). MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3256 (Karatay: A 7467). EDITION: *Al-Sirr al-maktūm fī asrār al-nujūm* (Cairo: al-Maṭba‘ al-Ḥajariyya, 1880).¹⁵
88. Same as no. 87, 308 {16}.
89. Same as no. 87, 308 {16–17}.
90. Same as no. 87, 308 {17–18}.
91. a. “*Nuzhat al-nufūs fī ta’līf al-shukhūṣ min qibal al-nayranjāt*” (The Delight of Souls in the Composition of Bodies on *Nayranjāt*), 308 {18–19}.¹⁶
 b. *K. Hurmus alladhī tarjamahū Balīnās min qibal al-nayranjāt* (The Book of Hermes Translated by Apollonius Pertaining to *Nayranjāt*), 308 {19}. Hermes and Apollonius of Tyana (d. ca. 100).¹⁷
92. *K. al-Shāmil fī al-nayranjāt* (The Comprehensive Book on *Nayranjāt*), 309 {1}. Al-Ṭabasī. Same as no. 85.

93. *K. al-Sirr al-maktūm fī al-ṭilsimāt wa-al-sihriyyāt wa-al-‘azā’im* (The Book of the Hidden Secret on Talismans, Sorcerous Acts, and Adjuration [of spirits]), Arabic, 309 {1–2}. Al-Rāzī. Same as no. 87.
94. *Mujalladun awwalu min K. al-Sirr al-maktūm fī al-ṭilsimāt* (Composite volume, the first part of which is The Book of the Hidden Secret on Talismans), Arabic, 309 {2–3}. Al-Rāzī. Same as no. 87.
95. “*K. Tuḥfat al-gharā’ib fī al-nīranj wa-al-‘ajā’ib*” (The Precious Gift of Prodigies on *Nīranj* and Wonders), Arabic, 309 {3–4}.¹⁸
96. “*K. Tuḥfat al-gharā’ib fī al-nayranjāt wa-al-khawāṣṣ al-‘ajība*” (The Book of the Precious Gift of Prodigies on *Nayranjāt* and Wondrous Occult Properties), Arabic, 309 {4}. Same as no. 95.
97. a. *Dhakhīrat al-Iskandar fī al-ṭilsimāt al-‘ajība* (The Treasure of Alexander on Wondrous Talismans), 309 {5}. Aristotle.¹⁹
b. *Kunnāsh al-khuff tarjamāt Ishāq bin Hunayn bi-al-‘arabiyya fī al-ṭibb* (Medical Notebook of the Foot, translated by Ishāq bin Hunayn into Arabic, on Medicine), Arabic, 309 {5–6}. Ishāq bin Hunayn (d. 910–11).
98. a. *K. al-Nawāmīs ay al-umūr al-‘ajība* (The Book of Sacred Secrets, i.e., Wondrous Matters), 309 {7}. Plato (d. 348 or 347 BCE).²⁰
b. “*R. al-Asmā’ al-khamsat ‘ashara*” (Treatise of the Fifteen Names), 309 {7}.
99. *K. ‘Uyūn al-ḥaqā’iq fī al-a’māl al-‘ajība min qibal ‘ilm al-simiyā’* (Book of the Sources of Truths concerning Wondrous Works Pertaining to *Simiyā’*), Arabic, 309 {8}. Al-‘Irāqī, Abū al-Qāsim (fl. early thirteenth century), *‘Uyūn al-ḥaqā’iq wa-idāḥ al-ṭarā’iq* (The Sources of Truths and the Explanations of Paths). EDITION: No editor listed (Beirut: Dār al-Maḥjjah al-Bayḍā’, 2013).²¹
100. *Mukhtaṣar ‘Uyūn al-ḥaqā’iq fī al-a’māl al-‘ajība wa-al-ḥiyāl min qibal ‘ilm al-simiyā’* (Abridgement of the Sources of Truths concerning Wondrous Works and Automata on *Simiyā’*), 309 {9}. Al-‘Irāqī. Abridgement of the above.
101. *K. Sirr al-asrār fī al-sihriyyāt wa-al-‘azā’im* (The Book of the Secret of Secrets on Sorcerous Acts and Adjuration [of spirits]), Arabic, 309 {11}. Probably Aristotle, *Sirr al-asrār*. EDITION: A. Badawī, ed., *Islamica* 15 (1954): 67–171.
102. “*Sifr al-asrār fī ‘ajā’ib al-umūr wa-al-‘azā’im*” (The Secret Scroll on Wondrous Matters and Adjuration [of spirits]), Arabic, 309 {11–12}.²²
103. “*R. fī da‘wat al-ra’s wa-al-dhanab fī al-‘azā’im*” (The Treatise on Invocations of the Head and Tail on Spirit Adjuration), 309 {12–13}.

VIII. *JAḤR*

104. “*R. fī Kashf al-ḍamā’ir wa-al-khaṭṭiyyāt min qibal al-‘ulūm al-jafriyya*” (The Treatise on the Unveiling of Inner Secrets and That Which Is Hidden Pertaining to the Sciences of *Jaḥr*), 309 {16}.
105. *K. Ṣayḥat al-būm fī ḥawādith al-rūm min qibal ‘ilm al-jafī wa-al-wafq* (The Book of the Cry of the Owl regarding the Events of Rome Pertaining to the Science of *Jaḥr* and Magic Squares), 309 {17}. Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 638/1240).²³
106. “*K. Baṣṭ ḥurūf al-jafī*” (The Book of Explanation of the Letters of *Jaḥr*), 309 {18}.
107. *K. al-Waṣṣṭ al-maṣūn fī ma’rifat ‘ilm al-khaṭṭ alladhī bayna al-kāf wa-al-nūn fī al-‘ulūm al-ḥarfīyya wa-‘ilm al-jafī* (The Book of the Hidden Ornaments of Knowledge of the Line between the *Kāf* and the *Nūn* on the Lettrist Sciences and the Science of *Jaḥr*), 309 {18–19}. Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad bin Muḥammad (fl. thirteenth century).²⁴

108. “*R. fī ‘ilm al-jafr*” (A treatise on the science of *jafr*), 310 {1}.

IX. WONDROUS AUTOMATA

109. “*R. Badā’i’ al-‘amal fī ṣanā’i’ al-ḥiyāl*” (The Treatise of Amazing Acts in the Arts of Mechanical Devices), 310 {3}.
110. a. *K. Ayran fī ḥiyāl raf’ al-ashyā’ al-thaqīla* (The Book of Hero on Mechanical Devices for Lifting Heavy Things), 310 {4}. Hero of Alexandria (d. 70) and Qusṭā bin Luqā al-Ba’albakī (d. ca. 912), *K. Raf’ al-athqāl* (The Book on Lifting Weights). EDITION: *Les mécaniques ou L’élévateur de Héron d’Alexandrie, publiées pour la première fois sur la version arabe de Qostā ibn Lûqā et traduites en français*, ed. and trans. Bernard Carra de Vaux (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1894). MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye MS Ayasofya 2755, fols. 1a–61a; however, it likely is not the exact MS referred to here, as it is presently bound with a different set of works.
- b. “*Rasā’il ukhrā fī ‘ajā’ib ṣanā’i’ ālāt al-mā’*” (Other treatises on the wonders of manufacturing hydraulic machines), 310 {4–5}.
111. *Madkhal Babūs fī al-ḥiyāl ka-jarr al-athqāl* (Pappus’s Introduction to Mechanical Devices for Lifting Weights), 310 {5}. Pappus of Alexandria (d. ca. 350).²⁵
112. Same as no. 111, 310 {6}.
113. a. *Thalāth maqālā min K. Ayran fī raf’ al-ashyā’ al-thaqīla* (Three sections from Hero’s Book of Lifting Heavy Things), 310 {6–7}. Hero of Alexandria. Same as no. 110.
- b. *R. al-Dawā’ir al-mutaḥarrika min dhawātihā* (The Treatise of Wheels That Move by Themselves), 310 {8}. Philo of Byzantium (fl. third century BCE). EDITION: Part or all of this and the following two works may be found in *Le livre des appareils pneumatiques et des machines hydrauliques par Philon de Byzance, édité d’après les versions arabes d’Oxford et de Constantinople et traduit en français*, ed. and trans. Bernard Carra de Vaux (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1902). MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye MS Ayasofya 2755, fols. 61b–80a, though see note to no. 110 above.
- c. *R. ‘Amal al-sā’āt allatī tarmī bi-al-banādiq* (The Treatise of the Working of a [Water-]Clock That Throws Slingstones²⁶), 310 {8–9}. Philo of Byzantium.
- d. *R. Jadāwil al-tawārikh wa-ikhtiyārāt al-a’māl bi-ḥasab ittiṣālāt al-qamar* (The Treatise of Date-Tables for Electing the Timing of Works in Accordance with Lunar Conjunctions), 310 {9–10}.
- e. *K. al-Qirānāt wa-ittiṣālāt al-kawākib* (The Book of the Great Conjunctions and [Lesser] Conjunctions of the Planets), 310 {10–11}.
114. *K. muṣawwar li-l-Ra’īs al-Jazarī fī al-ṣanā’i’ al-‘ajība wa-al-ḥiyāl* (An illustrated book by the master al-Jazarī on wondrous arts and mechanical devices), Arabic, 310 {11–12}. This is Ismā’il bin Razzāz al-Jazarī’s (d. 1206) *K. al-Jāmi’ bayn al-‘ilm wa-al-‘amal al-nāfi’ fī ṣinā’at al-ḥiyāl* (Comprehensive Book of Knowledge and Beneficial Practice in the Manufacture of Devices), often known simply as *K. fī ma’rifat al-ḥiyāl al-handasiyya* (Knowledge of Mechanical Devices). MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3472 (Karatay: A 7143) and A. 3472 (Karatay: A 7146). EDITION: An edition based on the MS above is *al-Jāmi’ bayn al-‘ilm wa-al-‘amal al-nāfi’ fī ṣinā’at al-ḥiyāl* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990). English translation: *The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices*, trans. Donald Hill (Dordrecht: Reidel, 1974).

115. “*K. fī al-ḥīyal wa-al-umūr al-‘ajība fī ‘amal ālāt al-mā*” (A book on mechanical devices and wondrous matters in the operation of hydraulic machines), Arabic, 310 {12–13}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3474 (Karatay: A 7143).
116. “*K. Bayān al-ṣinā‘āt ay al-‘ajība*” (The Book of Explaining the Arts, i.e., the Wondrous [Arts]), 310 {13}.
117. *K. Filun fī al-ḥīyal al-‘ajība fī ‘amal ālāti al-mā*’ (Philo’s Book on Wondrous Mechanical Devices and the Operation of Hydraulic Machines), 310 {14}. Philo of Byzantium.²⁷
118. “*K. Bayān al-ṣinā‘āt ay al-‘ajība*” (The Book of Explaining the Arts, i.e., the Wondrous [Arts]), 310 {14–15}. Same as no. 116.
119. “*R. Badā’i’ al-‘amal fī ṣanā’i’ al-ḥīyal*” (The Treatise of Amazing Acts in the Arts of Mechanical Devices), 310 {15}. Same as no. 109.
120. *Thalāth rasā’il li-Mūristus fī ālāti al-ṣawt* (Three Treatises by Mūristus on [automated] Instruments of Sound), 310 {16}. Mūristus (possibly Ctesibius of Alexandria, fl. third century BCE). MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye MS Ayasofya 2755, fols. 81b–91a, though see note to no. 110 above. In that MS, the titles of the treatises are given as *Ṣinā‘at al-arāghīn al-būqī* (Manufacturing Trumpet-Organs), *Ṣinā‘at al-arāghīn al-zamriyya* (Manufacturing Pipe-Organs), and *Ṣinā‘at al-juljul* (Manufacturing Bells).
121. *K. al-Marāyā al-muḥriqa* (The Book of the Burning Mirrors), 310 {16–17}. Possibly Ibn al-Haytham’s (d. ca. 1040) *R. al-Marāyā al-muḥriqa bi-al-dā’ira* (Treatise of Burning Mirrors in the Sphere).²⁸

X. SORCERY (*SIHR*)

122. “*R. fī al-ghālib wa-al-maghlūb min al-mutaḥāribayn*” (A treatise on the victor and the vanquished among the combatants), 311 {1}.²⁹
123. Same as no. 122, 311 {1–2}.
124.
 - a. *Sharḥ Mīrak li-ḥikmat al-hidāya* (Commentary of Mīrak on the Wisdom of Guidance), 311 {2–3}. This should be *Sharḥ Mīrak li-hidāyat al-ḥikma* (Commentary of Mīrak on the Guidance of Wisdom). Mīrak Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mubārakshāh al-Bukhārī al-Jangī’s (d. ca. 1340) commentary on Athīr al-Dīn b. ‘Umar al-Abharī’s (d. between 1263 and 1265) *Hidāyat al-ḥikma* (Guidance of Wisdom). MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3279 (Karatay: 6721).
 - b. *R. al-‘Amal bi-al-kurat al-falakīyya* (The Treatise on the Use of the Celestial Globe), 311 {3}. Quṣṭā bin Luqā al-Ba‘albakī (d. ca. 912). MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3475 (Karatay: A 7040). EDITION: An edition of the medieval Latin translation is *Qusta ben Luca: De sphere uolubili*, ed. Richard Lorch and José Martínez Gázquez, *Suhayl* 5 (2005), 9–62.
 - c. *R. fī al-mūsīqī* (Treatise on Music), 311 {3}. Possibly Faṭḥ Allāh Mu‘min al-Shirwānī’s (d. 1486), *R. fī ‘ilm al-mūsīqī* (On the Knowledge of Music). MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3449 (Karatay: A 7428). EDITION: An edition based on the MS above is *Codex on Music: Majalla fī al-mūsīqī* (Frankfurt am Main: Institute for history of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1986).
 - d. “*K. fī ma‘rifat al-ghālib wa-al-maghlūb min al-mutaḥāribayn*” (A book on the knowledge of the victor and the vanquished among the combatants), 311 {4}. Perhaps the same as no. 122)
125.
 - a. “*al-Durr al-maṭlūb fī sirr al-ghālib wa-al-maghlūb*” (The Desired Pearls in the Secret of the Victor and the Vanquished), 311 {5}.

- b. “*R. fī al-kharazāt al-khams min al-jafī*” (The Treatise on the Five Beads in *Jafr*), 311 {5–6}.
- c. “*R. Jihād al-mulūk ‘alā ṭarīqat aḥkām al-nujūm*” (The Treatise on the Holy War of Kings by Way of Astrology), 311 {6–7}.

XI. WONDROUS MATTERS

- 126. “*K. al-Mu‘lam fī bayān madhāhib al-naṣārā*” (The Book of the Informed on Explicating the Doctrines of Christians), 311 {12}.
- 127. *Tarjamat al-baqīyya min K. Yamīstūs al-wathanī fī madhāhib al-awwalīn min ‘abadat al-aṣnām* (Translation of the remainder of the Book of Gemistos the Pagan on the Doctrines of the Ancients on the Worship of the Idols), Arabic, 311 {12–13}. Plethon, George Gemistus (d. 1452 or 54).³⁰
- 128. *Tarjamat K. Yamīstūs al-wathanī tarjamatan thāniyatan fī madhāhib ‘abadat al-aṣnām* (Translation of the Book of Gemistos the Pagan, a second translation of the Doctrines of the Worship of the Idols), Arabic, 311 {14}. Plethon.
- 129. *K. al-Mukhtār fī kashf al-asrār* (The Book of the Selection in the Unveiling of the Secrets and the Rending of the Veils), Arabic, 310 {16}. Al-Jawbarī, ‘Abd al-Raḥīm (or al-Raḥmān) bin ‘Umar (fl. thirteenth century). MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3238 (Karatay: A 7471). EDITION: Al-Jawbarī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān bin ‘Umar, and Manuela Höglmeier, *Al-Ġawbarī und sein Kaṣf al-asrār: ein Sittenbild des Gauners im arabisch-islamischen Mittelalter (7./13. Jahrhundert): Einführung, Edition und Kommentar* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2006).³¹

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 Ibn Arfa‘ Ra’s (d. 1197), 49b.
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 Zosimos (fl. early fourth century), 49e.

NOTES

1. See N. Bland, “On the Muhammadan Science of *Taʿbir*, or Interpretation of Dreams,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 16 (1856): 124–25.
2. On which see *EL*2, s.v. “Ibn Ghannām,” by Toufic Fahd.
3. Shahzad Bashir, *Sufi Bodies: Religion and Society in Medieval Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 47.
4. See also Muhammad Ali Khalidi and Tarif Khalidi, “Is Physiognomy a Science? Reflections on the *Kitāb al-Firāsa* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī,” in *The Occult Sciences in Pre-Modern Islamic Cultures*, ed. Nader El-Bizri and Eva Orthmann (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2018), 67–82.
5. On the identification of al-Qurṭubī as the author of this work, see M. Fierro, “Bāṭinism in al-Andalus: Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurṭubī (d. 353/964), Author of the *Rutbat al-Ḥakīm* and the *Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm* (Picatrix),” *Studia Islamica* 84 (1996): 87–112.
6. A scholarly edition (which the above is not) is currently being prepared by Svetlana Dolgusheva of the Institute of Asian and Oriental Studies, University of Zurich.
7. Manfred Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 125.
8. *Ibid.*, 134.
9. *GAS*, IV:41.
10. Matthew Melvin-Koushki, “Persianate Geomancy from Ṭūsī to the Millennium: A Preliminary Survey,” in *Occult Sciences in Premodern Islamic Culture*, ed. Nader El-Bizri and Eva Orthmann (Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut, 2018), 161.
11. It is conceivable that this is a versified abridgement of Ibn Qudāma’s (d. 1223) *Rawḍat al-nāẓir wa-jannat al-munāẓir*, a classic manual of Ḥanbalī *fiqh*, though that would seem counterintuitive given the works it is gathered with. Another possibility is that it relates to the *Rawḍat al-naẓir wa nuṣkhat*

- al-khāṭir* attributed to the Timurid astronomer and mathematician ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Kāshī (d. 1429), which is found in BnF MS Arabe 3365, a codex bearing the seal of Bayezid II.
12. For an English translation of one version of this text, see Alexander Fodor, “Malḥamat Dāniyāl,” in *The Muslim East: Studies in Honour of Julius Germanus*, ed. Gy. Káldy-Nagy (Budapest: Loránd Eötvös University, 1974), 85–133.
 13. Toufic Fahd, *La divination arabe: Études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l’islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1966), 218.
 14. GAS, VII:312–17.
 15. Also see Michael Noble, “The Perfection of the Soul in Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s *Al-Sirr al-makṭūm*” (PhD diss., The Warburg Institute, University of London, 2017).
 16. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*, 381.
 17. Ibid., 378–79.
 18. Maria Kowalska, “Remarks on the Unidentified Cosmography *Tuḥfat Al-Ġuḥfat*,” *Folia Orientalia* 9 (1968): 11–18.
 19. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*, 419ff.
 20. On which see Liana Saif, “The Cows and the Bees: Arabic Sources and Parallels for Pseudo-Plato’s *Liber Vaccae* (*Kitāb al-Nawāmīs*),” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 79 (2016): 1–47.
 21. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*, 391ff.; Saif, “The Cows and the Bees.”
 22. For various possibilities as to the identity of this text, see Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*, 212, 365, 376, and 383.
 23. See Cornell Fleischer, “A Mediterranean Apocalypse: Prophecies of Empire in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 61, no. 1–2 (2018): 45.
 24. Ḥājī Khalīfa gives the title as *K. al-Waṣṣṣ al-maṣūn wa-al-lu’lu’ al-maknūn fī ma’rifat ‘ilm al-khaṭṭ alladhī bayna al-kāf wa-al-nūn; Kashf al-zunūn ‘an asāmī al-kutub wa-al-funūn* (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941), 2:2012.
 25. GAS, V:175.
 26. On automated weapons of this nature, see Werner Soedel and Vernard Foley, “Ancient Catapults,” *Scientific American* 240, no. 3 (March 1979): 150–61.
 27. GAS, V:148–49.
 28. On this work, see Roshdi Rashed, *Géométrie et dioptrique au X^e siècle : Ibn Sahl, al-Qūhī et Ibn al-Haytham* (Paris: Les Belles lettres, 1993).
 29. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*, 366.
 30. See Maria Mavroudi, “Pletho as Subversive and His Reception in the Islamic World,” in *Power and Subversion in Byzantium*, ed. Dimitar Angelov and Michael Saxby (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 177–203.
 31. On this work see Stefan Wild, “Jugglers and Fraudulent Sufis,” in *Proceedings of the VIth Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Visby 13–16 August, Stockholm 17–19 August, 1972*, ed. Frithiof Rundgren (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiskell International, 1975), 58–63.

BOOKS ON ASTROLOGY, ASTRONOMICAL TABLES, AND ALMANACS IN THE LIBRARY INVENTORY OF BAYEZID II

Paratextual elements in manuscripts often offer surprising clues as to the different stages of transmission a particular copy has undergone. Take, for instance, the Süleymaniye Library Ayasofya Collection MS 2595, a thirteenth-century Persian translation of a popular medieval illustrated star catalogue, *Kitāb şuwar al-kawākib* (The Book of Constellations of Fixed Stars), produced originally in Arabic in the tenth century by ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Sufi (d. 986).¹ Several marks on the title page and colophon of the manuscript reveal information about its date of composition as well as the subsequent chain of owners/readers during its circulation in the next few centuries.

The colophon on folio 97b states that the famous polymath and founder of the Maragha observatory, Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (d. 1274), completed this Persian translation on Monday, 25 Dhu’l-Qa‘da 647 (March 1, 1250). Next to this colophon is a statement written horizontally in another hand, indicating that the book had been penned by Tusi himself and was later acquired in Baghdad in the year 805 (1402–3) by the Jalayirid ruler Ahmad b. Shaykh Uways (d. 1410). There are yet other possession statements on the title page (fol. 1a): what seems to be the earliest one, *li-ahwaj khalq Allāh Ulugh Bīg* (for the most needy of created beings, Ulugh Beg), refers to Ulugh Beg (d. 1449), the famous Timurid ruler and founder of the Samarqand observatory. Above this note is the endowment (*waqf*) statement and seal of the Ottoman sultan, Mahmud I (r. 1730–54). At the bottom of the same page is the impression of yet another stamp, the idiosyncratic almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512). The same seal is also stamped on the colophon page, documenting without any doubt that the manuscript was in the Ottoman imperial treasury by the turn of the sixteenth century.

In addition to the colophon and possession statements, two different versions of the book title are recorded on the title page of the manuscript. The short one just above the seal of Mahmud I reads: *Kitāb şuwar al-kawākib tarjama-i Khwāja Naşir* (The Book of Constellations of Fixed Stars, Translated by Master al-Nasir [al-Tusi]). The second, longer title is inscribed at the top of the page in the hand that apparently penned the titles of many other surviving manuscripts bearing Bayezid II’s oval seal. This title reads: *Kitāb tarjama kitāb şuwar al-kawākib bi-al-fārsiyya marqūm bi-annah bi-khaṭṭ mutarjimihi alladhī huwa al-Naşir al-Ṭūsī min qibal al-nujūm* (The [Persian] Translation of the Book of Constellations of Fixed Stars, Marked as the Autograph Copy of Its Translator, al-Nasir al-Tusi, Pertaining to [the Science of] the Stars). This longer version of the title is repeated verbatim in ‘Atufi’s inventory (see list of entries [126]/[158]) dated 908 (1502–3), a clean copy of which was produced the following year in 909 (1503–4).²

The documented circulation of this particular manuscript—first from the Ilkhanids to the Jalayirids, then from the Jalayirids to the Timurids, and finally from the Timurids to the Ottomans—embodies the otherwise relatively abstract notion of the transmission of scientific knowledge and ideas. The curious stories offered by such surviving copies stimulate the historian’s imagination with the detailed logs of the movement of manuscripts across wide territories. That books were presented as personal or diplomatic gifts, or that valuable objects, including manuscripts, were at times of military encounter seized by the conquering party, can explain how written materials were transmitted from one courtly context to another. The physical transition of manuscripts may also be correlated with the simultaneous movement of scholars accompanied by their

retinues who carried their possessions between distant locations. In the particular case of Tusi's Persian translation of the star catalogue, which later passed into the hands of Ulugh Beg, the recounted arrival of the astronomer 'Ali al-Qushji (d. 1474) to Istanbul around 1472, with nearly two hundred people in his entourage, may provide a compelling explanation for the eventual journey of this copy—along with many other relevant items listed in 'Atufi's inventory—from the Timurid to the Ottoman realm.³ Undoubtedly, the coming of al-Qushji to Istanbul was not the only occasion for the accumulation of works on different branches and genres of celestial knowledge in the Ottoman capital. But regardless of how each item ended up in the Ottoman palace, the relevant holdings of the palace library as documented in 'Atufi's inventory neatly reflect the strong influence of post-thirteenth-century astral lore from the Persianate East, specifically of works descending from the Maragha and Samarqand "schools," on the formation and collection of a noteworthy astral canon in late fifteenth- to early sixteenth-century Istanbul.⁴ The primary aim of the present article is to discuss the general contours of this influence based on the relevant catalogue section in 'Atufi's inventory that lists books on astrological and other practical celestial pursuits, which he groups under the following rubrics: *'ilm al-nujūm* (science of the stars), *min qibal al-nujūm* (pertaining to the stars), or *aḥkām al-nujūm* (decrees of the stars, i.e., astrology *sensu stricto*).

In order to avoid potential confusion, we should note at the outset that the modern distinction between astrology and astronomy does not fully correspond to the disciplinary boundaries that existed in the medieval and early modern scientific culture of the Islamicate world, or elsewhere. The boundaries between *'ilm al-hay'a* (namely, the science of the structure or configuration [of the entire universe], i.e., astronomy) and *'ilm* (or *ṣinā'at*) *aḥkām al-nujūm* (namely, the science or art of the decrees of the stars, i.e., astrology), which emerged and consolidated as early as the ninth century according to George Saliba, were not always categorically followed in late medieval and early modern astral lore in the Persianate East. This was especially the case for works that deal primarily with the practical application of celestial knowledge.⁵

As a general rule, the relevant works in the astral lore of the post-thirteenth-century Persianate East also implied a distinction between *hay'a* and *nujūm*. Whereas the former term (*'ilm al-hay'a*) was employed to describe theoretical celestial knowledge that "sought a coherent physical cosmography based on mathematical models," the category *'ilm al-nujūm* was used more as a blanket term, encompassing different branches and genres that dealt with the practical implications of celestial knowledge, including astrology.⁶ Works that modern historiography facetiously groups together as "astronomical texts," such as *zīj*es (handbooks of tables used for astronomical, astrological, and calendrical purposes) or treatises on instruments like astrolabes, conveyed information necessary for astrological calculations.⁷ Indeed, astrological practice, which depended in principle on drawing inferences (*aḥkām*) from celestial degrees and configurations in a given moment at a particular locality, would not have been possible without the astronomical data and parameters of calculation offered by these texts. Authoritative ancient and medieval sources such as Ptolemy (d. ca. 170), Biruni (d. ca. 1050), and Tusi are all explicit on this point, declaring that a precise mathematical knowledge of celestial positions was what the *munajjims* (astrologers/astronomers) needed to practice their craft, particularly for casting horoscopes and preparing almanacs with prognostications (*taqwīms*).⁸ The urge in the post-thirteenth-century Persianate East to establish observatories and conduct systematic celestial observations was also intimately related to improving the precision of celestial data and parameters, which the astral experts needed for their calculations.⁹

A more detailed discussion of 'Atufi's terminology and treatment of available titles in the library will follow in the pages to come. But suffice it to say now that compared to the number of titles strictly related to the theoretical genre of *'ilm al-hay'a* (which is around 130 by our count), the inventory contains a greater number of works (about 200) in the abovementioned genres, which can be defined, for the sake of simplicity, as astrology and practical astronomical endeavors ([*'ilm*] *al-nujūm*, *min qibal al-nujūm*, [*'ilm*] *aḥkām al-nujūm*).¹⁰ In our examination of the listed items on astrological and/or practical celestial pursuits in the imperial library, we will supplement 'Atufi's inventory with concrete evidence

from relevant contemporaneous texts and tables, particularly those produced during the reign of Bayezid II, whose genuine astral interests were noted in a wide array of contemporary sources. We will also examine the systematic set of annual almanacs routinely composed by practicing Ottoman *munajjims*, and track the scholarly references therein to assess more accurately the extent to which the library collection reflects the trends of contemporary astral practitioners. We will also draw on these late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century *taqwīms*, some of which have the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II but curiously are not listed in the inventory, for further speculation on the inner workings of the imperial library, as well as to assess the logic deployed by 'Atufi in preparing his inventory. Finally, we will focus on 'Atufi's categorization of titles pertaining to different branches and genres of celestial knowledge, and point to its remarkable deviation from other, more canonical classification systems adopted in the early modern Ottoman intellectual setting by relatively better-known, later figures like Taşköprizade Ahmed (d. 1561), Nev'i Efendi (d. 1599), and Katib Çelebi (d. 1657).

CELESTIAL PURSUITS AT THE OTTOMAN COURT, 1470S TO 1510S

At the time al-Qushji arrived in Istanbul, systematic scholarly activity on celestial knowledge was only in its infancy in the Ottoman realm.¹¹ As a matter of fact, several treatises of Tusi were already in circulation in the lands of *Rūm* during the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth century, such as his introductory textbook on the astrological indications of planets, zodiac signs, and planetary aspects titled *Sī faṣl* or *Mukhtaṣar dar ma'rifat-i taqwīm* (Thirty Chapters on Almanacs), his *Zīj-i ilkhānī* (Ilkhanid Astronomical Handbook of Tables), and his *al-Tadhkira fī 'ilm al-hay'a* (Memoir on Astronomy).¹² The Fenari circle in western Anatolia, including such members as the prominent scholar Molla Fenari (d. 1431) and the Khurasan-born 'Abdulwajid b. Muhammad (d. 1435), was also well informed about the scientific output of the Maragha school.¹³

Yet anecdotal and archival evidence about the students of celestial knowledge in the fifteenth century

indicates that Ottoman territory was not the ideal place for a would-be expert to excel in the science of the stars at the time. For instance, Qadizade al-Rumi (d. after 1440), one of the intellectual founders of the Samarqand observatory, grew up in Bursa and received his first education within the Fenari circle. But his master Mehmed-Shah Fenari (d. 1436), the son of Molla Fenari, still felt compelled to suggest that his brilliant student should travel to Iran and Central Asia to further his quest in astral lore.¹⁴ In a similar vein, a certain 'Abdurrahman Munajjim (d. after 1510), who served at the princely court of Bayezid II's son Şehzade Ahmed (d. 1513) in Amasya no later than the early 1490s, writes in an autobiographical passage that after studying the basics of the science of the stars (*'ilm al-nujūm*) with Mevlana Kuçek al-Amasi (d. after 1481)—also known as Mevlana Yazdanbakhsh, the only documented court *munajjim* in the final years of Mehmed II's reign (r. 1444–46, 1451–81)—Şehzade Ahmed recommended that he go to the lands of Iran (*diyār al-'Ajam*) to advance his knowledge in the discipline.¹⁵ Besides hinting at the embryonic state of systematic astral production in the Ottoman territories throughout the fifteenth century, these details clearly suggest that in the eyes of the fifteenth-century stargazers active in the Ottoman lands, the Persianate East was the main point of reference and locus for gaining proficiency in the science of the stars.

The exact historical details of 'Ali al-Qushji's arrival in Istanbul are still obscure, though anecdotal evidence extracted from various near-contemporary sources clearly shows that Mehmed II went to great lengths to bring him to the Ottoman capital. The former Aqqoyunlu scholar who joined Bayezid II's court, Idris-i Bidlisi (d. 1520), even says that Mehmed II promised to enable al-Qushji to continue his unfinished observation program in Istanbul.¹⁶ Mehmed II's genuine interest in recruiting al-Qushji seems to have been related to the political prestige and instrumentality accorded to the patronage of the science of the stars in late medieval and early modern courtly culture.¹⁷ Yet the sultan's urgent need to lure an astral expert of the caliber of al-Qushji, and the authority granted him to reorganize the entire Ottoman scholarly hierarchy, could be interpreted as another sign of the inadequacy of systematized celestial

pursuits in the Ottoman empire during the last third of the fifteenth century.¹⁸

‘Ali al-Qushji could only serve the Ottoman polity for two years before he passed away in 1474, followed by the death of his patron Mehmed II in 1481. Celestial pursuits and systematic attempts to cultivate the science of the stars at the Ottoman court, however, did not come to a halt. Bayezid II, who has often been derided in modern historiography for allegedly hampering the intellectual and scientific achievements attained—or at least initiated—during the reign of his “enlightened” father, was in fact an even more avid patron and eager student of the science of the stars. As we have demonstrated in greater detail elsewhere, from his gubernatorial years in Amasya to his relatively long sultanate in Istanbul, Bayezid II actively sought expertise in this science, put a sizeable group of *munajjims* on the palace payroll, commissioned a number of treatises on different aspects of astral knowledge, and even spent his own spare time studying the science.¹⁹ The broad celestial and (occult) philosophical interests of Bayezid II were so widely acknowledged during his lifetime that one of his contemporaries, an anonymous Sufi shaykh, privately complained in a letter apparently addressed to Bayezid II about the “worthless” efforts of the sultan to study these sciences in a formal fashion.²⁰

What the anonymous shaykh alludes to in his letter may be related to Bayezid II’s decision in the 1490s to call upon Mahmud b. Muhammed b. Qadizade al-Rumi, better known as Mirim Çelebi (d. 1525), to tutor him in the “mathematical sciences” (i.e., *al-‘ulūm al-riyādiyya*), which conventionally comprised astral sciences (*hay’a* and *nujūm*), along with geometry (*handasa*), arithmetic (*hisāb*), and music (*mūsīqī*).²¹ Descending from a family that included such stellar figures as Qadizade al-Rumi and ‘Ali al-Qushji, the young Mirim Çelebi was a direct heir to the post-thirteenth-century astral tradition of the Persianate East in addition to being learned in the Hellenistic astrological heritage. Beyond Mirim Çelebi’s service as the sultan’s private tutor, Bayezid II also asked him to compose a commentary on the Ulugh Beg tables (*Zīj-i Ulugh Beg*) that was produced in the Samarkand observatory through the concerted efforts of its members, including Ghiyath al-Din Jamshid al-Kashi (d. 1429), Qadizade al-Rumi, and ‘Ali al-Qushji. Com-

pleted in the year 1499, Mirim’s commentary was later catalogued in ‘Atufi’s inventory (list of entries [74]/[185]).²² As indicated by the specific supplication (*sal-lamahu*) used in the relevant entry, *Sharḥ-i Zīj-i Ulugh Beg li-Mawlānā Mirim Çelebi sallamahu Allāhu ta’ālā fī al-nujūm* (Commentary on Ulugh Beg’s Astronomical Handbook of Tables by our master Mirim Çelebi, God keep him safe), which is repeated verbatim on the title page of the surviving autograph copy of the text (SK, Ayasofya MS 2697), ‘Atufi must have known Mirim Çelebi personally.²³ While ‘Atufi is reported by Taşköprizade to have studied the rational sciences at the feet of Mirim Çelebi’s apparently elder brother, Qutb al-Din Muhammed b. Muhammed b. Qadizade al-Rumi (fl. second half of the fifteenth century), Mirim and ‘Atufi studied together *‘ilm al-uşūl* (the science of principles [of jurisprudence]) under Hocazade (Khajazada) Muslih al-Din (d. 1487–88).²⁴

It is difficult to determine with certainty how long Mirim Çelebi tutored the sultan and which books featured in these studies. As far as the surviving archival documents and contemporary narrative sources are concerned, Mirim Çelebi remained in the close circle of Bayezid II until the sultan’s death.²⁵ One indication of the books Bayezid II likely studied with Mirim Çelebi is a list of surviving manuscripts in which are found special inscriptions that, in addition to the standard almond-shaped seal, suggest the book was personally owned by the sultan: *ṣāhibuhu al-Sultān Bāyezīd b. Meḥmed Khān* (“its owner is Sultan Bayezid”), or sometimes *min kutub al-Sultān Bāyezīd b. Meḥmed Khān* (“from among the books of Sultan Bayezid”).

What should we understand from these supplementary inscriptions that register such items as the personal property of the sultan? In what respects was a book with the almond-shaped seal different from a copy with both the seal and ex-libris inscription? Was there any clearly defined distinction between the books kept in the imperial treasury and the personal collection of the sultan, in terms of the space in which they were preserved, their accessibility, and their use? What percentage of the personal items Bayezid once held as a prince were transferred to the palace library and processed accordingly, and which works that were already located in the palace

book treasury became reserved for the private use of the sultan?

It is difficult to provide substantial answers to these questions, as paratextual components in the surviving manuscripts fall short of presenting conclusive evidence. It is striking, though, that many of the cited works in astral lore, both theoretical and practical, constitute the great majority of surviving manuscripts that bear an attestation of Bayezid's personal ownership. Among those books bearing *ṣāhibuhu* statements that Bayezid likely studied, we should note the following:

- i. Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's *Sī faṣṭ*;²⁶
- ii. (Tusi's) *Zīj-i ilkhānī*;²⁷
- iii. (Tusi's) *Tahrīr al-Majisī* (Recension of Ptolemy's *Almagest*);²⁸
- iv. (Tusi's) *Tadhkira fi 'ilm al-hay'a*;²⁹
- v. *Mukhtaṣar madkhal ilā 'ilm aḥkām al-nujūm* (The Epitome of the Introduction to Astrology), 'Ali b. Ahmad Balkhī's (fl. twelfth century) astrological introduction in both the Arabic original and a Persian rendition;³⁰
- vi. The *Epistle* of Ikhwan al-Safa on mathematical sciences including the science of the stars;³¹
- vii. Anonymous *Risāla al-lubāb fi al-uṣṭurlāb* (The Quintessence on the Astrolabe);³²
- viii. al-Dirini's (d. 1297) *Kitāb yawāqūt al-mawāqūt min qibal al-nujūm* (Rubies of Timekeeping, an introductory work in verse on the astronomical/astrological calculation of time);³³
- ix. Abu al-Hasan 'Ali Marrakushi's (fl. late thirteenth century) *summa* on astronomical instrumentation and computation of time, *Jāmi' al-mabādī wa-al-ghāyāt fi 'ilm al-miqāt* (Comprehensive Collection of Principles and Goals in the Science of Timekeeping);³⁴
- x. A *majmū'a* (compendium) containing Qusta b. Luqa al-Ba'labakki's (d. ca. 912–13) *Risāla fi al-'amal bi-al-kura al-falakiyya* (Treatise on Using the Celestial Globe) as well as (pseudo-)Aristotle's *Risāla al-ghālib wa-al-magh'lūb* (The Victorious and the Vanquished), a small treatise on a prognosticative technique deployed to predict the outcome of a battle, which was quite popular among Ottoman *taqwīm* writers.³⁵

TRACING THE ALMANACS (*TAQWĪMS*)

Even more curious than the personal ownership notices of Bayezid II is a set of almanacs with prognostications (*taqwīms*) composed in the first decade of the sultan's reign and embossed with his idiosyncratic almond-shaped seal that appear to be uncatalogued in 'Atufi's inventory.³⁶ While there are approximately thirty surviving Ottoman *taqwīms* that were composed before the compilation of the library inventory, only three of them bear the seal of Bayezid II. The earliest of these three *taqwīms* was compiled by Khitabi-i Lahijani (d. after 1495) on the occasion of the new (solar) year in 1489 and is now preserved in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library's Bağdad Collection (TSMK B. 310).³⁷ The other *taqwīms* with Bayezid's seal are two anonymous ones from the year 1490, one of which is preserved in the same collection (TSMK B. 311) and the other is in the Istanbul Kandilli Observatory Library (MS 365).

The ephemeral nature of annual almanacs might have played a role in their exclusion from 'Atufi's inventory. Despite the fact that almost all extant Ottoman *taqwīms* are in codex form, they appear to have been considered different from regular books in some respect. The most obvious difference is that they were produced annually and also expired annually. Early modern Ottoman readers were certainly aware of the ephemeral nature of *taqwīms*. For instance, one *malḥama* text (a prognosticatory writing related to celestial and meteorological phenomena) produced in the late fifteenth century reminds its readers that *taqwīms* are rendered ineffective every new year, whereas the *malḥama* text would survive for many more years to come (*taḳvīm gibi yılda bir zāyi' olmaz*).³⁸ In a similar vein, Katib Çelebi contrasts his *Taqwīm al-tawārīkh* (Chronological Tables) with the *taqwīms* of *munajjims*, which, he states, by nature annually become invalid (*taḳvīm-i aṣḥāb-i tencīm gibi mensūḥü'l-'amel*).³⁹

The three aforementioned stamped *taqwīms* from 1489 and 1490 imply that the seal of Bayezid II was applied immediately after the codices were presented to the court, and not around the time 'Atufi started working on the copies available in the treasury to prepare his inventory. Otherwise, one would expect to find the almond-shaped seal in many of the other surviving

taqwīms from 1421 to 1503, most of which are still preserved today in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library collections. This suggests that the custom of impressing the presented copies of manuscripts with the stamp of Bayezid II might have already been practiced in the late 1480s. Unfortunately, there is no extant *taqwīm* from the reign of Bayezid II composed prior to 1489; hence, we are not in a position to confirm whether those *taqwīms* produced in the early 1480s would have borne the seal. Yet it seems credible to assume that at a certain juncture, likely around 1490, a final decision was reached to no longer stamp *taqwīms* with the sultan's almond-shaped seal.

Notwithstanding the fact that *taqwīms*, even ones bearing the almond-shaped seal, are not listed in 'Atufi's inventory, their contents are crucial for tracking the scholarly references of contemporary astral experts and evaluating more precisely the scope of the palace library vis-à-vis the authoritative texts in astral sciences held therein. We should briefly note that, with all due respect to the significant differences between various examples, a *taqwīm* is, in principle, an annual presentation combining astronomical, astrological, and calendric information with regard to the upcoming solar year. Seemingly ubiquitous throughout medieval and early modern Islamate culture, especially in the eastern lands, these texts were produced by experts in the science of stars around the time of the year-transfer (*taḥwīl-i sāl*), that is, the spring equinox and the beginning of the new solar year (*nawrūz*).⁴⁰

The preparation of these texts required the astral expert to make mathematical and astronomical computations of the celestial positions at the exact moment of the year-transfer, which was necessary for deriving astrological judgments. After identifying the ascendant (*tālī'*)⁴¹ at the time of the year-transfer and establishing other astrological houses by drawing upon the data and methods provided by *zīj*es in circulation, the *taqwīm* compiler could prepare the horoscope of the coming year. Then he would begin to delineate astrological predictions as to the fortunes of different social categories of people and earthly affairs. In a *taqwīm*, the detailed astrological section in prose is followed by the laborious tabulation of astronomical, astrological, and calendric information for each solar month of the upcoming year.

Here the *taqwīm* writer would place ephemeris tables to mathematically demonstrate the celestial positions in each and every day of the month, to mark the corresponding days in the lunar calendar, and to designate the days of religious and liturgical significance in various traditions. These monthly tables are juxtaposed with astrological remarks in the form of inferences of omens (*aḥkām*) and recommendations for auspicious times to undertake various activities (*ikhtiyārāt*), based on the interpretation of the individual horoscope of each month as well as the computed planetary aspects.⁴² Finally, the last section of a *taqwīm* is devoted to the eclipses expected in the upcoming year. If an eclipse was anticipated in that year, information about its projected time, location, and duration would be recorded, along with its astrological interpretation.

As is clear from this brief summary of the contents of surviving *taqwīms*, there were two major items a *munajjim* categorically needed to prepare for an accurate *taqwīm*: (i) a valid *zīj* to accurately calculate the celestial positions in a given time for a given locality, and (ii) a working astrological textbook describing the dispositions of planets and signs as well as the indications of celestial positions. An astronomical instrument that would help the practicing *munajjim* determine the required celestial positions more easily and accurately was rather optional, as it was likely unaffordable for many a practitioner.⁴³

While the *zīj* tradition in the Islamate context dates as far back as the eighth century, with more than 200 such works in different lengths and levels of sophistication surviving to date, a close examination of Ottoman *taqwīms* reveals that *munajjims* in the service of the Ottoman court clearly favored the ones prepared in the post-thirteenth-century Persiate East as the fruits of systematic observation programs.⁴⁴ This period was characterized by a heightened interest in conducting systematic observational programs (*raṣād*) in the newly established observatories to revise the data and parameters conveyed through astronomical tables (*zīj*es). At the end of each systematic observation a new *zīj* was introduced, with revised figures. The *Zīj-i ilkhānī*, for example, was produced no later than the early 1270s by Nasir al-Din al-Tusi and his collaborators as part of the brief observational enterprise at the Maragha observatory.

Despite Tusi's high expectations for his work, the *Zīj-i ilkhānī* did not win much favor among his contemporaries due to its dated parameters and the limited timespan of actual observations prior to its preparation. Thus, soon after its publication, several experts in astral sciences, including 'Ali-Shah Bukhari (d. after 1291), Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Wabkanawi (d. ca. 1320), and Nizam al-Din al-Nisaburi (d. ca. 1329–30), expressed criticisms of the *Zīj-i ilkhānī* in their own compilations of tables.⁴⁵ Finally, in the first half of the fifteenth century, the Samarqand observatory was established on the initiative of Ulugh Beg, who gathered an impressive array of astral experts, such as Ghiyath al-Din Jamshid al-Kashi, Qadizade al-Rumi, and 'Ali al-Qushji, to conduct a systematic observational enterprise. At the end of this observational program a new *zīj* was composed that came to be known as the *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg* (Ulugh Beg Tables) or *Zīj-i jadīd-i sultānī* (The New Royal Tables).

In surviving fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ottoman *taqwīms*, *munajjims* often cite explicitly which *zīj* they consulted to make the necessary celestial calculations. Half of the eighteen extant Ottoman *taqwīms* compiled between 1489 and the year 'Atufi completed his inventory cite as their main source the Verified Ilkhanid Tables (*Zīj al-muḥaqqaq al-ilkhānī*) that can be attributed to Wabkanawi, whereas four *taqwīms* made use of the Ulugh Beg tables and only two utilized the Ilkhanid tables.⁴⁶ From the 1510s up until the late sixteenth century, when the most famous Ottoman astronomer of all times, Taqi al-Din (d. 1585), prepared new tables on the basis of his limited observations in the Istanbul observatory, practicing Ottoman *munajjims* almost exclusively utilized and cited the *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg*.⁴⁷

Although the *zīj* collection in the palace library largely reflects the general leanings among practicing *munajjims* toward the post-Maragha *zīj* tradition in Persian, it is rather surprising not to come across a single explicit reference to Wabkanawi's *Verified Zīj* within the palace holdings, given that most court *munajjims* at the time seem to have based their calculations upon it.⁴⁸ Another remarkable detail about the *zīj*es collected in the imperial treasury is the relatively high number of Nizam al-Din Nishaburi's *Kashf-i ḥaqā'iq-i Zīj-i ilkhānī* (Uncovering of the Truths of the Ilkhanid Astronomical Handbook of Tables).⁴⁹ Among the twenty-six copies specifically

listed as *zīj*es in the inventory and their commentaries—with the exception of the two copies of al-Biruni's *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdi*, which can indeed be regarded as a *zīj*—five of them (list of entries [76]–[80]) are Nishaburi's *Kashf-i ḥaqā'iq*, to which contemporary Ottoman *munajjims* seem to have paid little attention. Similarly, there are two copies of Jamshid al-Kashi's *Zīj-i khāqānī fī takmil-i Zīj-i ilkhānī* (Astronomical Tables for the Great Khan Prepared for Completing [Tusi's] Ilkhanid Tables) in the palace library (list of entries [44], [45]), although in none of the surviving fifteenth- and sixteenth-century *taqwīms* is Kashi's *zīj* preferred. As for the *Zīj-i ilkhānī* and *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg*, 'Atufi's inventory lists five copies of each (the former: [164]–[168]; the latter: [178]–[182]). Also cited are two copies of 'Ali al-Qushji's commentary on *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg* (list of entries [112]/[183], [113]/[184]), and one copy of Mirim Çelebi's commentary on the same text (list of entries [74]/[185]). However, it should be noted that these commentaries were written more in order to explain in prose the challenging parts of the Ulugh Beg tables than to publish new tables; thus, they might not have been used in actual computations. It is also worth noting that the *zīj* Mevlana Kuçek al-Amasi composed and dedicated to Bayezid II at his gubernatorial seat in Amasya, evidently before January 1477, also ended up in the palace library by the turn of the sixteenth century (list of entries [69]).⁵⁰ Regarding the *zīj*es composed prior to the thirteenth century, the palace library inventory seems to contain only two items: one copy of Kushyar ibn Labban's (d. after 1025) *al-Zīj al-Jāmi'* (Comprehensive Astronomical Handbook of Tables, list of entries [65]), and one copy that may be attributed to Abu'l-Wafa' Buzjani (d. 997–98), which 'Atufi catalogues as *Zīj mawḍū' 'alā mā ṣaḥḥaḥahu al-Shaykh Abū al-Wafā' wa-aṣḥābuhu* (Tables Set Forth according to What Was Corrected by the Master Abu al-Wafa' and His Colleagues) (list of entries [24]).⁵¹ As another indication of the supremacy of the Persianate astral tradition in the early sixteenth-century Ottoman world, *al-Zīj al-jadīd* (The New Astronomical Handbook of Tables) of the famed Mamluk astronomer Ibn al-Shatir (d. ca. 1375) is cited neither in the palace library inventory nor in any of the contemporary *taqwīms*.

In addition to having the ability to extract the necessary celestial data from *zīj*es, the *munajjims* had to have

a sound knowledge of the nature and indications of planets, signs, astrological houses, and planetary aspects. Although there were several alternative textbooks and *summae* of astrological principles circulating at the time, the authoritative texts and names quoted heavily in the Ottoman *taqwīms* and other horoscopes whenever the need to justify a specific astrological indication arose can be grouped as follows:

- i. *Kitāb al-thamara* (*Centiloquium* or One Hundred Astrological Aphorisms) attributed to Ptolemy, which was originally composed in Arabic in the early tenth century by a certain Abu Ja'far Ahmad b. Yusuf (d. ca. 944) and later translated into Persian by different parties including Tusi;⁵²
- ii. Nasir al-Din al-Tusi and his *Sī faṣḥ*;
- iii. Kushyar ibn Labban and his *Mujmal al-uṣūl fī aḥkām al-nujūm* (Compendium of Astrological Principles, also named *al-Mudkhal fī ṣinā'at aḥkām al-nujūm*);⁵³
- iv. Abu Rayhan al-Biruni and his *Kitāb al-taḥḥīm li-awā'il ṣinā'at al-tanjīm* (Book of Instruction in the First Principles of the Art of Astrology);
- v. Abu Ma'shar al-Balkhi (d. ca. 886), though his well-known treatises, such as *Kitāb al-mudkhal al-kabīr* (General Introduction to Astrology), *Kitāb al-mīl al-wa'l-duwal* (Book of Religions and Dynasties), and *Kitāb al-ulūf* (Book of Thousands), are not explicitly cited in the inventory;⁵⁴
- vi. *Kifāyat al-ta'lim fī ṣinā'at al-tanjīm* (Sufficiency of Learning in the Art of Astrology) of Abu al-Mahamid b. Mas'ud al-Ghaznawi (fl. late twelfth century).⁵⁵

Numerous copies of these titles are catalogued in 'Atufi's inventory, and Tusi's *Sī faṣḥ* seems to have enjoyed the most popularity. There are, by our count, fourteen copies of this text (list of entries [55]/[153], [144], [145], [146], [147], [148], [149], [150], [151], [152], [154], [155], [156], [157]), including later commentaries, such as Khitabi-i Lahijani's lengthy *Muwaḍḍiḥ al-rusūm fī 'ilm al-nujūm* (The Expositor of the Notes in the Science of the Stars), which he presented to Mehmed II in December 1479.⁵⁶ Next comes the corpus of *Kitāb al-thamara* with ten copies (list of entries [81], [82], [83], [84], [85], [86]/[159], [87]/[160], [88]/[161], [89]/[162], [90]/[163])—two of which are cited in the history (*tārīkh*) section of the in-

ventory—almost all in Persian. That most of the available *Thamara* copies in the palace library were written in Persian provides yet further proof for the ascendancy of the Persianate astral tradition within Ottoman circles. Ptolemy's major work in astrology, *Tetrabiblos* (Four Books of the Influence of the Stars), also seems to have been featured in the library, just as two separate copies of al-Battani's (d. 929–30) commentary are listed in the inventory (list of entries [11], [12]).

As for the books of Abu Ma'shar, the celebrated astrologer of Abbasid times, there are six titles recorded with explicit reference to his name (list of entries [1]–[6]). Yet, on the basis of the manuscript evidence with Bayezid's seal, it is safe to assume that some of the items listed in the inventory under different or generic titles might have also contained the works of Abu Ma'shar. For example, a *majmū'a* now preserved as SK, Ayasofya MS 3600 bears the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II and hosts Abu Ma'shar's *Kitāb taḥāwīl sinī al-mawālīd* (Book of the Revolutions of the Years of Nativities), but the title assigned either by 'Atufi or one of his colleagues on fol. 1a of this compendium is *Kitāb taqwīm al-adwīya fī al-ṭibb* (The Book of the Table of Medicaments in [the science] of Medicine).⁵⁷ In addition to the works of Tusi, (ps.-)Ptolemy, and Abu Ma'shar, the library inventory contains at least eight references to the *Mujmal al-uṣūl* of Kushyar (list of entries [57]–[64]) and five references to the *Kitāb al-taḥḥīm* of Biruni (list of entries [17]–[21]). Ghaznawi's *Kifāya* is also cited at least two times (list of entries [27]–[28]).

Before moving to the next section, we would like to make a few more notes regarding the general works on astrological principles. First, parallel to the dearth of references in the writings of early modern Ottoman *munajjims* to al-Qabisi (fl. second half of the tenth century), whose introduction to astrology (*Kitāb al-mudkhal ilā ṣinā'at al-nujūm*) became immensely popular in medieval and Renaissance Europe upon its translation into Latin from Arabic, the palace library has no volume explicitly related to him.⁵⁸ Secondly, another popular (in the sense of the high number of surviving manuscripts) Persian astrological textbook, *Laṭā'if al-kalām fī aḥkām al-a'wām* (General Astrological Judgments) composed by Sayyid Munajjim (fl. first half of the fifteenth century), is only cited once in the inventory (list of entries

[120]).⁵⁹ Finally, we note that the celebrated astrologer from the Abbasid times, Masha'allah ibn Athari (d. ca. 815), is also not mentioned in the inventory, although the *taqwīms* and other types of horoscopes produced in the early modern Ottoman world occasionally refer to him.⁶⁰

BIRTH HOROSCOPES AND OTHER GENRES

*Zīj*es and astrological textbooks were also put in use in other genres that calculate the horoscope at the hour of an event. The birth horoscope or natal chart, which was prepared primarily for the members of the ruling dynasty, is one such genre. The most famous example of the genre in the entire corpus of Islamicate astrology, due to its captivating illustrations, is the horoscope of the Timurid prince Mirza Iskandar b. 'Umar-Shaykh (d. 1415–16), composed around 1411 by Mahmud b. Yahya b. al-Hasan al-Kashi (d. after 1411), a close relative of Jamshid al-Kashi's.⁶¹ Not surprisingly, 'Atufi's inventory lists Mirza Iskandar's horoscope (list of entries [46]), which must have entered the Ottoman palace library along with other works on the science of the stars produced or circulated in the Timurid realm.⁶²

This lavishly illuminated horoscope was not the only natal horoscope cited in the inventory, however. 'Atufi lists six birth horoscopes cast for members of the Ottoman dynasty. Three of these copies are horoscopes cast for Mehmed II, one of which was prepared by Khitabi-i Lahijani (list of entries: [52], [194]–[195]). Lahijani's text is stamped with Bayezid II's seal and tells us that a royal edition of it was penned in Istanbul in 1481 by Ghiyath al-Mujallid al-Isfahani.⁶³ The other three horoscopes listed in the inventory are for Bayezid II ([197]), his son Mehmed (d. 1505) ([198]), and Prince Cem ([196]). To date, these three natal charts remain undiscovered, and thus we are not in a position to track the scholarly references in these horoscopes.⁶⁴ However, similar to Iskandar's horoscope, the extant birth horoscopes of Mehmed II feature numerous references to Ptolemy, Kushyar, and Abu Ma'shar as authoritative sources.⁶⁵

It is worth noting that, except for the natal chart of Prince Cem, all of the birth horoscopes are recorded in the inventory under the rubric of "pertaining to the

stars" (*min qibal al-nujūm*). Another important group of titles classified with the same tag is the corpus on astronomical instruments and treatises on celestial observation. Notwithstanding several exceptions, we can speak here of a pattern observed by 'Atufi throughout the section of books on various celestial pursuits, which is also noted by Jamil Ragep and the McGill Team in their article in this volume. An obvious example of these exceptions is Tusi's popular treatise on the use of the astrolabe, *Bīst bāb fī'l-usṭurlāb* (Twenty Chapters on Uses of the Astrolabe), referred to nine times in the inventory (list of entries [130]–[136], [26]/[137], [56]/[138]), along with its later commentaries, including that of Efezade (d. after 1495).⁶⁶ This book is sometimes cataloged in the inventory under the rubric of *min qibal al-nujūm* and sometimes as *fī ('ilm) al-nujūm*. Likewise, the *Kitāb al-thamara* corpus is sometimes recorded with the tag *fī ('ilm) al-nujūm* and sometimes with *aḥkām al-nujūm*. In general, however, 'Atufi seems to follow a discernible blueprint, cataloging all the *zīj*es and many of the textbooks of an astrological nature under the tags *'ilm al-nujūm* or *nujūm*, and the majority of treatises on instruments of observation under *min qibal al-nujūm*.

One important aspect of the *min qibal al-nujūm* subsection is that it also contains very rare examples of relevant works in Turkish.⁶⁷ There are references to at least three copies of Turkish translations of the Mamluk astronomer al-Khalili's (d. ca. 1365) timekeeping tables and astronomical instruments (list of entries [48]/[98], [49]/[99], [50]/[100]), completed by Muhammad b. Katib Sinan al-Qunawi (d. 1524), who worked in the early sixteenth century as the *muwaqqit* (timekeeper) in various mosque complexes in Edirne and Istanbul.⁶⁸

Titles on specific branches of astrology—such as interrogations or horary astrology (*masā'il*), which intend to compute and interpret a horoscope for the exact time the client asks questions to the *munajjim*, and elections (*ikhtiyārāt*), which is concerned with the choice of an auspicious moment for doing or avoiding a particular activity—are sometimes categorized in the inventory under the rubric of *'ilm al-nujūm* and sometimes as *aḥkām al-nujūm*. One should highlight here the *Kitāb al-masā'il* of Ya'qub b. 'Ali al-Qasrani (fl. ninth century). Not much is known about him, although later sources, including Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 1210), cite Qasrani

among other astrological authorities from the early Abbasid period, including Abu Ma'shar, 'Umar b. al-Farrukhan al-Tabari (d. 815–16), and Sahl b. Bishr (fl. 821–50).⁶⁹ His compilation on horary astrology, which treats a wide array of questions and cases by interpreting the astrological significance of the time when a particular question was posed to him, seems to have been popular in the Ottoman realm. Not only does the palace library inventory cite four copies (list of entries [91]–[94]), but Mirim Çelebi, in his treatise on horary astrology, also recommends that his readers consult Qasrani's compilation for further reading on the topic.⁷⁰ In addition to Qasrani, Fakhr al-Din al-Razi's influential work on electional astrology, *al-Ikhtiyārāt al-'alā'iyya fi aḥkām al-samāwīyya* (On the Selection of Propitious Times for Various Acts and Affairs), of which al-Razi himself prepared both Arabic and Persian editions, was represented by at least four copies in the palace library according to 'Atufi's inventory (list of entries [114]–[117]).⁷¹ Another important work attributed to al-Razi, *al-Sirr al-maktūm* (The Hidden Secret), a treatise on celestial magic, is also listed in the inventory at least six times (308 {15}, {16}, {16–17}, {17–18}; 309 {1–2}, {2–3}), albeit it does not appear in this particular section, where titles related to astral and mathematical sciences are enumerated, but rather in the section on natural and occult sciences immediately preceding the quadrivium: *Tafṣīl kutub 'ilm al-ta'bīr wa-kutub 'ilm al-firāsa wa-kutub al-'ilm al-kīmīyā' wa-kutub 'ilm al-aḥjār wa-kutub al-raml wa-kutub al-fāl wa-kutub 'ilm al-nayrinjāt wa-kutub al-ṭilsimāt wa-kutub al-sīmiyā' wa-kutub al-'azā'im wa-kutub 'ilm al-jafr wa-kutub al-ṣinā'āt al-'ajība wa-kutub al-ḥiyāl wa-kutub al-siḥr* (The Section on Dream Interpretation/Oneiromancy, Physiognomy, Alchemy, Gemology, Geomancy, Divination, Terrestrial Magic, Celestial Magic or Talismans, Letter Magic, Jinn Magic, Letter Divination, Mechanics and Wondrous Devices, Magic).

'ATUFI'S RECLASSIFICATION OF THE ASTRAL AND OCCULT SCIENCES

By locating al-Razi's *al-Sirr al-maktūm* among titles in natural and occult sciences while listing the same author's work on electional astrology, *al-Ikhtiyārāt*

al-'alā'iyya, under mathematical sciences, 'Atufi clearly deviates from the more canonical Avicennan tradition, which typically discusses *aḥkām al-nujūm* under the rubric of natural sciences (*tabrī'iyyāt*) along with dream interpretation, physiognomy, geomancy, alchemy, and various magical practices. In order to understand why 'Atufi introduced the section on natural and occult sciences immediately before the quadrivium and why he listed all the strictly astrological titles in the latter section, it is necessary to revisit relevant debates in the medieval Islamicate taxonomies of sciences and observe the impact of Persianate encyclopedism, specifically of Razi's *Jāmi' al-'ulūm* (Compendium of Sciences, also known as *Ḥadā'iq al-anwār fi ḥaqā'iq al-asrār* or *Kitāb-i sittīnī*) on the reclassification of astrology under the rubric of mathematical sciences.

Given the great diversity of examples written in different languages, which adopt various methods of classification, it is quite difficult, and indeed misleading, to speak of a single, easy-to-define Islamicate taxonomy of science. The rationale upon which knowledge was hierarchically categorized by various authors varied greatly. Besides such established conventions as dividing knowledge into categories of transmitted (*'al-'ulūm al-naqliyya*) and rational sciences (*al-'ulūm al-'aqliyya*), or religious sciences versus the sciences of the ancients (*'ulūm al-awā'il*), branches of knowledge were also grouped, as in the case of al-Ghazali (d. 1111), into rather subjective categories of praiseworthy, blameworthy, and permissible sciences. Another method, also largely favored by later Ottoman classifiers of knowledge, was the Aristotelian tradition, which found its way into the medieval Islamicate context especially through the works of Ibn Sina (d. 1037) and partially through those of al-Farabi (d. 950).⁷² Accordingly, theoretical philosophy (*al-ḥikma al-naẓariyya*) is divided into three hierarchical categories, each corresponding to one of the realms of the tripartite scheme of the cosmos. The lowest (*asfal*), terrestrial world, i.e., the world of generation and corruption, is the main concern of natural and occult sciences, which essentially deal with the sub-lunar domain that is subject to physical change. The study of the middle (*awsat*), unchanging celestial region requires unwavering mathematical proofs and geometrical demonstrations, whereas the highest (*'alā*) sphere beyond

the celestial orbs concerns metaphysics and theological sciences.⁷³

Within this mainstream Avicennan taxonomy of sciences, astrology (*‘ilm aḥkām al-nujūm*) was detached from the mathematical investigation of heavenly objects (*‘ilm al-hay’a*) and classified exclusively as a natural science (*al-ḥikma al-ṭabī‘iyya*) along with medicine, geomancy, alchemy, and other divinatory practices and arts of magic. The epistemological distinction between the two, however, was neither revolutionary nor entirely unambiguous. For example, Ptolemy covered astronomy in his *Almagest*, while devoting *Tetrabiblos* to what he defined as “prognostication through astronomy” (τὸ δι’ ἀστρονομίας προγνωστικόν [*to di’ astronomias prognōstikon*]); he acknowledged that astronomy was intended for the investigation of the movements of celestial bodies and the planetary aspects, whereas the latter deliberated the corollary changes appearing in the terrestrial realm.

Discussions on the classification of astrology in the medieval Islamic intellectual realm were marked by similar controversies and inconsistencies that were sometimes apparent even in the same work of a single author. Such controversy was mostly due to the subject, methods, and objectives of this science, which, as a contentious discipline, was categorically considered (i) among the sciences of the ancients, which a great many ulema in the Islamic Middle period often took with a grain of salt; (ii) dependent upon the unwavering mathematical knowledge of the heavens but applied to understand the ever-changing physical nature of the sub-lunar world; and (iii) susceptible to being interpreted as a quest threatening to undermine the belief in God’s omnipotence.⁷⁴

Taşköprizade’s treatment of the astral sciences is a perfect example of such complications and inconsistencies. Following the Avicennan model that he largely inherited from the Mamluk encyclopedist Ibn al-Akfani (d. 1348), Taşköprizade makes a clear distinction between *‘ilm al-hay’a* and *‘ilm aḥkām al-nujūm*, classifying the former in the mathematical sciences (*al-‘ulūm al-riyādiyya*) and the latter in the natural sciences (*al-‘ulūm al-ṭabī‘iyya*). At times, he uses *‘ilm al-nujūm* and *‘ilm al-hay’a* interchangeably and further emphasizes the distinction between *‘ilm al-nujūm* and *aḥkām al-nujūm* by

saying that the former relies upon mathematics and calculation (*ḥisāb*), whereas the latter aims at determining the physical influences in nature.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, in his section on *‘ilm al-hay’a* under the general category of mathematical sciences, Taşköprizade lists, among others, *‘ilm al-zījāt wa’l-taqāwīm* (the science of astronomical tables and almanacs), *‘ilm al-qirānāt* (the science of conjunctions), *‘ilm al-ālāt al-raṣadiyya* (the science of the instruments of celestial observation), and *‘ilm al-malāḥim* (the science of weather prognostications), all of which, he explicitly maintains, have strong astrological implications.⁷⁶

Unlike Taşköprizade and subsequent generations of well-known Ottoman encyclopedists, including Nev’i Efendi and Katib Çelebi, ‘Atufi emphatically records astrological titles under the rubric of mathematical sciences, right after his section on natural and occult scientific practices. In this regard, he seems to have preferred non-Avicennan models, such as al-Razi’s classification in his Persian encyclopedic work, where *aḥkām al-nujūm* is deliberately detached from natural and occult sciences and placed right next to *‘ilm al-hay’a* under the mathematical sciences.⁷⁷ Razi’s classification exerted an influence on several other examples of the taxonomy of science genre in Persian and also found an enthusiastic reception in the fifteenth-century Ottoman world, particularly within the Fenari circle.⁷⁸ It is worth mentioning here that ‘Atufi’s organization of this section (and others) also accords closely with the schematic classification of the sciences by ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Bistami (d. 1454), a prominent protégé of both Molla Fenari and Sultan Murad II (r. 1421–44; 1446–51) whose works (some in autograph) entered the palace library.⁷⁹ Al-Bistami’s “tree of knowledge,” which is found in his autobiographical bibliography, titled *Durrat tāj al-rasā’il* (Pearl in the Crown of Tractates), firmly attaches *aṣṭrānūmiyā* (اسطرنوميا) to the mathematical sciences, while at the same time expressing his commitment to “Greek learning” by using Greek terminology whenever possible.⁸⁰ Thus, ‘Atufi’s deviation from the more canonical, Avicennan tradition is certainly not exceptional and serves as another reminder to modern scholars that the Ottoman taxonomy of science is not singularly represented by Taşköprizade or Katib Çelebi.

A detailed discussion of the titles related to natural and occult sciences in 'Atufi's inventory is beyond the scope of this article. Yet we should note that the occult section of the palace library shows patterns similar to the collection of books on celestial knowledge, insofar as it incorporates works produced in the post-Mongol Persianate world as well as examples from the Graeco-Arabic tradition.⁸¹ For instance, among the no less than twenty-four copies of dream interpretation manuals, six are Hubaysh b. Ibrahim b. Muhammad Tiflisi's (d. ca. 1203–4) *Kāmil al-ta'bīr* (Compendium of Dream Interpretation), which the author composed in Persian and dedicated to the Rum Seljuq ruler Qilij Arslan II (r. 1156–92) (302 {16–17}, {17}, {18}, {18}, {19}, {19}).⁸² Of the sixteen treatises on physiognomy, the text attributed to Polemon of Laodicea (ca. 88–144 CE), *Kitāb Falīmūn* or *Aflīmūn al-Ḥakīm*, stands out with at least four copies (304 {11}, {12}, {12–13}, {15}), next to the physiognomical works of Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (304 {19}–305 {1}) and Muhammad Nurbakhsh (d. 1462) (304 {18}).⁸³

CONCLUSION

Around the time the library inventory was compiled, one of the aspirant *munajjims* approached Bayezid II in an anonymous Persian petition, asking for access to some of the items in the imperial treasury (*khizāne*).⁸⁴ The requested items included a complete astrolabe (*uṣṭurlāb-i tān*), the works *Zij-i Ulugh Beg* and *Kitāb-i Majisṭī*, and the horoscope of the sultan (*ṭālī-i ḥaẓret-i 'ālem-penāhi*) along with those of his sons, Korkud and Ahmed. The anonymous *munajjim* also reassures the sultan that if the horoscopes are not currently available, he could produce (new) ones for each, so long as he is informed of the exact birthdates of the sultan and the princes.

Except for the horoscopes of Princes Korkud and Ahmed, which are not listed in 'Atufi's inventory, the items that the anonymous *munajjim* requested accord well with the holdings of the imperial treasury, which, in addition to the books in question, also housed a rich collection of astronomical instruments during Bayezid II's reign.⁸⁵ This raises the questions of whether 'Atufi's inventory was accessible to other members of the palace

at the time and whether minor updates were made to the already finished and embellished inventory. Of course, the anonymous aspirant *munajjim* might have simply heard about these items at the treasury from his colleagues. No matter what the accessibility of 'Atufi's library inventory may have been, the *munajjim*'s petition as well as Bayezid's own reading preferences unequivocally show that the titles on practical astral sciences, particularly those related to the post-thirteenth-century astral lore of the Persianate East, were certainly in use whenever the need arose.

NOTES

Authors' note: The references to inventory items in bracketed numbers throughout refer to those in our list of entries, which follows this essay.

1. The manuscript was published as a facsimile in 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Umar al-Šūfī and Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī, *Tarjama-i šuvar al-kavākib* (Tehran: Bunyād-i Farhang-i Irān, 1348/1969).
2. MS Török F. 59, 317 {3–4}.
3. For the story of the two hundred people accompanying 'Ali al-Qushji during his journey to Istanbul, see Nişāncızāde Muhyiddin Mehmed's (d. 1621) *Mir'atü'l-kā'ināt*, cited in Süheyl Ünver, *Ali Kuşci Hayatı ve Eserleri* (Istanbul: Kenan Matbaası, 1948), 17.
4. The term is borrowed from İhsan Fazlhoğlu. See his "The Samarqand Mathematical-Astronomical School," *Journal for the History of Arabic Science* 4, no. 1–2 (2008): 3–68.
5. George Saliba, "Astronomy and Astrology in Medieval Arabic Thought," in *Les doctrines de la science le l'antiquité à l'âge classique*, ed. Roshdi Rashed and Joël Biard (Leuven, 1999), 131–64; George Saliba, "Islamic Astronomy in Context: Attacks on Astrology and the Rise of the Hay'a Tradition," *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies* 4, no. 1 (2002): 25–46. For a critical overview of the categorization of the astral sciences in medieval Islamic sources, see A. Tunç Şen, "Astrology in the Service of the Empire: Knowledge, Prognostication, and Politics at the Ottoman Court, 1450s–1550s" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2016), 59–79. Also see the essay in this volume by Jamil Ragep and the McGill Team.
6. *El3*, s.v. "Astronomy," by Jamil Ragep. Although Jamil Ragep does not specifically refer to *aḥkām* in his discussion, relevant sources often mention *aḥkām* within the all-encompassing science of the stars. See n8 below.
7. Modern literature on *zīj*es has barely highlighted the astrological significance of these texts, though scholars are definitely aware of the astrological components in *zīj*es. See Edward S. Kennedy, "A Survey of Islamic Astronomical Tables," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Soci-*

- ety, n.s., 46, no. 2 (1956): 123–77; *El2*, “Zidj,” by F. C. De Blois, D. A. King, and J. Samsó; David A. King, Julio Samsó, and Bernard R. Goldstein, “Astronomical Handbooks and Tables from the Islamic World (750–1900): An Interim Report,” *Suhayl: International Journal for the History of the Exact and Natural Sciences in Islamic Civilisation* 2 (2001): 9–105; Benno van Dalen, *Islamic Astronomical Tables: Mathematical Analysis and Historical Investigation* (London: Ashgate, 2014).
8. Al-Birūnī, *The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology*, ed. and trans. Ramsay Wright (London: Luzac & Co., 1934), 1; Tūsī, *Zīj-i ilkhānī*, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana MS Or. 24, 2b. Rukn al-Din Amuli, a *munajjim* active in the Iranian world in the first half of the fifteenth century who composed his own *zīj* and trained a number of students including Khitabi-i Lahijani, also wrote a treatise on the use of the astrolabe, *Panjāh bāb-i sultānī* (Fifty Chapters). In this treatise, he states that the ultimate fruit and reward (*thamara*) of the mathematical sciences (*‘ilm-i hay’a*, *handasa va hisāb*) is the science of the judgments [of the stars] (*‘ilm-i aḥkām*) and the knowledge of [prayer] time[s] (*ma’rifat-i avqāt*), and that this builds upon the knowledge gleaned from the observation of the [fixed] stars (*ma’rifat-i raṣad-i sitāragān*), the calculation of the [mean] motions of planets (*istikhrāj-i taqvim-i kavākib*), and the designation of the ascendants of the hours (*ṭavālī-i sā’āt*). See Harvard MS Persian 33, 2a.
 9. Aydın Sayılı, *The Observatory in Islam and Its Place in the General History of the Observatory* (Ankara: TTK, 1960).
 10. The discrepancy in numbers is even more significant considering that some of the *hay’a* books were taught at certain madrasas, and thus more copies of these texts must have been in circulation. See Cevat İzgi, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: İz, 1997), 1:361–412.
 11. For a general overview of Ottoman scientific activity before the sixteenth century, see TDVİA, s.v. “Osmanlılar (İlim ve Kültür. 1. Düşünce Hayatı ve Bilim. Kaynaklar),” by İhsan Fazlıoğlu.
 12. For the early fifteenth-century Turkish translation of *Sī faṣl*, see Aḥmed-i Dāī, *Muhtasar fī ilm el-tencim ve marifet el-takvim* (*Risale-i si faṣl*), ed. T. N. Gencan and M. Dizer (Istanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kandilli Rasathanesi, 1984).
 13. ‘Abdulwajid b. Muhammad was born in Khurasan and came to the lands of Rūm in the later fourteenth century. In addition to his treatise on the uses of astrolabe, he also penned a commentary on Tusi’s *Sī faṣl*. See *Osmanlı Astronomi Literatürü Tarihi = History of Astronomy Literature during the Ottoman Period*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: İslām Tarih, Sanat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi, 1997), 1:22–24. See also İhsan Fazlıoğlu, “İthaf-tan Enmûzec’e Fetih’ten önce Osmanlı Ülkesi’nde Matematik Bilimler,” in *Uluslararası Molla Fenârî Sempozyumu* (4-6 Aralık 2009 Bursa): bildiriler = *International Symposium on Molla Fanârî* (4-6 December 2009 Bursa): *Proceedings*, ed. Tevfik Yücedoğru et al. (Bursa: Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2010), 131–63; Jamil Ragep, “Astronomy in the Fanârî-Circle: The Critical Background for Qādizāde al-Rūmî and the Samarqand School,” in Yücedoğru et al., *Uluslararası Molla Fenârî Sempozyumu*, 165–76.
 14. TDVİA, s.v. “Kadızade-i Rumi,” by İhsan Fazlıoğlu.
 15. ‘Abdurrahman Munajjim, *Jawhar ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥat fī al-ṭibb*, SK, Ayasofya MS 3635, 2b (also listed in the inventory: 166 [15]). His first instructor, Mevlana Kuçek, was listed in the palace payroll of 1478 as the only royal *munajjim* at the time under the rubric of *müteferriḳa*. See Ahmed Refik (Altınay), “Fatih Devrine ait Vesikalar,” *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası* 8–11, nos. 49–62 (1335/1919): 1–58. Mevlana Kuçek’s *zīj*, which was presented to Bayezid II when the latter was still in his gubernatorial seat in Amasya, is recorded in the inventory (list of entries [69]).
 16. İdris-i Bidlisî, *Hasht Bahisht*, SK, Esad Efendi MS 2198, 33b–34a, also quoted in Tofiq Heiderzaideh, “Ali Kuşçu’nun Astronomi Eserleri” (master’s thesis, Istanbul University, 1997), 15.
 17. Robert Westman’s observation regarding the political instrumentality of astronomical/astrological patronage and the active involvement of the patron in learning the science itself in the early modern European context also holds true for the Islamicate realm. See Robert Westman, “The Astronomer’s Role in the Sixteenth Century: A Preliminary Survey,” *History of Science* 18, no. 2 (1980): 105–47.
 18. For an overview of the available sources on al-Qushji’s move to the Ottoman capital and his tenure there, see Heiderzaideh, “Ali Kuşçu’nun Astronomi Eserleri,” 13–17.
 19. This is discussed in more detail in A. Tunç Şen, “Reading the Stars at the Ottoman Court: Bayezid II (r. 886/1481–918/1512) and His Celestial Interests,” *Arabica* 64, no. 3-4 (2017): 557–608.
 20. TSMA, E. 6172.
 21. Taşköprizāde, *al-Shaqā’iq al-nu’māniyya fī ‘ulamā’ al-dawlat al-‘uthmāniyya* (Beirut: Dār al-kitāb al-‘arabī, 1395/1975), 198.
 22. The autograph copy is available at SK, Ayasofya MS 2697. Mirim says in this copy (2a) that he was in the service of Mawlana ‘Ata’ullah, another émigré scholar from Kirman, while ‘Ata’ullah was working on the commentary of the Ulugh Beg tables, probably in Istanbul. Surprisingly, this detail about ‘Ata’ullah is not included in other available copies of the commentary.
 23. List of entries [74]/[185]. So far as it is known, the supplication *sallamahu* was used for authors who were alive at the time.
 24. Taşköprizāde, 249–50. While the familial ties between Mirim Çelebi and Qutb al-Din are not certain, they appear to be the sons of the same father based on their *nisbas* given by Taşköprizade. Qutb al-Din’s supercommentary on al-Samarqandi’s *Propositions for the Foundation* is also listed in the inventory (list of entries [555]/[556]/[565]).
 25. The *in‘āmāt defteri* (Atatürk Kitaplığı, Muallim Cevdet O. 71) lists all the gifts and payments Mirim and his wife received from the sultan between 1503 and 1512. Another sign of Mirim’s closeness to Bayezid II is that during the

- pro-Selim rebellions in Istanbul in 1511, Mirim's house was targeted along with the mansions of other important individuals who were close to the sultan. See Çağatay Uluçay, "Yavuz Sultan Selim Nasıl Padişah Oldu II," *İÜFT Dergisi*, 7-10 (1954): 120–21.
26. SK, Ayasofya MS 2474. This copy should be [145]/[298]/[438] in the list of entries.
 27. Bursa Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, MS 11. We would like to thank Zeren Tanındı for this information about the manuscript.
 28. TSMK, A. 3328. Either [421] or [422] in the list of entries should be the copy in question.
 29. TSMK, A. 3317. [394] in the list of entries might be the copy in question. For *Tadhkira fi 'ilm al-hay'a*, see Naşir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Memoir on Astronomy* = *al-Tadhkira fi 'ilm al-hay'a*, ed. Jamil Ragep, 2 vols. (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1993).
 30. SK, Ayasofya MS 2702. [9] and [10] in the list of entries should be the title in question.
 31. TSMK, A. 2128. See Ikhwān al-Şafā', *On Astronomia: An Arabic Critical Edition and English Translation of Epistle 3*, ed. Jamil Ragep and Taro Mimura (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
 32. SK, Ayasofya MS 2618. [228] in the list of entries is the title in question.
 33. SK, Ayasofya MS 2711. [25] in the list of entries is the title in question.
 34. TSMK, A. 3343, listed as [67] or [68]. For a facsimile edition of the text, see *Traité des instruments astronomiques des Arabes composé au treizième siècle par Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Marrākūshī (VII-XIII s.) intitulé Jāmi' al-mabādī' wa-l-ghāyāt*, 2 vols., (Frankfurt am Main: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1998).
 35. SK, Ayasofya MS 2432. This volume should be the one listed as [109].
 36. One entry in 'Atufi's inventory could indeed be interpreted as a *taqwīm*. The item listed as [239] contains *Kitāb jadāwil al-tawārikh wa-al-nujūm* (The Book of Chronology Tables and Star Charts). However, we should note that none of the extant *taqwīm* manuscripts with the seal of Bayezid II bears such a title among its inscriptions.
 37. For more on Khitabi, see Şen, "Reading the Stars," esp. 577–82. Four different works of Khitabi in five copies are listed in the inventory. See the list of entries at the end of our essay: [51]–[55].
 38. SK, Esad Efendi MS 205, 2b.
 39. Kātib Çelebi, *Takvīmü't-Tevarih İndeksli Tıpkı Basım* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2009), 4a.
 40. For more information on the *taqwīm* genre, see Şen, "Astrology in the Service of the Empire," 237–304; *EL2*, s.v. "Taḳwīm," by M. Hofelich and D. M. Varisco; Hofelich, "The Making of Taqvim in Iran," in *La science dans le monde Iranien à l'époque islamique*, ed. Živa Vesel et al. (Tehran: Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, 1998), 49–51.
 41. *Ṭālī'* is the point of the Zodiac rising above the horizon at the moment of nativity or any other event on which the horoscope is being cast. See also *EL2*, s.v. "al-Ṭālī'," by David King and Toufic Fahd. The concept gradually transformed in vernacular Turkish into *ṭālīḥ*, denoting fortune and luck. It is difficult to ascertain when exactly this transformation occurred, yet as Meniški's *Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium* reveals, *ṭālīḥ* was in use as early as the first half of the seventeenth century.
 42. *Ikhtiyārāt* (Elections, or Choices) is a major division of astrology by which the *munajjim* identifies the auspicious time to carry out an activity. *EL3*, s.v. "Astrology," by Charles Burnett.
 43. In stressing the urgency of the rulers' support, *munajjims* often referred to the financial difficulty of possessing sizeable and reliable astronomical instruments without assistance from the sovereigns. See, for instance, Rukn al-Dīn Amulī's *Panjāh bāb-i sulṭānī* or 'Alī-Shah Bukhari's *Kitāb athmār wa-ashjār fi al-nujūm* (The Book of Fruits and Trees), the latter of which is cited in 'Atufi's inventory as [22]/[165] (see list of entries).
 44. For the *zīj* genre, see n7.
 45. See Fateme Savadi and Sajjad Nikfahm-Khubravan, "Ḥarakat-i wasaṭ-i kawākib dar *Zīj-i ilkhānī* wa naqd-hā-yi wārid bar ān" [The mean motion of the planets in *Zīj-i ilkhānī* and its criticisms], in *Ustād-i bashar: pajūhish-hā-yi dar zindigī, rūzīgār, falsafa wa 'ilm-i Khwāja Naşir al-Dīn Ṭūsī* [The teacher of humankind: essays on the life, times, philosophy, and scientific achievements of Khwāja Naşir al-Dīn Ṭūsī], ed. H. Masoumi Hamedani and M. Javad Anvari (Tehran: Mirās-i Maktūb, 1391/2012), 363–470. For Wabkanawī, see Mohammad Mozaffari, "Wābkanawī's Prediction and Calculations of the Annual Solar Eclipse of 30 January 1283," *Historia Mathematica* 40 (2013): 235–61; Jamil Ragep, "New Light on Shams: The Islamic Side of Σάμψ Πουχάρης," in *Politics, Patronage, and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th-15th Century Tabriz*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 166–80.
 46. For more details, see Appendix C in Şen's dissertation.
 47. For a brief biography of Taqī al-Dīn, see İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Taqī al-Dīn," in *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, ed. Thomas Hockey et al. (New York: Springer, 2007), 1122–23.
 48. We should also note, however, that some of the "verified" Ilkhanid tables cited explicitly by contemporary Ottoman *munajjims* in their *taqwīms* might be referring to different, later editions and commentaries of the Ilkhanid tables, instead of to that of Wabkanawī. Mū'eyyedzade (d. 1516) seems to have had a copy of Wabkanawī's *Verified Tables* that he purchased in Ladik in 1477. See SK, Ayasofya MS 2694. This copy does not have the idiosyncratic almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II.
 49. For the contents and astrological significance of this *zīj*, see Robert Morrison, *Islam and Science: The Intellectual Career of Nizām al-Dīn al-Nisābūrī* (New York: Routledge, 2007), esp. 63–70.
 50. TSMK, R. 1713. The copy has brief notes including an ownership statement on the title page, revealing that the Ottoman scholar-bureaucrat Mū'eyyedzade (d. 1516) used the book for his own calculations of ascendants.

51. The McGill Team notes that the description of this title is strikingly similar to the introduction to Athir al-Dīn al-Abhari's (d. ca. 1265) *al-Zij al-shāmil* (The Comprehensive Tables).
52. Richard Lemay, "Origin and Success of the *Kitāb Thamara* of Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm," in *Proceedings of the First International Symposium for the History of Arabic Science: April 5-12, 1976*, ed. Ahmad Y. al-Hassan et al. (Aleppo: University of Aleppo, 1978), 91–107. For Tusi's Persian translation of *al-Thamara*, see *Sharḥ-i Šamarah-i Baṭlamyūs dar aḥkām-i nujūm*, ed. Khalil Akhavan Zanjānī (Tehran: Āyīnah-i Mirās, 1999).
53. *Kūshyār ibn Labbān's Introduction to Astrology*, ed. Michio Yano (Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1997).
54. For Abū Ma'shar's biography and works, see David Pingree, "Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī, Ja'far ibn Muḥammad," in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 1:32–39.
55. Not much is known about the life of Ghaznawī. For the copies of the text, see C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, 5 vols. (London: Luzac, 1927), 2:46–47.
56. SK, Ayasofya MS 2709. This copy should be [55]/[153] in our list of entries.
57. This manuscript should be the one listed in MS Török F. 59, 169 {2}.
58. See al-Qabīṣī (Alcabitius), *The Introduction to Astrology: Editions of the Arabic and Latin Texts and an English Translation*, ed. Charles Burnett, Keiji Yamamoto, and Michio Yano (London: Warburg Institute, 2004); Margaret Gaida, "Encounters with Alcabitius: Reading Arabic Astrology in Premodern Europe" (PhD diss., University of Oklahoma, 2017).
59. The manuscript libraries in Turkey and major European countries host no less than ten extant manuscripts of the work. There should be even more surviving copies in Iran.
60. For his life and works, see *El2*, s.v. "Māshā' Allāh b. Atharī or b. Sāriya," by Julio Samsó.
61. The horoscope of Iskandar has yet to be published as a critical edition, but several studies have already explored different aspects of it. For the astrological and astronomical content of the text, see especially L. Elwell-Sutton, "A Royal Timurid Nativity Book," in *Logos Islamikos, in Honorem Georgii Michaelis Wickens*, ed. Roger Savory and Dionisius Albertus Agius (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1984), 119–36.
62. [46] in our list of entries.
63. TSMK, YY 830.
64. The earliest, and apparently the only, surviving copy of Bayezid II's horoscope comes from the second half of the eighteenth century. See Kandilli MS 396.
65. TSMK, YY 830 and Beyazit Library MS 4619, *passim*.
66. For Efezade's commentary, see SK, Ayasofya MS 2641 (list of entries [26]/[137]).
67. There are at least two other texts in the inventory related to astral sciences that are written in Turkish. The first is a book on meteorological/astrological prognostications, *Kitāb al-Maḥama al-Turkiyya*, cited (list of entries [209]) in the section on 'ilm al-fiqh. The second is a book on the astrological judgments of solar and lunar eclipses, *Risāla fī aḥkām al-khusūf wa-al-kusūf bi-al-Turkiyya al-manzūma*, recorded (list of entries [257]) in the Turkish poetry section, simply because it is in verse.
68. İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Qunawī: Muḥammad ibn al-Kātib Sinān," in *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, ed. Thomas Hockey et al. (New York: Springer, 2007), 945–46.
69. TSMK, R. 1705, 2a.
70. Mirim Çelebi's work circulated under different titles, such as *Mesā'il-i Mirim Çelebi* or *Mesā'il-i Te'sirāt dar nujūm*. For his reference to Qasrani, see SK, Bağdatlı Vehbi MS 2005, 38b.
71. This important work has also yet to be published. See Storey, *Persian Literature*, 2:49.
72. Al-Fārābī, *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* (Beirut: Dār wa-maktabat al-Hilāl, 1996); Ibn Sinā, *Tis' rasā'il fī l-ḥikma wa-l-ṭabī'yyāt* (Cairo: Maṭba'at Hindiyah, 1908). Al-Fārābī also treats the question of the epistemology and efficacy of astrology in a separate treatise, *Risāla fī mā yaṣiḥḥu wa-mā lā yaṣiḥḥu min aḥkām al-nujūm*. See "Bemerkunden des Abū Naṣr über die Richtigen und Falschen astronomischen entscheide," in *Al-Fārābī's Philosophische Abhandlungen*, ed. Fr. Dieterici (Leiden: Brill, 1892).
73. Fazlıoğlu, "Samarqand Mathematical-Astronomical School," 13.
74. For a more detailed discussion, see Şen, "Astrology in the Service of the Empire," 59–79.
75. Taṣḥkoprizāde, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda wa misbāḥ al-siyāda*, vol. 1 (Hyderabad: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyā, 1977), 313.
76. In Taṣḥkoprizade's elaboration of 'ilm al-qirānāt (the science of conjunctions), for instance, he goes on to say that, as many astral experts state, there is a correlation between the occurrence of grand conjunctions and the shift of dynasties or the emergence of world conquerors such as Alexander the Great, Chingiz Khan, or Timur (*ibid.*, 359–60).
77. Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī, *Jāmi' al-'ulūm*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Tasbiḥī (Tehran: Kitābkhāna-i Asadī, 1346/1967–68). For the importance of Rāzī's encyclopedia with special regard to the discussion of several occult sciences, including astrology as one of the mathematical sciences, see Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "Powers of One: The Mathematicization of the Occult Sciences in the High Persianate Tradition," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 5, no. 1 (2017): 127–99. We should note, however, that unlike Rāzī, 'Atufi lists geomancy and jinn magic under natural occult sciences.
78. For the medieval Persian taxonomy of the sciences tradition, see Živa Vesel, *Les encyclopédies persanes: essai de typologie et de classification des sciences* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1986). For Muḥammad Shah Fanārī's encyclopedic work, which relies heavily upon Rāzī's text, see Kemal Faruk Molla, "Mehmed Şah Fenārī'nin *Enmūzecu'l-Ulūm* adlı eserine göre Fetih öncesi dönemde Osmanlılar'da ilim anlayışı ve ilim tasnifi," *Dîvân İlmi Araştırmalar* 18, no. 1 (2005): 245–73.

79. For two examples of mss. bearing the seal of Bayezid II, see TSMK, A. 3167, a corrected presentation copy of *Durrat al-funūn fi rū'yat qurrat al-uyūn* (On Seeing the Prophet in Dream State), begun in 832/1428–29 and completed Friday, 10 Sha'ban 843/January 16, 1440; and TSMK, A. 1597, an autograph of the important *Naẓm al-sulūk fi musāmarat al-mulūk* (Ordering of the Paths for the Accompaniment of Rulers) completed 24 Dhu'l-Qa'da 834/August 3, 1431 (where the "tree of knowledge" is reproduced on fol. 53a). The former manuscript should be the one listed in MS Török F. 59, 303 {12–13}: *Kitāb durrat al-funūn fi rū'yat qurrat al-uyūn fi ta-bīr*. The latter should be the one listed in MS Török F. 59, 194 {14–15}: *Kitāb naẓm al-sulūk fi musāmarat al-mulūk fi al-tawāriḫ al-ghariba*.
80. SK, Nuruosmaniye MS 4905, 20a.
81. For a brief discussion of the alchemical treatises in 'Atufi's inventory, see Tuna Artun, "Bâyezîd-i Kîmyâî: Osmanlı Kimya Metinlerinde Sultan II. Bayezid," *Journal of Turkish Studies/Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları* 39 (2013): 181–86.
82. *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Ḥobayš b. Ebrāhim b. Moḥammad b. Teflisi," by Tahsin Yazıcı. Yazıcı maintains that at least three different Turkish translations of this text were produced during the reigns of Murad II, Selim I, and Süleyman I.
83. For the Arabic renditions of Polemon's text, see Antonella Gheretti and Simon Swain, "Polemon's Physiognomy in the Arabic Tradition," in *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul: Polemon's Physiognomy from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam*, ed. Simon Swain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 309–25.
84. TSMA, E. 10159/6.
85. In an individual register drafted in 10 Sha'ban 910 (January 16, 1505) by Mevlana Kasım Çelebi and Pir Mehmed Çelebi for the purpose of recording the holdings of the imperial inner treasury (*khizāne-i 'āmir-i enderūn*), numerous astronomical instruments, including astrolabes (*suṭurlāb*), quadrants (*rub' dā'ire*), and armillary spheres (*felek topu*) are listed. See TSMA, D. 10026. An earlier register dated 1496 likewise lists astronomical instruments. See Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), 134–35.

LIST OF ENTRIES

WORKS ON THE QUADRIVIUM

(*Tafşılı kutubi ‘ilmi al-nujūmi wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-hay’ati wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-handasati wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-mūsīqī*)

Following the suggestion of Dimitri Gutas, all commentaries, supercommentaries, and glosses are listed under the title of the work on which they comment, but the authors of these commentaries are also listed separately with full reference to their works in the inventory. Under each author, the works are listed as follows: Integer numbers (1, 2, 3) indicate separate works by the author. Lowercase letters (a, b, c) indicate separate copies of the same work, or separate works with the same title. Decimal numbers (.1, .2, .3) indicate separate commentaries on the original work by various commentators. A second decimal number after a first (.1.1, .1.2, .1.3) indicates a supercommentary on a commentary of the listed work. Lowercase Roman numerals in parentheses, (i), (ii), (iii), indicate that the MS is a translation of the work.

The authors and their works are listed alphabetically. Definite articles, prepositions, and the words *R[isāla]*, *M[aqāla]*, and *K[itāb]* are disregarded in the alphabetization.

PART ONE

The Science of the Stars (*‘ilm al-nujūm*)

(including both *aḥkām al-nujūm* and *min qibal al-nujūm*)

ABŪ MA‘SHAR Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar al-Balkhī (d. 886)

- [1] 1. *K. al-aṣl fī ‘ilm al-nujūm* (The Book of the Foundations in the Science of the Stars), Arabic, 317 {14}. Bound with Abū Ma‘shar’s *Sarā’ir al-asrār*. MANUSCRIPT: SK Hamidiye 824.
- [2] 2. *R. fī iḥtirāqāt al-kawākib* (Treatise on the Combustion of the Stars), Arabic, 314 {9–10}. Bound with Kūshyār b. Labbān’s *al-Zīj al-jāmi‘* and *Mujmal al-uṣūl*. MANUSCRIPT: SK Fatih 3418.
- [3] 3. *K. al-mudhākarāt* (Book of Recollections), Arabic, 319 {3–4}.
- [4] 4. *Muntakhab k. fī aḥkām al-nujūm* (The Selection from Abu Ma‘shar’s Book on Astrology), Arabic, 323 {8}. Bound with other unspecified texts on [the science of the] stars.
- [5] 5. *Muntakhab k. qirānāt* (The Selection from the Book of Conjunctions), Arabic, 322 {6}.
- [6] 6. *Sarā’ir al-asrār* (The Hidden Secrets of Secrets), Arabic, 317 {14–15}. Bound with Abū Ma‘shar’s *K. al-aṣl fī ‘ilm al-nujūm*. MANUSCRIPT: SK Hamidiye 824.

‘ALĪ B. ĪSĀ AL-UṢṬURLĀBĪ (fl. ninth century)

- [7] 1. *R. fī al-uṣṭurlāb* (Treatise on the Astrolabe), Arabic, 324 {7}. Bound with al-Ṭabarī’s *Firdaws al-ḥikma* and al-Kharaqī’s *K. al-tabṣira*. EDITION: Louis Cheikho, “Kitāb al-‘amal bi-l-uṣṭurlāb li-‘Alī ibn ‘Isā,” *al-Mashriq* 16 (1913): 29–46.

AL-ASHRAF, ‘Umar b. Yūsuf b. ‘Umar b. ‘Alī b. Rasūl (d. 1296)

- [8] 1. *K. manhaj al-ṭullāb fī ‘amal al-uṣṭurlāb* (The Students’ Course on the Use of the Astrolabe), Arabic, 317 {13–14}.

AL-BALKHĪ, ‘Alī b. Aḥmad (fl. twelfth century)

- [9] 1. *Mukhtaṣar madkhal ilā ‘ilm aḥkām al-nujūm* (Abridgment of the Introduction to Astrology), Arabic, 317 {9}. Bound with a Persian translation of the same work. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2702, personal copy of Bayezid II.
- [10] 1(i). Same as preceding, Persian, 317 {10}. Bound with the Arabic original. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2702, personal copy of Bayezid II.

AL-BATTĀNĪ, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Jābir b. Sinān al-Ḥarrānī al-Šābī’ (d. 929–30)

- [11] 1a. *Arba‘ maqālāt fī aḥkām al-nujūm* (Commentary of Ptolemy’s *Tetrabiblos*), Arabic, 317 {8}. Bound with *R. al-uṣṭurlāb*.
- [12] 1b. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *Sharḥ maqālāt Baṭlamyūs fī al-qaḍā’ bi-al-nujūm ‘alā al-ḥawādith*], 323 {11–12}.

AL-BĪRŪNĪ, Abū Rayḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d. 1048)

- [13] 1a. *Istī‘āb al-wujūh al-mumkina fī ṣan‘at al-uṣṭurlāb* (Understanding All Possible Ways of Constructing the Astrolabe), Arabic, 322 {2–3}. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2576. EDITION: *Istī‘āb al-wujūh al-mumkina fī ṣan‘at al-uṣṭurlāb*, ed. al-Sayyid Muḥammad Akbar Jawādī al-Ḥusaynī (Mashhad: Islamic Research Foundation, 2001/2002).
- [14] 1b. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *K. al-istī‘āb fī ‘ilm al-uṣṭurlāb*], 320 {1–3}. Bound with Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī’s *K. fī ma‘rifat al-uṣṭurlāb al-musaṭṭah*, Qusṭā b. Lūqā’s *K. fī al-‘amal bi-al-kura*, al-Šūfī’s *K. fī al-‘amal bi-al-kura*, an anonymous treatise on the astrolabe, and an anonymous treatise on using the spherical astrolabe. MANUSCRIPT: According to the Islamic Scientific Manuscript Initiative database (<https://ismi.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/>), this codex might be TSMK A. 3505 (Karatay: A 7046).¹
- [15] 2a. *al-Qānūn al-Mas‘ūdī* (The Mas‘ūdī Canon), Arabic, 313 {11}. EDITION: *al-Qānūn al-Mas‘ūdī*, ed. ‘Abd al-Karīm Sāmī al-Jundī, 3 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘ilmiyya, 2002).
- [16] 2b. Same as preceding, 313 {11–12}.
- [17] 3a. *al-Taḥḥīm li-awā’il (ṣinā‘at) al-tanjīm* (Book of Instruction in the First Principles of the Art of Astrology), 318 {19}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3477 (Karatay: A 7050) and TSMK A. 3478 (Karatay: A 7051) house two copies of *al-Taḥḥīm* bearing Bayezid’s seal. EDITION: Facs. ed. of the Arabic manuscript (London, British Library Or. 8349) and English trans. by R. Ramsay Wright: *The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology by al-Biruni* (London: Luzac & co., 1934); Persian edition: Jalāl al-Dīn Humā’ī, ed. (Tehran: Bābak, 1983).
- [18] 3b. Same as preceding, 320 {10}.
- [19] 3c. Same as preceding, 320 {10}.
- [20] 3d. Same as preceding, 323 {18}.
- [21] 3e. Same as preceding, language specified as Arabic, 320 {13–14}.

AL-BUKHĀRĪ, ‘Alā al-Dīn ‘Alī-Shāh b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Khawārazmī (d. after 1291)

- [22] 1. *Athmār wa ashjār* (Fruits and Trees), Persian, thirteenth century, 313 {16–17}. Bound with a copy of the *Zīj-i ilkhānī*. See → al-Ṭūsī, 6, Part I. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3513 (Karatay: F 231).

AL-BUKHĀRĪ, ‘Imad al-Dīn (fl. fifteenth century)

- [23] 1. *K. jadwal tashīl al-Qamar wa-jadwal tashīl Uṭārid* (Table for Facilitating [the Calculations of] the Moon and Mercury), 319 {2–3}.

AL-BŪZJĀNĪ, Abū al-Wafā' Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā (d. 997 or 998)

See also al-Būzjānī in Part Four (*ʿilm al-handasa*).

- [24] 1. *Zij al-wāḍiḥ* (Clear Astronomical Handbook of Tables) [catalogued in the inventory as *Zij mawḍūʿ ʿalā mā ṣaḥḥaḥahu al-Shaykh Abū al-Wafāʾ wa-aṣḥābuhu* (Tables Set Forth according to What Was Corrected by the Master Abū'l-Wafā' and His Colleagues)], Arabic, 313 {16–17}.

AL-DĪRĪNĪ, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Damīrī (d. 1297)

- [25] 1. *K. yawāqīt al-mawāqīt min qibal al-nujūm* (The Rubies of Timekeeping), Arabic, 318 {15}.
MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2711, personal copy of Bayezid II.

EFEZĀDE, Muḥammad b. Khwāja Sulaymān al-Bursawī (d. after 1495)

- [26] 1. *Sharḥ bist bāb dar usṭurlāb* (Commentary of al-Ṭūsī's Treatise on the Astrolabe), Persian, late fifteenth century, 321 {12}. See → al-Ṭūsī, 1.3, Part I. MANUSCRIPT: This codex should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2641.

AL-GHAZNAWĪ, Abū al-Maḥmūd b. Masʿūd (fl. late twelfth century)

- [27] 1a. *Kifāyat al-taʿlīm [fi ṣināʿat al-tanjīm]* (Sufficiency of Learning [in the Art of Astrology]), Persian, 316 {15}. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2699.
[28] 1b. Same as preceding, 316 {16}.

ḤAMZA B. ʿABD AL-KARĪM (d. after 1497)

- [29] 1. *K. miṭṭāḥ al-nujūm* (Book of the Key to the Stars), Persian, 313 {14}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK R. 1706.²

IBN AL-HAYTHAM, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan (d. ca. 1040)

See also Ibn al-Haytham in Part Two (*ʿilm al-hayʾa*) and Part Four (*ʿilm al-handasa*).

- [30] 1. *Qawl fi samt al-qibla* (Book on the Azimuth of the Qibla), Arabic, 321 {1}. Bound in a volume containing Ibn al-Haytham's *M. fi istikhrāj khaṭṭ niṣf al-nahār* and *M. fi istikhrāj irtifāʿ al-quṭb*.
[31] 2. *M. fi istikhrāj khaṭṭ niṣf al-nahār* (Chapter on Computing the Meridian Line), Arabic, 321 {1}. Bound in a volume containing Ibn al-Haytham's *Qawl fi samt al-qibla* and *M. fi istikhrāj irtifāʿ al-quṭb*.
[32] 3. *M. fi istikhrāj irtifāʿ al-quṭb* (Chapter on Computing the Altitude of the Pole), Arabic, 321 {1–2}. Bound in a volume containing Ibn al-Haytham's *M. fi istikhrāj khaṭṭ niṣf al-nahār* and *Qawl fi samt al-qibla*.

IBN ʿĀṢIM, Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn (d. 1013)

- [33] 1. *K. al-anwāʾ wa-al-azmina wa-maʾrifat aʿyān al-kawākib* (Weather Predicting Stars, Their Periods and Properties), Arabic, 321 {18–19}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3508 (Karatay: A 7053).
EDITION: *Kitāb al-Anwāʾ wa-al-azmina wa-maʾrifat aʿyān al-kawākib*, facs. ed. by Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1985).

IDRIS AL-NABĪ or HERMES

- [34] 1a. *R. aḥkām ṭulūʿ al-shiʿrā* (Treatise on the Judgments of the Appearance of Sirius), Arabic, 320 {4–5}.
[35] 1b. Same as preceding, 321 {11–12}.
[36] 1c. Same as preceding, 322 {8–9}.

- [37] 1d. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *K. Hurmus fī aḥkām al-nujūm*], 323 {5–6}. Bound in a volume containing astrological texts.³

IKHWĀN AL-ŞAFĀ' (fl. tenth cent.)

- [38] 1a. *K. Ikhwān al-Şafā' fī funūn al-'ulūm* (The Book of the Sincere Brethren on Different Sciences), Arabic, 319 {9–11}. The description goes on to mention only the mathematical sciences as examples, which may indicate that the MS contained only those. EDITION: *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity. On Astronomia: An Arabic Critical Edition and English Translation of Epistle 3*, ed. Jamil Ragep and Taro Mimura (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
- [39] 1b. Same as preceding, 319 {11–12}.
- [40] 1c. Same as preceding, 319 {12–14}.
- [41] 1d. Same as preceding, 319 {14}.
- [42] 1e. Same as preceding, 324 {4–5}.
- [43] 1(i). Same as preceding, Persian translation, 324 {2–4}.

AL-KĀSHĪ, Ghiyāth (al-Milla wa-) al-Dīn Jamshīd b. Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd (d. 1429)

See also al-Kāshī in Part Three (*ʿilm al-ḥisāb*).

- [44] 1a. *Zīj-i khāqānī fī takmil-i zīj-i ilkhānī* (Astronomical Tables for the Great Khan [prepared for completing Ṭūsī's Tables]), Persian, 1413–14, 313 {14–15}. See → al-Ṭūsī, 6.2, Part I. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2692.
- [45] 1b. Same as preceding, 314 {6–7}.

AL-KĀSHĪ, Maḥmūd b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan (d. after 1411)

- [46] 1a. *Wilādat-i Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh b. Amīr Taymūr* (The Birth Horoscope of Mīrzā Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh, son of Amir Timur), Persian, 1411, 319 {4–5}. MANUSCRIPT: Wellcome Institute Per. 474.⁴

AL-KHALĪLĪ, Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. after 1360)

- [47] 1. *al-Jadwal al-āfāqī* (The Table of Horizons), Arabic, 318 {19}–319 {1}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3500 (Karatay: A 7120).⁵
- [48] 1(i)a. [al-Qunawī] *Tarjama K. al-jadwal al-āfāqī*, 319 {1}. See → al-Qunawī, 4. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2590.
- [49] 1(i)b. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *Sharḥ al-şafā'ih al-āfāqīyya* (Commentary on al-Khalīlī's Table)], Turkish, 318 {17}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3499 (Karatay: T 1618).
- [50] 1(i)c. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *Tarjama R. al-şafā'ih al-āfāqīyya*], 321 {4–5}.

AL-KHITĀBĪ AL-ḤUSAYNĪ, Ḥusām b. Shams al-Dīn al-Lāhijānī al-Gilānī (d. after 1495)

- [51] 1. *R. Tashrīḥ al-ālāt fī sha'n al-imtiḥānāt* (Description of Instruments Pertaining to Testing), Persian, 1483, 317 {2}. MANUSCRIPT: MS Tehrān, Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī 6376. EDITION: Mortaza Somi and Mohammad Bagheri, "Risāla-i tashrīḥ al-ālāt fī sha'n al-imtiḥānāt az Sayyid Munajjim Ḥusaynī," *Mīrās-i ʿilmī-yi Islām va Īrān* 2, no. 1 (2013): 181–205.
- [52] 2. *K. ṭālī'ī wilādat-i Sulṭān Meḥmed b. Sulṭān Murād* (Birth Horoscope of Mehmed II, son of Murad II), Persian, 1480, 319 {6–7}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK YY. 830 (Karatay: F 246).

- [53] 3a. *Jāmi' al-qismayn min al-riyāḍī wa-al-ṭabī'ī fi al-nujūm wa-al-ṭibb* (Collection of Two Parts from Mathematical and Medical Sciences), Persian, 1479–80, autograph, 319 {16–17}.
- [54] 3b. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *R. bi-al-fārisiyya fi al-nujūm wa-al-ṭibb*], 318 {16–17}. MANUSCRIPT: This particular copy (3b) is at SK Ayasofya 2414–M.
- [55] 4. *Sharḥ Sī faṣl al-musammā bi-muwaḍḍiḥ al-rusūm fi 'ilm al-nujūm* (Commentary on [al-Ṭūsī's] Thirty Chapters on the Knowledge of the Almanac), Persian, 1479, autograph, 319 {17–18}. See → al-Ṭūsī, 3.1, Part I. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2709.

AL-KŪHISTĀNĪ, Fasīh al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm Nizāmī (d. 1530)

- [56] *K. mi'yār-i āfitāb fi sharḥ-i bīst bāb* (The Scale of the Sun), Persian, 1490–91, 319 {5–6}. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2677. See → al-Ṭūsī, 1.4, Part I.

KŪSHYĀR b. LABBĀN, Kiyā Abū al-Ḥasan Bāshahrī al-Jīlī (d. after 1025)

- [57] 1a. *Mujmal al-uṣūl* (Compendium of [Astrological] Principles) [also known as *al-Mudkhal fi ṣinā'at aḥkām al-nujūm* (Introduction to Astrology)], Arabic, 992, 314 {8–9}. Bound with Kūshyār b. Labbān's *al-Zīj al-jāmi'* and Abū Ma'shar's *R. fi ihtiraqāt al-kawākib*. MANUSCRIPT: SK Fatih 3418. EDITION: *Kūshyār ibn Labbān's Introduction to Astrology*, ed. Michio Yano (Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1997).
- [58] 1b. Same as preceding, 322 {6–7}.
- [59] 1c. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *K. mudkhal al-nujūm*], 316 {19}. Bound with two anonymous treatises, *K. zubdat al-raml* and *K. ṭālī' al-waqt*.
- [60] 1d. Same as preceding, 317 {1}. Bound with an anonymous *K. uṣūl al-malāḥim*.
- [61] 1e. Same as preceding, language specified as Persian, 313 {12–13}.
- [62] 1f. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *K. fi aḥkām al-nujūm*], 316 {17–18}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī's *Tarjama K. Thamara-i Baṭlamyūs*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1f) should be the copy now housed as Beyazıt Library Beyazıt 4640.
- [63] 1g. Same as preceding, 319 {8}. Bound with *Burhān al-hay'a* and two anonymous treatises on the science of the stars.
- [64] 1h. Same as preceding, 322 {4}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī's *Tarjama K. Thamara-i Baṭlamyūs*.
- [65] 2. *al-Zīj al-jāmi'* (Comprehensive Astronomical Handbook with Tables), Arabic, 314 {8}. Bound with Kūshyār b. Labbān's *Mujmal al-uṣūl* and Abū Ma'shar's *R. fi ihtiraqāt al-kawākib*. MANUSCRIPT: SK Fatih 3418.
- [66] 3. *R. al-'amal [bi-] al-uṣṭurlāb* (Treatise on the Use of the Astrolabe), Arabic, 321 {4}. Bound in a volume containing *R. fi 'amal al-ṣafīḥa* and other treatises. MANUSCRIPT: This codex should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2671.⁶ EDITION: Persian translation: *Risāla-yi Uṣṭurlāb-i Kūshyār Gīlānī*, ed. Muḥammad Bāqirī (Tehran: Mirās-i Maktūb, 2014).

AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ, Sharaf al-Dīn Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī (fl. late thirteenth century)

- [67] 1a. *Jāmi' al-mabādī' wa-al-ghāyāt fi 'ilm al-mīqāt* (Comprehensive Collection of Principles and Goals in the Science of Timekeeping), Arabic, 1276–82, 318 {4–5}.⁷
- [68] 1b. Same as preceding, 318 {6}. MANUSCRIPT: These two codices (1a, 1b) should be the copies now housed as SK Ayasofya 2669 and TSMK A. 3343 (Karatay: A 7079), personal copy of Bayezid II. EDITION: *Jāmi' al-mabādī' wa-l-ghāyāt fi 'ilm al-mīqāt*, facs. ed. of TSMK A. 3343, ed. Fuat Sezgin, 2 vols. (Frankfurt: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1984).

MAWLĀNĀ KŪCHAK, Yazdānbakhsh b. Pīr ‘Alī al-Amāsī (d. after 1476)

- [69] 1. *Zīj-i Muḡmal* (Summary Handbook of Astronomical Tables), Arabic, 1476, autograph, 314 {1–2}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK R. 1713 (Karatay: A 7126).

AL-MIZZĪ, Zayn al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm (d. 1349)

- [70] 1a. *R. Kashf al-rayb fī al-‘amal bi-al-jayb* (Dispelling Doubt in Working with the Sine Quadrant), Arabic, fourteenth century, 316 {11}.
- [71] 1b. Same as preceding, 324 {9–10}. Bound with al-Mizzī’s *al-Rawḍāt al-muzaharrāt fī al-‘amal bi-al-muqanṭarāt* and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Turkistānī’s *R. ‘alā’iyya fī al-ḥisāb*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1b) should be the copy now housed as TSMK A. 3119 (Karatay: A 7037).⁸
- [72] 2. *al-Rawḍāt al-muzaharrāt fī al-‘amal bi-al-muqanṭarāt* (Flower-Filled Gardens for Using the Almucantars Quadrant), Arabic, 324 {9}. Bound with al-Mizzī’s *R. Kashf al-rayb fī al-‘amal bi-al-jayb* and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Turkistānī’s *R. ‘alā’iyya fī al-ḥisāb*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex should be the copy now housed as TSMK A. 3119 (Karatay: A 7037).⁹
- [73] 3. *R. fī al-rub‘ al-dā’ira* (Treatise on the Circular Quadrant), 318 {3–4}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī’s *R. bīst bāb, Sī faṣl*, and *R. fī al-rub‘ al-mujayyab*. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2621.

MĪRİM ÇELEBĪ, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Qāḍizāde al-Rūmī (d. 1525)

- [74] 1. *Sharḥ-i Zīj-i Ulugh Beg* (Commentary on Ulugh Beg’s Astronomical Handbook of Tables), Persian, 1499, autograph, 315 {17–18}. See → Ulugh Beg, 1.2, Part I. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2697.

MUNAJJIM BĀLĪ (d. after 1481)

- [75] 1. *R. Tuḥfat al-faqīr fī rub‘ al-dā’ira* (Treatise of the Gift of the Impoverished on the Quadrant), Persian, 1481, autograph, 323 {19}. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2588.

AL-NĪSĀBŪRĪ, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn Nizām al-Dīn al-A’raj (d. ca. 1329–30)

See also al-Nīsābūrī in Part Two (*‘ilm al-hay’a*) and Part Three (*‘ilm al-ḥisāb*).

- [76] 1a. *Kashf-i ḥaqā’iq-i Zīj-i ilkhānī* (Uncovering of the Truths of the Ilkhānid Astronomical Handbook of Tables), Persian, 1308–9, autograph, 315 {19}–316 {1}. See → al-Ṭūsī, 6.3, Part I.
- [77] 1b. Same as preceding, 315 {13–14}.
- [78] 1c. Same as preceding, 315 {14–15}.
- [79] 1d. Same as preceding, 315 {15–16}.
- [80] 1e. Same as preceding, 315 {18–19}. MANUSCRIPT: This last book (1e) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2696.¹⁰

PTOLEMY (d. 170)

- [81] 1a. *K. al-Thamara li-Baṭlamyūs* (The Centiloquium or One Hundred Sayings), conventionally attributed to Ptolemy but likely written by a certain Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Miṣrī, Arabic, 190 {6}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī’s *Tarjama/Sharḥ al-Thamara* and other treatises. [Catalogued under *Kutub al-sīyar wa-al-tawārīkh*, etc.]
- [82] 1b. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *K. al-shajara wa-al-thamara fī aḥkām al-nujūm*], 322 {11}. Bound with *R. fī al-ḥisāb*.
- [83] 1c. Same as preceding, 324 {13}. Bound with *R. min qibal al-nujūm*, *R. fī aḥkām al-nujūm*, *R. al-wafq*, and *K. al-ṣibyān fī al-lughā*.
- [84] 1.1a. “*Sharḥ Thamara-i Baṭlamyūs*” (Commentary on the Centiloquium), 320 {17–18}.

- [85] 1.1b. Same as preceding, 322 {10}.
- [86] 1(i)a. [al-Ṭūsī] *Tarjama-i Thamarah-i Baṭlamyūs* (The Translation of the Centiloquium), Persian, 316 {18}. Bound with Kūshyār's *K. aḥkām al-nujūm*. See → al-Ṭūsī, 5, Part I.
- [87] 1(i)b. Same as preceding, 318 {18}.
- [88] 1(i)c. Same as preceding, 321 {8}. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1(i)c) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2695.
- [89] 1(i)d. Same as preceding, 322 {3}. Bound with Kūshyār's *Mujmal al-uṣūl*.
- [90] 1(i)e. Same as preceding, 190 {7}. Bound with (pseudo-Ptolemy's) *K. al-Thamara* and other treatises. [Catalogued under *Kutub al-siyar wa-al-tawārīkh*, etc.]

AL-QAṢRĀNĪ, Ya'qūb b. 'Alī (fl. likely ninth century)

- [91] 1a. *K. al-Masā'il* (Book of Interrogations), Arabic, 320 {14–15}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3492 (Karatay: A 7114).
- [92] 1b. Same as preceding, 320 {15}.
- [93] 1c. Same as preceding, 320 {16}.
- [94] 1d. Same as preceding, 320 {17}.

AL-QUNAWĪ, Muḥammad b. al-Kātib Sīnān (d. ca. 1523–24)

- [95] 1. *R. mūdīḥ al-awqāt fī ma'rifat al-muqanṭarāt* (Elucidator of Times on Understanding the Almucantars [Quadrant]), Arabic, 318 {7}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3481 (Karatay: A 7122).
- [96] 2. *R. tabyīn al-awqāt fī ma'rifat waq' al-rukhāmāt* (Treatise on Explanation of Times for Understanding the Setting up of Sundials), Arabic, 318 {12–13}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3501 (Karatay: A 7121).
- [97] 3. *Tarjama r. al-jayb* (Turkish Translation of a Treatise on the Sine Quadrant), Turkish, 316 {10}. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2594.
- [98] 4a. *Tarjama K. al-jadwal al-āfāqī* (Translation of [al-Khalīlī's] Table of Horizons), Turkish, 319 {1}. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2590. See → al-Khalīlī, 1(i).
- [99] 4b. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *Tarjama r. al-ṣafā'ih al-āfāqīyya*], 321 {4–5}.
- [100] 4c. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *Sharḥ al-ṣafā'ih al-āfāqīyya*], 318 {17}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3499 (Karatay: T 1618).
- [101] 5. *Tuḥfat al-fuqarā' fī rub' al-dā'ira* (The Gift of the Impoverished on the Quadrant of the Circle), Arabic, 318 {7–8}.

QUṢṬĀ B. LŪQĀ AL-BA'LABAKKĪ (d. ca. 912–13)

- [102] 1a. *K. fī al-'amal bi-al-kura [al-nujūmiyya]* (Book on Using the Celestial Globe), Arabic, 317 {16–17}. Bound with *R. fī al-farq bayn al-dāq wa-al-zā'* and other unspecified treatises.¹¹ EDITION: Richard Lorch and José Martínez Gázquez, "Qusta ben Luca: De sphere uolubili" [edition of its Latin translation], *Suhayl* 5 (2005): 9–62.
- [103] 1b. Same as preceding, 320 {1}. Bound with Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *K. fī ma'rifat al-uṣṭurlāb al-musaṭṭaḥ*, al-Šūfī's *K. fī al-'amal bi-al-kura*, al-Bīrūnī's *K. fī isti'āb al-wujūh*, an anonymous treatise on the astrolabe, and another anonymous treatise on using the spherical astrolabe. MANUSCRIPT: According to the Islamic Scientific Manuscript Initiative database (<https://ismi.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/>), this codex might be TSMK A. 3505 (Karatay: A 7046).¹²

- [104] 1c. Same as preceding, 320 {6}. Bound with an anonymous treatise on the spherical astrolabe, an anonymous treatise on the astrolabe, and *R. al-‘amal bi-al-rub‘ al-mawḍū‘ fīhi al-muqanṭarāt*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1c) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2638.
- [105] 1d. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *K. al-‘amal bi-al-kura fī al-nujūm*], 322 {17}. Bound with *R. fattāḥ fī al-inshā‘* and *R. al-‘adad bi-awḍā‘ al-aṣābi‘*.
- [106] 1e. Same as preceding, 319 {16}. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1e) should be the copy now housed as TSMK A. 3475 (Karatay: A 7040).
- [107] 1f. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *R. al-‘amal bi-al-kura al-falakiyya*], 324 {10–11}. Bound with *K. da‘āwā Uqlīdus*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1f) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2635.
- [108] 1g. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *R. al-kura al-falakiyya min qibal al-nujūm*], 326 {3}. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1g) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2633.
- [109] 1h. Same as preceding, 311 {3}. Bound with *Sharḥ Mīrak li-ḥikmat al-Hidāya*, *R. fī al-mūsīqī*, *K. fī ma‘rifat al-ghālīb wa-al-maghlūb*. [Catalogued under *kutub ‘ilm al-ta‘bīr*, etc.] MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2432, personal copy of Bayezid II.
- [110] 2a. *K. fī al-‘amal bi-al-kura dhāt al-kursī* (On the Use of the Mounted Celestial Sphere), Arabic, 320 {11–12}. Bound with five treatises on the use of the quadrant.
- [111] 2b. Same as preceding, Persian, 324 {5}. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (2b) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2631.

AL-QŪSHJĪ, Abū al-Qāsim ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad (d. 1474)

See also al-Qūshjī in Part Two (*‘ilm al-hay’a*) and Part Three (*‘ilm al-ḥisāb*).

- [112] 1a. *Sharḥ-i Zīj-i Ulugh Beg* (Commentary of Ulugh Beg’s Astronomical Handbook of Tables), Persian, 315 {16–17}. See → Ulugh Beg, 1.1, Part I.
- [113] 1b. Same as preceding, 316 {1–2}. MANUSCRIPT: One of these copies should be TSMK A. 3318.¹³

AL-RĀZĪ, Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭīb (d. 1210)

- [114] 1a. *Ikhtiyārāt al-aḥkām al-‘alā’iyya* (On the Selection of Propitious Times for Various Acts and Affairs), Arabic/Persian, 318 {1}.
- [115] 1b. Same as preceding, 318 {1–2}.
- [116] 1c. Same as preceding, language specified as Persian, 320 {8–9}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK R. 1705 (Karatay: F 228).
- [117] 1d. Same as preceding, 318 {11}. Bound with al-Sijzī’s *K. al-dalā’il fī aḥkām al-nujūm*.

AL-RĀZĪ, Shahmardān b. Abū al-Khayr (d. after 1072)

- [118] 1. *Rawḍat al-munajjimīn* (The Garden of Astrologers), Persian, 314 {3}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī’s *Zīj-i ilkhānī*, al-Shīrāzī’s *Fann Uqlīdus min K. durrat al-tāj*, Sayyid Munajjim’s *K. aḥkām al-a‘wām*, al-Bakrī’s *Burhān al-kifāya*, and *Tuhfat al-gharā’ib*. EDITION: *Rawzat al-munajjimīn*, ed. Khalīl Akhavan Zanjānī (Tehran: Mīrās-i Maktūb, 2003/2004).

IBN ABĪ AL-RIJĀL (d. after 1037)

- [119] 1. *K. al-Bārī‘* (Summa on Astrology), Arabic, 316 {17}. EDITION: Aly Aben Ragel, *El Libro conplido de los iudizios de las estrellas* (Spanish translation), ed. and trans. Gerold Hilty (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1954).

SAYYID MUNAJJIM (fl. first half of the fifteenth century)

- [120] 1. *K. aḥkām al-aʿwām* (General Astrological Judgments), Persian, 314 {5}. Bound with al-Rāzī's *Rawḍat al-munajjimīn*, al-Ṭūsī's *Zīj-i ilkhānī*, al-Shirāzī's *Fann Uqlīdus min K. durrat al-tāj*, al-Bakrī's *Burhān al-kifāya*, and *Tuḥfat al-gharāʾib*.

AL-SIJZĪ, Abū Saʿīd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl (d. ca. 1020)

- [121] 1. *K. al-dalāʾil fī aḥkām al-nujūm* (Book of the Signs in Astrological Judgments), Arabic, 318 {11–12}. Bound with al-Rāzī's *K. Ikhtiyārāt al-aḥkām al-ʿalāʾiyya*.
 [122] 2. *R. al-uṣṭurlāb al-zawraqī* (Treatise on Mariners' Astrolabe), Arabic, 322 {7–8}.

AL-ṢŪFĪ, Abū al-Ḥusayn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUmar (d. 986)

- [123] 1a. *K. ṣuwar al-burūj wa-al-kawākib fī al-nujūm* (Book of the Images of the Constellations and Fixed Stars), 326 {5–6}. EDITION: *Kitāb ṣuwar al-kawākib*, facs. ed. by Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1986).
 [124] 1b. Same as preceding, Persian, 321 {15–16}.
 [125] 1.1. "*Mukhtaṣar fī ṣuwar al-kawākib*," Persian, 321 {16–17}.
 [126] 1.2. [al-Ṭūsī] *Tarjama-i k. suwar al-kawākib*, Persian, 1250, autograph, 317 {3–4}. See → al-Ṭūsī, 4, Part I. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2595.
 [127] 2a. *K. al-ʿamal bi-al-uṣṭurlāb* (Book on the Use of the Astrolabe), Arabic, 317 {11}. Bound with Ḥamid b. ʿAlī al-Wāsiṭī's work on the use of the astrolabe. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3509 (Karatay: A 7045). EDITION: *Kitābān fī al-ʿamal bi-al-aṣṭurlāb* (Two Books on the Use of the Astrolabe), ed. Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1986). [Text 1: *Kitāb al-ʿamal bi-l-aṣṭurlāb* in 402 chapters, facsimile of TSMK A. 3509. Text 2: *Risāla fī l-ʿamal bi-l-aṣṭurlāb* in 170 chapters, facsimile of SK Ayasofya 2642.]
 [128] 2b. Same as preceding, 320 {12}. Bound with al-ʿUrḍī's work on using the sphere. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (2b) should be the copy now housed as TSMK A. 3491 (Karatay: A 7047).
 [129] 3. *K. fī al-ʿamal bi-al-kura* (Book on Using the Sphere), Arabic, 319 {18}. Bound with Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *K. fī maʾrifat al-uṣṭurlāb al-musaṭṭah*, Qusṭā b. Lūqā's *K. fī al-ʿamal bi-al-kura*, al-Birūnī's *K. fī istīʿāb al-wujūh*, an anonymous treatise on the astrolabe, and anonymous treatise on using the spherical astrolabe. MANUSCRIPT: According to the Islamic Scientific Manuscript Initiative database (<https://ismi.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/>), this codex might be TSMK A. 3505 (Karatay: A 7046).¹⁴

AL-ṬŪSĪ, Naṣīr al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. 1274)

See also al-Ṭūsī in Part Two (*ʿilm al-hayʿa*), Part Three (*ʿilm al-ḥisāb*), and Part Four (*ʿilm al-handasa*).

- [130] 1a. *R. Bīst bāb fī maʾrifat dar uṣṭurlāb* (Twenty Chapters on Understanding the Astrolabe), Persian, 318 {2}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī's *Sī faṣl*, al-Mizzī's *R. fī al-rubʿ al-dāʾira*, and *R. fī al-rubʿ al-mujayyab*. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2621. EDITION: *Risāla-i bīst bāb dar maʾrifat-i aṣṭurlāb*, ed. Mudarris Riḍavī and Muḥammad Taqī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tihirān, 1956).
 [131] 1b. Same as preceding, 322 {12–13}. Bound with *R. fī naẓm Rashīd al-Dīn al-Waṭwāt fī ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ*. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2620.
 [132] 1c. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *R. al-uṣṭurlāb*], 317 {7}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī's *Sī faṣl* and *Madkhal-i manẓūm*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1c) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2701.

- [133] 1d. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *Mukhtaşar fî ma'rifat al-uşṭurlāb*], 317 {15–16}. Bound with Book 7 of Qusṭā's *'Amal bi-al-kura, R. fî al-farq bayn al-ḡāḡ wa-al-zā'*, and other unspecified treatises.
- [134] 1.1a. "*Sharḥ-i bîst bâb fî ma'rifat al-uşṭurlāb*" (Commentary on Twenty Chapters), 317 {19}.
- [135] 1.1b. Same as preceding, 318 {8–9}. Bound with *R. fî kayfiyyat al-'amal bi-al-uşṭurlāb al-kurî*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1.1b) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2642.
- [136] 1.2. "*K. bîst bâb al-muḥashshā*" (Twenty Chapters with Glosses) 321 {17–18}.
- [137] 1.3. [Efezāde] *Sharḥ-i bîst bâb fî ma'rifat al-uşṭurlāb*, 321 {12}. See → Efezāde. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1.3) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2641.
- [138] 1.4. [al-Kūhistānī] *K. mi'yār-i āfitāb fî sharḥ-i bîst bâb* (The Scale of the Sun), Persian, 1490–91, 319 {5–6}. See → al-Kūhistānī. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2677.
- [139] 2a. *Madkhal-i manẓūm* (On the Propitious Hours for the Beginning of Various Undertakings [often attributed to al-Ṭūsī]), Persian, 317 {6}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī's *Sī faşl* and *R. al-uşṭurlāb*. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2701.
- [140] 2b. Same as preceding, 321 {2–3}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī's *Sī faşl* and other unspecified treatises.
- [141] 2c. Same as preceding, 148 {12}. Bound with *K. al-fiqh bi-al-fārisiyya al-manẓūma* and *Sharḥ al-Farrā' al-lāmiyya fî al-taşawwuf*. [Catalogued under *Kutub al-taşawwuf*, etc.]
- [142] 2d. Same as preceding, 227 {13–14}. Bound with *Qaşīdat Salmān al-muşanna'āt* and *Munsha'āt al-Wahīd al-Tabrīzī*. [Catalogued under *al-dawāwīn al-'arabiyya*, etc.]
- [143] 2e. Same as preceding, 363 {5–6}. Bound with *Tuḥfa-i shāhī fî ma'rifat al-uşṭurlāb*, *Sharḥ al-Namaṭ al-tāsi' min al-Ishārāt*, *R. fî al-raml*, and *Sharḥ al-qaşīda al-mansūba ilā Ibn Sīnā fî al-ḥikma*. [Catalogued under *kutub al-ḥikma al-islāmiyya*.]
- [144] 3a. *R. Sī faşl*, also known as *Mukhtaşar dar ma'rifat-i taqwīm* (Thirty Chapters on the Knowledge of the Almanacs), Persian, 1260, 316 {12}. Bound with al-Zanjānī's *R. al-kāfiya fî al-ḥisāb*. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2732. EDITION: *Muhtasar fî ilm el-tencim ve-ma'rifet el-takvim = Risale-i Sī faşl* (fourteenth-century Turkish translation of Ahmed-i Dai), ed. Tahir Nejat Gencan and Muammer Dizer (Istanbul : Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Kandilli Rasathanesi, 1984).
- [145] 3b. Same as preceding, 316 {14}. Bound with *K. al-hidāya fî al-ḥikma al-falsafiyya* and al-'Ubaydī's *Sharḥ k. al-Chaghminī*. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2474, personal copy of Bayezid II.
- [146] 3c. Same as preceding, 317 {6}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī's *Madkhal-i manẓūm* and *R. al-uşṭurlāb*. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2701.
- [147] 3d. Same as preceding, 318 {3}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī's *R. bîst bâb fî ma'rifat al-uşṭurlāb*, al-Mizzī's *R. fî al-rub' al-dā'ira*, and *R. fî al-rub' al-mujayyab*. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2621.
- [148] 3e. Same as preceding, 318 {10–11}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī's *Zubdat al-idrāk*.
- [149] 3f. Same as preceding, 321 {2}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī's *Madkhal-i manẓūm* and other unspecified treatises.
- [150] 3g. Same as preceding, language specified as Arabic, 321 {9}.
- [151] 3h. Same as preceding, 322 {14–15}. Bound with Suhrawardī's *K. al-alwāḥ al-'imādiyya fî al-ḥikma al-falsafiyya*.
- [152] 3i. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *Mukhtaşar fî ma'rifat al-taqwīm fî al-nujūm*], 321 {15}.
- [153] 3.1. [al-Khiṭābī] *Muwaḍḍih al-rusūm*, Persian, 1478, 319 {17–18}. See → al-Khiṭābī, 4. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2709.
- [154] 3.2a. "*Sharḥ-i Sī faşl*," 321 {8–9}.

- [155] 3.2b. Same as preceding, 323 {2–3}. Bound as the final text in a compilation, which has as its first text Ibn al-Haytham's *Ḥall shukūk fī K. al-Majisī*.
- [156] 3.2c. Same as preceding, language specified as Arabic, 323 {16}.
- [157] 3.2d. Same as preceding, language specified as Arabic, 323 {16–17}. MANUSCRIPT: One of the two codices (3.2c, 3.2d) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2664.¹⁵
- [158] 4. *Tarjama-i k. šuwar al-kawākib* (Translation of al-Šūfī's Star Catalogue), Persian, 1250, autograph, 317 {3–4}. See → al-Šūfī, 1.2. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2595.
- [159] 5a. *Tarjama-i Thamarah-i Baṭlamyūs* (The Translation of the Centiloquium), Persian, 316 {18}. Bound with Kūshyār's *K. aḥkām al-nujūm*. See → Ptolemy, 1.1. EDITION: *Sharḥ-i Thamarah-i Baṭlamyūs dar aḥkām-i nujūm*, ed. Khalil Akhavan Zanjanī (Tehran: Āyina-i Mirās, 1999).
- [160] 5b. Same as preceding, 318 {18}.
- [161] 5c. Same as preceding, 321 {8}. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (5c) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2695.
- [162] 5d. Same as preceding, 322 {3}. Bound with Kūshyār's *Mujmal al-uṣūl*.
- [163] 5e. Same as preceding, 190 {7}. Bound with (pseudo-Ptolemy's) *K. al-Thamara* and other treatises. [Catalogued under *Kutub al-sīyar wa-al-tawārīkh*, etc.]
- [164] 6a. *Zīj-i ilkhānī* (Ilkhanid Astronomical Handbook of Tables), Persian, autograph, 313 {19}–314 {1}. EDITION: *Zīj-i ilkhānī*, facs. ed. of the Persian manuscript (Kitābkānah-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī), ed. Yūsuf Bayg Bābāpūr and Mas'ūd Ghulāmīyah (Tehran: Majma'-i Zakhā'ir-i Islāmī, 2012).
- [165] 6b. Same as preceding, 313 {16}. Bound with *K. athmār wa ashjār*. See → al-Bukhārī, Part I. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3513 (Karatay: F 231).
- [166] 6c. Same as preceding, 313 {18}.
- [167] 6d. Same as preceding, 313 {18}.
- [168] 6e. Same as preceding, 314 {3–4}. Bound with al-Rāzī's *Rawḍat al-munajjimīn*, al-Shīrāzī's *Fann Uqlīdus min K. durrat al-tāj*, al-Bakrī's *Burhān al-kifāya*, Sayyid Munajjim's *K. aḥkām al-a'wām*, and *Tuḥfat al-gharā'ib*.
- [169] 6.1. "*Sharḥ-i zīj-i ilkhānī*," 315 {18}.
- [170] 6.2a. [al-Kāshī] *Zīj-i khāqānī fī takmil-i zīj-i ilkhānī* (Astronomical Tables for the Great Khan [prepared for consummating Tūsī's Tables]), Persian, 1413–14, 313 {14–15}. See → al-Kāshī, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, Part I.
- [171] 6.2b. Same as preceding, 314 {6–7}. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2692.
- [172] 6.3a. [al-Nisābūrī] *Kashf-i ḥaqā'iq-i Zīj-i ilkhānī* (Uncovering of the Truths of the Ilkhanid Astronomical Handbook of Tables), Persian, 1308–9, autograph, 315 {19}–316 {1}. See → al-Nisābūrī, Part I.
- [173] 6.3b. Same as preceding, 315 {13–14}.
- [174] 6.3c. Same as preceding, 315 {14–15}.
- [175] 6.3d. Same as preceding, 315 {15–16}.
- [176] 6.3e. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *Sharḥ Zīj ilkhānī al-musammā bi-kashf-i zīj-i ilkhānī*], 315 {18–19}. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (6.3e) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2696.¹⁶

AL-ṬŪSĪ, Sharaf al-Dīn Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar (d. 1213)

- [177] 1. *K. fī ma'rīfat al-uṣṭurlāb al-musaṭṭaḥ* (Book about the Knowledge of the Flat Astrolabe), 319 {18–19}. Bound with Qusṭā b. Lūqā's *K. fī al-'amal bi-al-kura*, al-Šūfī's *K. fī al-'amal bi-al-kura*, al-Birūnī's *K. fī isti'āb al-wujūh*, an anonymous treatise on the astrolabe, and an anonymous

treatise on using the spherical astrolabe. MANUSCRIPT: According to the Islamic Scientific Manuscript Initiative database (<https://ismi.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/>), this codex might be TSMK A. 3505 (Karatay: A 7046).¹⁷

ULUGH BEG, Muḥammad Ṭaraghāy b. Shāhrukh b. Tīmūr (d. 1449)

- [178] 1a. *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg* (Astronomical Handbook of Tables of Ulugh Beg), Persian, 313 {15}. MANUSCRIPT: SK Hamidiye 844. EDITION: *Uluğ Beğ'in Astronomi Cetvelleri = Zic-i Uluğ Bey*, facs. ed. and Turkish trans. Mustafa Kaçar and Atilla Bir, 2 vols. (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2012).
- [179] 1b. Same as preceding, 313 {17}.
- [180] 1c. Same as preceding, 313 {18–19}.
- [181] 1d. Same as preceding, 314 {2}.
- [182] 1e. Same as preceding, 314 {7}.
- [183] 1.1a. [‘Alī al-Qūshjī] *Sharḥ-i Zīj-i Ulugh Beg* (Commentary on Ulugh Beg’s Astronomical Handbook of Tables), Persian, 315 {16–17}. See → ‘Alī al-Qūshjī, Part I.
- [184] 1.1b. Same as preceding, 316 {1–2}.
- [185] 1.2. [Mīrim Çelebī] *Sharḥ-i Zīj-i Ulugh Beg* (Commentary of Ulugh Beg’s Astronomical Handbook of Tables), Persian, 1499, autograph, 315 {17–18}. See → Mīrim Çelebī. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2697.

AL-‘URDĪ, Mu‘ayyad al-Dīn al-‘Āmirī al-Dimashqī (d. ca. 1266)

- [186] 1. *R. al-‘amal bi-al-kura [al-kāmila]* (Treatise on Using the Sphere), Arabic, 320 {13}. Bound with al-Şūfī’s *K. al-‘amal bi-al-uşṭurlāb*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex should be the copy now housed as TSMK A. 3491 (Karatay: A 7047).
- [187] 2a. *R. fī kayfiyyat al-arşād* (Treatise on the Method of Observations), Arabic, 1262–74, 323 {3}. Bound in a miscellaneous volume containing *R. fī kayfiyyat ‘amal ālāt al-raşad wa-kayfiyyat isti‘mālīhā*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (2a) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2673. EDITION: Sevim Tekeli, “Al-Urdī’nin ‘Risalet-ün fī Keyfiyet-il-Ersad’ Adlı Makalesi,” *Araştırma* 8 (1970): 1–169.
- [188] 2b. Same as preceding, Arabic, 329 {12}. Bound with Ibn al-Haytham’s commentary on Ptolemy’s *Almagest* and another commentary on the same work. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3329 (Karatay: A 7140).
- [189] 2c. Same as preceding, 118 {17–18}. Bound with *R. al-uşṭurlāb*, *R. al-‘amal bi-dhāt al-ḥalaq*, and al-Qāshānī’s *K. al-işṭilāḥāt fī al-taşawwuf*. [Catalogued under *Kutub al-taşawwuf*, etc.]

AL-WĀSITĪ, ḤĀMID B. ‘ALĪ (fl. ca. 950)

- [190] 1. *R. fī al-‘amal bi-al-uşṭurlāb al-kurī* (Treatise on Using the Spherical Astrolabe), 317 {11–13}. Bound with al-Şūfī’s *K. al-‘amal bi-al-uşṭurlāb*. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3509 (Karatay: A 7045). EDITION: *Kitābān fī al-‘amal bi-al-aşṭurlāb* (Two Books on the Use of the Astrolabe), ed. Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1986). [Text 1: *Kitāb al-‘amal bi-l-aşṭurlāb* in 402 chapters, facsimile of TSMK A. 3509. Text 2: *Risāla fī l-‘amal bi-l-aşṭurlāb* in 170 chapters, facsimile of SK Ayasofya 2642.]

ANONYMOUS/UNIDENTIFIED AUTHORS

- [191] 1. *K. zīj* (Book of Astronomical Handbook of Tables), 314 {2}. Bound with a treatise on how to calculate the ascendant.

- [192] 2. *R. fī al-ṭālī' wa-aḥkām al-nujūm* (Treatise on the Ascendant and Astrological Judgments), 314 {2–3}. Bound with an anonymous *zīj*.
- [193] 3. *K. ṭālī' al-waqt* (Book on Calculating the Ascendant of the Time), 316 {19}–317 {1}. Bound with an anonymous treatise on geomancy and Kūshyār's *Mujmal al-uṣūl*.
- [194] 4a. *Ṭālī'-i wilādat-i Meḥammed Khān b. Murād Khān* (The Birth Horoscope of Mehmed II, son of Murad II), Persian, 1451, 321 {9–11}. MANUSCRIPT: Beyazıt Library Beyazıt 4619.¹⁸
- [195] 4b. "*R. fī wilādat-i Sulṭān Meḥammed Khān b. Sulṭān Murād Khān*," 323 {12–13}.
- [196] 5. *R. wilādat-i Cem b. Meḥammed Khān* (The Birth Horoscope of Cem Sultan, son of Sultan Mehmed II), 317 {4–5}.
- [197] 6. *R. ṭālī'-i Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān* (The Horoscope of Sultan Bayezid II), 27 {2–3}. Bound with *R. fī al-handasa* and *R. fī al-tafsīr*. [Catalogued under *Kutub al-tafsīr wa-kutub 'ilm al-qirā'a*.]
- [198] 7. *R. wilādat-i Shāh-zādah-i a'ẓam-i Meḥammed b. Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān* (The Birth Horoscope of the Great Prince Mehmed, son of Sultan Bayezid II), 321 {5–7}.
- [199] 8. *aḥkām al-mawālīd* (Treatise on the Judgments of the Births), 160 {8–9}. Bound with *Sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar fī 'ilm al-tashrīḥ min qibal al-ṭibb*. [Catalogued under *al-Kutub al-ṭibbiyya*.]
- [200] 9a. *R. fī aḥkām al-nujūm* (Treatise on the Judgments of the Stars), 323 {7}. Bound with *R. fī 'amal al-uṣṭurlāb* and other treatises. MANUSCRIPT: This particular book (9a) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2672.¹⁹
- [201] 9b. Same as preceding, language specified as Persian, 322 {9–10}.
- [202] 9c. Same as preceding, 324 {13}. Bound with *R. min qibal al-nujūm*, *K. al-shajara wa-al-thamara*, *R. al-wafq*, and *K. al-ṣibyān fī al-lugha*.
- [203] 9d. "*R. fī 'ilm aḥkām al-nujūm*," 324 {16}. Bound with Ibn Sīnā's *K. fī al-manṭiq wa-al-ḥikma al-falsafiyya*, al-Ṭūsī's *Zubdat al-idrāk*, and several other texts.
- [204] 10. *al-Mukhtār min kutub al-ikhtiyārāt al-falakiyya* (Compilation on the Selection of the Propitious Times for Various Acts and Affairs), Arabic, 316 {15–16}.
- [205] 11. *Mujmal al-ikhtiyārāt* (Epitome of the Elections), 318 {10}.
- [206] 12. *Bustān al-ḥikma fī ikhtiyārāt al-nujūm* (The Garden of Wisdom on Astrological Elections), 320 {9–10}.
- [207] 13. *K. al-ikhtiyārāt bi-al-'arabiyya al-manẓūma fī aḥkām al-nujūm* (Book on Elections in Verse), Arabic, 320 {18–19}.
- [208] 14. *K. uṣūl al-malāḥim* (Book on the Principles of Weather Prognostications), 317 {1–2}. Bound with Kūshyār's *Mujmal al-uṣūl*.
- [209] 15. *K. al-malḥama al-turkiyya min qibal al-nujūm* (The Book of Weather Prognostications), Turkish, 98 {18}. Bound with Quṭb al-Dīnzāde's *Muqaddima*, *Dīwān 'Āshiq*, *Gulshan-i Rāz*, *Khurshīdnāma*, and *Khusraw u shūrīn*. [Catalogued under *Kutub al-fiqh wa-kutub manāqib al-a'imma*.]
- [210] 16. *R. malḥamat al-sana allati allafahā Dhū-al-Qarnayn fī aḥkām al-sana min qibal al-nujūm* (Treatise on Annual Weather Prognostications Attributed to Dhū-al-Qarnayn [Alexander the Great]), 132 {10–11}. Bound with *K. al-fanā' fī al-mushāhada*, *K. al-qism al-ilāhī*, *K. inshā' al-jadāwil*, *R. al-amr al-marbūṭ*, *K. al-'aẓama*, *K. maqam al-qurba*, *K. mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, *R. fī sharḥ al-alfāz*, *K. al-yā'*, *K. fī sharḥ al-asmā' al-ḥusnā*, *K. ḥilyat al-abdāl*, *K. al-tadbīrāt al-ilāhiyya*, *R. ashkāl dawā'ir al-'awālīm*, and some of the treatises of Muḥyī al-Dīn al-'Arabī on Sufism. [Catalogued under *Kutub al-taṣawwuf wa-kutub al-naṣā'ih*, etc.]
- [211] 17a. *R. fī samt al-qibla* (Treatise on the Azimuth of the Qibla), 313 {13}.
- [212] 17b. Same as preceding, 323 {9}.

- [213] 17c. Same as preceding, 85 {19}. Bound with al-Qaramānī's *Hāshiyat Şadr al-Sharī'a*. [Catalogued under *Kutub al-fiqh wa-kutub manāqib al-a'imma*.]
- [214] 18a. *R. al-uşṭurlāb* (Treatise on the Astrolabe), 118 {17}. Bound with *R. ma'rifat kayfiyyat al-irşād*, *R. al-'amal bi-dhāt al-ḥalaq*, and al-Qāshānī's *K. al-işṭilāḥāt fī al-taşawwuf*. [Catalogued under *Kutub al-taşawwuf wa-kutub al-naşā'ih*, etc.]
- [215] 18b. Same as preceding, 317 {8–9}. Bound with *K. arba' maqālāt fī aḥkām al-nujūm*.
- [216] 18c. Same as preceding, 320 {1}. Bound with Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *K. fī ma'rifat al-uşṭurlāb al-musaṭṭah*, al-Şūfī's *K. fī al-'amal bi-al-kura*, Qusṭā b. Lūqā's *K. fī al-'amal bi-al-kura*, al-Birūnī's *K. fī isti'āb al-wujūh*, and an anonymous treatise on the spherical astrolabe. MANUSCRIPT: According to the Islamic Scientific Manuscript Initiative database (<https://ismi.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/>), this codex might be TSMK A. 3505 (Karatay: A 7046).²⁰
- [217] 18d. Same as preceding, 320 {7}. Bound with Qusṭā b. Lūqā's *R. al-'amal bi-al-kura al-falakiyya*, an anonymous treatise on the spherical astrolabe, and *R. al-'amal bi-al-rub' al-mawḍū' fīhi al-muqanṭarāt*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (18d) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2638.
- [218] 18e. Same as preceding, language specified as Persian, 321 {14}.
- [219] 18f. "*R. fī 'ilm al-uşṭurlāb*," language specified as Arabic, 322 {1–2}.
- [220] 18g. "*R. al-'amal al-uşṭurlāb*," 323 {7}. Bound with *R. fī aḥkām al-nujūm* and other treatises.
- [221] 18h. "*K. fī al-uşṭurlāb fī 'ilm al-nujūm*," 62 {15}. Bound with *K. anwār al-aḥkār fī al-ḥikma al-falsafiyya*, *Sharḥ khuṭba Ibn Sīnā*, al-Ghazālī's *K. tahāfut al-falāsifa*, *K. lawāmi' al-bayyināt fī sharḥ al-asmā' wa-al-şifāt*. [Catalogued under *kutub 'ilm uşul al-dīn*.]
- [222] 19a. *R. fī kayfiyyat al-'amal bi-al-uşṭurlāb al-kurī* (Treatise on Using the Spherical Astrolabe), 318 {9}. Bound with an anonymous commentary of al-Ṭūsī's *Bist bāb*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (19a) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2642. EDITION: *Kitābān fī al-'amal bi-al-aşṭurlāb* (Two Books on the Use of the Astrolabe), ed. Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1986). [Text 1: *Kitāb al-'amal bi-l-aşṭurlāb* in 402 chapters, facsimile of TSMK A. 3509. Text 2: *Risāla fī l-'amal bi-l-aşṭurlāb* in 170 chapters, facsimile of SK Ayasofya 2642.]
- [223] 19b. Same as preceding, 319 {15}.
- [224] 19c. "*K. fī al-'amal bi-al-uşṭurlāb al-kurī*," 319 {19}. Bound with Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *K. fī ma'rifat al-uşṭurlāb al-musaṭṭah*, al-Şūfī's *K. fī al-'amal bi-al-kura*, Qusṭā b. Lūqā's *K. fī al-'amal bi-al-kura*, al-Birūnī's *K. fī isti'āb al-wujūh*, and an anonymous treatise on the astrolabe. MANUSCRIPT: According to the Islamic Scientific Manuscript Initiative database (<https://ismi.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/>), this codex is probably TSMK A. 3505 (Karatay: A 7046).²¹
- [225] 19d. "*R. al-uşṭurlāb al-kurī*," 320 {7}. Bound with Qusṭā b. Lūqā's *R. al-'amal bi-al-kura al-falakiyya*, an anonymous treatise on the astrolabe, and *R. al-'amal bi-al-rub' al-mawḍū' fīhi al-muqanṭarāt*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (19d) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2638.
- [226] 20. *R. al-M. al-ḥādī 'ashara fī 'amal al-uşṭurlāb*, 322 {15–16}.
- [227] 21. *Tuḥfa-i shāhī fī ma'rifat al-uşṭurlāb* (Royal Gift on the Knowledge of the Astrolabe), Persian, 363 {5}. Bound with *Sharḥ al-Namaṭ al-tāsi' min al-Ishārāt*, *R. fī al-raml*, al-Ṭūsī's *Madkhal-i manẓūm*, *Sharḥ al-qaşida al-mansūba ilā Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikma*. [Catalogued under *kutub al-ḥikma al-islāmiyya*.]
- [228] 22. *R. al-uşṭurlāb al-musammā bi-al-Lubāb fī al-nujūm* (Treatise on the Astrolabe, entitled The Quintessence on [the Knowledge about] the Astrolabe), Persian, 320 {3}. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2618, personal copy of Bayezid II.

- [229] 23a. *R. fī al-rubʿ al-mujayyab* (Treatise on the Sinical Quadrant), 318 {3}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī's *R. bīst bāb*, *Sī faṣl*, and al-Mizzī's *R. fī al-rubʿ al-dāʾira*. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2621.
- [230] 23b. Same as preceding, language specified as Arabic, 255 {11}. Bound with *Nazm al-farāʾid fī al-fiqh* and *R. fī maʾrifat ṣafḥat al-muqanṭarāt*. [Catalogued under *al-dawāwīn al-fārisiyya*.]
- [231] 24. *R. fī ʿamal al-ṣafḥa* (Epistle on the Operation of the Tympan), 321 {4}. Bound in a volume containing *R. al-ʿamal [bi-] al-uṣṭurlāb* attributed to Kūshyār and other treatises. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2671.²²
- [232] 25. *Jadwal [...] ṭabʿah burjahā* (Table Showing the Qualities of Zodiac Signs), 322 {4–5}. Bound in a miscellaneous compilation of tables.
- [233] 26. *R. maʾrifat al-irtifāʿ bi-ghayr al-uṣṭurlāb* (Treatise on Calculating the Altitude without Using the Astrolabe), Persian, 320 {5–6}. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2627.
- [234] 27. *R. al-ʿamal bi-al-rubʿ al-mawḍūʿ fīhi al-muqanṭarāt* (Treatise on the Use of Almucantar), 320 {7–8}. Bound with Quṣṭā b. Lūqā's *R. al-ʿamal bi-al-kura al-falakīyya*, an anonymous treatise on the spherical astrolabe, and an anonymous treatise on the astrolabe. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (27) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2638.
- [235] 28. *Khams rasāʾil fī al-ʿamal bi-al-rubʿ* (Five Treatises on the Use of the Quadrant), 320 {11}. Bound with Quṣṭā b. Lūqā's *R. fī al-ʿamal bi-al-kura dhāt al-kursī*.
- [236] 29. *R. baḥṭh aẓlāl al-maqāyīs min qibal al-nujūm* (The Measure of Shadows), 321 {13}.
- [237] 30. *K. al-azmān wa-al-shuhūr* (The Book of Epochs and Months), 321 {13–14}.
- [238] 31. *R. fī al-ʿamal bi-ashal āla* (A Short Work on the Operation of the Easiest Instrument Having to Do with the Planets), Persian, 1481–1512, 321 {19}. MANUSCRIPT: Princeton University Garrett Collection 75 [44b]. EDITION: E. S. Kennedy, *The Planetary Equatorium of Jamshīd Ghīyāth al-Dīn al-Kāshī* (d. 1429), *An Edition of the Anonymous Persian Manuscript 75 [44b] in the Garrett Collection at Princeton University* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960).
- [239] 32. *K. jadāwil al-tawārikh wa-al-nujūm* (Tables on Chronology and [Position of the] Stars), 322 {1}.
- [240] 33. *Muntakhab k. anwār al-jawāhīr fī manāzil al-Qamar* (Selections from the Book of the Illuminations of Jewels regarding the Lunar Mansions), 322 {17–18}. Bound with *R. al-wafq* and *R. mukātabāt al-Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī maʿa al-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī*.
- [241] 34. *Majmūʿa min rasāʾil fī al-rubʿ* (Collection of Treatises on the Quadrant), 323 {1}.
- [242] 35. *R. fī al-daraj wa-al-daqaʾiq fī al-nujūm* (Treatise on Degrees and Minutes), 323 {10}. Bound with *R. fī al-hayʿa* and *R. fī al-ḥisāb*.
- [243] 36. *R. ʿalā ṭarīq al-suʾāl wa-al-jawāb fī al-nujūm* (Treatise on [the science of] the Stars through Questions and Answers), 323 {14–15}. Bound with *K. al-mīʿa wa-al-ʾishrīn fī ḥisāb al-ḍarb* and other treatises.
- [244] 37. *R. fī al-ālat al-nujūmiyya al-ghayr al-mashhūra* (Treatise on a Little-Known Astronomical Instrument), Arabic, 323 {17}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3487 (Karatay: A 7124).
- [245] 38. *K. jadwal ʿuyyina fīhi shuhūr al-kabīsa al-qamariyya bi-sinīhā* (Book of Tables in which Leap Years are Designated According to the Lunar Calendar), 324 {1}.
- [246] 39. *R. fī al-ʿamal bi-al-basīṭa al-ẓilliyya* (Treatise on the Use of the Instrument Measuring Shadows), 324 {2}.
- [247] 40. *R. min qibal al-nujūm* (Treatise regarding [the science of] the Stars), 324 {12}. Bound with *R. fī aḥkām al-nujūm*, *K. al-shajara wa-al-thamara*, *R. al-wafq*, and *K. al-ṣibyān fī al-lughā*.
- [248] 41a. *R. al-ʿamal bi-dhāt al-ḥalaq* (Book on the Use of the Armillary Sphere), 328 {12}.

- [249] 41b. Same as preceding, 118 {17–18}. Bound with *R. al-uşurlāb*, *R. ma'rifat kayfiyyat al-irşād*, and al-Qāshānī's *K. al-iştilāhāt fi al-taşawwuf*. [Catalogued under *Kutub al-taşawwuf wa-kutub al-naşā'ih*, etc.]
- [250] 42. *R. fi kayfiyyat 'amal ālāt al-raşad wa-kayfiyyat isti'mālihā* (Treatise on the Use of Instruments for Celestial Observation), 323 {3–4}. Bound in a miscellaneous volume containing al-'Urđī's *R. fi kayfiyyat al-arşād*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (42) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2673.
- [251] 43. *al-Qaşīdat al-gharrā' fi ḥarakāt al-aflāk* (The Splendid Qasida on the Movements of the Orbs), Arabic, 331 {7}. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2666.
- [252] 43.1 *Sharḥ al-Qaşīdat al-gharrā'*, 331 {6}.
- [253] 44. *R. fāl al-kawākib* (Treatise on Fortune-Telling Based on the Stars), 135 {12}. Bound with *K. ḥaqq al-yaqīn fi al-taşawwuf*, *K. gulshan-i rāz*, *K. kanz al-rumūz*, *Qaşīdat Firdawsī*, *K. jam' mukhtaşar fi 'ilm al-arūd*, *K. fi al-şalāt*, *K. maqşad al-Aqşā fi al-taşawwuf*, and *arba' rasā'il*. [Catalogued under *kutub al-taşawwuf*, etc.]
- [254] 45. *K. fīmā yahtāju ilayhi al-mutaṭabbib min 'ilm al-nujūm fi al-ṭibb* (Book on what the Physician Needs to Know about the Science of the Stars), 153 {6}. Bound with Hippocrates's *K. al-fuṣūl*, Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā's *K. fi al-qūlanj*, *K. al-lu'lu'at fi tadbīr al-şihḥa*, *K. al-khadar wa-sab'at 'ashar*. [Catalogued under *al-kutub al-ṭibbiyya*.]
- [255] 46. *R. fi ma'rifat şafiḥat al-muqanṭarāt* (Epistle on the Knowledge of the Plate of Almucantar), Persian, 255 {10–11}. Bound with *Nazm al-farā'id fi al-fiqh* and *R. al-rub' al-mujayyab*. [Catalogued under *al-dawāwīn al-fārisiyya*.]
- [256] 47. *R. al-manzūma fi al-aḥwāl al-falakiyya min qibal al-nujūm* (Treatise in Verse on Celestial Influences), Persian, 257 {13–14}. Bound with *R. manzūma fi awşāfal-azhār*. [Catalogued under *al-Dawāwīn al-fārisiyya*.]
- [257] 48. *R. fi aḥkām al-khusūf wa-al-kusūf al-manzūma* (Treatise in Verse on the Decrees of the Solar and Lunar Eclipse), language specified as Turkish, 263 {5}. [Catalogued under *al-dawāwīn al-turkiyya*, etc.]
- [258] 49. *R. jadāwil al-tawāriḫ wa-ikhtiyārāt al-a'māl bi-ḥisāb ittişālāt al-qamar* (Tables of Chronology and Elections on the Basis of the Moon's Positions vis-à-vis Other Planets), 310 {9–10}. Bound in a volume that contains *Thalāth maqālāt min K. Ayran fi raf' al-ashyā' al-thaqila*, *R. al-dawā'ir al-mutaḥarrika min dhawātihā*, *R. 'amal al-sā'āt allatī tarmī bi-al-banādiq*, *K. al-qirānāt wa-ittişālāt al-kawākib*. [Catalogued under *kutub 'ilm al-ta'bīr*, etc.]
- [259] 50. *K. al-qirānāt wa-ittişālāt al-kawākib* (Book of Conjunctions and Stellar Aspects), 310 {10–11}. Bound in a volume that contains *Thalāth maqālāt min K. Ayran fi raf' al-ashyā' al-thaqila*, *R. al-dawā'ir al-mutaḥarrika min dhawātihā*, *R. 'amal al-sā'āt allatī tarmī bi-al-banādiq*, *R. jadāwil al-tawāriḫ wa-ikhtiyārāt al-a'māl bi-ḥisāb ittişālāt al-qamar*. [Catalogued under *kutub 'ilm al-ta'bīr*, etc.]
- [260] *R. jihād al-mulūk 'alā ṭarīqat aḥkām al-nujūm*, 311 {6–7}. Bound with *al-Durr al-maṭlūb fi sirr al-ghālib wa-al-maḡhlūb* and *R. fi al-kharazāt al-khams min al-jafr*. [Catalogued under *kutub 'ilm al-ta'bīr*, etc.]

PART TWO

The Science of the Configuration [of the Heavens] (*‘ilm al-hay’a*)

AL-ALĀNĪ, Yūsuf b. Mubārak (d. after 1334)

- [261] 1. *Turar al-mulakhkhaṣ fī al-hay’a* (Commentary of Chaghmīnī’s *Mulakhkhaṣ*), Arabic, 1335, 330 {18–19}. See → al-Chaghmīnī, 1.3. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3308 (Karatay: A 7060).

AL-ANDIQĀNĪ, Muḥammad b. ‘Umar (fl. fourteenth century)

- [262] 1. *Tarjamat Chaghmīnī bi-al-fārisiyya fī ‘ilm al-hay’a* (Persian Translation of Chaghmīnī’s *Mulakhkhaṣ*, Persian, 326 {19}. See → al-Chaghmīnī, 1(i). MANUSCRIPT: This codex should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2592.²³

AL-BIṬRŪJĪ, Nūr al-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf (d. 1185)

- [263] 1a. *K. [murta‘ish] fī al-hay’a* (Book of Trembling on Hay’a) [catalogued in the inventory as *K. ‘ajīb fī al-hay’a*], Arabic, 332 {14}. Bound with other anonymous treatises. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3302 (Karatay: A7055). EDITION: Biṭrūjī, *On the Principles of Astronomy: An Edition of the Arabic and Hebrew Versions with Translation, Analysis, and an Arabic-Hebrew-English Glossary*, ed. Bernard Goldstein (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971).
- [264] 1b. Same as preceding, 332 {15}. Bound with other anonymous treatises.

AL-BUKHĀRĪ, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm b. Mubārakshāh Shams al-Dīn Mīrak (d. 1340)

- [265] 1a. *Sharḥ al-Tabṣira* (Commentary of al-Kharaqī’s *Tabṣira*), Arabic, autograph, 328 {8–9}. See → al-Kharaqī, 1.1. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2582.
- [266] 1b. Same as preceding, bound with 1a.

AL-CHAGHMĪNĪ, Sharaf al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar (fl. first half of the thirteenth c.)

- [267] 1a. *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī al-hay’a al-basīṭa* (Epitome of Plain Theoretical Astronomy), Arabic, 61 {12–13}. Bound with al-Khayālī’s *K. ḥāshiyat sharḥ al-‘aqā’id*. [Catalogued under *Kutub ‘ilm uṣūl al-dīn*.] EDITION: Sally P. Ragep, *Jaghmīnī’s Mulakhkhaṣ: An Islamic Introduction to Ptolemaic Astronomy* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 2016).
- [268] 1b. Same as preceding, 328 {10–11}. MANUSCRIPT: One of these two (1a and 1b) should be TSMK A. 3352 (Karatay 8744).
- [269] 1c. Same as preceding, 328 {11}. MANUSCRIPT: These two codices (1b and 1c) may be the copies now housed as SK Ayasofya 2679 and TSMK A. 3352 (Karatay 8744).
- [270] 1d. Same as preceding, 327 {10}. Bound with *Matn ādāb al-baḥṭh fī ‘ilm al-jadal*.
- [271] 1e. Same as preceding, 331 {4}. Bound with al-Jurjānī’s *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ*. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK, A. 3296 (Karatay: A 7057).
- [272] 1(i). [al-Andiqānī.] *Tarjamat Chaghmīnī bi-al-fārisiyya fī ‘ilm al-hay’a*, Persian, 326 {19}. See → al-Andiqānī. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1(i)) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2592.²⁴
- [273] 1(ii). [Ḥamza b. Ḥājj b. Sulaymān.] Same as preceding, Persian, 327 {8}. Bound with an anonymous Persian commentary of al-Chaghmīnī’s *Mulakhkhaṣ*. See → Ḥamza b. Ḥājj Sulaymān. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1(ii)) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2593.
- [274] 1.1a. [al-Jurjānī.] *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ*, Arabic, 331 {4–5}. Bound with al-Chaghmīnī’s *al-Mulakhkhaṣ*. See → al-Jurjānī, 1, Part II.

- [275] 1.1b. Same as preceding, 326 {8}. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1.1b) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2651.
- [276] 1.1c. Same as preceding, 327 {7–8}.
- [277] 1.1d. Same as preceding, 328 {3}. MANUSCRIPT: One of the two codices (1.1c, 1.1d) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2653.
- [278] 1.1e. Same as preceding, 328 {4}. Bound with al-Jurjānī's *Ḥāshiyat sharḥ al-Ṭawālī'* (Supercommentary on al-Bayḍāwī's Rising Light from Far Horizons).
- [279] 1.1f. Same as preceding, 328 {15–16}. Bound with al-Turkmānī's commentary on al-Chaghmīnī's *Mulakkhkhaṣ*.
- [280] 1.1g. Same as preceding, 329 {3}. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1.1g) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2654.
- [281] 1.1h. Same as preceding, 330 {19}–331 {1}.
- [282] 1.1(i). Turkish translation of al-Jurjānī's *Sharḥ al-Mulakkhkhaṣ*, 329 {6}.
- [283] 1.2a. [Qāḍizāde al-Rūmī.] *Sharḥ al-Mulakkhkhaṣ*, Arabic, 1412, 328 {1–2}. Bound with *K. fī al-hay'a*. See → Qāḍizāde al-Rūmī, Part II.
- [284] 1.2b. Same as preceding, 328 {2}.
- [285] 1.2c. Same as preceding, 328 {12–13}.
- [286] 1.2d. Same as preceding, 328 {13–14}. Bound with *R. al-ishq bi-al-fārisīyya* and al-Nisābūrī's *R. al-Shamsīyya*. MANUSCRIPT: This (1.2d) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2659.
- [287] 1.2e. Same as preceding, 329 {2}.
- [288] 1.2f. Same as preceding, 329 {16–17}.
- [289] 1.2g. Same as preceding, 330 {10–11}. Bound with miscellaneous treatises.
- [290] 1.2h. Same as preceding, 330 {14–15}.
- [291] 1.2i. Same as preceding, 330 {16}.
- [292] 1.2j. Same as preceding, 332 {6–7}. Bound with Qāḍizāde al-Rūmī's *Sharḥ Ashkāl al-ta'sīs*.
- [293] 1.2.1. [al-Niksāri.] *Ḥāshiyat sharḥ al-Chaghmīnī*, Arabic, 326 {15–16}. See → al-Niksāri. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2656.
- [294] 1.2.2. [al-Shirwānī.] *Ḥāshiyat sharḥ Qāḍizāde li-l-Chaghmīnī*, 329 {1–2}. See → al-Shirwānī, Part II. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3294 (Karatay: A 7077).²⁵
- [295] 1.2.3. [Sinān Pasha.] *Ḥāshiyat sharḥ Qāḍizāde li-l-Chaghmīnī*, 330 {15}. See → Sinān Pasha. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3299 (Karatay: A 7074).²⁶
- [296] 1.3. [al-Alānī.] *Ṭurar al-mulakkhkhaṣ fī al-hay'a*, Arabic, 1334, 330 {18–19}. See → al-Alānī. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3308 (Karatay: A 7060).
- [297] 1.4a. [al-'Ubaydī.] *Sharḥ al-mulakkhkhaṣ*, Arabic, 327 {3–4}. Bound with al-'Ubaydī's *Bayān al-Tadhkira*. See → al-'Ubaydī. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3325 (Karatay: A 7058).
- [298] 1.4b. Same as preceding, 316 {13}. Bound with *K. al-hidāya fī al-ḥikma* and al-Ṭūsī's *Sī faṣl*. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2474.
- [299] 1.5 [al-Turkmānī.] *Sharḥ k. al-Chaghmīnī*, Arabic, 328 {16}. Bound with al-Jurjānī's *Sharḥ al-Mulakkhkhaṣ*. See → al-Turkmānī. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2653.
- [300] 1.6 [Qarā Sinān.] *Sharḥ al-Chaghmīnī*, 326 {2}. See → Qarā Sinān.
- [301] 1.7a. "*Sharḥ al-Mulakkhkhaṣ*," Persian, 327 {8}. Bound with Ḥamza b. Ḥājj b. Sulaymān's Persian translation of al-Chaghmīnī's *Mulakkhkhaṣ*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1.7a) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2593.
- [302] 1.7.1a. "*Ḥāshiyat sharḥ al-Chaghmīnī*," 325 {19}–326 {1}.
- [303] 1.7.1b. Same as preceding, 332 {8}.

- [304] 1.7.1c. Same as preceding, 327 {18}. MANUSCRIPT: These two codices (1.7.1b and 1.7.1c) should be the copies now housed as SK Ayasofya 2607 and 2608.
- [305] 1.7.1d. Same as preceding, 329 {13–14}.

GHULĀM SINĀN (d. 1506)

- [306] 1. *Fath al-fathīyya fī sharḥ al-Fathīyya* (Commentary on ‘Alī al-Qūshjī’s *R. al-fathīyya*), Arabic, 1485, 328 {10}. See → ‘Alī al-Qūshjī, 1.1, Part II. MANUSCRIPT: This codex should be the copy now housed as TSMK A. 3291 (Karatay: A 7117).

ḤAMZA B. ḤĀJJ B. SULAYMĀN (fl. fifteenth century)

- [307] 1. *Tarjamat Chaghminī bi-al-fārisiyya* (Persian translation of al-Chaghminī’s *Mulakhkhaṣ*), Persian, 327 {8}. See → al-Chaghminī, 1(ii). Bound with an anonymous Persian commentary of al-Chaghminī’s *Mulakhkhaṣ*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2593.

IBN AL-HAYTHAM, Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan (d. ca. 1040)

See also Ibn al-Haytham in Part One (*‘ilm al-nujūm*) and Part Four (*‘ilm al-handasa*).

- [308] 1. *Hall shukūk fī k. al-Majisṭī* (Solution of Difficulties in the Almagest), Arabic, 323 {2}. Bound with *Sharḥ Sī faṣl*.
- [309] 2. *Sharḥ k. Majisṭī Baṭlamyūs* (A Commentary of Ptolemy’s Almagest), Arabic, 329 {11}. Bound with another commentary on Almagest and al-‘Urḍī’s *Kayfiyyat al-arṣād*. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3329 (Karatay: A 7140).

AL-KHARAQĪ, ‘Abd al-Jabbār (d. 1158)

- [310] 1a. *al-Tabṣirā fī ‘ilm al-hay’a* (Conspectus of the Science of the Configurations of the Heavens), Arabic, 1132–33, 324 {6–7}. Bound with al-Ṭabarī’s *Firdaws al-ḥikma* and ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā al-Uṣṭurlābī’s *R. fī al-uṣṭurlāb*.
- [311] 1b. Same as preceding, 328 {6}.
- [312] 1c. Same as preceding, 329 {5}.
- [313] 1d. Same as preceding, 329 {13}. MANUSCRIPT: The last three codices (1b, 1c, 1d) should be the copies now housed as SK Ayasofya 2578, Ayasofya 2579, and Ayasofya 2581.
- [314] 1.1a. [al-Bukhārī, Mubārakshāh.] *Sharḥ al-Tabṣira*, Arabic, autograph, 328 {8–9}. See → al-Bukhārī, Part II. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2582.
- [315] 1.1b. Same as preceding, bound with 1.1a.
- [316] 2. *‘Umda Khwārazmshāhī*, Persian, thirteenth century, 328 {17}.

AL-JĀJARAMĪ, Mu’ayyad Muḥammad (fl. thirteenth century)

- [317] 1. *K. faṣṣ al-khātam fī hay’at al-‘ālam* (The Ring Stone on the Configuration of the World), Persian, 326 {1–2}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3337 (Karatay: F 227).

AL-JURJĀNĪ AL-SAYYID AL-SHARĪF, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad (d. 1413)

- [318] 1a. *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ* (Commentary on al-Chaghminī’s Epitome), Arabic, 331 {4–5}. Bound with al-Chaghminī’s *al-Mulakhkhaṣ*. See → al-Chaghminī, 1.1.
- [319] 1b. Same as preceding, 326 {8}. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1b) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2651.
- [320] 1c. Same as preceding, 327 {7–8}.

- [321] 1d. Same as preceding, 328 {3}. MANUSCRIPT: One of the two codices (1c, 1d) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2653.
- [322] 1e. Same as preceding, 328 {4}. Bound with al-Jurjānī's *Hāshiyat sharḥ al-Ṭawālī* (Supercommentary on al-Bayḍāwī's Rising Light from Far Horizons).
- [323] 1f. Same as preceding, 328 {15–16}. Bound with al-Turkmānī's commentary on al-Chaghmīnī's *Mulakhkhaṣ*.
- [324] 1g. Same as preceding, 329 {3}. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1g) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2654.
- [325] 1h. Same as preceding, 330 {19}–331 {1}.
- [326] 1(i). Turkish translation of al-Jurjānī's *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ*, 329 {6}.
- [327] 2. *Sharḥ al-Tadhkira* (Commentary of Ṭūsī's Memoir), Arabic, 1409. See → al-Ṭūsī, 2.4–2.10, Part II.²⁷ MANUSCRIPT: This codex should be the copy now housed as TSMK A. 3320 (Karatay: A 7091).

AL-MAS'ŪDĪ, Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd (fl. thirteenth century)

- [328] 1a. *K. jahān-dānish* (Book of Knowledge of the World), Persian translation of his *al-Kifāya fī 'ilm hay'at al-'ālam*, 1246, 325 {17–18}. EDITION: *Jahān-i dānish*, ed. Khalīl Akhavān Zanjānī (Tehran: Mirās-i Maktūb, 2003).
- [329] 1b. Same as preceding, 331 {12–13}. MANUSCRIPT: One of the two codices (1a, 1b) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2601.
- [330] 1c. Same as preceding, 327 {1}. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1c) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2602.
- [331] 1d. Same as preceding, 328 {6–7}. Bound with *R. fāl-i Qur'ān*, *R. fārisiyya fī munāẓarat Baghdād wa-Isfahān*, and *R. munsha'āt al-ṣāhib al-marhūm*.

AL-NIKSĀRĪ, Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Rūmī (d. 1495)

- [332] 1. *Hāshiyat sharḥ al-Chaghmīnī*, Arabic, 326 {15–16}. See → al-Chaghmīnī, 1.2.1; Qāḍīzāde al-Rūmī, 1.1. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2656.

AL-NĪSĀBŪRĪ, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn Nizām al-Dīn al-A'raj (d. ca. 1329–30)

See also al-Nīsābūrī in Part One (*'ilm al-nujūm*) and Part Three (*'ilm al-ḥisāb*).

- [333] 1a. *Tawḍīḥ* (or *Sharḥ*) *al-tadhkira* (Elucidation of the Memoir), Arabic, 1311, autograph, 329 {9–10}. See → al-Ṭūsī, 2.1, Part II.
- [334] 1b. Same as preceding, 327 {2–3}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī's *K. al-tadhkira fī 'ilm al-hay'a*.
- [335] 1c. Same as preceding, 327 {19}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī's *K. al-tadhkira fī 'ilm al-hay'a*. MANUSCRIPT: One of the two codices (1b, 1c) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2589.
- [336] 1d. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *Tawḍīḥ al-tadhkira*], 327 {11}.
- [337] 1e. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *Sharḥ al-tadhkira*], 328 {5}. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1e) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2646.
- [338] 1f. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *Sharḥ al-tadhkira al-musammā bi-tawḍīḥ al-tadhkira*], 330 {3–4}.
- [339] 1g. Same as preceding, 330 {4–5}. MANUSCRIPT: One of the two codices (1f, 1g) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2647.
- [340] 2. *Tafsīr* [or *Sharḥ*] *al-Taḥrīr al-Majistī* (Exegesis of al-Ṭūsī's Recension of the Almagest), Arabic, 1305, 329 {14–15}.

QĀDĪZĀDE AL-RŪMĪ, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Rūmī (d. after 1440)

See also Qāḍīzāde al-Rūmī in Part Four (*‘ilm al-handasa*).

- [341] 1a. *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ*, Arabic, 1412, 328 {1–2}. Bound with *K. fī al-hay’a*. See → al-Chaghmīnī, 1.2.
- [342] 1b. Same as preceding, 328 {2}.
- [343] 1c. Same as preceding, 328 {12–13}.
- [344] 1d. Same as preceding, 328 {13–14}. Bound with *R. al-ishq bi-al-fārisiyya* and al-Nīsābūrī’s *R. al-Shamsiyya*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1d) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2659.
- [345] 1e. Same as preceding, 329 {2}.
- [346] 1f. Same as preceding, 329 {16–17}.
- [347] 1g. Same as preceding, 330 {10–11}. Bound with miscellaneous treatises.
- [348] 1h. Same as preceding, 330 {14–15}.
- [349] 1i. Same as preceding, 330 {16}.
- [350] 1j. Same as preceding, 332 {6–7}. Bound with Qāḍīzāde al-Rūmī’s *Sharḥ Ashkāl al-ta’sīs*.
- [351] 1.1. [al-Niksārī.] *Hāshiyat sharḥ al-Chaghmīnī*, Arabic, 326 {15–16}. See → al-Niksārī. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2656.
- [352] 1.2. [al-Shirwānī.] *Hāshiyat sharḥ Qāḍīzāde li-l-Chaghmīnī*, 329 {1–2}. See → al-Shirwānī, Part II. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3294 (Karatay: A 7077).²⁸
- [353] 1.3. [Sinān Pasha.] Same as preceding, 330 {15}. See → Sinān Pasha. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3299 (Karatay: A 7074).²⁹

QARĀ SINĀN (d. ca. 1480–81)

- [354] 1. *Sharḥ al-Chaghmīnī* (Commentary on Chaghmīnī’s *Mulakhkhaṣ*), 326 {2}. See → al-Caghmīnī, 1.6.

AL-QŪSHJĪ, Abū al-Qāsim ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad (d. 1474)

See also al-Qūshjī in Part One (*‘ilm al-nujūm*) and Part Three (*‘ilm al-ḥisāb*).

- [355] 1a. *R. al-faṭḥiyya fī ‘ilm al-hay’a*, Arabic, 1473, 327 {9}.
- [356] 1b. Same as preceding, 332 {11}. Bound with al-Qūshjī’s *R. al-Muḥammadiyya*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1b) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2733.
- [357] 1c. Same as preceding, 151 {18–19}. Bound with al-Nīsābūrī’s *R. fī al-ṭibb al-nabawī*, al-Fanārī’s *Sharḥ Īsāghūjī*, ‘Alī al-Qūshjī’s *R. muḥammadiyya*. [Catalogued under *al-kutub al-ṭibbiyya*.]
- [358] 1.1. [Ghulām Sinān.] *Faṭḥ al-faṭḥiyya fī sharḥ al-Faṭḥiyya*, Arabic, 1485, 328 {10}. See → Ghulām Sinān. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1.1) should be the copy now housed as TSMK A. 3291 (Karatay: A 7117).
- [359] 2a. *R. dar ‘ilm al-hay’a*, Persian, 1458, 327 {11–12}. Bound with a treatise in Persian on Arithmetic and *Sharḥ Ashkāl al-ta’sīs*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (2a) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2640.
- [360] 2b. Same as preceding, 331 {5}. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (2b) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2639.
- [361] 3. *Sharḥ al-Tuhfa al-shāhiyya*, Arabic, autograph. 332 {5–6}. See → al-Shīrāzī, 3.1, in Part II. MANUSCRIPT: This codex might be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2643.

AL-SĀLĀR, ‘Alī b. Faḍl Allāh Ḥusām al-Dīn (fl. ca. mid-eleventh century)

- [362] 1. *K. jāmi‘ al-qawānīn* [fī] ‘ilm al-hay’a (Book Comprising the Rules of the Science of Hay’a), 318 {13–14}. Bound with other treatises on the study of heavens and other topics. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3342 (Karatay: A 7141).³⁰

SINĀN PASHA, Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Khidr Beg b. Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Ārif (d. 1486).

- [363] 1. *Hāshiyat sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ*, Arabic, 330 {15}. See → al-Chaghminī, 1.2.3; Qāḍizāde al-Rūmī, 1.3. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3299 (Karatay: A 7074).³¹

AL-SHĪRĀZĪ, Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Mas‘ūd b. Muṣliḥ (d. 1311)

See also al-Shīrāzī in Part Four (‘ilm al-handasa)

- [364] 1a. *Nihāyat al-idrāk fī dirāyat al-aflāk* (The Utmost Attainment in Comprehending the Orbs), Arabic, 1281, 325 {16}.
- [365] 1b. Same as preceding, 326 {10–11}. Bound with *R. ‘alā al-ḥaraka al-dahraja* (Commentary of the Treatise on the Motion of Rolling). MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1b) should be the copy now housed as TSMK A. 3336 (Karatay: A 7101).
- [366] 1c. Same as preceding, 326 {13–14}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī’s *K. al-Tadhkirat*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1c) should be the copy now housed as TSMK A. 3333 (Karatay: A 7082).
- [367] 1d. Same as preceding, 326 {14–15}.
- [368] 1e. Same as preceding, 327 {5–6}.
- [369] 2. *R. fī alā al-ḥaraka al-dahraja* (Treatise on the Motion of Rolling) [catalogued in the inventory as *Sharḥ al-R. fī alā al-ḥaraka al-dahraja*], Arabic, 326 {11–12}. Bound with al-Shīrāzī’s *Nihāyat al-idrāk*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex should be the copy now housed as TSMK A. 3336 (Karatay: A 7101).
- [370] 3a. *K. al-tuḥfa al-shāhiyya* (The Royal Gift regarding the Knowledge of the Configuration of the Heavens), Arabic, 1295, 325 {19}.
- [371] 3b. Same as preceding, 330 {1}.
- [372] 3c. Same as preceding, 330 {2}.
- [373] 3d. Same as preceding, 330 {17}.
- [374] 3e. Same as preceding, 331 {2}. MANUSCRIPT: One of the five codices (3a–3e) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2585.
- [375] 3f. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *K. al-tuḥfa al-shāhiyya li-al-Quṭb al-Shīrāzī*], 330 {2–3}.
- [376] 3g. Same as preceding, language specified as Arabic, 330 {12}. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (3g) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2587.
- [377] 3.1a. [‘Alī al-Qūshjī.] *Sharḥ al-tuḥfa al-shāhiyya*, Arabic, autograph, 332 {5–6}. See → al-Qūshjī, 3, Part II. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (3.1a) might be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2643.
- [378] 3.2. “*Sharḥ al-Tuḥfa al-shāhiyya*,” 330 {16–17}.
- [379] 3.3. Same as preceding, 332 {5}.
- [380] 3.4. “*Hawāshī al-Tuḥfa al-shāhiyya*,” 331 {3–4}.
- [381] 4a. *Fa’alta fa-lā talum* (You Have Done It, So Do Not Condemn), Arabic, 1300, 326 {18–19}. See → al-Ṭūsī, 2.2, Part II. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3338 (Karatay: A 7094).
- [382] 4b. Same as preceding, 327 {1–2}. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (4b) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2668.

- [383] 5. *Ikhtiyārāt-i Muẓaffariyya* (The Muzaffarid Elections), Persian, 1282, 332 {1}. Bound with an anonymous astronomical epitome and al-Ṭūsī's *R. Mu'iniyya*. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3310 (Karatay: F 233).

AL-SHIRWĀNĪ, Fathallāh b. Abū Yazīd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ibrāhīm al-Shābarānī (d. 1486)

See also al-Shirwānī in Part Five ('*ilm al-mūsīqī*).

- [384] 1. *Hāshiyat sharḥ Qāḍizāde li-l-Chaghmīnī*, Arabic, 1473, 329 {1–2}. See → al-Chaghmīnī, 1.2.2; Qāḍizāde al-Rūmī, 1.2. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3294 (Karatay: A 7077).³²
- [385] 2. *Sharḥ al-Tadhkira*, Arabic, 1475. See → al-Ṭūsī, 2.4–2.10, Part II.³³ MANUSCRIPT: This codex should be TSMK, A. 3314 (Karatay: A 7093).

THĀBIT B. QURRA (d. 901)

- [386] 1. *K. fī ta'līf al-nisab* (Book on the Composition of Ratios), Arabic, 329 {17}. Bound with Thābit b. Qurra's *R. fī al-shakl al-qāṭṭā'* (Treatise on the Secant Figure) and a commentary on the preceding work. EDITION: Pascal Crouzet, "Thābit ibn Qurra et la composition des rapports. Texte et traduction: *Livre sur la composition des rapports*," in *Thābit ibn Qurra: Science and Philosophy in Ninth-Century Baghdad*, ed. Roshdi Rashed (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009): 391–535.
- [387] 2. *R. fī al-shakl al-mulaqqab bi-al-qāṭṭā' min K. al-Majisī* (On the Figure Called the Secant from the *Almagest*), Arabic, 329 {18–19}. Bound with Thābit b. Qurra's *K. fī ta'līf al-nisab* and a commentary on *R. fī al-shakl al-qāṭṭā'*. EDITION: Hélène Bellosta, "Le traité de Thābit ibn Qurra sur *La figure secteur*. Traduction: *Sur la figure secteur*," in *Thābit ibn Qurra: Science and Philosophy in Ninth-Century Baghdad*, ed. Roshdi Rashed (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009): 335–90.
- [388] 2.1. "*Sharḥ al-shakl al-mulaqqab bi-al-qāṭṭā'*," 329 {17–18}. Bound with Thābit b. Qurra's *K. fī ta'līf al-nisab* and *R. fī al-shakl al-qāṭṭā'*.

AL-TURKMĀNĪ, Kamāl al-Dīn (d. 1357)

- [389] 1. *Sharḥ k. al-Chaghmīnī* (Commentary on al-Chaghmīnī's *Mulakhkhaṣ*), Arabic, 1354, 328 {16}. Bound with al-Jurjānī's *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ*. See → al-Chaghmīnī, 1.5; al-Jurjānī, 1. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2653.

AL-ṬŪSĪ, Naṣīr al-Dīn Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. 1274)

See also al-Ṭūsī in Part One ('*ilm al-nujūm*'), Part Three ('*ilm al-ḥisāb*'), and Part Four ('*ilm al-handasa*').

- [390] 1a. *R. Mu'iniyya*, Persian, 1235, 326 {16}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī's *Sharḥ-i Mu'iniyya* and the *Zubdah-i hay'a*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1a) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2670. EDITION: *al-Riṣāla al-mu'iniyya*, facs. ed. of Persian manuscript with introduction by Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh (Tehran: Chāpkhānah-i Dānishgāh-i Tih-rān, 1956).
- [391] 1b. Same as preceding, 332 {1–2}. Bound with al-Shīrāzī's *Ikhtiyārāt-i Muẓaffariyya* and an anonymous astronomical epitome.
- [392] 1c. Same as preceding, 332 {4}.
- [393] 1.1. [al-Ṭūsī] *Sharḥ-i Mu'iniyya*, also known as *Hall-i mushkilāt-i Mu'iniyya* (A Solution to the Problems of the *Mu'iniyya*), 1245, Persian, 326 {16–17}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī's *R. Mu'iniyya* and *Zubdat al-idrāk*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1.1) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2670. EDITION: *Hall mushkilāt-i mu'iniyya*, facs. ed. of Persian manuscript with introduction by Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh (Tehran: Chāpkhāna-i Dānishgāh-i Tih-rān, 1956).
- [394] 2a. *K. al-Tadhkira fī 'ilm al-hay'a* (Memoir on Astronomy), Arabic, 1261 [the year Marāgha version was completed], 326 {12}. EDITION: Jamil Ragep, *Naṣīr Al-Dīn Al-Ṭūsī's Memoir on As-*

- tronomy* = *Al-Tadhkira Fī 'ilm Al-Hay'a*, 2 vols. (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1993). MANUSCRIPT: This codex (2a) might be TSMK A. 3317 (Karatay: 7081).
- [395] 2b. Same as preceding, 326 {13}. Bound with al-Shīrāzī's *K. nihāyat al-idrāk*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (2b) should be the copy now housed as TSMK A. 3333 (Karatay: A 7082).
- [396] 2c. Same as preceding, 327 {2}. Bound with al-Nīsābūrī's *Tawḍīḥ* (or *Sharḥ*) *al-tadhkira*.
- [397] 2d. Same as preceding, 327 {19}. Bound with al-Nīsābūrī's *Tawḍīḥ* (or *Sharḥ*) *al-tadhkira*. MANUSCRIPT: One of these two codices (2c and 2d) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2589.
- [398] 2e. Same as preceding, 331 {19}. Bound in a miscellaneous volume containing *K. Uqlīdus*, *al-Mutawassīṭ al-handasiyya*, and *K. Taḥrīr al-Majisī*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (2e) might be TSMK A. 3453 (Karatay: A 7005).
- [399] 2.1a. [al-Nīsābūrī] *Tawḍīḥ* (or *Sharḥ*) *al-tadhkira* (Elucidation of the Memoir), Arabic, 1311, autograph, 329 {9–10}. See → al-Nīsābūrī, 1, Part II.
- [400] 2.1b. Same as preceding, 327 {2–3}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī's *K. al-tadhkira fī 'ilm al-hay'a*.
- [401] 2.1c. Same as preceding, 327 {19}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī's *K. al-tadhkira fī 'ilm al-hay'a*. MANUSCRIPT: One of the codices (2.1b or 2.1c) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2589.
- [402] 2.1d. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *Tawḍīḥ al-tadhkira*], 327 {11}.
- [403] 2.1e. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *Sharḥ al-tadhkira*], 328 {5}. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (2.1e) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2646.
- [404] 2.1f. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *Sharḥ al-tadhkira al-musammā bi-tawḍīḥ al-tadhkira*], 330 {3–4}.
- [405] 2.1g. Same as preceding, 330 {4–5}. MANUSCRIPT: One of the two codices (2.1f, 2.1g) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2647.
- [406] 2.2a. [al-Shīrāzī.] *K. fa'alta fa-lā talum* (You Have Done It, So Do Not Condemn), Arabic, 326 {18–19}. See → al-Shīrāzī, 4, in Part II. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3338 (Karatay: A 7094).
- [407] 2.2b. Same as preceding, 327 {1–2}. MANUSCRIPT: The second book (2.2b) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2668.
- [408] 2.3a. [al-'Ubaydī.] *Bayān al-Tadhkira* (Explanation of the *Tadhkira*), Arabic, 326 {7}. See → al-'Ubaydī. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3315 (Karatay: A 7084).
- [409] 2.3b. Same as preceding, 327 {4–5}. Bound with *Sharḥ al-Chaghmīnī*. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3325 (Karatay: A 7058).
- [410] 2.4. "*Sharḥ al-Tadhkira fī 'ilm al-hay'a*," 325 {17}. Bound with *K. fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb*.
- [411] 2.5. Same as preceding, 326 {9}.
- [412] 2.6. Same as preceding, 327 {5}.
- [413] 2.7. Same as preceding, 330 {7}. MANUSCRIPT: One of the three copies (2.5, 2.6, 2.7) should be the one now housed as SK Ayasofya 2645.
- [414] 2.8. "*Sharḥ al-Tadhkira fī al-hay'a*," 329 {10}.
- [415] 2.9. Same as preceding, 326 {14}.
- [416] 2.10. Same as preceding, the autograph copy of its commentator, 331 {13}.
- [417] 3a. *Taḥrīr al-Majisī* (Recension of Ptolemy's *Almagest*), Arabic, 1247, 326 {1}.
- [418] 3b. Same as preceding, 328 {17–18}.
- [419] 3c. Same as preceding, 329 {7}.
- [420] 3d. Same as preceding, 329 {7}.
- [421] 3e. Same as preceding, 330 {9–10}.
- [422] 3f. Same as preceding, 330 {13–14}. MANUSCRIPT: One of the two codices (3e, 3f) should be the copy now housed as TSMK A. 3328 (Karatay: A 7095), personal copy of Bayezid II.

- [423] 3g. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *Tahrīr Majisṭī fī ‘ilm al-hay’a*], 331 {1}. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (3g) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2583.
- [424] 3h. Same as preceding, 331 {18–19}. Bound in a miscellaneous volume containing *K. Uqlīdus, al- Mutawassīṭat al-handasiyya*, and *al-Tadhkira fī al-hay’a*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (3h) might be TSMK A. 3453 (Karatay: A 7005).
- [425] 3.1. [al-Nisābūrī.] *Tafsīr* [or *Sharḥ*] *al-Tahrīr al-Majisṭī*, Arabic, 1305, 329 {14–15}. See → al-Nisābūrī, 2, Part II.
- [426] 3.2. “*Sharḥ Tahrīr al-Majisṭī*,” 326 {6–7}.
- [427] 3.3. Same as preceding, 328 {18}.
- [428] 4. *Zubdat al-idrāk fī hay’at al-aflāk* (The Essential Understanding of the Configuration of the Orbs), Arabic, 324 {15–16}. Bound with Ibn Sina’s *K. fī al-mantiq wa-al-ḥikma al-falsafiyya*, an anonymous treatise on astrology, and several other texts. MANUSCRIPT: This codex should be the copy now housed as TSMK A. 3430 (Karatay: A 8749). EDITION: *Zubdat al-idrāk fī hay’at al-aflāk: ma’a dirāsāt al-manhaj al-Ṭūsī al-‘ilmī fī majāl al-falak*, ed. ‘Abbās Muḥammad Ḥasan Sulaymān (Alexandria: Dār al-Ma’rifat al-Jāmi’yah, 1994).
- [429] 5a. *Zubdah-i hay’a* (The Essence of *Hay’a*), Persian, 318 {10}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī’s *Sī faṣl*.
- [430] 5b. Same as preceding, 326 {17}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī’s *R. Mu’iniyya* and *Sharḥ-i Mu’iniyya*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (5b) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2670.
- [431] 5c. Same as preceding, 329 {15–16}.
- [432] 5d. Same as preceding, 332 {13}. Bound with al-Iṣfahānī’s *Talkhīs al-makhrūṭāt*, al-Ṭūsī’s *Jawāmi’ al-ḥisāb*, *K. mi’yār al-ash’ār*, and other treatises. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (5d) should be the copy now housed as TSMK A. 3455 (Karatay: A 8752).
- [433] 5e. Same as preceding, 163 {14–15}. Bound with *K. [al-] khuff [al-] ‘Alā’ī fī al-ṭibb*. [Catalogued under *al-Kutub al-ṭibbiyya*.]
- [434] 5(i). *K. tarjamat al-zubda fī ‘ilm al-hay’a* (Arabic translation of *Zubdah-i hay’a*), Arabic, 290 {10–11}. Bound with *K. tashīl al-fawā’id*, *R. fī bayān ṭuruq al-ḥadīth*, *R. al-‘alā’iyya fī ‘ilm al-ḥisāb*, and *R. fī al-ḥadīth*. [Catalogued under *kutub ‘ilm al-ṣarf wa-al-naḥw*.]

AL-‘UBAYDĪ, Jalāl al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh (d. 1350)

- [435] 1a. *Bayān al-Tadhkira wa-tibyān al-tabṣira* (Explanation of the *Tadhkira* and Exposition of the Enlightenment), Arabic, 1328, 326 {7}. See → al-Ṭūsī, 2.3, Part II. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3315 (Karatay: A 7084).
- [436] 1b. Same as preceding, 327 {5}. Bound with al-‘Ubaydī’s *Sharḥ al-mulakhkhaṣ*. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3325 (Karatay: A 7058).
- [437] 2a. *Sharḥ al-mulakhkhaṣ*, Arabic, 327 {3–4}. Bound with al-‘Ubaydī’s *Bayān al-Tadhkira*. See → al-Chaghminī, 1.4. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3325 (Karatay: A 7058).
- [438] 2b. Same as preceding, 316 {13}. Bound with *K. al-hidāya fī al-ḥikma* and al-Ṭūsī’s *Sī faṣl*. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2474.

ANONYMOUS/UNIDENTIFIED AUTHORS

- [439] 1. *Sharḥ k. Majisṭī Baṭlamyūs* (A Commentary on Ptolemy’s *Almagest*), 329 {11}. Bound with Ibn al-Haytham’s commentary on *Almagest* and al-‘Urḍī’s *Kayfiyyat al-arṣād*. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3329 (Karatay: A 7140).
- [440] 2. *K. burhān [al-]hay’a* (Book on the Demonstrations of the Configurations), 319 {8}. Bound with two anonymous treatises on [the science of] the stars.

- [441] 3a. *R. fī al-hay'a* (Treatise on the Configurations [of the Heavens]), 323 {9–10}. Bound with *R. fī al-daraj wa-al-daqa'iq fī al-nujūm* (Treatise on Degrees and Minutes) and *R. fī al-ḥisāb* (Treatise on Arithmetic).
- [442] 3b. Same as preceding, language specified as Arabic, 332 {9}.
- [443] 3c. Same as preceding, 121 {18–19}. Bound with *K. al-ṣiḥāḥ fī al-furs* and *K. qurrat al-'ayn min qibal al-laṭā'if wa-al-taṣawwuf*. [Catalogued under *Kutub al-taṣawwuf*, etc.]
- [444] 3d. "*K. fī al-hay'a*" (Book on the Configurations [of the Heavens]), 328 {1}. Bound with Qāḍizāde al-Rūmī's *Sharḥ al-Chaghminī*.
- [445] 4. *K. al-dawā'ir fī 'ilm al-hay'a* (Book on Circles in the Science of the Configuration [of the Heavens]), 328 {5}.
- [446] 5. *Mukhtaṣar fī al-hay'a* (Abridgment of the Configurations [of the Heavens]), 332 {1}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī's *R. mu'iniyya*.
- [447] 6. *R. fī ḥill al-miqyās min qibal al-hay'a wa-al-nujūm* (Treatise on the Shadow [of the Instrument] of the Measurement), 123 {6–7}. Bound with *K. al-qalā'id wa-al-farā'id min qibal al-naṣā'ih wa-al-taṣawwuf*. [Catalogued under *Kutub al-taṣawwuf*, etc.]
- [448] 7. *R. min qibal al-hay'a*, 335 {7}. Bound with *R. Najm al-milla wa-al-dīn fī al-ḥisāb al-hawā'ir*.

PART THREE

Arithmetic (*'ilm al-ḥisāb*)

AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, Abū Bakr 'Abd Allah al-Ḥusayn al-Shaqqāq (d. 1117)

- [449] 1. *Sharḥ al-kāfi fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb* (Commentary on al-Karajī's *Sufficient on the Science of Arithmetic*), Arabic, 333 {15–16}. Bound with al-Karajī's *K. al-kāfi*. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3135 (Karatay: A 7033). See → al-Karajī.

AL-FĀRISĪ, Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan (d. 1319)

- [450] 1a. *K. asās al-qawā'id fī uṣūl al-fawā'id* (The Basis of the Rules Regarding the Principles of the *Fawā'id*), Arabic, 333 {8}. See → Ibn al-Khawwām, 1. EDITION: *Asās al-Qawā'id fī uṣūl al-fawā'id*, ed. Muṣṭafā Mawālidi (Cairo: Ma'had al-Makhtūṭāt al-'Arabīyah, 1994).
- [451] 1b. Same as preceding, 333 {10–11}.
- [452] 1c. Same as preceding, 333 {13–14}.
- [453] 1d. Same as preceding, 333 {17}. MANUSCRIPT: Three of the four codices should be the copies now housed as TSMK A. 3132 (Karatay: A 6996), A. 3140 (Karatay: A 6997), A. 3155 (Karatay: A 6998).

AL-GHARBĪ, Jalāl al-Dīn 'Alī (fl. ca. 1350)

- [454] 1. *K. al-mu'jizāt al-naḥībīyya fī sharḥ al-R. al-'alā'īyya* (*Naḥībīyya* Miracles in Commenting on [al-Turkistānī's] *Alā'īyya* Treatise on Arithmetic), 334 {11–12}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3117 (Karatay: A 7012). See → al-Turkistānī.

AL-GHAZNAWĪ, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm (fl. thirteenth century)

- [455] 1. *Tuḥfat al-ṣudūr fī al-ḥisāb* (Gift from the Hearts), Persian, 228 {1}. Bound with *Rawḍat al-faṣāḥa fī ṣanā'ī' al-badī'īyya al-shi'riyya* and *Qurrat al-'uyūn fī al-nawādir*. [Catalogued under *al-dawāwīn al-'arabīyya*, etc.]

AL-KASHGĀRĪ, ‘Abd Allah b. As‘ad b. ‘Umar (fl. fourteenth century)

- [456] 1. *R. al-‘imādiyya fī al-ṭuruq al-ḥisābiyya* (The *‘Imādiyya* Treatise on Arithmetic Methods), Arabic, 334 {17–18}. MANUSCRIPT: This codex should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2739.

AL-KĀSHĪ, Ghiyāth (al-Milla wa-) al-Dīn Jamshīd b. Mas‘ūd b. Maḥmūd (d. 1429)

See also al-Kāshī in Part One (*‘ilm al-nujūm*).

- [457] 1a. *Miftāḥ al-ḥisāb* (The Key to Arithmetic), Arabic, 1427, 334 {10}.
 [458] 1b. Same as preceding, 335 {3}. MANUSCRIPT: One of the codices should be TSMK A. 3479 (Karatay: A 7019). EDITION: *Miftāḥ al-ḥisāb*, ed. Nādir al-Nābulī (Damascus: Wizārat al-Ta‘līm al-‘Āli, 1977).

AL-KĀSHĪ, ‘Imād al-Dīn Yahyā b. Aḥmad (fl. ca. 1343)

- [459] 1a. *K. al-īdāḥ fī sharḥ al-Fawā'id al-bahā'iyya* (Elucidation of Goals in Commenting on the *Fawā'id*), 333 {12}. See → Ibn al-Khawwām, 1.2. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2716.
 [460] 1b. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *K. īdāḥ al-maqāṣid fī sharḥ al-Fawā'id*], 334 {14–15}. Bound with *Sharḥ manṭiq al-maṭālī'*. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3142 (Karatay: A 6999).
 [461] 2. *K. al-lubāb fī al-ḥisāb* (Quintessence on Arithmetic), Arabic, 334 {8}. MANUSCRIPT: This codex should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2757.

AL-KARAJĪ, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (fl. ca. 1000)

- [462] 1. *K. al-kāfi fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb* (The Sufficient on the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic, 333 {15}. Bound with al-Baghdādī's commentary on it. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3135 (Karatay: A 7033). EDITION: *al-Kāfi fī al-ḥisāb*, ed. Samī Shalhūb (Aleppo: Jāmi'at Ḥalab, Ma'had al-Turāth al-‘ilmī al-‘Arabī, 1986).
 [463] 1.1. [al-Baghdādī.] “*Sharḥ al-kāfi fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb*,” 333 {15–16}. Bound with al-Karajī's *K. al-kāfi*. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3135 (Karatay: A 7033). See → al-Baghdādī.

IBN AL-KHAWWĀM, ‘Imād al-Dīn Abū ‘Alī ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī (d. 1328)

- [464] 1. *R. al-fawā'id al-bahā'iyya fī al-qawā'id al-ḥisābiyya* (The Bahā'i Scholia on Rules of Arithmetic), Arabic, 1259, 334 {18}. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2729. EDITION: İhsan Fazlıoğlu, “İbn el-Havvam (öl. 724/1324) ve Eseri el-Fevaid el-Bahaiyye fi el-Kavaid el-Hisabiyye Tenkitli Metin ve Tarihi Değerlendirme” (master's thesis, Istanbul University, 1993).
 [465] 1.1a. [al-Fārisī.] *K. asās al-qawā'id fī uṣūl al-fawā'id* (The Base of the Rules in the Principles of Uses in Arithmetic), Arabic, 333 {8}. See → al-Fārisī.
 [466] 1.1b. Same as preceding, 333 {10–11}.
 [467] 1.1c. Same as preceding, 333 {13–14}.
 [468] 1.1d. Same as preceding, 333 {17}.
 [469] 1.2a. [al-Kāshī, Yahyā b. Aḥmad.] *K. al-īdāḥ fī sharḥ al-fawā'id al-bahā'iyya* (Elucidation of Goals in Commenting on the *Fawā'id*), 333 {12}. See → al-Kāshī, Yahyā. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2716.
 [470] 1.2b. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *K. īdāḥ al-maqāṣid fī sharḥ al-Fawā'id*], 334 {14–15}. Bound with *Sharḥ manṭiq al-maṭālī'*. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3142 (Karatay: A 6999).
 [471] 1.3. “*Sharḥ* [al-] *bahā'iyya fī al-ḥisāb*,” 335 {3}.

KHAYR AL-DĪN KHALĪL B. IBRĀHĪM (d. late fifteenth century)

- [472] 1. *Mushkil-gushāy-i ḥussāb fī ‘ilm al-ḥisāb* (Problem Solver for Arithmeticians), Persian, 334 {12}.

AL-KIRMĀNĪ, Abū Ishāq (fl. late fifteenth century)

- [473] 1. *Sharḥ al-shamsiyya* (Commentary on al-Nisābūrī’s treatise on Arithmetic), Arabic, 333 {16}.
See → al-Nisābūrī, 1.1, Part III. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3153 (Karatay: A 7017).

AL-NĪSĀBŪRĪ, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn Nizām al-Dīn al-A’raj (d. ca. 1329–30)

See also al-Nisābūrī in Part One (*‘ilm al-nujūm*) and Part Two (*‘ilm al-hay’a*).

- [474] 1a. *R. al-shamsiyya fī ‘ilm al-ḥisāb* (The *Shamsiyya* Treatise), Arabic, 328 {15}. Bound with Qāḍizāde al-Rūmī’s *Sharḥ al-Chaghmīnī* and an anonymous Persian treatise. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1a) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2659. EDITION: Elif Baga, “Nizamuddin Nisaburi ve Şemsiyye Fi’l-Hisab Adlı Matematik Risalesinin Tahkik, Tercüme ve Tarihi Bir Değerlendirmesi” (master’s thesis, Sakarya University, 2007).
- [475] 1b. Same as preceding, 334 {5}. Bound with al-Zanjānī’s *R. kāfiya fī al-ḥisāb*. MANUSCRIPT: This should be TSMK A. 3152 [Karatay: A. 7016].
- [476] 1c. Same as preceding, 334 {8}.
- [477] 1d. Same as preceding, 335 {9}. MANUSCRIPT: The two codices (1c, 1d) should be two of the three copies now housed as SK Ayasofya 2725, TSMK A. 3149 (Karatay: A 7014), and A. 3150 (Karatay: A 7015).
- [478] 1e. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *R. al-nizāmiyya fī al-ḥisāb*], 334 {14}.
- [479] 1(i). [al-Shirāzī, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd (not the better known al-Shīrāzī).] *Tarjamat al-R. al-Shamsiyya* (Translation of the *Shamsiyya* Treatise), Persian, 334 {13}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3118 (Karatay: F 226).
- [480] 1.1. [al-Kirmānī.] *Sharḥ al-shamsiyya* (Commentary on the *Shamsiyya* Treatise), Arabic, 333 {16}.
See → al-Kirmānī. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3153 (Karatay: A 7017).
- [481] 1.2. *Sharḥ al-shamsiyya*, language specified as Persian, 334 {1–2}.

QĀḌĪ AL-HUMĀMĪYA, Jamāl al-Dīn Ahmad al-‘Abbās Ahmad b. Thābit (d. 1272)

- [482] 1. *Ghunyat al-ḥussāb fī ‘ilm al-ḥisāb* (The Wealth of the Arithmeticians), Arabic, 333 {9–10}.
Bound with *R. fī ‘ilm al-ḥisāb*. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2728.

AL-QŪSHJĪ, Abū al-Qāsim ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad (d. 1474)

See also al-Qūshjī in Part One (*‘ilm al-nujūm*) and Part Two (*‘ilm al-hay’a*).

- [483] 1a. *R. al-Muḥammadiyya fī al-ḥisāb* (The *Muḥammadiyya* Treatise on Arithmetic), Arabic, 1473, 332 {11–12}. Bound with *R. al-fathiyya fī ‘ilm al-hay’a*. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2733.
- [484] 1b. Same as preceding, 151 {19}. Bound with al-Nisābūrī’s *R. fī al-ṭibb al-nabawī*, al-Fanārī’s *Sharḥ Ṭisāghūjī*, ‘Alī al-Qūshjī’s *R. fathiyya*. [Catalogued under *al-Kutub al-ṭibbiyya*.]

ŞALĀḤ AL-DĪN MŪSĀ (fl. late fourteenth century?)

- [485] 1. *al-R. al-ṣalāḥiyya fī al-qawā’id al-ḥisābiyya* (Şalāḥ’s treatise on the rules of Arithmetic) [catalogued in the inventory as *Mukhtaṣar al-Şalāḥ fī al-ḥisāb*], 334 {19}. Bound with its anonymous commentary. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3133 (Karatay: A 7010).³⁴
- [486] 1.1a. “*Sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-Şalāḥ fī al-ḥisāb*,” 334 {19}–335 {1}. Bound with *al-R. al-ṣalāḥiyya*. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3133 (Karatay: A 7010).

- [487] 1.1b. "*Sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar al-Ṣalāḥ fī al-ḥisāb*," 334 {6}.
- [488] 1.1c. "*K. sharḥ al-Ṣalāḥ fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb*," 333 {11}. MANUSCRIPT: These two codices (1.1b, 1.1c) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2751 and TSMK A. 3141 (Karatay: A 7011).³⁵

AL-SAMAW'AL, Abū Naṣr b. Yaḥyā b. 'Abbās al-Maghribī (d. 1174–75)

- [489] 1. *al-bāhir fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb* (The Brilliant in the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic, 333 {13}. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2718. EDITION: *al-Bāhir en Algèbre d'as-Samaw'al*, ed., notes, and introduction by S. Ahmad and Roshdi Rashed (Damascus: Presses de l'Université de Damas, 1973).

AL-SAJĀWANDĪ, Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad (d. ca. 1203)

- [490] 1. *R. fī l-ḥisāb*, Arabic, 335 {1–2}.³⁶ MANUSCRIPT: This might be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 4855.

AL-ṬABARĪ, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ayyūb b. Ḥāsib (fl. eleventh century)

- [491] 1. *Miftāḥ al-mu'āmalāt fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb* (The Key to Transactions in the Science of Arithmetic), Persian, 335 {2}. MANUSCRIPT: This codex should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2763.

AL-TURKISTĀNĪ, Jamāl al-Dīn Sa'īd b. Muḥammad (fl. ca. 1300)

- [492] 1a. *al-R. al-'alā'iyya fī al-masā'il al-ḥisābiyya* (The 'Alā'iyya Treatise on Arithmetic Problems), Arabic, 334 {3}. Bound with *R. Ajwibat Ibn Sīnā li-masā'il Abī al-Rayḥān [al-Bīrūnī]*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1a) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2737.
- [493] 1b. Same as preceding, 334 {4}.
- [494] 1c. Same as preceding, 324 {8}. Bound with al-Mizzī's *al-Rawḍāt al-muzaharrāt fī al-'amal bi-al-muqanṭarāt* and *R. kashf al-rayb fī al-'amal bi-al-jayb*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1c) might be the copy now housed as TSMK A. 3119 (Karatay: A 7037).
- [495] 1d. Same as preceding, 290 {10}. Bound with *K. tashīl al-fawā'id fī al-naḥw*, *R. fī bayān ṭuruq al-ḥadīth*, *K. tarjamat al-zubda fī 'ilm al-hay'a*, and *R. fī al-ḥadīth*. [Catalogued under *kutub 'ilm al-ṣarf wa-al-naḥw*.]
- [496] 1.1. [Jalāl al-Dīn 'Alī al-Gharbī.] *K. al-mu'jizāt al-najībiyya fī sharḥ al-R. al-'alā'iyya (Najībiyya Miracles in Commenting on the 'Alā'iyya Treatise on Arithmetic)*, 334 {11–12}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3117 (Karatay: A 7012). See → al-Gharbī.

AL-ṬŪSĪ, Naṣīr al-Dīn Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. 1274)

See also al-Ṭūsī in Part One ('*ilm al-nujūm*'), Part 2 ('*ilm al-hay'a*'), and Part Four ('*ilm al-handasa*').

- [497] 1a. *Jawāmi' al-ḥisāb bi-al-takht wa-al-turāb* (Comprehensive Arithmetic on Using the Dust Board) [catalogued in the inventory as *Risāla al-ḥisāb*], 332 {13}. Bound with al-Iṣfahānī's *Talkhīṣ al-makhrūṭāt*, *K. mi'yār al-ash'ār*, and al-Ṭūsī's *Zubdat al-idrāk*. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3455 (Karatay: A8752), EDITION: Ahmad S. Saidan, "Al-Ṭūsī, *Jawāmi' al-Ḥisāb*," *Al-Abḥāth* 20 (1967): 91–163.
- [498] 1b. Same as preceding [catalogued in the inventory as *K. jawāmi' al-ḥisāb fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb*], 160 {9}. Bound with *K. fī 'ilm al-tashrīḥ min qibal al-ṭibb*. [Catalogued under *al-Kutub al-ṭibbiyya*.]
- [499] 2. *R. al-jabr wa-al-muqābala fī al-ḥisāb* (Treatise of Algebra), 335 {6}.

AL-WĀLISHTĀNĪ, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Qawām al-Hirawī (fl. ca. 1445)

- [500] 1. *Mukhtaṣar dar ‘ilm-i ḥisāb* (Compendium in the Science of Arithmetic) [catalogued in the inventory as *R. fārisiyya fī ‘ilm al-ḥisāb* (A Persian Treatise on the Science of Arithmetic)], Persian, 333 {18}. Bound with al-Shirwānī’s translation of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī’s work on music. MANUSCRIPT: This codex should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2735.

AL-ZANJĀNĪ, ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Ibrāhīm (fl. ca. 1262)

- [501] 1a. *R. al-kāfiyya fī al-ḥisāb* (The Sufficient Treatise on Arithmetic), 316 {11–12}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī’s *Sī faṣl*. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2732.
- [502] 1b. Same as preceding, 334 {5–6}. Bound with al-Nisābūrī’s *al-R. al-Shamsiyya*. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3152 [Karatay: A. 7016].
- [503] 2a. *‘Umdat al-ḥisāb* (Pillar of Arithmetic), Arabic, 335 {8}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3145 (Karatay: A 7009).³⁷
- [504] 2b. Same as preceding, 335 {4}. Bound with *Madkhal Babūs fī al-ḥiyāl* and al-Zanjānī’s *K. quṣṭās al-mu‘ādala fī ‘ilm al-jabr wa-al-muqābala*. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3457 (Karatay: A 7008). EDITION: Maryam Zamani, *Two Treatises of ‘Izz al-Dīn Zanjānī, Facsimile Edition of Manuscript no. 3457, Library of Sultan Ahmad III, Topkapi (Istanbul)* (Tehran: Mirāth-i Maktūb, 2016).
- [505] 3. *K. quṣṭās al-mu‘ādala fī ‘ilm al-jabr wa-al-muqābala* (The Scale of Equality on the Science of Algebra), Arabic, 335 {4–5}. Bound with *Madkhal Babūs fī al-ḥiyāl* and al-Zanjānī’s *‘Umdat al-ḥussāb/ḥisāb*. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3457 (Karatay: A 7008).

ANONYMOUS/UNIDENTIFIED

- [506] 1a. *K. al-mi‘a wa-al-‘ishrīn fī ḥisāb al-ḍarb* (The Book of the One Hundred and Twenty in Arithmetic Multiplication), 318 {15–16}.
- [507] 1b. Same as preceding, 323 {14}. Bound with *R. ‘alā ṭarīq al-su‘āl wa-al-jawāb fī al-nujūm* and other treatises.
- [508] 2a. *R. fī al-ḥisāb* (Treatise on Arithmetic), 99 {15}. Bound with *K. fī ‘ilm al-farā’id*. [Catalogued under *Kutub al-fiqh wa-kutub manāqib al-a‘imma*.]
- [509] 2b. Same as preceding, 322 {11}. Bound with *K. al-shajara wa-al-thamara fī aḥkām al-nujūm*.
- [510] 2c. Same as preceding, 334 {7}.
- [511] 2d. Same as preceding, language specified as Persian, 335 {9}.
- [512] 2e. “*K. fī al-ḥisāb*,” 323 {10–11}. Bound with *R. fī al-hay’a* and *R. fī al-daraj wa-al-daqa’iq fī al-nujūm*.
- [513] 2f. “*R. fī ‘ilm al-ḥisāb*,” 98 {19}–99 {1}. Bound in a volume containing *R. ‘ilm al-wafq* and *K. al-masā’il al-dawriyya al-wāqī’a fī al-aḥkām al-shar‘iyya fī al-fiqh*. [Catalogued under *Kutub al-fiqh wa-kutub manāqib al-a‘imma*.]
- [514] 2g. Same as preceding, 327 {16}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī’s *K. Uqlīdus* and al-Ahwāzī’s *Sharḥ al-M. al-‘āshira min K. Uqlīdus*.
- [515] 2h. Same as preceding, 333 {19}.
- [516] 2i. Same as preceding, language specified as Persian, 327 {12}. Bound with ‘Alī al-Qūshjī’s *R. dar ‘ilm-i hay’a* and Qāḍizāde al-Rūmī’s *Sharḥ ashkāl al-ta’sīs*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex should be SK Ayasofya 2640.
- [517] 2j. Same as preceding, language specified as Persian, 333 {9}. Bound with Qāḍī al-Humāmīya’s *K. ghunyat al-ḥussāb*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (2j) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2728.³⁸
- [518] 2k. “*K. fī ‘ilm al-ḥisāb*,” 325 {16}. Bound with *Sharḥ al-Tadhkira*.

- [519] 2l. Same as preceding, 334 {1}.
- [520] 2m. "*K. fī al-ḥisāb*," language specified as Arabic, 334 {4}. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (2m) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2723.
- [521] 2.1a. "*Sharḥ R. fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb*," 333 {14–15}. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (2.1a) should be the copy now housed as TSMK A. 3154 [Karatay: A 7013].³⁹
- [522] 2.1b. Same as preceding, 285 {13}. Bound with *R. kāshifat al-mushkilāt al-'alā'iyya* and *Ḥāshiyat k. al-wāfiyya al-ma'rūf bi-al-mutawassīṭ fī al-naḥw*. [Catalogued under *kutub 'ilm al-ṣarf wa-al-naḥw*.]
- [523] 2.1c. "*Sharḥ mukhtaṣar fī al-ḥisāb*," 334 {10–11}.
- [524] 3a. *R. al-'adad bi-awḍā' al-aṣābi'* (Treatise on Counting by Finger Reckoning), 322 {16–17}. Bound with *K. al-'amal bi-al-kura* and *R. Fattāḥī fī al-inshā'*.
- [525] 3b. *R. al-ḥisāb bi-'aqd al-aṣābi'* (Treatise on Counting by Fingers), 118 {18–19}. Bound with al-Qāshānī's *R. nūriyya*, *K. al-iṣṭilāḥāt*, *R. zamāniyya*, *R. fī taḥqīq al-kalām*, *R. fī mas'ala kullīyya fī al-ḥaqā'iq*, *R. fī jawāb al-masā'il al-madhkūra*, *R. fī sharḥ su'āl Kumayl b. Ziyād 'an Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī min qibal al-taṣawwuf*. [Catalogued under *Kutub al-taṣawwuf wa-kutub al-naṣā'ih*, etc.]
- [526] 4. *K. al-kifāya fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb* (The Book of Sufficiency in Arithmetic), 328 {19}–329 {1}. Bound with al-Nasawī's *K. al-tajrīd fī-uṣūl al-ḥandasa* (Abstract of Euclid's Elements) and *K. Uqlīdus*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex should be SK Fatih 3441.
- [527] 5. *Sharḥ al-shamsiyya* (Commentary of the *Shamsiyya* Treatise), language specified as Persian, 334 {1–2}.
- [528] 6. *Iqnā' fī al-misāḥa min qibal al-ḥisāb* (Persuasive Argument concerning Surveying), Arabic, fifteenth century, 334 {7}. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2715. EDITION: İhsan Fazlıoğlu, *Uygulamalı Geometrinin Tarihine Giriş: El-İkna fī ilmi'l-misaha* (Istanbul: Dergah, 2004).
- [529] 7. *K. jāmi' uṣūl al-ḥisāb* (Compendium of Principles of Arithmetic), 334 {16}. Bound with *K. 'umdat al-kuttāb*.⁴⁰
- [530] 8. *R. fī al-siyāqa min qibal 'ilm al-ḥisāb* (Persian Treatise on Accounting Arithmetic), Persian 334 {9}.⁴¹
- [531] 9. *R. fī ma'rifat al-ḥisāb al-hindi* (Treatise on Understanding Indian Arithmetic), 335 {5–6}.
- [532] 10. *R. Najm al-milla wa-al-dīn fī al-ḥisāb al-hawā'i* (Treatise by Najm al-Dīn on Mental Arithmetic), 335 {7–8}. Bound with an anonymous *R. min qibal al-hay'a*.
- [533] 11. *Mukhtaṣar fī qawā'id al-ḥisāb* (Abridgment of the Rules of Arithmetic), 226 {6–7}. Bound with Sharaf al-Rāmi's *Anīs al-'ushshāq*. [Catalogued under *Kutub al-siyar wa-al-tawārikh*, etc.]
- [534] 12. *R. al-taṭām fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb*, 358 {3}. Bound with Ibn Mubārak Shāh's *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-hidāya* and other treatises. [Catalogued under *kutub al-ḥikmat al-islāmiyya*, etc.]

PART FOUR

Geometry (*'ilm al-handasa*)

AL-AHWĀZĪ, Abū'l-Ḥasan (fl. ca. 1000)

- [535] 1. *Sharḥ al-M. al-'āshira min k. Uqlīdus* (Commentary of Book X of Euclid's Work), Arabic, 327 {15–16}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī's *K. Uqlīdus* and *R. fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2742.

APOLLONIUS OF PERGA (fl. second half of third century BCE)

- [536] 1a. *K. Ablūniyūs fī al-makhrūṭāt* (Book of Apollonius *On Conics*), 330 {8}. EDITION: *Apollonius de Perge, Coniques: Texte grec et arabe*, ed. Roshdi Rashed (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008).
- [537] 1b. Same as preceding, 330 {8–9}. MANUSCRIPT: One of the two codices (1a, 1b) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2762.
- [538] 1c. Same as preceding, 331 {10–11}. Bound as the first book of a volume containing books of astronomy and geometry.
- [539] 1.1. [Ibn al-Haytham.] *K. Ablūniyūs fī al-makhrūṭāt* (Book of Apollonius *On Conics*), Arabic, 332 {10 11}. Bound with several other unnamed treatises of Ibn al-Haytham. See → Ibn al-Haytham, 1, Part IV.
- [540] 1.2a. [al-Iṣfahānī.] *Talkhīs al-makhrūṭāt* (Abridgment of the Conics), Arabic, 327 {7}. See → al-Iṣfahānī.
- [541] 1.2b. Same as preceding, 331 {11–12}. MANUSCRIPT: One of the two copies should be SK Ayasofya 2724.
- [542] 1.2c. Same as preceding, 332 {12}. Bound with *R. al-ḥisāb*, *K. mi'yār al-ash'ār*, al-Ṭūsī's *Zubdat al-idrāk*, and other treatises. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3455 (Karatay: A 8752).
- [543] 1.3. [al-Shirāzī, 'Abd al-Malik.] *Taṣaffūḥ al-makhrūṭāt* (Examining the Conics), 331 {8}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3463 (Karatay: A 6995). See → al-Shirāzī, 'Abd al-Malik.

AL-BŪZJĀNĪ, Abū al-Wafā' Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā (d. 997 or 998)

See also al-Būzjānī in Part One ('*ilm al-nujūm*).

- [544] 1. *K. fī mā yuḥtāj ilayhi min a'māl al-handasa* (Book on What Is Required of Geometric Operations), Arabic, 326 {5}. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2753. EDITION: *Mā yuḥtāj ilayhi al-ṣānī' min 'ilm al-Handasah*, ed. Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad 'Alī (Baghdad: Jāmi'at Baghdād, Markaz Ihyā' al-Turāth al-'ilmī al-'Arabī, 1979).

IBN AL-HAYTHAM, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan (d. ca. 1040)

See also Ibn al-Haytham in Part One ('*ilm al-nujūm*) and Part Two ('*ilm al-hay'a*).

- [545] 1. *K. Ablūniyūs fī al-makhrūṭāt* (Book of Apollonius *On Conics*), Arabic, 332 {10–11}. Bound with several other unnamed treatises of Ibn al-Haytham. EDITION: J. P. Hogendijk, *Ibn al-Haytham's Completion of the Conics* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1985). See → Apollonius of Perga, 1.1.

AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ, Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. Faḍl (fl. ca. 1120)

- [546] 1a. *Talkhīs al-makhrūṭāt* (Abridgment of the Conics), Arabic, 327 {7}. See → Apollonius of Perga, 1.2.
- [547] 1b. Same as preceding, 331 {11–12}. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2724.
- [548] 1c. Same as preceding, 332 {12}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī's *Jawāmi' al-ḥisāb* and *Zubdat al-idrāk*, *K. mi'yār al-ash'ār*, and other treatises.

AL-NASAWĪ, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad (fl. eleventh century)

- [549] 1. *K. al-tajrid fī uṣūl al-ḥandasa* (Abridgment of the Elements of Geometry), Arabic, 328 {19}. Bound with al-Ṭūsī's *Tahrīr uṣūl Uqlīdus* and *K. al-kifāya fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex should be the copy now housed as SK Fatih 3441.

QĀḌĪZĀDE AL-RŪMĪ (d. after 1440)

See also Qāḏīzāde al-Rūmī in Part Two ('ilm al-hay'a).

- [550] 1a. *Sharḥ ashkāl al-ta'sīs* (Commentary on al-Samarqandī's Compendium of Geometry), Arabic, 327 {12–14}. Bound with 'Alī al-Qūshjī's *R. dar 'ilm-i hay'a* and a Persian treatise on Arithmetic. EDITION: *Ashkāl Al-Ta'sīs li'l-Samarqandī & Sharḥ Qāḏī Zādah al-Rūmī*, ed. Muḥammad Suwaysī (Tunis: Bayt al-Ḥikmah, 1984).
- [551] 1b. Same as preceding, 329 {14}.
- [552] 1c. Same as preceding, 330 {18}. MANUSCRIPT: The two copies (1b, 1c) should be those now housed as SK Ayasofya 2743 and SK Ayasofya 2744.
- [553] 1d. Same as preceding, 332 {2–3}. Bound with al-Samarqandī's *Ashkāl al-ta'sīs* and al-Abharī's *Ḥikmat al-hidāya*.
- [554] 1e. Same as preceding, 332 {6–7}. Bound with the author's *Sharḥ al-mulakhkhaṣ*.
- [555] 1.1. [Quṭb al-Dīn Çelebī.] *Hāshiyat sharḥ ashkāl al-ta'sīs*, Arabic, 327 {17–18}. See → Quṭb al-Dīn Çelebī.

QUṬB AL-DĪN ÇELEBĪ, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Qāḏīzāde al-Rūmī (fl. late fifteenth century)

- [556] 1. *Hāshiyat sharḥ ashkāl al-ta'sīs* (Supercommentary on al-Samarqandī's Propositions for the Foundation), Arabic, 327 {17–18}. See → Qāḏīzāde al-Rūmī, 1.1, Part IV.

AL-SAMARQANDĪ, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ashraf al-Ḥusaynī (d. ca. 1322)

- [557] 1a. *Ashkāl al-ta'sīs* (The Propositions for the Foundation), Arabic, 332 {2}. Bound with Qāḏīzāde al-Rūmī's *Sharḥ Ashkāl al-ta'sīs* and al-Abharī's *Ḥikmat al-hidāya*. EDITION: Gregg De Young, "The *Ashkāl al-Ta'sīs* of al-Samarqandī: A Translation and Study," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften* 14 (2001): 57–117.
- [558] 1b. Same as preceding, 64 {12}. Bound with *K. al-ma'ārif fi sharḥ al-Ṣahā'if fi 'ilm al-kalām*. [Catalogued under *Kutub 'ilm uṣūl al-dīn*.]
- [559] 1c. Same as preceding, 166 {13}. Bound with *Mukhtaṣar sharīf fi ṣinā'at al-ṭibb*. [Catalogued under *al-Kutub al-ṭibbiyya*.]
- [560] 1.1a. [Qāḏīzāde al-Rūmī.] *Sharḥ ashkāl al-ta'sīs*, Arabic, 327 {12–14}. Bound with 'Alī al-Qūshjī's *R. dar 'ilm-i hay'a* and a Persian treatise on arithmetic. See → Qāḏīzāde al-Rūmī, 1.1, Part IV.
- [561] 1.1b. Same as preceding, 329 {14}.
- [562] 1.1c. Same as preceding, 330 {18}. MANUSCRIPT: The two codices (1.1b, 1.1c) should be the copies housed as SK Ayasofya 2743 and SK Ayasofya 2744.
- [563] 1.1d. Same as preceding, 332 {2–3}. Bound with Samarqandī's *Ashkāl al-ta'sīs* and al-Abharī's *Ḥikmat al-hidāya*.
- [564] 1.1e. Same as preceding, 332 {6–7}. Bound with Qāḏīzāde al-Rūmī's *Sharḥ al-mulakhkhaṣ*.
- [565] 1.1.1. [Quṭb al-Dīn Çelebī.] *Hāshiyat sharḥ ashkāl al-ta'sīs*, Arabic, 327 {17–18}. See → Quṭb al-Dīn Çelebī.

AL-SARĪ, Najm al-Dīn Abū al-Futūḥ Aḥmad (d. 1154)

- [566] 1. *Rasā'il fi al-handasiyya* (Treatises on Geometry), 331 {16}. Bound with *R. Abī al-Futūḥ*. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 4830.

AL-SHIRĀZĪ, 'Abd al-Malik (d. ?)

- [567] 1. *Taṣaffiḥ al-makhrūṭāt* (Examining the Conics), 331 {8}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3463 (Karatay: A 6995). See → Apollonius of Perga, 1.3.

AL-SHĪRĀZĪ, Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Mas'ūd b. Muṣliḥ (d. 1311)

See also al-Shirāzī in Part Two ('ilm al-hay'a).

- [568] 1a. *K. durrat al-tāj* (The Pearly Crown), Persian, 1306, 314 {4}. [Only the part on Euclid's Geometry.] Bound with Rāzī's *Rawḍat al-munajjimīn*, al-Ṭūsī's *Zīj-i ilkhānī*, Sayyid Munajjim's *K. aḥkām al-a'wām*, al-Bakrī's *Burhān al-kifāya*, and *Tuḥfat al-gharā'ib*. EDITION: *Durrat al-tāj*, ed. Muḥammad Mushkāt (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Ḥikmat, 1990).
- [569] 1b. Same as preceding, 329 {4–5}. [Only the Persian translation of the Book of Euclid.]

AL-ṬŪSĪ, Naṣīr Al-Dīn Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. 1274)

See also al-Ṭūsī in Part One ('ilm al-nujūm), Part Two ('ilm al-hay'a), and Part Three ('ilm al-ḥisāb).

- [570] 1a. *Majmū'a min al-mutawassīāt* (Middle Books), Arabic, 1265, 331 {2–3}. Bound with other texts in geometry. EDITION: *Taḥrīr-i mutawassīāt-i khvāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī*, with introduction by Ja'far Āqāyānī Chāvushī (Tehran: Pazhūhishgāh-i 'Ulūm-i insānī va Muṭāla'at-i farhangī, 2004/2005).
- [571] 1b. Same as preceding, 331 {17}. Bound with other texts in geometry.
- [572] 1c. Same as preceding, 331 {18}. Bound in a miscellaneous volume containing *K. Uqlīdus*, *K. taḥrīr al-Majisṭī*, and *al-Tadhkira fī al-hay'a*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex might be TSMK A. 3453 (Karatay: A 7005).
- [573] 2a. *K. Taḥrīr uṣūl Uqlīdus* (Recension of Euclid's Elements), Arabic, 1248, 326 {3–4}. EDITION: *Tahrīru uṣūli'l-hendese ve'l-hisāb: Eukleides'in Elemanlar Kitabının Tahriri, Inceleme-Tıpkıbasımı*, facs. of manuscript in Arabic, ed. İhsan Fazlıoğlu (Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2012).
- [574] 2b. Same as preceding, 329 {8}.
- [575] 2c. Same as preceding, 329 {8–9}.
- [576] 2d. Same as preceding, 326 {18}. MANUSCRIPT: One of the four copies (2a, 2b, 2c, 2d) should be the manuscript now housed as SK Ayasofya 2722.
- [577] 2e. Same as preceding, 326 {8–9}.
- [578] 2f. Same as preceding, 326 {10}.
- [579] 2g. Same as preceding, 327 {14}. Bound with al-Ahwāzī's *Sharḥ al-M. al-'āshirat min K. Uqlīdus* and an unspecified treatise on arithmetic. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (2g) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2742.
- [580] 2h. Same as preceding, 328 {19}. Bound with al-Nasawī's *K. tajrīd fī uṣūl al-handasa* and *K. al-kifāya fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb*. MANUSCRIPT: SK Fatih 3441.
- [581] 2i. Same as preceding, 330 {5}. Bound with unspecified treatises on different subjects treated in *K. Uqlīdus*.
- [582] 2j. Same as preceding, 331 {9}. Bound in a miscellaneous volume containing unspecified treatises on geometry and other subjects. MANUSCRIPT: One of the two copies (2i or 2j) might be Millet Feyzullah 1359.
- [583] 2k. Same as preceding, 331 {18}. Bound in a miscellaneous volume containing *al-Mutawassīāt al-handasiyya*, *K. Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī*, and *al-Tadhkira fī al-hay'a*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex might be TSMK A. 3453 (Karatay: A 7005).

ANONYMOUS/UNIDENTIFIED

- [584] 1. *K. al-ḥawāshī fī al-'ilm al-riyāqī* (Book of Supercommentaries on Mathematical Science), 324 {12}. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2609.

- [585] 2a. *K. da'āwā Uqlīdus min qibal al-handasa*, Arabic, 324 {11}. Bound with *R. al-'amal bi-al-kura al-falakīyya*. MANUSCRIPT: This codex (2a) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2635.
- [586] 2b. "*K. Uqlīdus fī al-handasa*," 326 {4}.
- [587] 3. *K. al-handasa wa-al-hay'a wa-ghayrihimā* (Anonymous Volume containing books on Geometry and the Science of the Configurations [of the Heavens])), 330 {12–13}.
- [588] 4. *R. al-birkār al-tāmm min qibal al-handasa* (Treatise on the Perfect Compass), 331 {14–15}. Bound with *R. fī al-tashwīq ilā al-hayāt al-dā'ima*.
- [589] 5a. "*R. fī al-handasa wa-ghayrihā*," 332 {8–9}.
- [590] 5b. "*R. fī al-handasa*," 27 {1–2}. Bound with *R. ṭālī' Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khan* and *R. fī al-tafsīr*. [Catalogued under *Kutub al-tafsīr wa-kutub 'ilm al-qirā'at*.]
- [591] 5c. "*K. fī al-handasa*," 51 {14–15}. Bound with *R. fī al-wafq*. [Catalogued under *Kutub al-ad'iya wa-kutub khawāṣṣ al-Qur'ān wa-kutub 'ilm al-wafq*.]
- [592] 6. *R. fī iṣṭilāḥāt 'ulamā' al-hay'a 'alā al-lughā al-yūnāniyya* (Treatise on the Terminology in Greek of the Scholars of Astronomy), Greek with translations, 296 {7–8}. Bound with *K. tuḥfā al-hādīya al-mutarjam bi-al-turkiyya wa-al-rūmiyya wa-al-afranjiyya*, *K. Īsāghūjī 'alā al-lughā al-'arabiyya al-mutarjam bi-al-yūnāniyya*, *R. al-amthila al-muṭṭarida al-mutarjama bi-al-fārisiyya*, *R. fī al-'ulūm al-ḥikamiyya*, *R. fī taṣḥīḥ asāmī al-ḥukamā' al-yūnāniyya*. [Catalogued under *kutub al-lughā al-'arabiyya wa-al-fārisiyya wa-ghayrihimā*.] MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 2698 (Karatay: A 8732).
- [593] 7. *al-Fann al-awwal fī al-handasa wa-al-fann al-thānī fī al-hay'a min riyaḍiyyāt K. al-Shifā'* (Geometry and Astronomy from the Mathematics Part of Ibn Sīnā's *The Cure*), 351 {11–12}. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2720.
- [594] 8. *K. al-uṣūl al-aṣliyya fī al-handasa* (Book on the Fundamental Principles in Geometry), 327 {6}.

PART FIVE

Music ('*ilm al-mūsīqī*')

IBN SALAMA, Abū Ṭālib al-Mufaḍḍal (d. ca. 903)

- [595] 1. *K. al-malāḥī wa-asmā'ihā* (Book of Musical Instruments and Their Names), Arabic, 337 {1–2}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 2286 (Karatay: A 7423).

AL-LĀDHIQĪ, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (fl. ca. 1483)

- [596] 1a. *al-R. al-Faṭḥiyya* (The *Faṭḥiyya* Treatise), Arabic, fifteenth century, 336 {11–12}. [Catalogued in the inventory as *K. Mawlānā Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Lādhīqī fī al-mūsīqī*.]
- [597] 1b. Same as preceding, 336 {15}. [Catalogued in the inventory as *R. Faṭḥiyya li-Mawlānā Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Lādhīqī fī al-mūsīqī*.]
- [598] 2. *Zayn al-alḥān* (The Adornment of Melodies in Turkish on Music), Turkish, fifteenth century, 337 {3–4}. MANUSCRIPT: SK Nuruosmaniye 3655 contains the Arabic version of *Zayn al-alḥān* that bears Bayezid II's seal.

AL-MARĀGHĪ, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Ghaybī (fl. late fifteenth century)

- [599] 1a. *Naqāwat al-adwār* (Best of the Modes), Persian, 335 {16}.
- [600] 1b. Same as preceding, 336 {18}.

- [601] 1c. Same as preceding, 337 {3}. MANUSCRIPT: One of these three codices should be the copy now housed as TSMK A. 3462 (Karatay: F 278).

AL-MARĀGHĪ, ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Ghaybī (d. 1435)

- [602] 1a. *Jāmi‘ al-alḥān* (Compendium of Melodies), Persian, 1415, 336 {3–4}. EDITION: *Jāmi‘ al-alḥān*, ed. Taqī Bīnīsh (Tehran: Mu‘assasa-yi Muṭāla‘at va Taḥqīqāt-i Farhangī, 1987).
- [603] 1b. Same as preceding, 336 {4–5}. MANUSCRIPT: These two codices (1a and 1b) should be SK Nuruosmaniye 3644 and 3645.
- [604] 2a. *Maqāṣid al-alḥān* (Meaning of Melodies), Persian, 1418, 335 {17}.
- [605] 2b. Same as preceding, 336 {7–8}. MANUSCRIPT: One of the two copies (2a and 2b) should be TSMK R. 1726 (Karatay: F 279). EDITION: *Maqāṣid al-alḥān*, ed. Taqī Bīnīsh (Tehran: Bungāh-i Tarjama va Nashr-i Kitāb, 1966).
- [606] 3a. *Sharḥ k. al-adwār*, Persian, 335 {19}–336 {1}. See → al-Urmawī, 1.1. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3470 (Karatay: F 280). EDITION: *Sharḥ-i adwār (bā matn-i adwār wa-zawā‘id al-fawā‘id)*, ed. Taqī Bīnīsh (Tehran: Markaz-i Nashr-i Dānishgāhī, 1992).
- [607] 3b. Same as preceding, 336 {1–2}. Bound with al-Marāghī’s *R. fawā‘id-i ‘ishra*.⁴²
- [608] 4a. *R. fawā‘id-i ‘ashara* (Ten Scholia), Persian, 336 {2–3}. Bound with al-Marāghī’s *Sharḥ k. al-adwār*.
- [609] 4b. Same as preceding, 336 {10–11}.
- [610] 5. *R. laḥnīyya* (Treatise on Melodies), 336 {9–10}.
- [611] 6. “K. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Marāghī fī al-mūsīqī,” 336 {6–7}. Bound in a miscellaneous volume.

AL-SHIRWĀNĪ, Faṭḥ Allāh b. Abū Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Ibrāhīm al-Shābarānī (d. 1486)

See also al-Shirwānī in Part Two (*‘ilm al-hay’a*).

- [612] 1a. *Majalla fī al-mūsīqī* (Codex on Music), Arabic, 335 {18}.
- [613] 1b. Same as preceding, 336 {5}. MANUSCRIPT: One of these two codices should be the copy now housed as TSMK A. 3449 (Karatay: A 7428). EDITION: *Majalla fī al-mūsīqī = Codex on Music*, facs. ed. of TSMK A. 3449, ed. Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1986).
- [614] 2. *Tarjama-i adwār-i Khoja Ṣaḥfī al-Dīn* (Translation of al-Urmawī’s Epitome), Persian, 333 {18–19}. Bound with al-Wālishtānī’s *Mukhtaṣar dar ‘ilm al-ḥisāb*. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2735. See → al-Urmawī, 1(i).

AL-URMAWĪ, Ṣaḥfī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Mu‘min b. Yūsuf b. Fākhīr (d. 1294)

- [615] 1a. *al-Mukhtaṣar fī ma‘rifat al-nagham wa-al-adwār* (Epitome on Understanding Musical Tunes and Modes), better known as *K. al-adwār* (The Book of the Modes), Arabic, 1236, 336 {13–14}. [Catalogued in the inventory as *Mukhtaṣar Ṣaḥfī al-Dīn fī al-mūsīqī*.] MANUSCRIPT: This codex (1a) should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2735. EDITION: Mehmed Nuri Uygün, *Saḥyüddin Abdulmumin Urmevi ve Kitābü’l-Edvar’ı* (Istanbul: Kubbealtı, 1999).
- [616] 1b. Same as preceding, 336 {17}.
- [617] 1c. Same as preceding, 337 {1}. [Catalogued in the inventory as *Mukhtaṣar fī ma‘rifat al-nagham*.]
- [618] 1(i). [al-Shirwānī.] *Tarjama-i adwār-i Khoja Ṣaḥfī al-Dīn*, Persian, 333 {18–19}. Bound with al-Wālishtānī’s *Mukhtaṣar dar ‘ilm al-ḥisāb*. MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofya 2735. See → al-Shirwānī.
- [619] 1(ii). “*Tarjama-i mukhtaṣar-i Ṣaḥfī al-Dīn fī al-mūsīqī*,” Persian, 336 {14–15}.

- [620] 1.1. [al-Marāghī.] *Sharḥ k. al-adwār*, Persian, 335 {19}–336 {1}. See → Al-Marāghī, ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Ghaybī, 3. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3470 (Karatay: F 280).
- [621] 2a. *al-R. al-sharāfiyya fī al-nisab al-ta’līfiyya* (The *Sharāfiyya* Treatise on Musical Proportions), Arabic, 1267, 335 {16}. EDITION: Fazlı Arslan, *Safīyyüddin Urmevi ve Şerefiyye Risalesi* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 2007).
- [622] 2b. Same as preceding, 335 {18–19}.
- [623] 2c. Same as preceding, 336 {17–18}.

ANONYMOUS/UNIDENTIFIED AUTHORS

- [624] 1. *Kashf al-humūm wa-al-kurab fī sharḥ āla al-ṭarab* (Dispelling Worries and Distress on the Description of a Musical Instrument), Arabic, fourteenth century, 336 {8}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3465 (Karatay: A 7424). EDITION: Mehmet Tıraşçı, “Kitābü Keşfü’l-Hümûm ve’l-Kurab fī şerhi âleti’t-tarab isimli Anonim Mûsikî Eseri (Edisyon Kritik ve İnceleme)” (PhD diss., Marmara University, 2013).
- [625] 2. *Mukhtaşar fī al-mūsīqī* (Compendium of Music), language specified as Arabic, 336 {9}.
- [626] 3. *Sharḥ al-mukhtaşar fī al-mūsīqī* (Commentary of the Musical Compendium), 336 {12}.
- [627] 4a. *R. fī al-mūsīqī* (Treatise on Music), language specified as Persian, 336 {12–13}.
- [628] 4b. Same as preceding, language specified as Turkish, 337 {4–5}.
- [629] 4c. “*K. fī al-mūsīqī*,” language specified as Arabic, 337 {4}.
- [630] 5. *Muwashshaḥ jāmī’ al-maqāmāt wa-ghayrihā min qibal al-mūsīqī* (A Compendium of *Muwashshaḥ* Works on [musical] Rhythms), 336 {16}.
- [631] 6a. *Gharā’ib al-adwār fī al-mūsīqī* (Unusual Modes), 336 {13}.
- [632] 6b. Same as preceding, 337 {2}.
- [633] 7. *Adwār al-mūsīqī* (Musical Modes), 336 {19}. Bound with an anonymous *R. manzūma fī ḥikāya mūsīqīyya*.
- [634] 8. *R. manzūma fī ḥikāya mūsīqīyya* (Treatise in Verse on the Story of Music), Persian, 336 {19}. Bound with an anonymous *Adwār al-mūsīqī*.

PART SIX

Amusement (*kutub al-lahw*)

AL-ḤASAN AL-BAŞRĪ, Abū Sa’īd al-Ḥasan b. Yasār al-Başrī (d. 728)

- [635] 1a. *K. al-shaṭranj li-l-Başrī* (The Book of Chess), Arabic, 337 {12}.
- [636] 1b. Same as preceding, 337 {12}.
- [637] 1c. Same as preceding, 337 {13}.

ANONYMOUS/UNIDENTIFIED

- [638] 1. *K. al-shaṭranj*, 337 {13}.

NOTES

Authors’ note: This list includes helpful contributions from Jamil Ragep and the McGill Team (Sally Ragep, Sajjad Nikfahm-Khubravan, Fateme Savadi, and Hasan Umut).

1. Karatay does not list all the works in the volume.
2. This codex is not catalogued in Karatay.

3. 'Atufi notes that the book is also known as *K. al-tāj*.
4. Since we did not have the chance to see the original manuscript, we are not sure whether this codex bears Bayezid II's seal.
5. Karatay says the work is anonymous.
6. Although 'Atufi does not assign its authorship to Kūshyār, the extant volume contains his treatise on the astrolabe along with Ptolemy's *Tasṭīḥ basīṭ al-kura* (Flattening the Surface of the Sphere) and Thābit b. Qurṛā's translation of Autolykos (*K. al-kura al-mutaḥarriqa*).
7. 'Atufi notes that the copy lacks the last part of Book 4.
8. The codex has the seal of Bayezid II and is listed by Zeynep Atbaş. But as Jamil Ragep et al. have noted, Karatay also lists a treatise by Taqī al-Dīn (d. 1585) bound in the same volume. This codex might have been rebound at a later date.
9. See the above footnote.
10. Although 'Atufi does not mention it in the relevant entry, the copy also includes a section from Book 4 of al-Shīrāzī's *Durrat al-tāj*.
11. 'Atufi notes that the copy contains only Chapter 7.
12. Karatay does not list all the works in the volume.
13. This codex is not catalogued in Karatay.
14. Karatay does not list all the works in the volume.
15. Although 'Atufi does not mention it in the relevant entry, this codex also contains *Miftāḥ bīst bāb dar ma'rīfat-i usṭurlāb* attributed to al-Ṣūfī.
16. Although 'Atufi does not mention it in the relevant entry, the copy also includes a section from Book 4 of al-Shīrāzī's *Durrat al-tāj*.
17. Karatay does not list all the works in the volume.
18. The manuscript also contains the Turkish translation of the same horoscope.
19. Although 'Atufi does not mention it in the relevant entry, this volume contains a copy of Kūshyār's *Mujmal al-uṣūl*.
20. Karatay does not list all the works in the volume.
21. Karatay does not list all the works in the volume.
22. Although 'Atufi does not specify its authorship to Kūshyār, the extant volume houses his treatise on the astrolabe along with Ptolemy's *Tasṭīḥ basīṭ al-kura* (Flattening the Surface of the Sphere) and Thābit b. Qurṛā's translation of Autolykos's *K. al-kura al-mutaḥarriqa*.
23. Although 'Atufi does not mention it in the inventory, the extant copy also contains three additional texts on astral sciences: al-Ṭūsī's *al-R. al-mu'iniyya*, *Sharḥ R.-i mu'iniyya*, and *Mukhtaṣar dar ma'rīfat-i usṭurlāb*.
24. Although 'Atufi does not mention it in the relevant entry, the extant copy also contains three additional texts on astral sciences: al-Ṭūsī's *al-R. al-mu'iniyya*, *Sharḥ R.-i mu'iniyya*, and *Mukhtaṣar dar ma'rīfat-i usṭurlāb*.
25. 'Atufi's entry does not specify its authorship to Faṭḥ Allāh al-Shirwānī, but given that in addition to al-Niksārī's supercommentary, there are two additional supercommentaries in the palace library, one written by al-Shirwānī and the other by Sinān Pasha, one of these two entries must be referring to al-Shirwānī's work.
26. 'Atufi's entry does not specify its authorship to Sinān Pasha, but given that in addition to al-Niksārī's supercommentary, there are two additional supercommentaries in the palace library, one written by al-Shirwānī and the other by Sinān Pasha, one of these two entries must be referring to Sinān Pasha's work.
27. Based on extant manuscript record, one of the unidentified commentaries listed under al-Ṭūsī should be al-Jurjānī's work.
28. See note xxv above.
29. See note xxvi above.
30. As far as the relevant catalog entry of Karatay is concerned, the manuscript contains different treatises, including that of al-Ṭūsī and al-Sijzī.
31. See note xxvi above.
32. See note xxv above.
33. Based on extant manuscript record, one of the unidentified commentaries listed under al-Ṭūsī should be al-Shirwānī's work.

34. Although the work has been attributed to Qāḍizāde al-Rūmī, İhsan Fazlıoğlu notes that it should belong to another Şalāḥ al-Dīn Mūsā who lived and flourished before Qāḍizāde al-Rūmī. See Fazlıoğlu, "Kadıze-i Rumi," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*.
35. According to both the Karatay catalogue and the catalogue of the Süleymaniye Library, the author of this work bearing Bayezid II's seal is a certain Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Khaṭībī. No information has been found about this individual.
36. Cevat İzgi records the title as *al-Tajnis fī al-ḥisāb*. See Cevat İzgi, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: İz, 1997), 245–46.
37. 'Atufi registers the title as *ḥussāb*.
38. The catalogue of the Süleymaniye Library attributes it to al-Ṭūsī.
39. Jamil Ragep et al. note that the codex contains Fanārīzāde 'Alī Çelebī's commentary on Sajāwāndī's *al-Tajnis*. The listing on the title page corresponds with 'Atufi's entry in the inventory.
40. This could be the work of Ibn al-Haytham.
41. This could be 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Kiya al-Māzandarānī's *Risāla-i falakiyya*. See *Die Resalā-ye falakiyyā des 'Abdollah ibn Mohammad ibn Kiya al-Mazandarani: Ein persischer Leitfaden des staatlichen Rechnungswesens (um 1363)*, ed. Walther Hintz (Wiesbaden, 1952).
42. While MS Török F. 59 transliteration reads it as *'ishra*, the entry on Marāghī in the *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* reads it as *'ashara*.

ASTRONOMICAL AND OTHER MATHEMATICAL SCIENCES

‘Atufi’s choice to subsume astral sciences, mathematics, music, and amusement¹ into a single section of the inventory needs a brief explanation. In his *Republic*, Plato famously details the requirement that the Guardians, the future rulers, be trained in mathematics as a way to turn the mind toward the true forms (“being”) and away from the world of the senses (“becoming”). This ideal formed the basis for what would become, in the Latinate world, the “quadrivium,” i.e., the four sciences that could, with some tweaking, be extracted from Book VII of the *Republic*. Although these four sciences—arithmetic (or, more precisely, number theory), geometry, astronomy, and music—are included within this section of the inventory, Plato’s curriculum for the Guardians, and the quadrivium of medieval Latin universities, does not find an exact correlate within pre-modern Islam. Rather, the entire spectrum of mathematical sciences, whether pure or applied, *simplicitur* or mixed, came to be called in Arabic *al-‘ulūm al-ta’ālīmiyya* (the training sciences), a translation of the Greek *hai mathēmatikai epistēmai* (αἱ μαθηματικαὶ ἐπιστήμαι).² Thus, disciplines extending beyond what was known to Plato, such as trigonometry and algebra, would also be included within this classification. Furthermore, a controversial subject such as astrology, which as a practical discipline would have been scorned by Plato, would sometimes (but not always, as we shall see) find a place within the Islamic mathematical sciences. In short, we need to take into account the particularities of Islamic intellectual history and not assume that a term such as “quadrivium” is necessarily applicable across cultures.

Another issue requiring our attention concerns those sciences with both mathematical and physical components.³ *Pace* his teacher Plato, Aristotle did not hold that

an astronomer could pursue his subject purely mathematically and somehow “let the things [we observe] in the heavens alone.”⁴ Rather, Aristotle held that astronomy and music had physical as well as purely abstract, mathematical sides, which is how they, along with optics and harmonics, came to be regarded as “middle sciences.”⁵ This already creates a problem for any classifier. If astronomical phenomena, for example, are treated strictly mathematically, with the goal being to describe what one sees in the heavens and to predict future positions, then one might wish to distinguish this type of astral science from one that treats the phenomena as due to physical bodies acting in characteristic ways. And indeed, such a distinction had already occurred in antiquity. A purely mathematical approach to the subject, such as that of the Babylonians, was considerably modified by Greek astronomers, who transformed Babylonian numerical cycles into the uniform motion of spherical bodies in the heavens.⁶ These spherical bodies could be mathematically abstracted as circles (as one finds in Ptolemy’s *Almagest*), which simplifies the calculations, or they could be kept as three-dimensional bodies (as one finds in Ptolemy’s *Planetary Hypotheses*). Further complicating the issue is that some Greek thinkers considered the *nature* of the celestial bodies as a matter for natural philosophy rather than astronomy (whether in a work such as the *Almagest* or the *Planetary Hypotheses*): thus, the distinction one sees in Geminus (first century CE) between natural philosophy focusing on the why, or reasoned fact (*to dihoti*), and astronomy, which studies only the fact itself (*to hoti*).⁷

In order to understand ‘Atufi’s somewhat idiosyncratic cataloguing of the materials in this section of the inventory, let us focus on the “astral” sciences, which he

classifies under the rubrics of *‘ilm al-nujūm* and *‘ilm al-hay’a*, and explore some of the background for classifying the “astral” sciences in Islamic literature, which includes both what we would call astronomy and astrology.⁸

The above distinctions, nuances, and ambiguities were all transmitted, in one form or another, to the Islamic world from the Hellenistic one. By the tenth century, one finds the philosopher al-Farabi (d. 950), the chancery secretary (*kātib*) Abu ‘Abd Allah Muhammad al-Khwarazmi (fl. tenth century), and the encyclopedists called Ikhwan al-Safa’ (Brethren of Purity, tenth century)⁹ all using the term *‘ilm al-nujūm* (science of the stars) to translate *astronomia*,¹⁰ i.e., a discipline that encompassed mathematical astronomy¹¹ and astrology. Furthermore, both Khwarazmi and the Ikhwan use *‘ilm al-hay’a* (science of configuration) to designate one of the branches of *‘ilm al-nujūm*. Khwarazmi states that this subdivision has to do with the “knowledge of the arrangement (*tarkīb*) of the orbs, their configuration (*hay’a*), and the configuration of the Earth.”¹²

In the next generation, we encounter something new. Ibn Sina (Avicenna, d. 1037) uses the term *‘ilm al-hay’a* to designate the mathematical discipline having to do with the external structure of the universe. Astrology (*‘ilm al-aḥkām*) is no longer listed as a mathematical discipline but is included as part of natural philosophy (*al-ḥikma al-ṭabī‘iyya*).¹³ Thus, *‘ilm al-hay’a* becomes, more or less, what we would call astronomy and includes astronomical tables, instruments, and practical astronomy (such as finding the direction to Mecca). The overarching subject of this reconstituted discipline is “bodies,” both celestial and sublunary. As stated a few centuries later by Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (d. 1274): “The subject of astronomy is the simple bodies, both superior and inferior, with respect to their quantities, qualities, positions, and intrinsic motions.”¹⁴ That the subject matter is “bodies” might appear to indicate that astronomy has become a part of physics or natural philosophy. This topic is discussed at length by various Islamic astronomers, philosophers, and theologians. The consensus (though not unanimous) is that the qualification “with respect to” (in Tusi’s formulation) indicates that astronomy will only study the external aspects of bodies, not their intrinsic natures; the latter is said to be the

subject of a work such as Aristotle’s (or Ibn Sina’s) *De caelo*.¹⁵

In the post-classical period (i.e., after 1200), this new understanding of astronomy as *‘ilm al-hay’a* generally holds, though there are some interesting exceptions. Following Ibn Sina, Ibn al-Akfani (d. 1348) in his *Irshād* (Guide) clearly distinguishes between *‘ilm al-hay’a*, which is one of the mathematical sciences, and *‘ilm aḥkām al-nujūm* (science of judgments of the stars), which is one of the natural sciences. On the other hand, Ibn al-Akfani does use the term *‘ilm al-nujūm* when evaluating the legal standing of the various astral sciences. Finding prayer times is considered obligatory (*wājib*). Using *‘ilm al-nujūm* to show the existence of the Creator, His knowledge and omnipotence is recommended (*mandūb*). It is permissible (*mubāḥ*) to study the influence of the stars as being due to habituation (*‘āda*), but not to nature (*bi-al-ṭab‘*), the latter being reprehensible (*makrūh*). The strongest legal injunction, that which is forbidden (*maḥẓūr*), is reserved for the belief that the stars act independently and are thus deserving of worship. It is reasonably clear, from both this legal aside and the way he categorizes the astral sciences, that Ibn al-Akfani privileges *‘ilm al-hay’a* over *‘ilm al-nujūm*. This is confirmed inasmuch as he classifies the subdivisions of astronomy under *‘ilm al-hay’a* rather than *‘ilm al-nujūm*. These five subdivisions are: the science of astronomical tables and ephemerides/calendars (*‘ilm al-zījāt wa-al-taqāwīm*); the science of timekeeping (*‘ilm al-mawāqīt*); the science of the methodology of observations (*‘ilm kayfiyyat al-arṣād*); the science of flattening the sphere [e.g., the astrolabe] (*‘ilm taṣṭīḥ al-kura*); and the science of shadow instruments [e.g., sundials] (*‘ilm al-ālāt al-ẓilliyya*).¹⁶ Despite generally adhering to Ibn Sina’s formulation regarding *hay’a* and *nujūm*, Ibn al-Akfani’s conceptualization provides a way to legitimize astrology, as long as it does not impinge upon God’s omnipotence.

Moving from the Mamluk region to Ottoman territory, one finds the renowned encyclopedist and theologian Ahmad ibn Mustafa Tashkubrizade (Taşköprizade, d. 1561) more or less following Ibn al-Akfani’s categorization of the astral sciences; *‘ilm al-hay’a* is again touted for its exalted subject matter and the certainty of its proofs. Tashkubrizade also quotes a famous Qur’an

verse as an indication of *hay'a*'s exalted status: "Whoever—standing, sitting or reclining—recall God and reflect on the creation of the heavens and the Earth [will say]: Our Lord! Thou hast not created this in vain" (Qur'an, III.191).¹⁷ On the other hand, Tashkubrizade leaves little doubt about his disdain for astrology. He lists two uses for *zīj*es and ephemerides: one related to timekeeping, the qibla direction, and prayer times; the other related to judgments in the sublunar, elemental world arising from celestial circumstances, i.e., astrology. He states that only the first use is legitimate and then proceeds to offer a scathing indictment of astrology, saying that it is both unsound from a legal point of view (*madkhūlat al-ṣaḥḥa fi al-sharʿ*) and weak from a scientific one.¹⁸

One may find Akfani's five subdivisions of *hay'a* in Tashkubrizade's chapter on the branches of *ʿilm al-hay'a*, but there is a bewildering range of other sciences listed as well.¹⁹ There are expected subdivisions, such as the constellations, the sizes and distances of the stars and planets, and constructing and using the astrolabe. But he also includes geography of various sorts, wonders of creation literature, and various divisions that would normally be listed under astrology, such as planetary conjunctions, cycles, and *ʿilm al-malāḥim*, a popular form of yearly prognostication. The problem with this listing of the branches of *ʿilm al-hay'a*, at least for the purpose of ascertaining Tashkubrizade's understanding of the divisions of the astral sciences, is that in several cases, e.g., for cycles (*al-adwār wa-al-akwār*) and *malāḥim*, he states these are subdivisions of *aḥkām al-nujūm*. However, the subdivisions of *aḥkām al-nujūm* were already listed previously²⁰ and so it is puzzling that they are listed here under the branches of *ʿilm al-hay'a* rather than under the branches of *aḥkām al-nujūm*. What we can conclude is that there is a certain degree of ambiguity regarding how Tashkubrizade has bifurcated *ʿilm al-hay'a* and *aḥkām al-nujūm*. Yet there is little justification for inferring from this ambiguity that Tashkubrizade, contrary to what he says, is attempting to surreptitiously provide a justification for *aḥkām al-nujūm* and its subdivisions.²¹

In his dissertation, Tunç Şen provides additional information that helps us to situate 'Atufi's cataloguing of the astral sciences, which is rather different from what we find in the Avicennian categorizations of Akfani and

Tashkubrizade. Şen points to Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 1210) and Muhammed Shah Fanari (Mehmed Şah Fanari, d. 1436), among other influential writers, who seem to have made *aḥkām al-nujūm* part of the mathematical sciences, contra Avicenna and his followers. The influence of both writers upon Ottoman thinkers and cataloguers, including 'Atufi, is nicely detailed by Şen.²²

The multifaceted and changing categorization of the astral sciences among the Ottomans is highlighted in the *Kashf al-ẓunūn* (Removal of Uncertainty) of the renowned Ottoman scholar Katib Çelebi (known as Hajji Khalifa, d. 1657), who uses *ʿilm al-nujūm* as his main astral category.²³ He begins by defining this discipline as "a science by which one learns the indications for events in the world of generation and corruption from the celestial forms (*al-tashakkulāt al-falakiyya*)."²⁴ He then mentions three divisions: computations (*ḥisābiyyāt*), physics (*ṭabīʿiyyāt*), and speculations (*wahmīyyāt*). The first two, he assures us, are not contrary to Shari'a law; the last is forbidden if one regards the stars as acting independently. On the other hand, Katib Çelebi cites al-Shafi'i (d. 820), who says there is no harm if one acknowledges the stars as acting through God's habit (*ʿāda*), a position we have seen with Ibn al-Akfani. It must be admitted that Katib Çelebi's final position is not clear, since he cites both positive and negative positions regarding astrology. For our purposes, he ends his account of *ʿilm al-nujūm* by citing the four-fold division of 'Ali ibn Ahmad al-Nasawi (eleventh century):²⁵ 1) knowing the unit (*raqm*) of ephemerides and the astrolabe; 2) introduction to the "science of the stars" and knowledge of the natures and temperaments of the planets and zodiacal signs; 3) on knowing how to calculate the stars and on the construction of *zīj*es and ephemerides/calendars; and 4) knowledge of *hay'a* and the geometrical proofs for the validity of the operations [related to] the stars. Katib Çelebi also cites Nasawi's statement to the effect that most of his contemporaries have confined themselves to the first two divisions, and that it is rare to find someone with knowledge of the third (and presumably the fourth as well). Does Katib Çelebi agree with this assessment for his own time? This is not clear, but it is interesting to note that his listing for *ʿilm al-hay'a* (which would presumably include Nasawi's more advanced and mathematically-based third and fourth

divisions) is woefully inadequate. He incongruously lists under this rubric a rather non-typical astronomical work by the Andalusian Ibn Aflah (twelfth century); a work on talismans; and Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti's (d. 1505) book on "Sunni *hay'a*," which is mainly based on the Qur'an, prophetic hadiths, and traditional accounts.²⁶

What makes Katib Çelebi's entries and comments particularly puzzling is that we know from recent research (the Islamic Scientific Manuscripts Initiative²⁷) that there was an upsurge of manuscript copies dealing with *hay'a* in the seventeenth century, especially in Istanbul. In fact, in a codex (Süleymaniye, Carullah MS 1489) that contains three *hay'a* works (Qadizade's commentary on Jaghmini's *Mulakkhkhaṣ fī al-hay'a* and two glosses [*hāshiyas*] on it), we find a note by the bibliophile Carullah Efendi (seventeenth to eighteenth centuries), who states that the codex is in Katib Çelebi's hand. Carullah adds that Katib Çelebi himself taught the text, presumably meaning Qadizade's commentary, to a certain 'Abd al-Wahhab, who was a teacher of Sultan Süleyman II (d. 1691) (fol. 1a). Moreover, in *Kashf al-zunūn*, Katib Çelebi himself provides a detailed entry for the *Mulakkhkhaṣ*, which he refers to as a "famous epitome" (*mukhtaṣar mashhūr*), and lists some ten commentaries of the work.²⁸

One is tempted to distinguish between someone like Tashkubrizade, the product of a traditional madrasa education and himself a prominent teacher, and Katib Çelebi, a self-educated individual and someone associated more with the scribal bureaucracy than the madrasa.²⁹ Did this cause Katib Çelebi to prioritize '*ilm al-nujūm*' over '*ilm al-hay'a*'? This is one possibility, but we need to be cautious given our present state of knowledge. As we have seen, there is a great deal of ambiguity and difference of opinion regarding the Avicennian separation of '*ilm al-hay'a*' and *aḥkām al-nujūm* in the post-classical period, so it may not be possible to correlate them fully with madrasa and court contexts, respectively. To emphasize this point, we have the example of Sinan Pasha (d. 1486), who not only served for many years as a teacher in various madrasas, but also as vizier and tutor of Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–46, 1451–81) until he fell out of favor. On the one hand, he wrote vehemently against the *munajjims* and astrology; on the other, he was a practitioner of *hay'a*, extolling its

virtues in a gloss on Qadizade's commentary on Jaghmini's *Mulakkhkhaṣ* that he evidently used for teaching. Interestingly, Sinan Pasha dedicated the work to Sultan Bayezid II.³⁰

Let us now turn to the categorization of the mathematical sciences in 'Atufi's inventory, using the above discussion to help us make sense of his listings. First let us recall the obvious, which is that 'Atufi was working in a court context. But we should acknowledge that he demonstrates a wide-ranging knowledge of the entirety of the sciences, both religious and non-religious; here we note that 'Atufi also wrote on the medical sciences.³¹ Given his writings on *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth*, as well as the fact that he had been a *mudarris* (teacher in a madrasa), 'Atufi no doubt had a traditional education.³² Like many scholars of his time, he very likely had a high regard for the mathematical sciences, which were often held, even by the more religiously inclined, to be beyond reproach.³³ Although it had a mathematical basis, astrology occupied a much more ambiguous position, as we have seen. These considerations may help us to understand the hybrid nature of 'Atufi's categorization, at once reflecting the important status of astronomy (especially *hay'a* works) as having a place in madrasa teaching while also acknowledging astrology (and other occult sciences) as an important part of court culture at the time.

This conceptualization is reflected in 'Atufi's categories of *nujūm* and *hay'a*. The former encompasses works on practical astronomy, including astrology, religious ritual, instrument making, calendars, and other practical applications. The category of *hay'a* is, in general, being used for works on theoretical astronomy, whether these be *hay'a basīṭa* (simple *hay'a*, without extensive geometrical proofs and derivations) or *hay'a mabsūṭa* (extended *hay'a*, with proofs and derivations such as one finds in the *Almagest*). *Aḥkām al-nujūm* has been reserved for astrological works. Generally speaking, then, we can say that 'Atufi has opted to include astrological works among the mathematical sciences, which puts him outside the Avicennian/Akfani tradition. However, this is not inconsistent with Tashkubrizade's long list of subdivisions of *hay'a* that rather incongruously includes some astrological subdivisions. It is also consistent with Tashkubrizade's remark that practical astronomy can

be used for religious purposes and for astrological ones. So, despite the objections of someone as prominent as Sinan Pasha, Bayezid II's librarian could place astrological works within the exalted category of the mathematical sciences.

As for the other mathematical sciences, works categorized under arithmetic, geometry, and music follow more predictable patterns already set in antiquity. One must note, however, certain sub-disciplines that were reformulated or radically transformed within Islamic traditions. These include trigonometry, which Islamic mathematicians built into a relatively new discipline based upon the Indian sine function, and algebra, which they systematized using the practical procedures of the Babylonians and the apodictic methods of Greek geometry. Practical arithmetic itself was transformed due to the inheritance of different techniques and number systems from Babylonia, Greece, and India. And Islamic scholars came to deal with music, both practically and theoretically, in new ways as a result of their encounters with the many traditions that existed in the vast Islamic realms.

In what follows, we deal with the disciplines that appear in 'Atufi's section on mathematical sciences. By our count, there are approximately five hundred works that he lists, and he uses some twenty-one major classifications to categorize them (see our chart at the end of this essay).³⁴ Some of these classifications are virtually synonymous (e.g., *hay'a* and *ilm al-hay'a*) and are used interchangeably to identify the same work. Nevertheless, we have listed works under such categories separately so that patterns may be easily identified. The categories in the first vertical column of the chart are mainly those of 'Atufi; categories in the top horizontal row represent modern designations. Endnotes to the number of entries in each category refer, in general, to the bracketed numbers (e.g., [123]) in Tunç Şen and Cornell Fleischer's list of entries, which appears at the end of their essay in this volume. We should emphasize that our chart does not encompass mathematical works that appear in other sections of 'Atufi's inventory; we also have not listed works in this section that do not belong to the mathematical sciences. Thus, the chart does not completely overlap with Şen and Fleischer's list of entries.

In the following sections, we deal with individual disciplines using categories from the top row: astrology, *zīj*es/astronomical tables, astronomical instruments, *hay'a*/theoretical astronomy, arithmetic, geometry, and music. We do not deal with the idiosyncratic inclusion of chess, which 'Atufi may have considered as a game requiring mathematical skill.³⁵

THE ASTROLOGICAL CORPUS

Before dealing generally with the classification of astrological works in 'Atufi's inventory, we should mention the branches of astrology that were widely accepted in the pre-modern Islamic period. Al-Qabisi (fl. second half of the tenth century), who lived in Iraq and Syria, was considered among the most authoritative astrologers of the pre-modern period, both in the Islamic world and Latin Europe.³⁶ Therefore, his classification of the astrological disciplines will help us situate 'Atufi's listings. In his work entitled *Risāla fī imtiḥān al-munaḥḥimīn* (Treatise on the Examination of Astrologers), al-Qabisi lists five branches of astrology: 1) historical astrology, which deals with nations, religions, and regions, historically for the former two, and naturally for the latter (i.e., weather forecasting); 2) genethliology or nativities (*mawālīd*), generally concerned with casting horoscopes on the individual's time of birth; 3) anniversary horoscopes, which deal with "the revolutions of the years of the nativities" (*taḥāwīl sinī al-mawālīd*). Like genethliology, this also involves casting a horoscope for an individual's birthday, but its goal is specifically to obtain guidance for the immediately following year; 4) interrogations (*masā'il*), used to determine whether or not one should perform an action; and 5) elections (*ikhtiyārāt*) for determining the best time to perform or avoid a specific action.³⁷

Eighty-seven titles among those listed under the mathematical and astral sciences are directly related to one of the astrological branches mentioned above.³⁸ Among these are some of the most significant and widely circulated astrological books in Islamic history. This leads us to think that those who contributed to the formation of the collection over the years possessed considerable astrological interest and knowledge—both

theoretical and practical. To give a few examples, authoritative works written by Ptolemy (d. after 150), Abu Ma'shar (d. 886), Kushyar ibn Labban (fl. second half of the tenth and early eleventh centuries), and Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (d. 1274) are found in many codices in the collection.³⁹ 'Atufi himself uses several designations for the works we have categorized as astrological, which gives us an indication of how he conceptualized astrology and related sciences. These include *aḥkām al-nujūm* (the judgments of the stars), *'ilm aḥkām al-nujūm* (the science of the judgments of the stars), *ikhtiyārāt al-nujūm* (elections of the stars), *nujūm* (the stars), *'ilm al-nujūm* (the science of the stars), and *min qibal al-nujūm* (pertaining to the stars) to denote astrological works in the collection. A few astrological works do not include any specification.⁴⁰

As mentioned above, *aḥkām al-nujūm* is the general term that denoted astrology throughout Islamic history, and 'Atufi's consistency in using this term exclusively for astrological works indicates a historical continuity in the way the term was used. Another term 'Atufi used for astrological works, *ikhtiyārāt al-nujūm*, is also straightforward;⁴¹ as we learned from Qabisi, this is a subcategory of astrology dealing with the choice of the auspicious or inauspicious moment for actions in the future.⁴² On the other hand, the use of terms such as *nujūm*, *'ilm al-nujūm*, and *min qibal al-nujūm* for certain astrological works is intriguing, given the fact that many works on instruments, astronomical tables (*zīj*es), constellations, calendars, and even finding the direction of the qibla are also categorized by 'Atufi under the rubric of *nujūm*. Therefore, one might wonder how interrelated the categories *nujūm* and *aḥkām al-nujūm* are in 'Atufi's classification.

In their article in this volume, Tunç Şen and Cornell Fleischer also point out the same issue, dealing with the aforementioned terms in relation to the term *hay'a* as well as to each other. They also aim to contextualize 'Atufi's categories with respect to the discussions that emerged in post-thirteenth-century Iran and Central Asia regarding the classifications of sciences. Şen and Fleischer likewise indicate that boundaries between 'Atufi's categories for the astral sciences cannot be strictly delineated. Their argument is that, especially due to the influence of Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 1210),

subsequent literature on the classification of astrology tends to view it within the mathematical sciences rather than as part of natural philosophy (an earlier view belonging to Ibn Sina and his followers).⁴³

Concerning the use of categories with the term *nujūm*, it is important to note that in a few instances 'Atufi uses different classifications for works in the same genre, and even for multiple copies of the same work. For instance, horoscopes for Sultan Mehmed II (d. 1481) are listed under *min qibal al-nujūm*, whereas the horoscope for Cem Sultan (d. 1495), one of Sultan Mehmed II's sons, is categorized under *fi al-nujūm*.⁴⁴ A more striking example is that most copies of pseudo-Ptolemy's *Thamara* (Fruit) and its derivatives are specified as *aḥkām al-nujūm*, whereas one of its translations into Persian is classified under *al-nujūm*.⁴⁵ Though these few examples do not provide enough evidence to conclude that 'Atufi uses those specifications interchangeably, it can be safely assumed that *nujūm* was a generic term that could be applied to many of the astral works in the collection, except for theoretical astronomy (*hay'a*), whereas *aḥkām al-nujūm* was reserved for astrology.⁴⁶

ZĪJES AND TABLES

In the Islamic astronomical tradition, the term *zīj*,⁴⁷ which originated from Middle Persian, refers to a specific genre of mathematical astronomical writings.⁴⁸ The history of the genre spans twelve centuries, starting with the translation of astronomical texts into Arabic from Sanskrit, Middle Persian, and Greek in the eighth century and ending in the twentieth century. Around 250 Islamicate exemplars of this genre in various languages have been recorded in bibliographies. These exemplars differ in structure and content due to the evolution of the genre over time. In its standard form, however, which was established at an early date, this genre consists mainly of astronomical tables and covers four primary topics: a) calendars; b) trigonometric functions; c) calculation of planetary positions; and d) mathematical astrological functions. Many *zīj*es also included a star catalogue, a table of coordinates of localities, and qibla direction tables. The genre was influenced directly by developments and improvements in other fields,

ranging from observational techniques and trigonometric theorems to mathematical geography and astrology. New observations were an important motivation for the composition of new *zīj*es throughout the Islamic period; other motivating factors included making the material more accessible to a wider audience and providing more practical techniques.

There are several phases in the history of *zīj*es. However, for this brief account, we will focus on the period between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁴⁹ After the fall of Baghdad in 1258, Nasir al-Din al-Tusi, who had already written numerous astronomical works, established an observatory in Maragha in northwestern Iran in order to undertake new observations and to compose a new *zīj* based on those observations. The outcome, entitled *Zīj-i Īlkhānī* (The Ilkhanid Tables), was brought forth sometime after 1272.⁵⁰ As news of the activities in Maragha spread throughout the Islamic world, the results were eagerly awaited, and soon Tusi's *zīj* became widely known. Although the introduction to the *zīj* implies that it is based on the new observations carried out in Maragha, little was new in terms of the parameters used for the calculation of tables. Hence, shortly after the publication of the *Zīj-i Īlkhānī*, several astronomers criticized it; some compiled new tables meant to replace or supplement the work. Among the latter was Muhyi al-Din al-Maghribi (d. 1283), who conducted his own observations at Maragha and composed his own *zīj*.⁵¹ Among those who criticized the *Zīj-i Īlkhānī* were 'Ala' al-Munajjim al-Bukhari (d. ca. 1291) in *al-'Umda-i Īlkhāniyya* (Ilkhanid Pillar);⁵² Nizam al-Din al-Nisaburi (d. ca. 1330) in *Kashf-i ḥaqā'iq-i Zīj-i Īlkhānī* (Uncovering the Truth of the Ilkhanid Tables; compiled in 708/1308–9);⁵³ and Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Wabkanawi in his *al-Zīj al-muḥaqqaq al-sultānī 'alā uṣūl al-raṣad al-Īlkhānī* (Verified Royal Tables Based on the Ilkhanid Observation Principles; compiled ca. 720/1320), who used Maghribi's parameters in his *zīj*.⁵⁴ These critiques mostly focus on the disagreement between the Maragha observations and the outcome of the *zīj* for planetary positions.⁵⁵

About a century and a half after the establishment of the Maragha observatory, Ulugh Beg (d. 1449), the grandson of Tamerlane (Timur) and the governor of Transoxiana, established an observatory in Samarqand that became an attractive destination for scholars.

Ghiyath al-Din Jamshid al-Kashi (d. 1429) presented his *Zīj-i Khāqānī dar takmil-i Zīj-i Īlkhānī* ("Khāqānī" Tables Complementing the Ilkhanid Tables) to Ulugh Beg upon his arrival in Samarqand.⁵⁶ Despite his criticism of *Zīj-i Īlkhānī*, Kashi adopted its planetary mean motion parameters in his *zīj*. Ulugh Beg, who was not only a patron of mathematics and astronomy, but was also quite knowledgeable about the subjects, was not satisfied with Kashi's *zīj* and so asked him to supervise the construction of instruments for the observatory, make new observations, and compose a new *zīj*. Qadizade al-Rumi (d. after 1440) and 'Ali Qushji (d. 1474) were among the scholars who collaborated in these observations. Finally, in 841/1437, the *zīj* was completed. Many manuscript copies of this *zīj* are extant under different titles, such as *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg* (Ulugh Beg's Tables), *Zīj-i Gūrkānī* (The Gurkani Tables), and *Zīj-i jadīd-i sultānī* (The New Royal Tables).⁵⁷ Imad al-Din al-Bukhari, an astronomer close to Ulugh Beg, tells us that after the appearance of this *zīj*, he prepared annual *taqwīms* (yearly planetary ephemerides) for Ulugh Beg. In the course of computing these ephemerides, he managed to simplify the calculation process for the moon and presented the solution to Ulugh Beg. After the death of Ulugh Beg, using the same technique, he composed two sets of tables for the moon and Mercury and dedicated them to the Timurid sultan Abu Sa'id (r. 1451–69). Copies of these tables, called *Tashīl-i Qamar* (Facilitating [the calculations of] the Moon) and *Tashīl-i 'Uṭārid* (Facilitating [the calculations of] Mercury), found their way to Bayezid II's library.⁵⁸

'Ali Qushji, who participated in the Samarqand observations, left Samarqand after Ulugh Beg's death in 1449. He would eventually arrive in Istanbul around 1472, after having spent time at other courts in Central Asia and Iran. Sometime between 1449 and 1472, he wrote his commentary on *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg*, which was one of many works that he brought with him to Ottoman lands.⁵⁹ Qushji's great-grandson, Mirim Çelebi (d. 1525), who was also a great-grandson of Qadizade al-Rumi and a contemporary of 'Atufi, wrote a commentary on *Zīj-i Ulugh Beg* as well and dedicated it to Bayezid II.⁶⁰

In addition to Mirim Çelebi's work, the *zīj* tradition continued under Bayezid II's patronage. Khitabi Munajjim al-Husayni al-Lahijani (fl. late fifteenth century),

one of the astronomers in Bayezid II's court, seems to have conducted a series of observations in Istanbul using some instruments he constructed. In his *Tashrīḥ al-ālāt fī sha'n al-imtiḥānāt* (Description of Instruments Pertaining to Testing), written in 1483 and dedicated to Bayezid II, Khitabi refers to criticisms directed against the *Zīj-i Īlkhānī*. He states that there were inconsistencies between this *zīj* and others; hence, he intended to examine these differences with the help of his own observations. According to Khitabi, such an examination had not been possible until the time of Bayezid II, under whose patronage he finally managed to construct the instruments and perform observations.⁶¹ Another indication of Bayezid II's patronage of astronomical tables comes from the royal timekeeper Muhammad ibn al-Katib Sinan al-Qunawi (d. ca. 1523–24), who may also have been known as Muhammad ibn Yusuf. In addition to several works on instruments (for which see below), this Qunawi translated (or reworked) into Turkish *al-Jadwal al-āfāqī* (The Table of Horizons) by the Damascus astronomer Shams al-Din al-Khalili (d. ca. 1360). The work consists of auxiliary tables for solving problems of spherical astronomy for all latitudes.⁶²

There are four additional *zīj*es in 'Atufi's inventory. One is recorded as *Zīj mawḍū' 'alā mā ṣaḥḥaḥahu al-Shaykh Abū al-Wafā' wa-aṣḥābuhu* (Tables Set Forth according to What Was Corrected by the Master Abu al-Wafa' and His Colleagues).⁶³ This description is strikingly similar to the introduction to Athir al-Din al-Abhari's (d. ca. 1265) *al-Zīj al-shāmil* (The Comprehensive Tables):

This is a *zīj* that I composed based on the mean motions corrected by the master Abu al-Wafa' Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Buzjani and his colleagues through their continuous observations and examinations done after Ma'mun's observation. The author of *al-Zīj al-'Alā'i*, due to his lack of fair-mindedness, used these mean motions, claiming that they were obtained through observations by instruments he himself made use of, despite his not being known as an observer. I found a table in the works of al-Buzjani containing these mean motions.⁶⁴

The composition date of *al-Zīj al-shāmil* is not known, but it probably was written around 1255. This *zīj* was well known among the astronomers in Bayezid II's court, since Yazdanbakhsh ibn Pir 'Ali al-Amasi, known as

Mawlana Kuchak (d. after 1476), wrote a *Zīj mujmal* (Summary Tables) based on *al-Zīj al-shāmil*. He dedicated the work to Bayezid II, and a copy of it is in 'Atufi's inventory.⁶⁵

The third of these additional *zīj*es recorded by 'Atufi is Kushyar ibn Labban's *al-Zīj al-jāmi'* (Comprehensive Tables; early eleventh century).⁶⁶ This *zīj*, which was quite influential, was mainly based on the parameters in the *zīj* of al-Battani (d. 929). The last *zīj* is Biruni's *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī* (The Mas'udi Canon; written around 1030) for which 'Atufi reports two copies.⁶⁷ This was among the most important *zīj*es of the pre-modern Islamic period.

As indicated in our chart, 'Atufi used the classification *nujūm* for the vast majority of *zīj*es in Bayezid II's library.

ASTRONOMICAL INSTRUMENTS

Islamic monographs on astronomical instruments may be categorized as follows: 1) using regular plane astrolabes; 2) construction of astrolabes; 3) construction and use of innovative astrolabes; 4) celestial globes; 5) armillary spheres; 6) observational instruments; 7) sundials; 8) quadrants and other kinds of calculation devices; and 9) works dealing with multiple astronomical instruments. 'Atufi's inventory is mainly limited to works on astrolabes, multiple instruments, globes and spheres, quadrants and calculation devices, and observational instruments.

Works on using the regular plane astrolabe represented a popular tradition throughout the Islamic period. The most important early work on the astrolabe in Bayezid II's collection is the Arabic version of Ptolemy's *Planisphaerium* (*Fī taṣṭīḥ basīṭ al-kura*, Flattening the Surface of the Sphere). Interestingly, 'Atufi does not list this work, but we can surmise that it is included in the codex he refers to as *Majmū'a min rasā'il fī 'amal al-ṣafīḥa wa-'amal al-uṣṭurlāb wa-ghayriḥā* (A Collection of Treatises on Making the Plate and Making the Astrolabe, and Other [works]).⁶⁸ This book, whose original Greek version is lost, is the most important ancient work on stereographic projection and lays the theoretical foundation for the construction of astrolabes.

There were a number of early Islamic works on the astrolabe; 'Atufi included 'Ali ibn 'Isa al-Usturlabi's (fl. ca. 825) *Kitāb al-'amal bi-al-uṣṭurlāb* (Book of Using the Astrolabe).⁶⁹ But he makes no mention of *al-Kāmil fī ṣinā'at al-uṣṭurlāb* (A Complete [work] on the Construction of the Astrolabe) by al-Farghani (fl. ca. 855), which was another influential early work.⁷⁰

Under the patronage of the Buyids (mid-tenth to mid-eleventh centuries), several scholars wrote on the astrolabe and related instruments. Abu Hamid Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Saghani's (d. 989–90) *Kitāb fī kayfiyyat taṣṭīḥ al-kura 'alā saṭḥ al-uṣṭurlāb* (Book on the Method of Projecting the Sphere onto the Plane of the Astrolabe) was an important work from this period. Again, this is in Bayezid II's library but was not specifically inventoried by 'Atufi under that title, since the work was in a multi-title compendium.⁷¹ 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sufi (d. 986–87) was another scholar from this period who wrote on the astrolabe. Three of his treatises (all in Arabic) were each known as *Kitāb fī al-'amal bi-al-uṣṭurlāb* (Book on Using the Astrolabe): one consists of about 400 chapters; the other has 1,760 chapters; and the third has 170 chapters. 'Atufi recorded two copies of Sufi's work on the use of the astrolabe, the 400-chapter work, and another that remains unidentified as to its version.⁷² Beyond the Buyids, Kushyar ibn Labban al-Jili in the eleventh century wrote *Risāla fī al-uṣṭurlāb* (Treatise on the Astrolabe), which was not recorded by 'Atufi but was in the library,⁷³ and in the twelfth century Ibn Salah al-Hamadani (d. 1154) wrote *Kitāb fī kayfiyyat taṣṭīḥ al-basīṭ al-kurī* (Book on the Method of Projecting a Sphere onto a Plane), which is not explicitly inventoried by 'Atufi but is contained in a miscellany that he does list.⁷⁴

In the inventory is a copy of the thirteenth-century work by the Rasulid sultan of Yemen, 'Umar ibn Yusuf ibn 'Umar al-Ashraf (d. 1297), entitled *Manhaj al-ṭullāb fī 'amal al-uṣṭurlāb* (The Students' Course on the Use of the Astrolabe).⁷⁵ Also from the thirteenth century are four copies of Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's *Bīst bāb dar ma'rifat al-uṣṭurlāb* (Twenty Chapters on Understanding the Astrolabe), which gave rise to an extensive commentary tradition.⁷⁶ Commentaries in 'Atufi's inventory include Shams al-Ma'ali Muhammad Kia' al-Jurjani's *Miftāḥ-i Bīst bāb* (The Key to *Bīst bāb*), which was written in 1414;⁷⁷ and a commentary by one of Qushji's

students, Fasih al-Din Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karim al-Nizami (fl. ca. 1475) that was copied for Bayezid II in 896/1490–91 under the title *Mi'yār-i āftāb* (Scale of the Sun). Nizami originally wrote his commentary on *Bīst bāb* in Herat and dedicated it to 'Ali Shir Nawa'i (d. 1501) under the title *Maṭla' al-anwār* (The Rising Place of Lights).⁷⁸ Other commentaries on *Bīst bāb* listed in the inventory include one by Muhammad ibn Hajji Sulayman al-Bursawi, known as Efezade (fl. ca. 1495), dedicated to Bayezid II;⁷⁹ and a *Kitāb Bīst bāb al-muḥashshā* (The Book *Bīst bāb* with Glosses).⁸⁰ 'Atufi also recorded several other treatises on the astrolabe.⁸¹

Under the Buyids, we begin to see works dealing with multiple astronomical instruments, some of which are featured in the palace library inventory. Perhaps the first of these is due to 'Abd al-Jalil al-Sijzi (fl. second half of tenth century). In addition to inventing a number of instruments and writing monographs on them, he compiled *Kayfiyyat ṣinā'at al-ālāt al-nujūmiyya* (Method for Constructing Astronomical Instruments), sometimes referred to as *Kitāb fī 'amal al-uṣṭurlāb* (Book on Making the Astrolabe), dedicated to the construction and usage of a variety of astronomical instruments. (This work is not explicitly recorded by 'Atufi, but is part of a miscellany that he does list.⁸²) Sijzi's work was probably the main source of inspiration for Abu al-Rayhan al-Biruni's (d. ca. 1050) *Istī'āb al-wujūh al-mumkina fī ṣinā'at al-uṣṭurlāb* (Understanding All Possible Ways of Constructing the Astrolabe), a work that became more popular than Sijzi's; 'Atufi records two copies.⁸³ Sharaf al-Din Abu 'Ali al-Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Marrakushi's (fl. late thirteenth century) *Jāmi' al-mabādi' wa-al-ghāyāt* (Collection of Principles and Goals) may also be considered among this group of multifaceted works; two copies are listed in the inventory.⁸⁴

Several works on spherical astrolabes, celestial spheres, and armillary spheres are enumerated in 'Atufi's inventory. One of the important figures in this field is Qusta ibn Luqa (d. ca. 912), whose *Kitāb fī al-'amal bi-al-kura al-falakiyya* (Book on Using the Celestial Globe) is well represented in the inventory.⁸⁵ Other works in this field listed by 'Atufi are Hamid ibn 'Ali al-Wasiti's (fl. ca. 950) *Risāla fī al-'amal bi-al-uṣṭurlāb al-kurī* (A Treatise on Using the Spherical Astrolabe);⁸⁶ 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sufi's *Kitāb fī al-'amal bi-al-kura* (Book on

Using the Sphere);⁸⁷ and Mu'ayyad al-Din al-'Urđi's (d. ca. 1266) *Risāla al-'amal bi-al-kura* (Treatise on Using the Sphere).⁸⁸ 'Atufi also lists four other works on the spherical astrolabe.⁸⁹

Works on quadrants and calculation devices are also found in 'Atufi's inventory. These were often written by timekeepers (*muwaqqits*), a number of whom flourished during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods in Syria and Egypt. Although several prominent exemplars of this tradition are missing in Bayezid II's library (for example, those of Ibn al-Shatir [d. 1375–76], the renowned timekeeper of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus), many others are represented, including Ottoman ones.⁹⁰

Although Abu 'Ali al-Marrakushi was not, as far as is known, a *muwaqqit*, his above-mentioned work coincided with the establishment of the office of timekeeper in Egypt; it thereafter served as a major textbook for timekeepers throughout Islamic lands.⁹¹ 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Ahmad ibn Sa'id al-Damiri al-Dirini's (d. late thirteenth century) *Yawāqūt al-mawāqūt* (The Rubies of Timekeeping), a versified treatise on timekeeping, is in the collection.⁹² Two or three works of Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Rahim al-Mizzi (d. 1349) are also recorded: *Kashf al-rayb fi al-'amal bi-al-jayb* (Dispelling Doubt in Working with the Sine Quadrant);⁹³ *al-Rawḍāt al-muzhirāt fi al-'amal bi-rub' al-muqanṭarāt* (Flower-Filled Gardens for Using the Almucantars Quadrant);⁹⁴ and a work on an unspecified quadrant.⁹⁵ The aforementioned Muhammad ibn Katib Sinan al-Qunawi, a *muwaqqit* affiliated with Bayezid II's court who translated al-Khalili's "Table of Horizons" into Turkish (see above), also had several works dealing with instruments that are listed by 'Atufi.⁹⁶ He dedicated his *Tuḥfat al-fuqarā'* (Gift of the Impoverished), a work on the quadrant, to one of the sultan's sons.⁹⁷ Qunawi's *Tabyīn al-awqāt fi ma'rifat waḍ' al-rukhāmāt* (Explanation of Times for Understanding the Setting up of Sundials)⁹⁸ and *Mūḍih al-awqāt fi ma'rifat al-muqanṭarāt* (Elucidator of Times on Understanding the Almucantars [quadrant])⁹⁹ are dedicated to Bayezid II, as is Qunawi's Turkish translation of a certain *Risāla fi al-jayb* (Treatise on the Sine [quadrant])¹⁰⁰ and his translation of Khalili's tables. Munajjim Bali (d. after 1481), another astronomer in Bayezid II's court, wrote a Persian work entitled *Risālat tuḥfat al-faqīr fi rub' al-dā'ira* (Treatise of the Gift of the Impoverished on the Quadrant) that is in the in-

ventory.¹⁰¹ 'Atufi also lists other works on the quadrant.¹⁰²

Among the works on observational instruments in Bayezid II's collection was Mu'ayyad al-Din al-'Urđi's *Kayfiyyat al-arṣād* (The Method of Observations). This work explains the construction and usage of observational instruments built for the Maragha observatory.¹⁰³ Khitabi Munajjim al-Husayni al-Lahijani's *Tashrīḥ al-ālāt fi sha'n al-imtiḥānāt* (Description of Instruments Pertaining to Testing), discussed above under *Zijes/Tables*, also is a work on observational instruments that 'Atufi lists.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, there are several works in the palace library on shadow instruments.¹⁰⁵ 'Atufi includes other works on astronomical instruments as well in his inventory.¹⁰⁶ He recorded some seventy-one works on instruments. Of these, fifteen are under *nujūm*, twenty-two are listed as *min qibal al-nujūm*, and thirty are uncategorized. For further details, see the chart at the end of this essay.

HAY'A / THEORETICAL ASTRONOMY

The largest number of works dealing with the mathematical sciences in 'Atufi's inventory is categorized as *hay'a*.¹⁰⁷ These treatises—or the genre of astronomical literature termed *'ilm al-hay'a*—attempt to explain the configuration (*hay'a*) or physical structure of the universe as a coherent whole, meaning the physical, simple bodies that compose both the celestial region and the lower bodies of the terrestrial realm.¹⁰⁸ This comprehensive way of dealing with bodies was an innovation that differentiated Islamic science from that of the astronomy of the ancient Greeks in that it brought together the unchanging realm of the celestial aether and the ever-changing realm of the four elements, the world of generation and corruption, into a single discipline.¹⁰⁹

We have pointed out the ambiguity found in several prominent Islamic encyclopedic reference sources regarding whether *'ilm al-hay'a* (science of configuration) replaces *'ilm al-nujūm* (science of the stars) as the general category for the discipline of astronomy, or whether it is relegated to a subdivision. Either way, the important point to keep in mind (reinforced by the works 'Atufi catalogues as *hay'a*) is that *hay'a* is recognized as

a mathematical discipline of astronomy that provides an overview of cosmography, one highly influenced by Ptolemy's *Almagest* and *Planetary Hypotheses*. And *hay'a basīṭa* (simplified *hay'a*) is recognized as a branch of theoretical astronomy, one devoid of its geometrical proofs and complex mathematical derivations.¹¹⁰ Moreover, irrespective of their level of difficulty, most *hay'a* works follow a standard structure, which includes an introduction and a two-part division, one part dealing with the configuration of the celestial region (*hay'at al-samā'*), and another part devoted to topics related to the configuration of the Earth (*hay'at al-arḍ*). Some *hay'a* works also provide a chapter or section on the subject of celestial sizes and distances and/or a discussion of chronology.

In sum, *hay'a* works emphasize transforming mathematical models of celestial motion into physical bodies, and thus offer a picture of God's universe as a whole by focusing on the external aspects of cosmology, or issues related to "how" the celestial or terrestrial realms operate the way they do. Typically omitted are subjects dealing with "why" the celestial or terrestrial realms operate the way they do, i.e., the internal aspects of cosmology related to natural philosophy and Aristotelian metaphysics. In fact, Nasir al-Din al-Tusi explicitly states in his introduction to *al-Tadhkira fī 'ilm al-hay'a* that there is a demarcation of subject matter between the disciplines, and that the science of *hay'a* relies on principles "proved in another science and are taken for granted in this science."¹¹¹ A common exemplification of this point is that parameters for the various planetary motions are provided throughout *hay'a* works with the expectation that the reader knows to refer to the *zīj* literature as the reference source.

It is also significant that *hay'a* works tend to exclude topics on astrology, especially those espousing predictive capabilities related to future events.¹¹² Presumably, this dissociation of *'ilm al-hay'a* from astrology contributed to *hay'a* works securing a niche within Islamic religious circles.¹¹³ For it is not atypical to find discussions on astronomy contained within "theological" works.¹¹⁴

So, given that *hay'a* forms the largest component of astral works in 'Atufi's inventory, and considering the ambiguity of what constitutes a *hay'a* work during this time and place, a closer look at the works categorized as

hay'a will situate the *hay'a* of late fifteenth- to early sixteenth-century Istanbul within the broader tradition of Islamic theoretical astronomy.

The inventory clearly indicates that the Topkapı Palace library had come to possess a considerable corpus of recognized Islamic *hay'a* compositions under Bayezid II and his father Mehmed II. The vast majority of these were part of centuries-long traditions, bearing the standard two-part structure. On the other hand, a sizeable number are treatises dealing with aspects of Ptolemaic spherical astronomy and planetary theory intended to improve on Ptolemy, or at least make him more comprehensible. Among these are recensions (*taḥārīr*) or reworkings of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, which might contain original material within them, such as we find in Tusi's *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī* (Recension of the *Almagest*). It exists in numerous copies in the inventory,¹¹⁵ along with several commentaries on it, including one by Nizam al-Din al-Nisaburi.¹¹⁶ Also included in the collection is a rare copy of Ibn al-Haytham's (d. ca. 1040) *Sharḥ kitāb Majisṭī Baṭlamyūs fī al-hay'a* (A Commentary on Ptolemy's *Almagest*),¹¹⁷ and a copy of his *Ḥall shukūk fī kitāb al-Majisṭī* (Solution of Difficulties in the *Almagest*), in which Ibn al-Haytham criticizes the irregularities and violations of uniform circular motion within the *Almagest*.¹¹⁸ In addition, one finds the twelfth-century Andalusian al-Bitruji's treatise in which he puts forth homocentric modeling as an alternative to Ptolemy's *Almagest*, a work that would have a major impact on theoretical astronomy in the Latin West. It is listed twice in the inventory as *Kitāb 'ajīb fī al-hay'a* (An Amazing Work on *hay'a*), an indication perhaps that the idea of a homocentric cosmology was relatively uncommon within an Islamic context, or was viewed as somewhat more unconventional.¹¹⁹

There are several formative *hay'a* compositions in 'Atufi's inventory that were authored between the mid-twelfth to early thirteenth centuries in the environs of Merv, under the auspices of the late Khwarazmshahs in Central Asia. 'Abd al-Jabbar al-Kharaqi (d. 1158) wrote his influential *Muntahā al-idrak fī taqāsīm al-aflāk* (The Utmost Attainment on the Structure of the Orbs) and the shorter *al-Tabṣira fī 'ilm al-hay'a* (Enlightenment on the Science of *hay'a*), both composed ca. 526–27/1132–33 in Arabic, as well as a Persian *hay'a* work entitled *Umda*

li-ūlī al-albāb or ‘*Umda Khwarazmshāhī* (A Pillar for the Perspicacious, or The Khwarazmshah Pillar).¹²⁰ Among Kharaqī’s three *hay’a* works, the *Muntahā* is missing (as far as we know) from the inventory. Here one is tempted to assume that acquiring a copy of the work proved difficult, especially compared with the popularity of the *Tabṣira*, which also inspired a few commentaries (the *Muntahā* has none). Among them, the *Sharḥ al-Tabṣira* by Mubarakshah al-Bukhari (d. 1340) is listed in ‘Atufi’s inventory.¹²¹

Some seventy years later, in 602–3/1205–6, Mahmud al-Jaghmini composed *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī ‘ilm al-hay’a al-basīṭa* (Epitome of Simplified *hay’a*), an introduction to Ptolemaic theoretical astronomy in Arabic. This elementary *hay’a* work, of which five copies are listed in the inventory, would play a significant role in the teaching, dissemination, and institutional instruction of Islamic theoretical astronomy well into the nineteenth century.¹²² The base Arabic text served as the starting point for at least sixty-two commentaries, supercommentaries, glosses, and translations (into Persian,¹²³ Turkish,¹²⁴ and Hebrew¹²⁵). From among these derivative works, ‘Atufi’s inventory lists those of ten authors we can identify.¹²⁶

A significant number of *hay’a* compositions in the inventory were written in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries throughout Central Asia and Anatolia. And it is worth emphasizing that many of the works associated with members of the so-called “Maragha School” of the thirteenth century were composed outside of Maragha.

‘Atufi’s inventory lists six *hay’a* works by Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (d. 1274). Four of these are *hay’a basīṭa* treatises: his *Risāla-i Mu’īniyya* (dedicated to Mu’in al-Din while Tusi was in the service of his father Nasir al-Din Muhtasham, the Isma‘ili governor of Quhistan, composed in 632/1235); its appendix, the *Ḥall-i Mu’īniyya* (sometimes, as here, called a commentary [*sharḥ*] on the work, composed in 643/1245);¹²⁷ an Arabic reworking of these two Persian works entitled *al-Tadhkira fī ‘ilm al-hay’a* (the Maragha version completed in 659/1261, the Baghdad version in 672/1274);¹²⁸ and *Zubdat al-idrāk fī al-hay’a* (The Essence of Understanding *hay’a*), a shorter version of the *Tadhkira*.¹²⁹ Tusi’s other two works include his aforementioned *Tahrīr al-Majistī*, a recension of the *Almagest* completed in 644/1247 after

Tusi relocated to Alamut,¹³⁰ and his *Zubda-i hay’a* (Essence of *hay’a*), a treatise in thirty chapters written in Persian for his students.¹³¹

‘Atufi’s inventory also includes several copies of Sharaf al-Din Muhammad ibn Mas‘udi’s (fl. thirteenth century) *Kitāb-i Jahān-dānish* (Book of Knowledge of the World), a Persian *hay’a* work with the two-part division.¹³² This is a translation by the author of his Arabic work entitled *al-Kifāya fī ‘ilm hay’at al-‘ālam*, but the Arabic work is not listed by ‘Atufi. Another apparent *hay’a* work is Mu‘ayyad al-Din al-Jajarami’s Persian work entitled *Kitāb faṣṣ al-khātām fī hay’at al-‘ālam* (Ring Stone on the Configuration of the World), which was dedicated to the Delhi sultan Qutb al-Din Aybak (Aybeg) (r. 1206–10).¹³³

There are four *hay’a* works listed for Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi (d. 1311). Three are his major Arabic compositions: the *Nihāyat al-idrāk fī dirāyat al-aflāk* (The Utmost Attainment in Comprehending the Orbs), completed 680/1281 in Sivas;¹³⁴ *al-Tuḥfa al-shāhiyya* (The Imperial Gift), dedicated to the vizier Amir Shah ibn Taj al-Din Mu‘tazz ibn Tahir, completed 684/1285 in Sivas;¹³⁵ and *Fa’alta fa-lā talum* (You’ve Done It So Don’t Blame [me]), a supercommentary on Tusi’s *Tadhkira*, completed sometime after 700/1300 in Tabriz.¹³⁶ The remaining *hay’a* work is Shirazi’s Persian *Ikhtiyārāt-i Muẓaffarī* (Selections for Muẓaffar al-Din Arslan), which was named after a local ruler in Kastamonu and completed in 680/1282, also in Sivas.¹³⁷

There are several other important *hay’a* works in Bayezid II’s library stemming from the fourteenth century. Among these are two commentaries by Nizam al-Din al-Nisaburi (d. 1329–30), one on Tusi’s *Tahrīr al-Majistī* (Recension of the *Almagest*), the other an elucidation of Tusi’s *Tadhkira* (*Tawḍīḥ al-Tadhkira*), composed in 711/1311;¹³⁸ and a *Mulakhkhaṣ* commentary by Yusuf ibn Mubarak al-Alani entitled *Ṭurar al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī al-hay’a* (Clippings of the *Mulakhkhaṣ*), composed in 735/1335 and dedicated to Jani Beg Khan (d. 1357), ruler of the Golden Horde of the Mongol Empire.¹³⁹ The inventory lists another *Mulakhkhaṣ* commentary by Kamal al-Din al-Turkmani (d. 1357), composed in 755/1354 in Gulistan and also offered to Jani Beg Khan;¹⁴⁰ and two commentaries by Fadl Allah al-‘Ubaydi (d. 1350), a student of Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi. The first is

Ubaydi's commentary on Tusi's *Tadhkira*, entitled *Bayān al-Tadhkira wa-tibyān al-tabṣira* (a play on Kharaqī's title), and the second is yet another *Mulakhkhaṣ* commentary in which 'Ubaydi tells us (in its preface) that he composed the work in three days at the request of professors and students.¹⁴¹

Three Islamic scholars in particular, who flourished between the mid-fourteenth and late fifteenth centuries in the regions of Anatolia and Central Asia, deserve special mention. The first is the renowned theologian al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjani (d. 1413), who also composed *hay'a* commentaries on Tusi's *Tadhkira*, Shirazī's *Tuhfa*, and Jaghmini's *Mulakhkhaṣ*. However, only his *Sharḥ al-Tadhkira* (composed in 811/1409)¹⁴² and *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ* are included in 'Atufi's inventory,¹⁴³ along with a unique anonymous Turkish translation of the latter.¹⁴⁴

Our second scholar of distinction is Qadizade al-Rumi (d. after 1440), who migrated from Bursa to Samarqand (Jurjani was one of his many teachers along the way to Transoxiana) and became the head-teacher of the Samarqand madrasa and the tutor of Sultan Ulugh Beg. In 1412, the year he arrived in Samarqand, Qadizade al-Rumi composed his *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ* and presented it to Ulugh Beg, along with his geometrical tract *Ashkāl al-ta'sīs* (The Propositions for the Foundation). Qadizade's *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ* was undoubtedly the most influential treatise of all the *Mulakhkhaṣ* commentaries, as evidenced by the extensive number of copies of this work, as well as the many glosses his *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ* inspired.¹⁴⁵ It is noteworthy that the number of copies 'Atufi records for the *Mulakhkhaṣ* commentaries of Qadizade and Jurjani are more or less comparable in number. Nevertheless, of the seven listed glosses or supercommentaries (*ḥāshiyas*), only one is on Jurjani's *Sharḥ*. This is interesting since extant glosses on Jurjani's *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ* are exceedingly rare.¹⁴⁶ In fact, the lion's share of extant *ḥāshiyas* are on Qadizade's *Sharḥ*, and, based on 'Atufi's inventory, we can identify the following authors who composed supercommentaries/glosses on this work. One gloss is by Fath Allah al-Shirwani (d. 1486), Qadizade's student at Samarqand, who also presented his work to Mehmed II in 878/1473. Shirwani also composed a *Sharḥ al-Tadhkira* in 879/1475, this after having already studied those

of Nisaburi (composed 711/1311) and Jurjani (composed 811/1409).¹⁴⁷ Another *Ḥāshiya 'alā Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ* is by the aforementioned Sinan Pasha (d. 1486), the vizier and tutor of Mehmed II, who dedicated his gloss to Bayezid II.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, there are three copies of the gloss by Muhyi al-Din al-Niksari (d. 1495), a student of Shirwani, who also dedicated his treatise to Bayezid II.¹⁴⁹

'Ali Qushji (d. 1474) is the third prominent scholar who flourished during this time. As an active member of the Samarqand observatory, he was well acquainted with the views of his teacher Qadizade and Jurjani (as well as those of his predecessors and contemporaries), and was renowned for his scholarly contributions in a variety of disciplines. After migrating to Istanbul at Sultan Mehmed II's behest, he became, among other things, an intellectual pipeline between Samarqand and Istanbul. There are three *hay'a* works listed for Qushji in 'Atufi's inventory. The first is his *Sharḥ al-Tuhfa al-shāhiyya*, a commentary on Shirazī's *Tuhfa*.¹⁵⁰ The second is his *Risālah dar 'ilm al-hay'a*, a Persian teaching text composed in 862/1458 in Samarqand. The work was widely used and translated into Turkish and also Sanskrit. It, along with Tusi's *Tadhkira*, played an important role in transmitting Islamic astronomy to India.¹⁵¹ Qushji's third work, *al-Faṭḥiyya fī 'ilm al-hay'a* (The Conquest on the Science of *hay'a*), is a revised translation of the *Risālah dar 'ilm al-hay'a*, which he presented to Mehmed II in 873/1473. The work became a staple intermediate-level textbook in Ottoman schools,¹⁵² and 'Atufi listed a copy of the commentary on it by Qushji's student Ghulam Sinan (d. 1506), entitled *Faṭḥ al-faṭḥiyya fī sharḥ al-Faṭḥiyya* (The Opening of the Conquest in Commenting on the *Faṭḥiyya*).¹⁵³

At least three works dealing with trigonometry are listed under one of the *hay'a* classifications. These include Husam al-Din 'Ali ibn Fadl Allah al-Salar's (fl. ca. mid-eleventh century) *Kitāb jāmi' al-qawānīn 'alā 'ilm al-hay'a* (Book Comprising the Rules of the Science of *hay'a*);¹⁵⁴ Thabit ibn Qurra's (d. 901) *Fī al-shakl al-mulaqqab bi-al-qāṭṭā' min kitāb al-Majisṭī* (On the Figure Called the Secant from the *Almagest*);¹⁵⁵ and an anonymous commentary on Thabit's treatise.¹⁵⁶

There are a number of anonymous works that we cannot currently identify.¹⁵⁷ Generally speaking, 'Atufi lists

almost all works on *hay'a* under either *hay'a* or '*ilm al-hay'a*. For details, see the chart at the end of this essay.

We can make several general comments about the palace library's *hay'a* collection based on 'Atufi's inventory. First, though the majority of *hay'a* works were composed in Arabic, a sizeable number of treatises (some 16 percent) were composed in or translated into Persian.¹⁵⁸ Also striking is that Bayezid II and his father were not content to acquire a single copy of a work, as evidenced by multiple exemplars of many compositions (this applies whether the work was an original base text [*matn*], commentary [*sharḥ*], or gloss [*ḥāshiya*]).¹⁵⁹ Moreover, there are numerous examples of a single author composing multiple *hay'a* commentaries. For example, 'Ubaydi, Jurjani, and Shirwani all composed commentaries on both Tusi's *Tadhkira* and Jaghmini's *Mulakhkhaṣ*. Furthermore, there seems to have been a concerted effort to obtain multiple commentaries on and translations of a work. This all indicates that the two sultans under whom the palace library collection was amassed were keen on acquiring a corpus of *hay'a* works that put forth a variety of ideas. Consequently, users of the palace library had access to a variety of perspectives, e.g., 'Ubaydi's *Bayān al-Tadhkira*, Nisaburi's *Tawḍīḥ al-Tadhkira*, Jurjani's *Sharḥ al-Tadhkira*, Shirwani's *Sharḥ al-Tadhkira*, and so on.¹⁶⁰ 'Atufi's inventory of *hay'a* works, then, underscores the point that Islamic rulers and scholars in their entourage were actively engaged in acquiring and studying *hay'a* works up to their own time, further evidence that the post-classical period of scientific achievement was far from stagnant within Islamic lands. It is unlikely that even an astute astrologer working in Bayezid II's court would have been able to foresee the continuous impact and influence that *hay'a* works would have in the Islamic world for many centuries to come.

ARITHMETIC

'Atufi's inventory uses *ḥisāb* (arithmetic) and '*ilm al-ḥisāb* (the science of arithmetic) to designate treatises on arithmetic. These works encompass subjects ranging from basic arithmetic operations and algebra to number theory, combinatorics, and analysis. In addition, arith-

metical/algebraic works had practical applications for calculation in daily business affairs and matters related to inheritance law (*farā'id*). The history of the genre goes back to the translation movement in the ninth century, when the earliest known Islamic works on arithmetic were written by Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khwarazmi (fl. ca. 820). A significant feature of the early Islamic works on arithmetic is the fusion of Indian and Greek traditions that would begin a newly formulated tradition of arithmetic.¹⁶¹

Pre-thirteenth-century works on arithmetic in 'Atufi's inventory include the relevant parts contained within Ibn Sina's encyclopedic works: his *Kitāb al-shifā'* (The Book of Healing); *al-Najāh* (Salvation); and *Dānishnāma-yi 'Alā'ī* (The 'Ala'ī Encyclopedia).¹⁶² There is also a handbook of arithmetic for government bureaucrats by Abu Bakr al-Karaji (fl. ca. 1000) entitled *al-Kāfi fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb* (The Sufficient on the Science of Arithmetic), and a commentary on it by Abu Bakr 'Abd Allah al-Husayn al-Shaqqāq al-Baghdadi (d. 1117).¹⁶³ Two important works on arithmetic by Karaji are absent (*al-Fakhrī* and *al-Badī' fī al-ḥisāb* [The Innovative in Arithmetic]), but fragments of the latter work are preserved in Samaw'al ibn Yahya ibn 'Abbas al-Maghribi's (d. 1174–75) *al-Bāhir fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb* (The Brilliant in the Science of Arithmetic), a work in Bayezid II's collection.¹⁶⁴ Also listed in 'Atufi's inventory is *Miftāḥ al-mu'āmalāt* (The Key to [business] Transactions) by Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Ayyub al-Tabari (fl. eleventh century), a Persian work written for craftsmen;¹⁶⁵ and Siraj al-Din Abu Tahir Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rashid al-Sajawandi's *Risāla fī al-ḥisāb*.¹⁶⁶ A commentary on Sajawandi's *al-Tajnīs fī al-ḥisāb* (Congeniality on Arithmetic) by Fanarizade 'Ali Çelebi (d. 1497) is also in the inventory.¹⁶⁷

The majority of arithmetic works in the inventory were written between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the thirteenth century, Nasir al-Din al-Tusi composed *Jawāmi' al-ḥisāb bi-al-takht wa-al-turāb* (Comprehensive Arithmetic on Using the Dust Board).¹⁶⁸ He also wrote a work on algebra, a copy of which was in Bayezid II's library.¹⁶⁹ At about the same time, 'Izz al-Din 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Zanjani (fl. ca. 1262), at whose request Tusi wrote his *al-Tadhkira fī 'ilm al-hay'a* (Memoir on Astronomy), composed several works on arithmetic.¹⁷⁰ Three of these are listed by 'Atufi: *Umdat al-ḥisāb* (Pillar

of Arithmetic);¹⁷¹ *Qusṭās al-mu'ādala fī 'ilm al-jabr wa-al-muqābala* (The Scale of Equality on the Science of Algebra);¹⁷² and *Risāla kāfiya fī al-ḥisāb* (The Sufficient Treatise on Arithmetic).¹⁷³

In 657/1259, Ibn Khawwam al-Baghdadi (d. 1328), who studied with Tusi, composed *al-Fawā'id al-bahā'iyya fī al-qawā'id al-ḥisābiyya* (The Baha'i Scholia on Rules of Arithmetic).¹⁷⁴ Included in Bayezid II's library, this book, which mainly deals with techniques of mental calculation, was the basis of a commentary tradition. Ibn Khawwam's pupil, Kamal al-Din al-Farisi (d. 1319), wrote a commentary on it entitled *Asās al-qawā'id fī uṣūl al-Fawā'id* (The Basis of the Rules regarding the Principles of the *Fawā'id*), of which the inventory lists four copies.¹⁷⁵ The library moreover had copies of an anonymous commentary entitled *Sharḥ bahā'iyya fī al-ḥisāb* (Commentary on the Baha'i Arithmetic)¹⁷⁶ and 'Imad al-Din Yahya ibn Ahmad al-Kashi's (fl. ca. 1343) commentary on Ibn Khawwam's work called *Īdāḥ al-maqāsid fī sharḥ al-Fawā'id* (Elucidation of Goals in Commenting on the *Fawā'id*).¹⁷⁷ 'Atufi also lists Kashi's work on arithmetic written in 1343 in Isfahan, entitled *Lubāb fī al-ḥisāb* (Quintessence on Arithmetic).¹⁷⁸

In the last two decades of his life, Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi (d. 1311) settled in Tabriz, a city that attracted scholars from many regions. A number of scholars in Shirazi's circle, including the above-mentioned Kamal al-Din Farisi, wrote treatises on arithmetic. Shirazi himself included a section on arithmetic in his *Durrat al-tāj* (The Pearl of the Crown) but it is not clear whether any of the copies of this extensive work in Bayezid II's library contained that section.¹⁷⁹ Another scholar in Shirazi's circle was Jamal al-Din Sa'id ibn Muhammad al-Turkistani (fl. ca. 1300), who composed *al-Risāla al-'Alā'iyya fī al-masā'il al-ḥisābiyya* (The 'Alā'iyya Treatise on Arithmetic Problems), of which four copies appear in the inventory.¹⁸⁰ Also included in Bayezid's library was Jalal al-Din 'Ali ibn al-Gharbi's (fl. ca. 1350) commentary on Turkistani's book called *al-Mu'jizāt al-Najībiyya fī sharḥ al-risāla al-'Alā'iyya fī al-ḥisāb* (*Najībiyya* Miracles in Commenting on the 'Alā'iyya Treatise on Arithmetic), which was dedicated to Najib al-Din Muhammad ibn Shams al-Din Husayn al-Damghani (fl. ca. 1350).¹⁸¹

Nizam al-Din al-A'raj al-Nisaburi (d. 1329–30), a prominent member of Shirazi's circle in Tabriz, com-

posed an influential and widely disseminated work on arithmetic, *al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya* (The *Shamsiyya* Treatise), of which five manuscripts existed in the palace library.¹⁸² Among the entries in 'Atufi's inventory, those related to *al-Shamsiyya* are: a Persian translation by Mahmud ibn Muhammad ibn Mahmud al-Shirazi (fl. ca. 1450);¹⁸³ an Arabic commentary by Qushji's student Abu Ishaq al-Kirmani (fl. fifteenth century);¹⁸⁴ and another commentary in Persian.¹⁸⁵

Moving westward, in the library collection we find *al-Risāla al-'Imādiyya fī al-ṭuruq al-ḥisābiyya* (The *Imādiyya* Treatise on Arithmetic Methods) by a certain al-Kashghari who composed the work around 1310 in Baghdad.¹⁸⁶ From Egypt, there is the *Ghunyat al-ḥussāb* (The Wealth of the Arithmeticians) by Qadi al-Humamiyya (d. 1272).¹⁸⁷

'Atufi's inventory lists works in arithmetic by several scholars who flourished in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Among these is Ghiyath al-Din Jamshid al-Kashi's (d. 1429) *Miftāḥ al-ḥisāb* (The Key to Arithmetic), a comprehensive and influential encyclopedic book in the field.¹⁸⁸ Later in the fifteenth century, 'Ali Qushji dedicated his *al-Risāla al-Muḥammadiyya fī al-ḥisāb* (The *Muḥammadiyya* Treatise on Arithmetic) to Mehmed II.¹⁸⁹ From this period, 'Atufi lists *Mukhtaṣar al-Ṣalāḥī fī al-ḥisāb*, which has been attributed to Salah al-Din Musa ibn Muhammad ibn Mahmud al-Rumi (known as Qadizade al-Rumi). However, this authorship has been contested by İhsan Fazlıoğlu, who has attributed the work to a certain Salah al-Din Musa who lived before Qadizade.¹⁹⁰ Interestingly, 'Atufi lists three copies of one or more commentaries. In one of the extant codices, an attribution is made to a certain Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Khatibi.¹⁹¹

Although most arithmetic works, both in 'Atufi's inventory and otherwise, were in Arabic, there are several Persian listings. We have already noted the early work by al-Tabari. Also included in the inventory is Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karim al-Ghaznawi's *Tuḥfat al-ṣudūr* (Gift from the Hearts), probably composed in thirteenth-century Central Asia.¹⁹² Another Persian work in the library holdings was by Mahmud al-Hirawi al-Walishtani (fl. ca. 1445), who was based at the court of Shahrūkh ibn Timur in Herat.¹⁹³ Additionally, Khayr al-Din Khalil ibn Ibrahim (late fifteenth century) wrote

a Persian work on arithmetic entitled *Mushkil-gushā-yi ḥussāb* (Problem Solver for Arithmeticians), dedicated to Bayezid II.¹⁹⁴ Four other anonymous Persian arithmetic works are listed by ‘Atufi, one of which has a copy dated 861/1456–57.¹⁹⁵

‘Atufi mentions several other works on arithmetic, not all of which can be definitively identified:

1. *Kitāb al-kifāya fī ‘ilm al-ḥisāb* (Book of Sufficiency in Arithmetic);¹⁹⁶
2. *Kitāb jāmi‘ uṣūl al-ḥisāb* (Compendium of Principles of Arithmetic);¹⁹⁷
3. *Kitāb al-mi‘a wa-al-‘ishrīn fī ḥisāb al-ḍarb* (Book of the One Hundred and Twenty in Arithmetic Multiplication);¹⁹⁸
4. *Iqnā‘ fī al-misāḥa* (Persuasive Argument concerning Surveying);¹⁹⁹
5. *Risāla Najm al-Milla wa-al-Dīn fī al-ḥisāb al-hawā’ī* (Treatise by Najm al-Din on Mental Arithmetic);²⁰⁰
6. *Risāla al-‘adad bi-awḍā‘ al-aṣābi‘* (Treatise on Counting by Finger Reckoning);²⁰¹
7. *Risāla fārisiyya fī al-siyāqa* (Persian Treatise on Accounting Arithmetic);²⁰²
8. *Risāla fī ma‘rifat al-ḥisāb al-hindi* (Treatise on Understanding Indian Arithmetic);²⁰³
9. Works simply listed as *fī al-ḥisāb* or *fī ‘ilm al-ḥisāb*.²⁰⁴

GEOMETRY

‘Atufi generally uses the term *fī al-handasa* (on geometry) to designate geometrical treatises in the inventory. But as with *nujūm* and *hay’a*, he occasionally uses other phrasing, including *fī al-handasiyyāt* (on geometries) and *min qibal al-handasa* (pertaining to geometry).

A substantial number of works under *handasa* are related to Euclid’s *Elements*, originally composed ca. 300 BCE.²⁰⁵ As far as we can tell, ‘Atufi’s list does not include any of the original ninth-century translations made from the Greek into Arabic. On the other hand, he does record a number of derivative works that were meant to be abridgements, reworkings, or commentaries. These include ‘Alī ibn Ahmad al-Nasawi’s (fl. eleventh century) *al-Tajrīd fī uṣūl al-handasa* (Abridgement

of the *Elements of Geometry*), comprising a selection of propositions from Euclid’s *Elements*;²⁰⁶ and Nasir al-Din al-Tusi’s *Tahrīr uṣūl Uqlīdis* (Recension of Euclid’s *Elements*), completed in 1248. The latter supplanted the original and was widely disseminated and taught in Islamic lands until the twentieth century.²⁰⁷ Also listed is Shams al-Din al-Samarqandi’s (d. ca. 1322) *Ashkāl al-ta’sīs* (The Propositions for the Foundation), a selection of propositions from Euclid’s *Elements* destined to become quite influential.²⁰⁸ Samarqandi’s work was the subject of numerous commentaries and supercommentaries; the most famous one by Qadizade al-Rumi is in ‘Atufi’s inventory, as is its supercommentary by Qutb al-Din Çelebi (fl. late fifteenth century).²⁰⁹ The palace library holdings included summaries of the *Elements* (and of other mathematical sciences) that appear in encyclopedic works, such as Ibn Sina’s (d. 1037) *Kitāb al-shifā’* (The Book of Healing), *al-Najāh* (Salvation), and *Dānishnāma-yi ‘Alā’ī* (‘*Alā’ī* Encyclopedia). In the late thirteenth century, Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi incorporated a Persian recension of the *Elements*, based on Tusi’s earlier *Tahrīr*, in the mathematical part of his encyclopedic *Durrat al-tāj li-ghurra al-Dabbāj* (The Pearl of the Crown for the Eminent of the *Dabbāj* Family), a work listed in the inventory.²¹⁰

In addition to recensions, commentaries, summaries, and abridgements, individual parts of the *Elements* were subject to study, analysis, and criticism. One case involved the postulates of Book I and, in particular, Postulate 5, which dealt with parallel lines; this became a focus of criticism by a number of Islamic mathematicians who held that it should not be a postulate but a provable theorem.²¹¹ Works in Bayezid II’s library discussing this problem include Ibn al-Haytham’s *Sharḥ muṣādarāt kitāb Uqlīdis* (Commentary on the Postulates of Euclid’s Book) and Nasir al-Din al-Tusi’s *al-Risāla al-shāfiya ‘an shakk fī al-khuṭūṭ al-mutawāziya* (The Treatise that Heals Doubt about Parallel Lines).²¹² The tenth book of the *Elements* was also the subject of a commentary tradition. One of these commentaries is Abu Ja‘far al-Khazin’s (d. ca. 960) *Tafsīr ṣadr al-maqāla al-‘āshira min kitāb Uqlīdis* (Explication of the Beginning of Book X of Euclid’s Work).²¹³ Another example is Abu al-Hasan al-Ahwazi’s (fl. ca. 1000) *Sharḥ al-maqāla al-‘āshira min kitāb Uqlīdis* (Commentary on Book X of Euclid’s

Work).²¹⁴ Al-‘Abbas al-Jawhari’s (fl. 830) *Ziyādāt fī al-maqāla al-khāmisa min kitāb Uqlidis* (Additions to Book V of Euclid’s Work) is an example of a work written on another part of Euclid’s *Elements* that was in Bayezid II’s collection.²¹⁵ The collection also had an anonymous *Kitāb da‘āwā Uqlidis* (Claims Made by Euclid).²¹⁶

In addition to the tradition of Euclid’s *Elements*, there are other geometrical works in ‘Atufi’s inventory. Apollonius of Perga (fl. second half of third century BCE) compiled a work on conic sections that represented one of the high points in Greek geometry. The *Conics* is in eight parts, only the first four of which survive in the original Greek. Seven of the eight parts were translated in the ninth century by a group led by the Banu Musa, and ‘Atufi lists three or four copies of this translation.²¹⁷ Two works derivative of the *Conics* found their way into Bayezid II’s collection: Abu al-Fath al-Isfahani’s (fl. ca. 1120) *Talkhīṣ al-Makhrūṭāt* (Abridgement of the *Conics*)²¹⁸ and ‘Abd al-Malik al-Shirazi’s *Taṣaffuḥ al-Makhrūṭāt* (Examining the *Conics*).²¹⁹

Other geometrical works in Bayezid II’s collection include Abu al-Wafa’ al-Buzjani’s (d. ca. 997) *Fīmā yuḥtāj ilayhi min a‘māl al-handasa* (On What Is Required of Geometric Operations);²²⁰ *Risāla al-birkār al-tāmm* (Treatise on the Perfect Compass);²²¹ an anonymous *Kitāb al-uṣūl al-aṣliyya fī al-handasa* (Book on the Fundamental Principles in Geometry);²²² geometrical treatises by a certain Abu al-Futuh (probably Najm al-Din Ahmad ibn al-Sari [d. 1154]);²²³ Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi’s *Sharḥ al-risāla ‘alā al-ḥaraka al-daḥraja*, a work dealing with straight and curved angles;²²⁴ Thabit ibn Qurra’s (d. 901) *Kitāb fī al-nisba al-mu‘allafa* (On Compound Ratios);²²⁵ and various codices of unspecified geometrical content.²²⁶ Oddly, ‘Atufi refers to one copy of al-Sufi’s book on constellations as “pertaining to geometry.”²²⁷

In a number of cases, ‘Atufi mentions an unspecified collection of treatises dealing with geometry.²²⁸ A subset of these are designated as the “middle books” (*mutawassiṭāt*), which were meant to be studied after Euclid’s *Elements* and before undertaking Ptolemy’s *Almagest*.²²⁹ A good example is entry [572], currently TSMK, A. 3453 (Karatay: A 7005), a remarkable codex that, in addition to Tusi’s recension of the “middle books,” also contains his recensions of the *Elements* and

the *Almagest*, as well as an important copy of his *al-Tadhkira fī ‘ilm al-hay’a*.

MUSIC

The practice of music and music theory always coexisted and interacted in pre-modern Islamic works on music. Theoretical works began quite early, but there are periods during which such works are missing from the extant manuscript witnesses.

Among the earliest works in the inventory is one by Abu Talib al-Mufaddal ibn Salama (d. ca. 903) entitled *Kitāb al-malāhī wa-asmā’ihā* (Book of Musical Instruments and Their Names).²³⁰ Somewhat surprisingly, works by Abu Nasr al-Farabi and Ibn Sina are missing. After Ibn Salama, the next listed work is Safi al-Din al-Urmawi’s (d. 1294) *al-Mukhtaṣar fī ma‘rifat al-nagh(a)m/nigham wa-al-adwār* (Epitome on Understanding Musical Tunes and Modes [better known as *Kitāb al-adwār*, Book of the Modes]), composed in Arabic ca. 1236).²³¹ After Urmawi, we can trace a continuous tradition that lasted up to the time of Bayezid II reflected in the inventory.

Urmawi was the major figure in theoretical music in the thirteenth century. At a young age, he began his service at Abbasid courts in Baghdad; after the fall of the caliphate in 1258, he continued his official service under the Ilkhanids. *Kitāb al-adwār* belongs to his earlier period in Baghdad. Because Urmawi cites no sources for material that seems to be absent in earlier sources, it is difficult to judge the degree of originality of this influential work. During his later Ilkhanid service, around 1267, he wrote *al-Risāla al-Sharafiyya fī al-nisab al-ta’līfiyya* (The *Sharafiyya* Treatise on Musical Proportions), dedicated to Sharaf al-Din Harun al-Juwayni (d. 1286), of which three copies appear in the inventory.²³² Since he quotes Farabi’s work on music in this later work, we may assume that he had access to it at the extensive library in the Mongol capital at Maragha. Because Urmawi’s two works are the basis of commentaries and translations, he became an authority in the field of music for several centuries. For example, Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi used *al-Sharafiyya* in the section on music in his encyclopedia

Durrat al-tāj, which can be considered a critical commentary on Urmawi's *Sharafīyya*.

After Shirazi, Urmawi's tradition continued in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²³³ It is during this time that 'Abd al-Qadir al-Maraghi (d. 1435) composed several important works in Persian on music theory, of which 'Atufi included five in his inventory: Maraghi's principal work *Jāmi' al-alḥān* (Compendium of Melodies), composed in 818/1415;²³⁴ its abridgement *Maqāṣid al-alḥān* (Meaning of Melodies), composed in 821/1418;²³⁵ a commentary on Urmawi's *al-Adwār*;²³⁶ a collection of notes written after his commentary called *Fawā'id 'ashara* (Ten Scholia);²³⁷ and a work entitled *Risāla Lahniyya* (Treatise on Melodies).²³⁸ In addition, there is a work listed as *Kitāb 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāghī fī al-mūsīqī* (Maraghi's Book on Music) that may be one of the other works listed.²³⁹

Both Maraghi's son and grandson continued serving Ottoman rulers, and 'Atufi's inventory includes a work on music by Maraghi's son, 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn 'Abd al-Qadir, dedicated to Mehmed II and entitled *Naqāwat al-adwār* (Best of the Modes).²⁴⁰ 'Abd al-'Aziz's son, Mahmud, served Bayezid II and wrote a *Maqāṣid al-adwār* (The Meaning of Modes) in 1503. He later dedicated the same work to Selim I (r. 1512–20).²⁴¹

Another prominent scholar who contributed to the field of music in the fifteenth century was Fath Allah al-Shirwani, who dedicated his *Majalla fī al-mūsīqī* (Codex on Music) to Mehmed II in 1453.²⁴² Two copies of this work were in the library, as was his Persian translation of Urmawi's *al-Adwār* (see endnote 231).

Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Hamid al-Ladhiqi (fl. ca. 1483) was among the musicians of Bayezid II's court. He dedicated two treatises on music to this sultan: *al-Risāla al-Faṭḥiyya* (The *Faṭḥiyya* Treatise) and *Zayn al-alḥān fī 'ilm al-ta'līf wa-al-awzān* (The Adornment of Melodies on the Science of [musical] Composition and Meters).²⁴³

Among the musical listings in 'Atufi's inventory are several anonymous works: *Kashf al-humūm wa-al-karb fī sharḥ āla al-ṭarab* (Dispelling Worries and Distress on the Description of a Musical Instrument);²⁴⁴ *Muwashshah jāmi' al-maqāmāt* (A Compendium of *Muwashshah* Works on [musical] Rhythms);²⁴⁵ *Gharā'ib al-adwār* (Unusual Modes);²⁴⁶ *Adwār al-mūsīqī* (Musical Modes);

and *Risāla fārisiyya manzūma fī ḥikāya mūsīqiyya* (Persian Treatise in Verse on a Musical Narrative).²⁴⁷ There are also works given only generic titles.²⁴⁸

NOTES

Authors' note: This essay does not have a separate list of entries; instead, we have used the one compiled in the essay of Tunç Şen and Cornell H. Fleischer, by cross-referencing the item numbers of their list in brackets.

1. "Tafṣīl kutub 'ilm al-nujūm wa-kutub 'ilm al-hay'a wa-kutub 'ilm al-ḥisāb wa-kutub 'ilm al-handasa wa-kutub 'ilm al-mūsīqī wa-kutub al-lahw ka-al-shaṭranj" (313–37).
2. See, for example, the translation of Aristotle by Mattā ibn Yūnus (d. 940), *Posterior Analytics*, 71a2 (Soheil Muhsin Afnan, *Vāzhah nāma-i falsafī* [Tehran: Nashr-i Nuqrah, 1362/1984], 200).
3. For more on these so-called "mixed sciences," see the essay by Elaheh Kheirandish in the present volume.
4. Plato, *Republic*, Bk. 7, 530b. For a translation and interpretation of this passage, see Gregory Vlastos, "The Role of Observation in Plato's Conception of Astronomy," in *Greek Studies in the Philosophy and History of Science*, ed. P. Nicolacopoulos (Dordrecht: Springer, 1980), 1–27, esp. 2.
5. In *Physics* 2.2.194a8–10, Aristotle refers to "those sciences which are rather physical than mathematical, though combining both disciplines, such as optics, harmonics, and astronomy" (Aristotle, *The Physics (Books I–IV)*, trans. Philip H. Wicksteed and Francis M. Cornford [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957], 121).
6. Alexander Jones, "On Babylonian Astronomy and Its Greek Metamorphoses," in *Tradition, Transmission, Transformation: Proceedings of Two Conferences on Pre-Modern Science Held at the University of Oklahoma*, ed. F. Jamil Ragep and Sally P. Ragep (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 139–55.
7. The passage by Geminus (ca. first century CE) as quoted by Simplicius (sixth century CE) was translated by Thomas L. Heath in his *Aristarchus of Samos* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 276; reprinted in Morris R. Cohen and I. E. Drabkin, *A Source Book in Greek Science* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1948), 90–91. Cf. G. E. R. Lloyd, "Saving the Appearances," *Classical Quarterly*, n.s., 28 (1978): 202–22, at 212–14 (reprinted with a new introduction in G. E. R. Lloyd, *Methods and Problems in Greek Science* [Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1991], 248–77). In Arabic, the *hoti/dihoti* distinction became *innī/limmī*, for which see (as it pertains to the astral sciences) F. Jamil Ragep, *Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's Memoir on Astronomy* (al-Tadhkira fī 'ilm al-hay'a), 2 vols. (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1993), 1:38–42, 2:386–88.
8. In his recent PhD dissertation, Ahmet Tunç Şen provides an excellent overview of the categorization of the astral sciences in various Islamic sources ("Astrology in the

- Service of the Empire: Knowledge, Prognostication, and Politics at the Ottoman Court, 1450s–1550s” [PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2016], 59–79). Because his focus is on astrology, we occasionally diverge from his emphases and interpretations. See also the essay by Cornell H. Fleisher and A. Tunç Şen in the present volume.
9. Abū Naşr al-Fārābī, *Kitāb Ihşā’ al-‘ulūm* (Cairo, 1949), 84–86; Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Khwārazmī, *Kitāb Maḥāṭib al-‘ulūm* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1895), Bk. II, Ch. 6, esp. 215; Ikhwān al-ṣafā’, *Epistles of The Brethren of Purity: On Astronomia*, ed. and trans. F. Jamil Ragep and Taro Mimura (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 5 (Arabic numeration).
 10. Both Khwārazmī and the Ikhwān explicitly equate the Greek term *astronomia* with *‘ilm al-nujūm*.
 11. Fārābī is quite clear on this, since he calls the sub-branch *‘ilm al-nujūm al-ta’līmī*.
 12. Khwārazmī, *Kitāb Maḥāṭib al-‘ulūm*, 215.
 13. Abū ‘Alī ibn Sīnā, *Aqsām al-‘ulūm al-‘aqliyya*, in Ibn Sīnā, *Tis’ rasā’il* (Cairo, 1908), 110, 112.
 14. Ragep, *Naşir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī’s Memoir*, 1:90–91.
 15. An interesting discussion of this is found in ‘Abd al-‘Alī al-Bīrjandī’s (fl. 1507) gloss on Qāḍizāde’s commentary on Jāghmīnī’s *al-Mulakhkhaṣṣ fi al-hay’a al-basīṭa* (Ragep, *Naşir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī’s Memoir*, 1:39).
 16. Jan Just Witkam, *De Egyptische arts Ibn al-Akfānī* (Leiden: Ter Lugt Pers, 1989), 57–59 (Arabic section).
 17. Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafā Ṭāshkubrīzāde, *Miftāḥ al-sa’āda wa-miṣbāḥ al-siyāda*, 3 vols. (Beirut, 1985), 1:348–49.
 18. Ṭāshkubrīzāde, *Miftāḥ al-sa’āda*, 1:357–61. Şen, “Astrology in the Service of the Empire,” 70–72, points to Ṭāshkubrīzāde’s skepticism regarding *aḥkām*’s scientific basis, but fails to note what he says about it being unsound (*madkhūla*) legally. Şen does point out that Ṭāshkubrīzāde is critical of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 1350) for being overly derogatory regarding astrology, but it is not clear if he is objecting to the tone or something substantive.
 19. Ṭāshkubrīzāde, *Miftāḥ al-sa’āda*, 1:357–67.
 20. *Ibid.*, 1:335–39.
 21. For a different interpretation, see Şen, “Astrology in the Service of the Empire,” 70–71. To bolster his case, Şen might have noted that Ṭāshkubrīzāde states regarding one subdivision of *aḥkām*, i.e., “elections” (*ikhtiyārāt*), that “the benefit of this science is clear, as is obvious to everyone” (Ṭāshkubrīzāde, *Miftāḥ al-sa’āda*, 1:336).
 22. Şen, “Astrology in the Service of the Empire,” 72–79.
 23. Ḥājī Khalifa, *Kashf al-zunūn ‘an asāmī al-kutub wa-al-funūn*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1941), 2: cols. 1930–32.
 24. *Ibid.*, 2: col. 1930.
 25. This is from Nasawī’s *al-Lāmi’ fi amthilat al-Zij al-jāmi’* (also called *Risāla fi ma’rifat al-taqwīm wa-al-usturlāb*) (New York, Columbia University, Smith MS 45), fol. 49a.
 26. Ḥājī Khalifa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, 2: col. 2047. Perhaps Kātib Çelebi is reflecting a burgeoning interest in Suyūṭī’s *hay’a* as reflected in the commentary by Ibrāhīm al-Karamānī (fl. 1654) that was presented to Sultan Mehmed IV (r. 1648–87), for which there are more than fifty extant copies. See Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu et al., *Osmanlı Astronomi Literatürü Tarihi* (History of astronomy literature during the Ottoman period), 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1997), 1:288–90 (no. 153.1).
<https://ismi.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/>
 27. *Kashf al-zunūn*, 2: cols. 1819–20.
 28. We should note, however, that Kātib Çelebi did study with a number of prominent religious teachers and scholars, including the well-known Qaḍizāde Meḥmed Efendi (d. 1635): <https://ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/en/historian/katib-celebi> (accessed May 7, 2018). For a somewhat different view of Kātib Çelebi, one emphasizing his distance from the traditional educational system, see the recent online article by Prof. Bekir Karlığa, “The Horizon of Katip Çelebi’s Thought”: http://muslimheritage.com/article/horizon-katip-celebi%E2%80%99s-thought#sec_60 (accessed May 7, 2018).
 29. On Sīnān Pasha’s opposition to astrology and the astrologers, see Şen, “Astrology in the Service of the Empire,” 94–98. The *ḥāshiya* (gloss) on Qaḍizāde’s commentary is extant in several copies, e.g., SK, Carullah 1465; the introductory section is well worth a careful study. Sīnān Pasha apparently also wrote a *ḥāshiya* on Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī’s large *hay’a* work, *Nihāyat al-idrāk*; for Sīnān’s work in astronomy, see *Osmanlı Astronomi*, 1:45–48 (no. 17).
 30. For a listing of ‘Atufi’s medical works, see Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu et al., *Osmanlı Tıbbi Bilimler Literatürü Tarihi* (History of the literature of medical sciences during the Ottoman period), 4 vols. (Istanbul, 2008), 1:128–31. Also see the essay and list of entries by Nükhet Varlık in the present volume.
 31. For a brief biography, see <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/atufi-hayreddin-hizir> (accessed May 8, 2018); see also the essays in this volume by Gülru Necipoğlu and Cemal Kafadar.
 32. F. Jamil Ragep, “Freeing Astronomy from Philosophy: An Aspect of Islamic Influence on Science,” *Osiris* 16 (2001): 49–71; and F. Jamil Ragep, “Shīrāzī’s *Nihāyat al-idrāk*: Introduction and Conclusion,” *Tarikh-e Elm* 11 (2013): 41–57.
 33. These twenty-one are the major classifications of *aḥkām al-nujūm*, *nujūm*, *hay’a*, *ḥisāb*, *handasa*, and *musiqī*. There are other lesser classifications (listed in the chart) that are used exceptionally or to indicate mixed categories.
 34. There is also a story that the inventor of chess asked to be rewarded with grains of wheat equivalent to the amount that would result from starting with one grain on the first square and then doubling the amount for each square until the sixty-fourth square was reached. Attempting to calculate the astonishing total ($2^{64}-1$) led to an interesting problem (called the “chess-board problem”) in combinatorics; see *EL2*, s.v. “*Shāṭrandīj*,” by Franz Rosenthal.
 35. For historical and textual studies on al-Qabīṣī’s astrology, especially his work entitled *The Introduction to Astrology*, see Margaret Gaida, “Encounters with Alcabitius: Reading Arabic Astrology in Premodern Europe” (PhD diss., University of Oklahoma, 2017); and al-Qabīṣī (Alcabitius), *The*

- Introduction to Astrology: Editions of the Arabic and Latin Texts and an English Translation*, ed. and trans. Charles Burnett, Keiji Yamamoto, and Michio Yano (London: The Warburg Institute, 2004).
37. *El3*, s.v. "Astrology," by Charles Burnett. For the original section in which al-Qabīṣī explains those disciplines, see Sami Chalhoub and Abdu al-Kadri, "Taḥqīq wa-dirāsāt makhtūṭ 'Risāla fī imtiḥān al-munajjimīn' li-'Abd al-'Azīz al-Qabīṣī al-mutawaffā fī al-qarn al-rābi' al-hijrī/al-'āshir al-milādī," *Journal for the History of Arabic Science* 15, no. 1-2 (2011): 105–86, at 121.
 38. See the chart at the end of this essay. By relying solely upon the inventory, without examining the codices themselves listed in it, it is hardly possible to reach a definitive conclusion regarding the genres of each and every work in the inventory, as many titles are generic. Therefore, this number should be considered a best estimate based upon our current knowledge.
 39. For these works, see A. Tunç Şen and Cornell H. Fleischer's list of entries at the end of their essay in this volume.
 40. See the chart at the end of this essay.
 41. The one example is [206].
 42. For more details on this category, see *El2*, s.v. "Ikhtiyārāt," by T. Fahd.
 43. See A. Tunç Şen and Cornell H. Fleischer, "Books on Astrology, Astronomical Tables, and Almanacs in the Library Inventory of Bayezid II," in this volume.
 44. These are [52] and [194] for Mehmed II, and [196] for Prince Cem. Interestingly, the horoscope for Sultan Bayezid II ([197]) is catalogued under *Kutub al-tafāsīr wa-kutub 'ilm al-qirā'a*.
 45. [82], [83], [84], [85], [87]/[160], [88]/[161], [89]/[162] are classified under *aḥkām al-nujūm*. [86]/[159] is under *al-nujūm*. The same issue is also pointed out by Şen and Fleischer in their article in this volume. Two additional copies ([81] and [90]/[163]) are catalogued under *Kutub al-siyar wa-al-tawārikh*.
 46. Şen and Fleischer's observation on 'Atufi's categories is as follows: "In general, however, 'Atufi seems to follow a discernible blueprint, cataloging all the *zīj*es and many of the textbooks of an astrological nature under the tags *'ilm al-nujūm* or *nujūm*, and the majority of treatises on instruments of observation under *min qibal al-nujūm*" (Şen and Fleischer, "Books on Astrology" in this volume). However, one needs to be cautious here inasmuch as a number of works on instruments (at least sixteen titles) are listed under the *nujūm* category. (See our chart.)
 47. In recent years, some scholars have used "astronomical handbook with tables" as a definition for *zīj*es. In the Latin tradition, we find the term *tabula* in the title of many works related to *zīj*es. For simplicity, we will use "table" to translate *zīj* in the titles of works.
 48. On *zīj*es, see *El2*, s.v. "Zīj," by F. C. De Blois, D. A. King, and J. Samsó; Edward S. Kennedy, "A Survey of Islamic Astronomical Tables," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s., 46, no. 2 (1956): 123–77; and David A. King, Julio Samsó, and Bernard R. Goldstein, "Astronomical Handbooks and Tables from the Islamic World (750-1900): An Interim Report," *Suḥayl* 2 (2001): 9–105.
 49. There are a few unidentified works recorded by 'Atufi that may (or may not) fall within this time span, e.g., one copy of a *Kitāb Zīj* [191]; a collection of tables, the first of which is entitled *Jadval-i ṭab'-hāyi burj-hā* (Table of the Qualities of the Zodiacal Signs [232]); and one copy of a work listed as *Kitāb jadāwīl al-tawārikh wa-al-nujūm* (Book of Tables of Chronology and Astronomy [lit. "stars"] [239]).
 50. Five copies of Ṭūsī's *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* are recorded by 'Atufi as [164], [165] (currently TSMK, A. 3513 [Karatay: F 231]), [166], [167], [168]. In addition to A. 3513, codices with Bayezid II's seal occur in TSMK, A. 3502 (Karatay: F 230), Bursa Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 11, and Istanbul University F. 1418.
 51. For more on al-Maghribī, known as Ibn Abī al-Shukr, see Mercè Comes, "Ibn Abī al-Shukr: Muḥyī al-Milla wa-'l-Dīn Yahyā Abū 'Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Shukr al-Maghribī al-Andalusī [Al-Qurṭubī]," in *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, ed. Thomas Hockey et al. (New York: Springer-Verlag, 2007), 548–49.
 52. As far as we know, Bukhārī's *Umda-i Ilkhāniyya* is not recorded by 'Atufi.
 53. Five copies of Nisābūrī's *Kashf* are recorded by 'Atufi as [76]/[172], [77]/[173], [78]/[174], [79]/[175], [80]/[176]. Copies of this work with Bayezid II's seal impressions are SK, Ayasofya 2696 and TSMK, A. 3510 (Karatay: F 232).
 54. An unidentified *Sharḥ-i Zīj-i Ilkhānī* (Commentary on the Ilkhani Tables) is recorded by 'Atufi as [169].
 55. On criticisms of *Zīj-i Ilkhānī*, see Fateme Savadi and Sajjad Nikfahm-Khubravan, "Harakat-i wasaṭ-i kawākib dar *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* wa naqd-hā-yi wārid bar ān" (The mean motion of the planets in *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* and the criticisms regarding it), in *Ustād-i bashar, pājuhish-hā-yi dar zindigī, rūzīgār, falsafa wa 'ilm Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī*, ed. H. Masoumi Hamedani and M. Javad Anvari (Tehran: Miras-i Maktūb, 2012), 363–470.
 56. Two copies of Kāshī's *Zīj* are recorded by 'Atufi as [44]/[170] and [45]/[171]. One of these is SK, Ayasofya 2692.
 57. Five copies of Ulugh Beg's *zīj* are recorded by 'Atufi as [178], [179], [180], [181], [182]. One of these is SK, Hamidiye 844.
 58. Both of Bukhārī's two sets of tables are in [23].
 59. Two copies of al-Qūshjī's *Sharḥ-i Zīj-i Ulugh Beg* are [112]/[183] and [113]/[184]. One of these is TSMK, A. 3318 (no catalogue entry in Karatay).
 60. One copy of Mīrim Çelebī's *Sharḥ-i Zīj-i Ulugh Beg*, better known as *Dustūr al-'amal fī taṣḥīḥ al-jadwal*, is [74]/[185]. This is SK, Ayasofya 2697.
 61. For more on Khīṭabī, known as Khīṭabī Munajjim al-Ḥusaynī, see Ahmet Tunç Şen, "Reading the Stars at the Ottoman Court: Bāyezid II (r. 886/1481–918/1512) and His Celestial Interests," *Arabica* 64 (2017): 557–608, at 577–82. A copy of Khīṭabī's *Tashriḥ al-ālāt* is [51]. This may be the manuscript currently in Tehran, Majlis Shūrā MS 6376, which has Bayezid II's seal.
 62. A copy of Khalilī's *al-Jadwal al-āfāqī* is [47], currently TSMK, A. 3500 (Karatay: A 7120). Based on extant manuscript

- evidence, it is likely that Qunawī's Turkish translation or recension of this work may be found in [48]/[98], [49]/[100] (TSMK, A. 3499 [Karatay: T 1618]), and [50]/[99]. (According to Şen and Fleischer, [48]/[98] is currently SK, Ayasofya 2590.) See David A. King, "Astronomical Timekeeping in Ottoman Turkey," in *Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Observatories in Islam, 19-23 Sept., 1977* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1980), 245–69, at 247–48.
63. This is entry [24].
 64. See Tehran, Majlis Shūrā MS 3422, fol. 9b; Paris, BnF, MS arabe 2529, fol. 1b.
 65. Entry [69], currently TSMK, R. 1713 (Karatay: A 7126). See *Osmanlı Astronomi*, 1:57 (no. 24).
 66. A copy of Kūshyār ibn Labbān's *al-Zīj al-jāmi'* is recorded by 'Atufi as [65]. This is SK, Fatih 3418.
 67. Two copies of Bīrūnī's *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī* is recorded by 'Atufi as [15] and [16].
 68. Ptolemy's *Planisphaerium* (*Fī tasṭīḥ basīṭ al-kura*) is currently contained in SK, Ayasofya 2671; our presumption is that this is the codex 'Atufi refers to for entries [66] and [231]. For the facsimile edition of this copy and an English translation, see Christopher Anagnostakis, "The Arabic Version of Ptolemy's Planisphaerium" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1984). For the critical edition of Ptolemy's *Planisphaerium* (based on SK, Ayasofya 2671 and another copy from Khān Malik Sāsānī's collection in Tehran), see Nathan Sidoli and J. L. Berggren, "The Arabic Version of Ptolemy's Planisphere or Flattening the Surface of the Sphere: Text, Translation, Commentary," *Sciamvs* 8 (2007): 37–139.
 69. Ustūrlābī's work is [7].
 70. See Richard Lorch, *Al-Farghānī On the Astrolabe: Arabic Text Edited with Translation and Commentary* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005).
 71. A copy of Şāghānī's work is currently in TSMK, A. 3342 (Karatay: A 7141). This codex is recorded by 'Atufi as *Kitāb jāmi' qawānīn 'ilm al-hay'a wa-rasā'il min qibal al-nujūm wa-ghayruhu fī mujallad wāḥid* (Book Comprising the Rules of the Science of *hay'a*, Treatises Pertaining to the Stars, and other [works] in a single volume); see [362] and 318 {13–14}.
 72. The two recorded copies of Şūfī's work on the use of the astrolabe are: [127] (TSMK, A. 3509 [Karatay: A 7045]), which is the 400-chapter work; and [128] (TSMK, A. 3491 [Karatay: A 7047]), which remains unidentified as to its version. No complete copy of the 1,760-chapter version is extant, but there is a partial copy (800 chapters) in Paris, BnF, MS arabe 5098. Fuat Sezgin published facsimile editions of TSMK, A. 3509 and the 170-chapter version in SK, Ayasofya 2642 (Frankfurt am Main, 1986). On Şūfī's astrolabe works, see Sajjad Nikfahm-Khubravan and Pouyan Shahidi, "A Persian Treatise on the Astrolabe Ascribed to 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Şūfī," *Tarikh-e Elm* 7 (2010): 55–102.
 73. 'Atufi does not mention Kūshyār explicitly, but his work on the astrolabe is contained in SK, Ayasofya 2671, which was in Bayezid II's library; see [66].
 74. Ibn Şalāḥ's work is in TSMK, A. 3342 [Karatay: A 7141]), which was in Bayezid II's library; see [362].
 75. A copy of Sultan al-Ashraf's *Manhaj* is [8]. See David A. King, *Mathematical Astronomy in Medieval Yemen: A Bibliographical Survey* (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1983), 28–29 (8.2); and David A. King, *In Synchrony with the Heavens: Studies in Astronomical Timekeeping and Instrumentation in Medieval Islamic Civilization*, vol. 2, *Instrumentation of Mass Calculation* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 632–39.
 76. 'Atufi recorded four copies of Tūsī's *Bīst bāb*: [130] (SK, Ayasofya 2621), [131] (SK, Ayasofya 2620), [132] (SK, Ayasofya 2701), and [133].
 77. Shams al-Ma'ālī's commentary is [135] (SK, Ayasofya 2642) and probably [134] (arguably part of SK, Ayasofya 2664). The latter found its way to Mehmed II's library and then to that of Bayezid II; see Sayyid Muḥammad Taqī Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i dastnīwis-hā-yi Fārsī-yi kitābkhāna-yi Ayāşūfiyā (Istanbul)* (Tehran: Majlis, 1390/2012), 230–31, 233.
 78. Nizāmī's *Mi'yār-i āftāb* is [56]/[138] (SK, Ayasofya 2677). The original dedication to 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī has been removed from this copy. The date is indicated at the end of the text by the chronogram *mi'yār āftāb nām* as well as the number 896; see Sayyid Muḥammad Taqī Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i dastnīwis-hā-yi Fārsī-yi kitābkhāna-yi Ayāşūfiyā (Istanbul)* (Tehran: Majlis, 1390/2012), 239. A copy of the *Maṭla' al-anwār* is MS Tehran, Majlis, Tabātabāyī 766, 38–41.
 79. Efezāde's commentary is [26]/[137] (SK, Ayasofya 2641); see *Osmanlı Astronomi*, 1:61 (no. 28).
 80. *Kitāb Bīst bāb al-muḥashshā* is [136].
 81. One of these is entitled *Lubāb dar dānistān-i ustūrlāb* (The Quintessence on Knowledge of the Astrolabe): [228] (SK, Ayasofya 2618; personal copy of Bayezid II). Others are [122], [177], [215], [216], [217], [218], [219], [220], [226]. In addition, [214], [221], and [227] are catalogued in other chapters.
 82. Sijzi's *Kayfiyyat* is not explicitly recorded by 'Atufi, but it is part of TSMK, A. 3342 (Karatay: A 7141), which we know was in Bayezid II's library. See [362].
 83. Two copies of Bīrūnī's *Istī'āb* are [13] (SK, Ayasofya 2576) and [14] (TSMK, A. 3505 [Karatay: A 7046]).
 84. Two copies of Marrākushī's *Jāmi' al-mabādī* are [67], lacking the last part of Book 4, and [68]. One of these is SK, Ayasofya 2669; the other is TSMK, A. 3343 (Karatay: A 7079).
 85. 'Atufi lists ten copies of works on the celestial globe, some or all of which may be by Qusṭā: [102], [103], [104], [105], [106], [107], [108], [109], [110], [111]. [109] is catalogued under *kutub 'ilm al-ta'bīr*. See Şen and Fleischer's list in this volume for details on the possible current location of these entries.
 86. Al-Wāsiṭī's treatise on the spherical astrolabe is [190], currently TSMK, A. 3509 (Karatay: A 7045).
 87. Al-Şūfī's book on the celestial sphere is [129], currently TSMK, A. 3505 (Karatay: A 7046).
 88. Al-'Urḍī's work on the sphere is [186], currently TSMK, A. 3491 (Karatay: A 7047).

89. These are [222], [223], [224], [225].
90. See David A. King, "On the Role of the *Muezzin* and the *Muwaqqit* in Medieval Islamic Society," in *Tradition, Transmission, Transformation*, 285–346.
91. For more on Marrākushī, see François Charette, "Marrākushī: Sharaf al-Dīn Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn 'Umar al-Marrākushī," in *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, 739–40.
92. Dīrīnī's treatise on timekeeping is [25], currently SK, Ayasofya 2711.
93. Two copies of Mizzi's *Kashf al-rayb* are [70] and [71], which may be in TSMK, A. 3119 (Karatay: A 7037).
94. One copy of Mizzi's work on the almucantars quadrant is [72], which may be in TSMK, A. 3119 (Karatay: A 7037).
95. Şen and Fleischer have been able to verify that this work on the quadrant [73] is by Mizzi (currently in SK, Ayasofya 2621).
96. On Qunawī, see *Osmanlı Astronomi*, 1:84–90 (no. 46.9–13).
97. Qunawī's *Tuhfa* is [101].
98. Qunawī's work on sundials is [96], currently TSMK, A. 3501 (Karatay: A 7121).
99. Qunawī's work on the almucantars quadrant is [95], currently TSMK, A. 3481 (Karatay: A 7122).
100. Qunawī's translation of a work on the sine quadrant is [97], currently SK, Ayasofya 2594.
101. Munajjim Bālī's treatise on the almucantar and sine quadrant is [75], currently SK, Ayasofya 2588. On Munajjim Bālī, see *Osmanlı Astronomi*, 1:42.
102. See, for example, [229], [234], [235]. Although the language is specified as Arabic, [230] is catalogued under *al-dawāwīn al-fārisīyya*.
103. Although 'Atufi does not specify authorship, we can identify copies of 'Urđi's *Kayfiyyat al-arşād* as [187] (SK, Ayasofya 2673), [189] (catalogued under *Kutub al-taşawwuf*), and [188] (likely TSMK, A. 3329 [Karatay: A 7140]). In addition, 'Atufi recorded an anonymous treatise on celestial observation as [250], which is in SK, Ayasofya 2673.
104. A copy of Khitābī's *Tashrīḥ al-ālāt* is [51].
105. Works on shadow instruments are [236], [246], and [447] (catalogued under *Kutub al-taşawwuf*).
106. See, for example, [238], [244], [248]. [249] is catalogued under *Kutub al-taşawwuf wa-kutub al-naşā'ih*.
107. 'Atufi classifies 128 works as some form of *hay'a*, and another 5 are unclassified but are clearly *hay'a* works, for a total of 133. There are also 132 works classified under *nujūm*, but this includes a far wider range of subjects than *hay'a*. For details, see our chart.
108. Naşir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī provides what would become the classic definition of the discipline: "The subject of astronomy is the simple bodies, both superior and inferior, with respect to their quantities, qualities, positions, and intrinsic motions." See Ragep, *Naşir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's Memoir*, 1:90–91 (I. Intr.[2]) and 1:38 ("All simple bodies as the subject matter of astronomy").
109. Although one finds topics dealing with the inhabited world included in Greek astronomical works, it is noteworthy that Islamic astronomers saw themselves as doing something new and considerably expanded. See Ragep, *Naşir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's Memoir*, 1:38.
110. For example, Jaghmīnī's *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fi al-hay'a al-basiṭa* and Ṭūsī's *al-Tadhkira fi 'ilm al-hay'a* fall into this *hay'a* subdivision.
111. Ragep, *Naşir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's Memoir*, 1:90–91, Intr.[1].
112. In fact, George Saliba has maintained that the need to demarcate astronomy from astrology within a strictly Islamic context gave rise to the discipline of *hay'a* itself. See Saliba, "Islamic Astronomy in Context: Attacks on Astrology and the Rise of the *Hay'a* Tradition," *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies* 2, no. 1 (2002): 25–46, at 25–27, 42; Saliba, "The Development of Astronomy in Medieval Islamic Society," *Arab Studies Quarterly* 4, no. 3 (1982): 211–25; and Saliba, "Arabic versus Greek Astronomy: A Debate over the Foundations of Science," *Perspectives on Science* 8, no. 4 (2000): 328–41, at 328–29, 330.
113. It should not be surprising that a scientific discipline based on mathematics and observations would be less objectionable to certain Islamic theologians (*mutakallims*) than one that seemingly limits God's omnipotence.
114. For example, 'Alī Qūshjī discusses issues related to the possibility of the earth's rotation within his theological commentary to Ṭūsī's *Tajrīd al-'Aqā'id*; see F. J. Ragep, "Ṭūsī and Copernicus: The Earth's Motion in Context," *Science in Context* 14, no. 1–2 (2001): 145–63. See also Robert Morrison, "What Was the Purpose of Astronomy in Ījī's *Kitāb al-Mawāqif fi 'ilm al-kalām*?" in *Politics, Patronage, and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th–15th Century Tabriz*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer (Leiden; Boston: E. J. Brill, 2014), 201–29.
115. Eight copies of Ṭūsī's *Tahrīr al-Majisṭī* (in Arabic) are recorded by 'Atufi as [417], [418], [419], [420], [421], [422], [423] (SK, Ayasofya 2583), [424] (most likely TSMK, A. 3453 [Karatay: A 7005]). One of the unidentified above is TMSK, A. 3328 (Karatay: A 7095).
116. One copy of Nisābūrī's *Tafsīr al-Tahrīr* is [340]/[425], and two anonymous commentaries are [426] and [427].
117. For a copy (unique?) of Ibn al-Haytham's *Sharḥ kitāb Majisṭī Baṭlamyūs fi al-hay'a*, see TMSK, A. 3329 (Karatay: A 7140) [309]; it is bound with an anonymous *Almagest* commentary. Ibn al-Haytham informs us in the introduction to this work that "Most commentators on the *Almagest*...were more interested in proposing alternative techniques of computation than in clarifying obscure points for the beginner" (Sabra, 6:199). See A. I. Sabra, "Ibn al-Haytham, Abū 'Alī Al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan," in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, ed. Charles C. Gillispie, vol. 6 (New York: Scribner, 1972), 189–210, at 199, 208 (Add. 3).
118. One copy of Ibn al-Haytham's *Ḥall shukūk fi kitāb al-Majisṭī* is [308]. Note that this work should be distinguished from Ibn al-Haytham's *al-Shukūk 'alā Baṭlamyūs* (Doubts about Ptolemy). See Sabra, "Ibn al-Haytham," 6:206–7, III 38.

119. 'Atufi records Bīṭrūjī's work twice as *Kitāb 'ajīb fī al-hay'a* [263], [264]; it is entitled *Kitāb al-Murta'ish fī al-hay'a* (Book of Trembling on *hay'a*) in TSMK, A. 3302 (Karatay: A 7055). Perhaps this is an indication that the work was considered remarkable, if not controversial. For more, see A. I. Sabra's seminal article on how the attempt to return to a purer version of Aristotelian cosmology free of eccentrics and epicycles was tied in with an Andalusian sense of identity ("The Andalusian Revolt against Ptolemaic Astronomy: Averroes and al-Bīṭrūjī," in *Transformation and Tradition in the Sciences*, ed. E. Mendelsohn [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984], 133–53).
120. Four copies of Kharaqī's *Tabṣira* are [310], [311], [312], [313]. The last three are currently SK, Ayasofya 2578; SK, Ayasofya 2579; and SK, Ayasofya 2581. One copy of Kharaqī's Persian '*Umda Khwarazmshāhi*' is [316] (TSMK, R. 1719 [Karatay: F 235]). Note that 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Kharaqī is often confused with an older contemporary, Shams al-Dīn Abū Bakr Kharaqī (both share the same *nisba*).
121. Two autograph copies (in a single volume) of the *Sharḥ al-Tabṣira* by Muḥammad ibn Mubārakshāh are recorded as [265]/[314] and [266]/[315], currently SK, Ayasofya 2582.
122. Five copies of Jaghmīnī's *Mulakhkhaṣ* are [267], [268], [269], [270], [271] (TSMK, A. 3296 [Karatay: A 7057]). [267] is catalogued by 'Atufi under *Kutub 'ilm uṣūl al-dīn*. [268] or [269] may be either SK, Ayasofya 2679 or TSMK, A. 3352 (Karatay: 8744). For a critical Arabic edition and English translation of the *Mulakhkhaṣ*, see Sally P. Ragep, *Jaghmīnī's Mulakhkhaṣ: An Islamic Introduction to Ptolemaic Astronomy* (New York: Springer, 2016).
123. 'Atufi's inventory includes two anonymous Persian translations of Jaghmīnī's *Mulakhkhaṣ*. One is by Muḥammad ibn 'Umar Andiqānī (fourteenth century), [262]/[272], currently SK, Ayasofya 2592; another translation is by Ḥamza ibn Ḥājī ibn Sulaymān (fifteenth century) by the order of Mehmed II, [273]/[307]. There is also an unidentified anonymous commentary of the latter, [301]. [273]/[307] and [301] are currently SK, Ayasofya 2593. See Cevat İzgi, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim: Riyazî İlimler*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: İz, 1997), 1:388, e1.1, e1.2.
124. An anonymous Turkish translation of Jurjānī's *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ* is [282]/[326].
125. See Robert Morrison, "The Role of Oral Transmission for Astronomy among Romaniot Jews," in *Texts in Transit in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. Y. Tzvi Langermann and Robert G. Morrison (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2016), 10–28.
126. Based on 'Atufi's inventory, the works of the following authors are connected with Jaghmīnī's *Mulakhkhaṣ*: Yūsuf ibn Mubārak al-Alānī (ca. 1334), Faḍl Allāh al-'Ubaydī (d. 1350), Kamāl al-Dīn al-Turkmānī (d. 1357), al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 1413), Qāḍizāde al-Rūmī (d. ca. 1440), Faṭḥ Allāh al-Shirwānī (d. 1486), Sinān Pasha (d. 1495), Muḥyi al-Dīn Niksārī (d. 1495), Muḥammad ibn 'Umar Andikānī (15th c.), and Ḥamza ibn Ḥājī ibn Sulaymān (15th c.). Qarā Sinān (d. ca. 1480–81), who dedicated his *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ* to Bayezid II, may be the author of the remaining unidentified anonymous commentary recorded as [300]/[354]; see *Osmanlı Astronomi*, 1:40–41 (no. 14.1); *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 2: col. 1819. (For Şen and Fleischer's entry numbers for each author, see below.)
127. Three copies of Tūsī's *Risāla-i Mu'iniyya* (in Persian) are [390], [391], [392], plus one copy of its appendix (*Ḥall* recorded as *Sharḥ*) is [393]. [390] and [393] are in SK, Ayasofya 2670. SK, Ayasofya 2592 also contains a copy of the *Mu'iniyya*, its appendix, and Tūsī's *Bist bāb* (bound with [262]/[272]); these copies do not seem to be in 'Atufi's inventory.
128. Five copies of Tūsī's *Tadhkira* (in Arabic) are [394] (possibly TMSK, A. 3317 [Karatay: A 7081]), [395] (TSMK, A. 3333 [Karatay: A 7082]), [396], [397], [398] (most likely TSMK, A. 3453 [Karatay: A 7005]). [396] and [397] both are bound with Nizām al-Dīn al-Nisābūrī's commentary; one of these is probably SK, Ayasofya 2589. There are also fourteen copies of eight commentaries: seven are by Nisābūrī ([333]/[399], [334]/[400], [335]/[401], [336]/[402], [337]/[403], [338]/[404], [339]/[405]), and seven are anonymous ([410], [411], [412], [413], [414], [415], [416]). Among the anonymous copies, two are by al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī [327] and Faṭḥ Allāh al-Shirwānī (d. 1486) [385].
129. There is one copy of Tūsī's *Zubdat al-idrāk* recorded as [428], most likely TMSK, A. 3430 (Karatay: A 8749).
130. For copies of Tūsī's *Tahrīr al-Majisī* and commentaries on it, see notes 115 and 116 above.
131. Five copies of Tūsī's *Zubda-i hay'a* (in Persian) are recorded as [429], [430] (SK, Ayasofya 2670), [431], [432] (TMSK, A. 3455 [Karatay: A 8752]), [433], plus an anonymous translation of the work into Arabic [434]. 'Atufi catalogues [433] under *al-Kutub al-ṭibbiyya* and [434] under *Kutub 'ilm al-sarf wa-al-naḥw*. For a brief overview of Tūsī's *hay'a* works, see Ragep, *Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī's Memoir*, 1:20–23, 56, 65–67.
132. Four copies of Mas'ūdī's *Kitāb-i Jahān-dānish* are [328], [329], [330], [331].
133. One copy of Jājaramī's *Faṣṣ al-khātām fī hay'at al-'ālam* (in Persian) is [317], currently TMSK, A. 3337 (Karatay: F 227).
134. Five copies of Shīrāzī's *Nihāyat al-idrāk* (in Arabic) are [364], [365] (probably TSMK, A. 3336 [Karatay: A 7101]), [366] (TSMK, A. 3333 [Karatay: A 7082]), [367], [368]. See F. J. Ragep, "Shīrāzī's *Nihāyat al-Idrāk*: Introduction and Conclusion," *Tarikh-e Elm* 11 (2013): 41–57; and (more generally) Kaveh Niazi, *Qūṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī and the Configuration of the Heavens: A Comparison of Texts and Models* (New York: London: Springer, 2014), esp. 85–122 (ch. 4: The Principal Astronomical Sources).
135. Seven copies of Shīrāzī's *Tuhfa* (in Arabic) are [370], [371], [372], [373], [374], [375], [376]. Two of the above are currently SK, Ayasofya 2585 and Ayasofya 2587. There are also four *Tuhfa* commentaries: an autograph copy by 'Alī Qūshjī entitled *Sharḥ al-Tuhfa al-shāhiyya* ([361]/[377]); SK,

- Ayasofya 2643), and three anonymous ones ([378], [379], [380]).
136. There are two copies of Shīrāzī's *Fa'alta fa-lā talum* (in Arabic) recorded as [381]/[406], [382]/[407]. These are SK, Ayasofya 2668 and TSMK, A. 3338 (Karatay: A 7094), listed identically in the inventory as *Fa'altu fa-lā talum*. See F. J. Ragep, "New Light on Shams: The Islamic Side of Σάμψ Πουχάρης," in *Politics, Patronage, and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th–15th Century Tabriz*, 231–47, esp. 234–35.
 137. One copy of Shīrāzī's *Ikhtiyārāt-i Muẓaffarī fi al-hay'a* (in Persian) is [383], currently TSMK, A. 3310 (Karatay: F 233). See Amir-Mohammad Gamini, "The Planetary Models of Qūṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī in the *Ikhtiyārāt-i Muẓaffarī*," *Tarikh-e Elm* 8 (2009): 39–54.
 138. One copy of Nīsābūrī's *Tafṣīr* [or *Sharḥ*] *Tahrīr al-Majīstī* is [340]/[425]. Seven copies of his *Tawḍīḥ* (or *Sharḥ*) *al-Tadhkira* are [333]/[399], [334]/[400], [335]/[401], [336]/[402], [337]/[403] (probably SK, Ayasofya 2646), [338]/[404], [339]/[405]. Either [334]/[400] or [335]/[401] is SK, Ayasofya 2589 (both are bound with the *Tadhkira*). SK, Ayasofya 2647 contains one of the remaining unidentified copies. For more on Nīsābūrī, see Robert Morrison, *Islam and Science: The Intellectual Career of Nizām al-Dīn al-Nīsābūrī* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007).
 139. One copy of Alānī's *Ṭurar al-Mulakhkhaṣ* is [261]/[296], currently TSMK, A. 3308 (Karatay: A 7060). See İzgi, *Riyazī İlimler*, 1:389, e2; and S. P. Ragep, *Jaghminī's Mulakhkhaṣ*, 284.
 140. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Turkmānī is the author of the anonymous *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ* recorded by 'Atufi as [299]/[389], which is bound with Jurjānī's *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ* (currently SK, Ayasofya 2653). For more on Turkmānī, see İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Kamāl al-Dīn al-Turkmānī," in *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, 609; İzgi, *Riyazī İlimler*, 1:389–90, e4; *Kashf al-zunūn*, 2: col. 1819; Ṭāshkubrīzāde, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, 349.
 141. Two copies of 'Ubaydī's *Bayān al-Tadhkira* are [408]/[435], [409]/[436]. Two copies of his *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ* are [297]/[437] and [298]/[438] (SK, Ayasofya 2474). Both [297]/[437] and [409]/[436] are in TSMK, A. 3325 (Karatay: A 7058). See İzgi, *Riyazī İlimler*, 1:389, e3; *Kashf al-zunūn*, 2: col. 1819; Ṭāshkubrīzāde, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, 349.
 142. One copy of Jurjānī's *Sharḥ al-Tadhkira* is [327], most likely TSMK, A. 3320 (Karatay: A 7091). For more on Jurjānī, see İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "The Samarqand Mathematical-Astronomical School: A Basis for Ottoman Philosophy and Science," *Journal for the History of Arabic Science* 14 (2008): 3–68.
 143. There are eight copies of Jurjānī's *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ* recorded as [274]/[318], [275]/[319], [276]/[320], [277]/[321], [278]/[322], [279]/[323] (SK, Ayasofya 2653), [280]/[324], [281]/[325]. Three unidentified copies are most likely in SK, Ayasofya 2654; TSMK, A. 3297 (Karatay: A 7063); TSMK, A. 3298 (Karatay: A 7067). See İzgi, *Riyazī İlimler*, 1:390–91, e9; *Kashf al-zunūn*, 2: col. 1819; and Ṭāshkubrīzāde, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, 349.
 144. An anonymous Turkish translation of Jurjānī's *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ* is [282]/[326].
 145. Ten copies of Qāḍizāde al-Rūmī's *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ* are [283]/[341], [284]/[342], [285]/[343], [286]/[344] (SK, Ayasofya 2659), [287]/[345], [288]/[346], [289]/[347], [290]/[348], [291]/[349], [292]/[350]). Four unidentified copies are most likely in SK, Ayasofya 2662; TSMK, A. 3297 (Karatay: A 7063); TSMK, A. 3303 (Karatay: A 7064); TSMK, A. 3331 (Karatay: A 7075). For more on Qāḍizāde, see Fazlıoğlu, "The Samarqand Mathematical-Astronomical School"; İzgi, *Riyazī İlimler*, 1:372–73; *Kashf al-zunūn*, 2: col. 1819. See also *Osmanlı Astronomi*, 1:8–21 (no. 5.3) to get a sense of the many copies of Qāḍizāde's commentary in Istanbul libraries alone, which number about three hundred.
 146. Seven copies of glosses (*hāshiyas*) on Jaghmīnī's *Mulakhkhaṣ* are [293]/[332]/[351], [294]/[352]/[384], [295]/[353]/[363], [302], [303], [304], [305]. The gloss on Jurjānī's *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ* (SK, Ayasofya 2608) is either [303] or [304], both listings being anonymous. There is only one other anonymous extant gloss on Jurjānī's *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ*, copied in 880/1475 by Muṣṭafā ibn 'Abd Allāh (TSMK, A. 3298 [Karatay: A 7067]). In comparison, Qāḍizāde's *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ* inspired at least twenty-six glosses. See S. P. Ragep, *Jaghminī's Mulakhkhaṣ*, 285–89, nos. 10, 10.a–b (Jurjānī); and 12, 12.a–x (Qāḍizāde).
 147. One copy of Shirwānī's gloss on Qāḍizāde's *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ* of Jaghmīnī is [294]/[352]/[384], currently TSMK, A. 3294 (Karatay: A 7077). There is also one copy of his *Sharḥ al-Tadhkira* recorded as [385], currently TSMK, A. 3314 (Karatay: A 7093). See Fazlıoğlu, "The Samarqand Mathematical-Astronomical School"; *Osmanlı Astronomi*, 1:42–45; İzgi, *Riyazī İlimler*, 1:385, c1; and *Kashf al-zunūn*, 2: col. 1819.
 148. One copy of Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Khidr Beg ibn Jalāl al-Dīn 'Arif's (known as Sinān Pasha) gloss on Qāḍizāde's *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ* is [295]/[353]/[363], currently TSMK, A. 3299 (Karatay: A 7074). See *Osmanlı Astronomi*, 1:47 (no. 17.1); İzgi, *Riyazī İlimler*, 1:385, c3; and *Kashf al-zunūn*, 2: col. 1819.
 149. There are three copies of Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hasan al-Niksārī al-Rūmī's gloss on Qāḍizāde's *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ*. One copy is listed as *Hāshiya Sharḥ al-Chaghminī li-al-Niksārī fi 'ilm al-hay'a*, namely [293]/[332]/[351] (SK, Ayasofya 2656). The other two copies are unattributed; however, TSMK, A. 3291 (Karatay: A 7117) contains Niksārī's gloss with Ghulām Sinān's commentary on 'Alī al-Qūshjī's *al-Risāla al-fathīyya*, as does TSMK, A. 3290 (Karatay: A 7116). See *Osmanlı Astronomi*, 1:61–62 (no. 29); and İzgi, *Riyazī İlimler*, 1:385, c5.
 150. One copy of Qūshjī's *Sharḥ al-Tuḥfa* is [361]/[377], which 'Atufi says is an autograph. There are two extant copies of this work with Bayezid II's seal, namely SK, Ayasofya 2643 and TSMK, A. 3304 (Karatay: A 7109). It is not clear which, if either, is in Qūshjī's hand. See *Osmanlı Astronomi*, 1:36 (no. 11.8).

151. Two copies of Qūshjī's *Risāla dar 'ilm al-hay'a* are [359] (SK, Ayasofya 2640), [360] (SK, Ayasofya 2639). The small number is surprising given the enormous popularity of the work (see *Osmanlı Astronomi*, 1:30–33 [no. 11.2], which lists more than 75 copies). The work would inspire commentaries and would be translated into Turkish and into Sanskrit as *Hayatagrantha* (the earliest known copy dating to 1674). See David Pingree, "Indian Reception of Muslim Versions of Ptolemaic Astronomy," in *Tradition, Transmission, Transformation*, 471–85, at 474–76.
152. Three copies of Qūshjī's *al-Risāla al-Faḥḥiyya* are [355], [356] (SK, Ayasofya 2733), and [357] (recorded under *al-Kutub al-ṭibbiyya*). See *Osmanlı Astronomi*, 1:33–35 (no. 11.3).
153. One copy of Ghulām Sinān's *Faḥ al-faḥḥiyya fī sharḥ al-Faḥḥiyya* is [306]/[358], currently TSMK, A. 3291 (Karatay: A 7117). TSMK, A. 3290 (Karatay: A 7116) may contain another copy of this work that is not recorded. See *Osmanlı Astronomi*, 1:68 (no. 35). Mirim Çelebi's *Sharḥ al-Faḥḥiyya fī al-hay'a* was completed under Sultan Selim I, and so is not in 'Atufi's inventory. On the other hand, his *Sharḥ-i Zīj-i Ulugh Beg* is listed [74].
154. One copy of al-Sālār's *Kitāb jāmi' al-qawānīn* is [362], currently TSMK, A. 3342 (Karatay: A 7141). Al-Sālār has sometimes been dated to the thirteenth century; for an argument placing him in the eleventh century, see Ḥossein Masoumi Hamedani, "Ḥusām al-Dīn Sālār and His Compendium of the Laws of the Science of Astronomy," *Tarikh-e Elm* 8 (2011): 73–109; and Ḥusayn Ma'sūmī Hamadānī, "Ḥusām al-Dīn Sālār," in *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif-i buzurg-i Islāmī* (The great Islamic encyclopedia), vol. 20 (Tehran, 2014), 473–78.
155. A copy of Thābit's treatise is [387].
156. A copy of the commentary on Thābit's treatise is [388].
157. These include the following that seem to be actual *hay'a* works: [251], [252], [440], [441], [442], [443], [444], [445], [446], [448]. [248] is on the armillary sphere but is listed as *fī 'ilm al-hay'a*. [443] is listed under *Kutub al-taṣawwuf*.
158. There are 21 Persian copies listed for 11 compositions that are recorded under the category *hay'a* (out of a total of 129 *hay'a* works listed in the inventory). These are: two translations of Jāghmīnī's *Mulakhkhaṣ* (one by Muḥammad b. 'Umar Andiqānī [fourteenth century] [262]/[272], one by Ḥamza b. Ḥājī b. Sulaymān [fifteenth century] [273]/[307]); one anonymous *Mulakhkhaṣ* commentary [301]; one copy of Kharaqī's *Umda li-ūlī al-albāb* [316]; four copies of Ma'sūdi's *Jahān-dānīsh* [328]–[331]; two copies of Qūshjī's *Risālah dar 'ilm-i hay'a* [359], [360]; one copy of Shīrāzī's *Ikhtiyārāt-i Muẓaffarī* [383]; three copies of Ṭūsī's *Risāla-i Mu'iniyya* [390], [391], [392] and its appendix [393]; five copies of Ṭūsī's *Zubda-i hay'a* [429]–[433]; and one copy of Jājaramī's *Faṣṣ al-khātām fī hay'at al-'ālam* [317]. Note [433] is recorded by 'Atufi under the category *al-Kutub al-ṭibbiyya*.
159. Examples of multiple copies of a composition include: five copies of Jāghmīnī's *Mulakhkhaṣ* [267]–[271]; ten copies of Qāḍizāde's *Mulakhkhaṣ* commentary [283]/[341]–[292]/[350]; eight copies of al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī's *Mulakhkhaṣ* commentary [274]/[318]–[281]/[325]; one Turkish translation of Jurjānī's commentary [282]/[326]; five copies of Shīrāzī's *Nihāyat al-idrāk* [364]–[368]; seven copies of Shīrāzī's *Tuhfa* [370]–[376]; four copies of commentaries on Shīrāzī's *Tuhfa* [361]/[377], [378]–[380]; five copies of Ṭūsī's *Tadhkira* [394]–[398]; seven copies of Nizām al-Dīn al-Nisābūrī's *Tadhkira* commentary [333]/[399]–[339]/[405]; a copy of a *Tadhkira* commentary by Jurjānī, another by Shirwānī, and five additional unidentified copies [410]–[416]; eight copies of Ṭūsī's *Tahrīr al-Majistī* [417]–[424]; and three commentaries on it [425]–[427], one of these by Nisābūrī [340]/[425].
160. Besides the interests of Bayezid II and Mehmed II, the collection also indicates the wide-ranging interests of their courts and the possibilities for students to access this knowledge at the palace school for raising new Ottoman bureaucrats. See *El3*, s.v. "Enderun Mektebi," by Orlin Sabev.
161. For a comprehensive account of the definitions and the position of *ḥisāb* in the classification of science through the pre-modern Islamic period and the structure of arithmetical writings, see Ḥusayn Ma'sūmī Hamadānī, "Ḥisāb," *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif-i buzurg-i Islāmī* (The great Islamic encyclopedia), vol. 20 (2014), 450–70. For a concise summary of the tradition, see *El3*, s.v. "Arithmetic," by Sonja Brentjes.
162. There is one copy of Ibn Sinā's *al-Shifā'* recorded by 'Atufi as [593], with explicit reference to its mathematical parts.
163. Karājī's *al-Kāfī* is [462]; the commentary by al-Shaqqāq al-Baghādī is [449]/[463]. Both are in TSMK, A. 3135 (Karatay: A 7033).
164. Samaw'al's *al-Bāhīr* is [489], currently SK, Ayasofya 2718.
165. Tabarī's *Miftāḥ al-mu'āmalāt* is [491], the unique copy in SK, Ayasofya 2763. For more on Tabarī, see Heinrich Hermelink, "The Earliest Reckoning Books Existing in the Persian Language," *Historia Mathematica* 2 (1975): 299–303; and Muḥammad Amīn Riyāḥī, *Miftāḥ al-mu'āmilāt* (Tehran, 1349sh/1970–71), 38–40.
166. Sajāwandi's dates are not established; *Osmanlı Matematik* gives his death date as 600/1204. 'Atufi recorded one copy of his work as *Risāla Abī Ṭāhīr al-Sijāwandī bi-al-'arabiyya fī al-ḥisāb* [490]. This is most likely his *al-Tajnis fī al-ḥisāb*, currently in SK, Ayasofya 4855. See Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, Ramazan Şeşen, and Cevat İzgi, *Osmanlı Matematik Literatürü Tarihi* (History of mathematical literature during the Ottoman period), 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1999), 1:42.
167. 'Atufi recorded an anonymous work, *Sharḥ risāla fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb*, as [521], which is very likely TSMK, A. 3154 (Karatay: A 7013). This is Fanārizāde 'Alī Çelebi's (d. 1497) commentary on Sajāwandi's *al-Tajnis*; see *Osmanlı Matematik*, 1:41–42 (no. 15).
168. 'Atufi recorded two copies of this work: one as *Risāla al-ḥisāb* [497] (TSMK, A. 3455 [Karatay: A 8752]); the other as *Kitāb Jawāmi' al-ḥisāb fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb* [498] (catalogued

- under *al-Kutub al-ṭibbiyya*). The work was edited by Ahmad S. Saidan, based on A. 3455, in the journal *al-Abḥāth* 20 (June 1967): 91–164.
169. Ṭūsī's algebra is in SK, Ayasofya 4855, fols. 166b–178a. This may be the work listed by 'Atufi in [499]. Another possibility for [499] is a work on algebra by Abū al-'Alā' Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bihishti al-Isfarā'ini (d. 1502); see TSMK, A. 3136 (Karatay: A 7024).
 170. See Maryam Zamani, *Two Treatises of 'Izz al-Dīn Zanjānī, Facsimile Edition of Manuscript no. 3457, Library of Sultan Ahmad III, Topkapı (Istanbul)* (Tehran: Mirāth-i Maktūb, 2016), 9–22.
 171. Two copies of Zanjānī's *Umdat al-ḥisāb* are [503] and [504] (TSMK, A. 3145 [Karatay: A 7009] and TSMK, A. 3457 [Karatay: A 7008], respectively).
 172. A copy of Zanjānī's work on algebra is [505], currently TSMK, A. 3457 (Karatay: A 7008).
 173. Two copies of Zanjānī's *Kāfiya* are [501] (SK, Ayasofya 2732) and [502] (TSMK, A. 3152 [Karatay: A 7016]).
 174. Ibn al-Khawwām's *Risāla al-fawā'id* is [464]. This is either SK, Ayasofya 2729 or TSMK, A. 3352 (Karatay: A 8744). The work itself was dedicated to the ruler of Isfahan, Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 1279), the son of Shams al-Dīn al-Juwaynī (d. 1284), who had been a prominent minister of the Ilkhanid state.
 175. The four copies of al-Fārisī's *Sharḥ al-Fawā'id* are [450]/[465], [451]/[466], [452]/[467], and [453]/[468].
 176. This anonymous commentary on the *Fawā'id* is [471].
 177. Two copies of Yaḥyā ibn Aḥmad al-Kāshī's commentary are [459]/[469] and [460]/[470], currently SK, Ayasofya 2716 and TSMK, A. 3142 (Karatay: A 6999), respectively.
 178. Al-Kāshī's *Lubāb* is [461], currently SK, Ayasofya 2757.
 179. On the other hand, the section on geometry is recorded by 'Atufi; see [568] and [569].
 180. Four copies of Turkistānī's *Risāla 'Alā'iyya* (with various titles) are [492] (SK, Ayasofya 2737), [493], [494] (TSMK, A. 3119 [Karatay: A 7037]), and [495] (catalogued under *kutub 'ilm al-ṣarf wa-al-naḥw*). The work was dedicated to 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Faryūmadhī (fl. ca. 1316). This Turkistānī is the same person to whom Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī dedicated his optical work *al-Baṣā'ir fī ikhtisār Tanqīḥ al-Manāẓir* (Insights on Abridging *Tanqīḥ al-Manāẓir*).
 181. Al-Gharbī's commentary is [454]/[496], currently TSMK, A. 3117 (Karatay: A 7012).
 182. The five copies of Nisābūrī's *al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya* in the inventory are [474] (SK, Ayasofya 2659), [475] (TSMK, A. 3152 [Karatay: A 7016]), [476], [477], [478]. The work was dedicated to Shams al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf (whence the title), son of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh al-Hamadānī (d. 1318), the famous vizier and historian of the Ilkhanid period.
 183. A copy of al-Shīrāzī's Persian translation of the *Shamsiyya* is [479] (TSMK, A. 3118 [Karatay: F 226]). The work was dedicated to Sultan Muḥammad Bahādurkhān (r. ca. 1451).
 184. A copy of Kirmānī's commentary is [473]/[480] (TSMK, A. 3153 [Karatay: A 7017]). See *Osmanlı Matematik*, 1:32–33 (no. 8.2).
 185. This anonymous Persian commentary on the *Shamsiyya* is [481]/[527].
 186. Al-Kāshgharī's full name is 'Abd Allāh ibn As'ad ibn 'Umar al-Kāshgharī. 'Atufi lists one copy of his *al-Risāla al-Imādiyya* [456], currently SK, Ayasofya 2739. The work is dedicated to 'Imād al-Dīn Ḥaydara ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn Maḥyā al-'Abbāsī (fl. ca. 1310).
 187. Qāḍī al-Humāmiyya's full name is Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Thābit, Qāḍī al-Humāmiyya. There is one copy of the *Ghunya* [482] in the inventory, currently SK, Ayasofya 2728. See D. A. King, *A Survey of the Scientific Manuscripts in the Egyptian National Library* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1986), 57 (C11).
 188. Two copies of Kāshī's *Miftāḥ al-ḥisāb* are [457] and [458]. One of these is TSMK, A. 3479 (Karatay: A 7019).
 189. Two copies of Qūshjī's *al-Risāla al-Muḥammadiyya* are [483] (SK, Ayasofya 2733) and [484] (catalogued under *al-Kutub al-ṭibbiyya*).
 190. 'Atufi recorded one copy of *Mukhtaṣar al-Ṣalāhiyya fī al-ḥisāb* ([485], currently TSMK, A. 3133 [Karatay: A 7010]). On the authorship, see İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Musa (Kadı-zade)," *Yaşamları ve Yapıtlarıyla Osmanlılar Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2 (Istanbul, 1999), 255–58; and Fazlıoğlu, "Kadı-zade-i Rumi," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 24 (Istanbul, 2001), 98–100. In *Osmanlı Matematik* 1:5–6 (no. 1.3), the work is attributed to Qaḍizāde and the date of composition is given as 784/1382.
 191. The three commentaries on the *Mukhtaṣar al-Ṣalāhi* are [486] (currently in TSMK, A. 3133 [Karatay: A 7010]), [487], [488]. Each of the latter two is either TSMK, A. 3141 (Karatay: A 7011) or SK, Ayasofya 2751. 'Atufi also recorded a *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar fī al-ḥisāb* [523], but it is not clear whether this is related to the *Mukhtaṣar al-Ṣalāhi*. In TSMK, A. 3141, the name of the commentator is given as Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Khaṭībī, who was possibly Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Shaykh al-Ṣāliḥ al-Wārī' ibn Abī al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Khaṭīb al-Irbīlī, for whom see B. A. Rosenfeld and Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Mathematicians, Astronomers, and Other Scholars of Islamic Civilization and Their Works (7th–19th c.)* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2003), 303. Cf. *Osmanlı Matematik* 1:6 (no. 1.3).
 192. One copy of *Tuhfat al-ṣudūr fī al-ḥisāb* [455], which is known to be in Persian, is oddly catalogued in a miscellaneous volume listed in the chapter on Arabic literature (228 {1}).
 193. His full name is Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad ibn Qawām al-Hirawī al-Wālishtānī; 'Atufi lists the work as *Risāla fārisiyya fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb* (A Persian Treatise on the Science of Arithmetic) [500], currently SK, Ayasofya 2735. It is more commonly known as *Mukhtaṣar dar 'ilm-i ḥisāb* (An Abridgement on the Science of Arithmetic); see Sayyid Muḥammad Taqī Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i dastnawis-hā-yi*

- Fārsī-yi kitābkhāna-yi Ayāşūfiyā (Istanbul)* (Tehran: Majlis, 1390sh/2012), 252–54.
194. ‘Atufi recorded one copy of Khayr al-Dīn’s *Mushkil-gushā-yi ḥussāb* [472]. Before serving Bayezid II, Khayr al-Dīn dedicated another of his Persian works, *Miftāḥ-i kunūz-i arbāb-i qalam va mişbāḥ-i rumūz-i aṣḥāb-i raqam* (The Key to the Authors’ Treasure and Light on the Arithmeticians’ Symbols), to Mehmed II. Pīr Maḥmūd al-Şidqī al-Adarnawī (fl. ca. 1490) translated the *Miftāḥ* into Turkish for Bayezid II. Neither the *Miftāḥ* nor its translation are in ‘Atufi’s inventory. See *Osmanlı Matematik*, 1:33–35 (no. 10.1-2).
 195. ‘Atufi lists each work as *Risāla fārisiyya fi al-ḥisāb* (Persian Treatise on Arithmetic): [511], [516] (currently SK, Ayasofya 2640), [517] (SK, Ayasofya 2728), and [519]. [516] has the copy date of Safar 861. The SK catalogue attributes [517] to Ṭūsī.
 196. *Al-Kifāya fi ‘ilm al-ḥisāb* is [526], currently in SK, Fatih 3441.
 197. A copy of *Kitāb jāmi’ uşul al-ḥisāb* is [529]. A non-extant work with this title has been attributed to Ibn al-Haytham.
 198. Two copies of *Kitāb al-mi’a wa-al-‘iṣhrīn* are [506] and [507]. Interestingly, ‘Atufi classified them as *min qibal al-nujūm* (pertaining to the stars), which may point to the work being the *Jadwal al-nisba al-sittīniyya fi al-‘amal al-falakiyya ilā mi’a wa-‘iṣhrīn* by Shams al-Dīn al-Tizīnī, who was the timekeeper of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus in the late fifteenth century. The work contained a sexagesimal multiplication table (going up to 120), which would have made it useful for astronomical calculations. See D. A. King, “Supplementary Notes on Medieval Islamic Multiplication Tables,” *Historia Mathematica* 6, no. 4 (1979): 405–17, at 406.
 199. A copy of the *Iqnā’* is [528], currently SK, Ayasofya 2715. Edition by İhsan Fazlıoğlu, *Uygulamalı Geometrinin Tarihine Giriş: El-İkna fi ilmi’l-misaha* (Istanbul: Dergah, 2004).
 200. This work on mental arithmetic by a certain Najm al-Dīn is [532].
 201. A copy of *Risāla al-‘adad bi-awḍā’ al-aṣābi’* is [524]. ‘Atufi lists another work on finger reckoning, *Risāla al-ḥisāb bi-‘aqd al-aṣābi’* in the chapter on *taşawwuf* [525].
 202. There is one copy of this work on *siyāqa* [530]. It is classified as *min qibal ‘ilm al-ḥisāb* (pertaining to the science of arithmetic).
 203. One copy of this work on Indian arithmetic is [531].
 204. Five works are recorded as *fi al-ḥisāb*: [508], [509], [510], [512], [520] (the first four are designated as treatises, the last as an Arabic book). Four works are *fi ‘ilm al-ḥisāb*: [513], [514], [515], [518] (the first three are designated as treatises, the last as a book). [508] and [513] are catalogued under *Kutub al-fiqh wa-kutub manāqib al-a’imma*.
 205. On Euclid’s *Elements* and its Arabic translation and dissemination, see *El3*, s.v. “Euclid,” by Sonja Brentjes and Gregg De Young.
 206. One copy of Nasawī’s abridgement is [549], currently SK, Fatih 3441.
 207. Ten copies of Ṭūsī’s recension of Euclid’s *Elements* are [573], [574], [575], [576], [577], [578], [579] (SK, Ayasofya 2742), [581], [582], [583] (most likely TSMK, A. 3453 [Karatay: A 7005]). Either [581] or [582] is probably Millet, Feyzullah 1359. One of the unidentified copies is SK, Ayasofya 2722. ‘Atufi also listed [580] and [586] each as *Kitāb Uqlidis* (Book of Euclid). [580] is Ṭūsī’s recension of Euclid’s *Data*, currently contained in SK, Fatih 3441, folios 83b–127b. [586] is unidentified.
 208. ‘Atufi recorded three copies of Samarqandī’s *Ashkāl al-ta’sīs* as [557] under *handasa*; [558] under *Kutub ‘ilm uşul al-dīn*; and [559] under *al-Kutub al-ṭibbiyya*. İhsan Fazlıoğlu has analyzed this work and its commentary tradition in his “The Samarqand Mathematical-Astronomical School,” 26–29, where he prefers “Basic Forms of the Existent” as the translated title.
 209. ‘Atufi recorded five copies of Qāḍizāde’s commentary on *Ashkāl al-ta’sīs* as [550]/[560], [551]/[561], [552]/[562], [553]/[563], [554]/[564]. The supercommentary by Çelebī is [555]/[556]/[565].
 210. Entries [568] and [569]. On the connection between *Durrat al-tāj* and Ṭūsī’s recension, see Fatemeh Doostgharin, “Nigāhi bi tarjuma-yi Fārsī Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī az Uşul-i Uqlidis,” *Tarikh-e Elm* 9 (2012): 5–30.
 211. On this tradition in Islamic mathematics, see Khalil Jaouiche, *La Théorie des parallèles en pays d’Islam: Contribution à la préhistoire des géométries non-Euclidiennes* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1986); and B. A. Rosenfeld, *A History of Non-Euclidean Geometry: Evolution of the Concept of a Geometric Space*, Studies in the History of Mathematics and Physical Sciences 12 (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1988).
 212. Although ‘Atufi does not explicitly name them, we can identify copies of these works in codices he does list, namely Ibn al-Haytham’s *Sharḥ muşādarāt* in Millet, Feyzullah 1359 (probably either [581] or [582]) and Ṭūsī’s *al-Risāla al-shāfiyya* in TSMK, A. 3342 (Karatay: A 7141) [362].
 213. A copy of al-Khāzin’s commentary is in Millet, Feyzullah 1359 (probably either [581] or [582]), which was copied for Mehmed II and was in Bayezid II’s collection.
 214. Ahwāzī’s commentary is recorded as [535], which is probably in SK, Ayasofya 2742. Another copy, not explicitly noted by ‘Atufi, is in Millet, Feyzullah 1359 (probably either [581] or [582]).
 215. Al-Jawharī’s work is not cited by ‘Atufi but is in Millet, Feyzullah 1359 ([581] or [582]). See Gregg DeYoung, “Al-Jawharī’s Additions to Book V of Euclid’s *Elements*,” *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften* 11 (1997): 153–78.
 216. An anonymous copy of *Kitāb da’āwā Uqlidis* is [585].
 217. Apollonius’s *Conics* is recorded as [536], [537], [538], and probably [539]/[545]. Copies with Bayezid II’s seal are SK, Ayasofya 2762 (which was copied by Ibn al-Haytham), and İstanbul Askeri Müze 901-70.
 218. ‘Atufi recorded three copies in entries [540]/[546], [541]/[547] (one of these should be SK, Ayasofya 2724), and [542]/[548] (TSMK, A. 3455 [Karatay: A 8752]).
 219. One copy of ‘Abd al-Malik’s *Taşaffuḥ* is [543]/[567], currently TSMK, A. 3463 (Karatay: A 6995).

220. Abū al-Wafā' al-Būzjānī's work on geometrical operations is [544] (SK, Ayasofya 2753).
221. One copy of a treatise on the perfect compass is [588].
222. An anonymous treatise of fundamental principles in geometry is [594].
223. Entry [566] is likely the seven treatises by Najm al-Dīn Abū al-Futūḥ Aḥmad ibn al-Sarī, currently in SK, Ayasofya 4830, fols. 122a–160b.
224. One copy of Shīrāzī's commentary is [369], probably TSMK, A. 3336 (Karatay: A 7101), fols. 130b–140b. See Irina Luther, "The Conception of the Angle in the Works of Ibn Sīnā and aṣ-Šīrāzī," in *Interpreting Avicenna: Science and Philosophy in Medieval Islam. Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Avicenna Study Group*, ed. Jon McGinnis and David C. Reisman (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 112–28.
225. One copy of Thābit ibn Qurra's book on compound ratios is [386].
226. Copies of anonymous works regarding geometry are in [587], [589].
227. One copy of Šūfī's book on constellations recorded by 'Atufi as "pertaining to geometry" is [123].
228. Examples of copies of unspecified treatises dealing with geometry are [538], [581], [582], [587].
229. Copies of treatises designated as the *mutawassīṭāt* are [570], [571], [572]. On the "middle books," see Régis Morelon, "General Survey of Arabic Astronomy," and "Eastern Arabic Astronomy between the Eighth and the Eleventh centuries," in *Encyclopedia of the History of Arabic Science*, vol. 1, *Astronomy—Theoretical and Applied*, ed. Roshdi Rashed (London: Routledge, 1996), 7, 18–19, 21, 55n6.
230. One copy of Ibn Salama's work on musical instruments is [595], currently TSMK, A. 2286 (Karatay: A 7423). For a translation with notes, see James Robson and Henry George Farmer, "The Kitāb Al-malāḥī of Abū Ṭalīb Al-Mufaḍḍal Ibn Salama," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 2 (1938): 231–49.
231. Three copies of Urmawī's *Kitāb al-adwār* are recorded by 'Atufi. Two copies are entitled *Mukhtaṣar Ṣaḥī al-Dīn bi-al-'Arabīyya fī al-mūsīqī* [615], [616]; one copy [617] is listed as *Mukhtaṣar fī ma'rīfat al-nagh(a)m/nigham fī al-mūsīqī*. Two copies of Persian translations of this work are [614]/[618] and [619]. [614]/[618] is due to Faṭḥ Allāh al-Shirwānī and is most likely housed in SK, Ayasofya 2735, bound with [500]. About this copy, see Sayyid Muḥammad Taqī Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i dastnīwis-hā-yi Fārsī-yi kitābkhāna-yi Ayāṣūfiyā (Istanbul)* (Tehran: Majlis, 1390sh/2012), 252–54. The translation recorded as [619] is anonymous. For more on Urmawī, see *El2*, s.v. "Ṣaḥī al-Dīn al-Urmawī," by E. Neubauer; and Owen Wright, "A Preliminary Version of the *Kitāb al-Adwār*," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 58, no. 3 (1995): 455–78.
232. The three copies of Urmawī's *Sharafīyya* are [621], [622], [623].
233. To get a sense of this tradition, especially with regard to musical notation as it developed from Urmawī to Shīrāzī and then to later writers, see Owen Wright, "'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāghī and 'Alī b. Muḥammad Binā'ī: Two Fifteenth-Century Examples of Notation. Part 1: Text," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 57, no. 3 (1994): 475–515.
234. Two copies of Marāghī's *Jāmi' al-alḥān* are [602] and [603]; each of these is either Nuruosmaniye 3644 or Nuruosmaniye 3645 (the former with a dedication to the author's sons, the latter containing a dedication to Shāh Rukh [d. 1447], the son of Tamerlane).
235. Two copies of Marāghī's *Maqāṣid al-alḥān* are [604] and [605], one of which is TSMK, R. 1726 (Karatay: F 279), containing a dedication to the Ottoman ruler Murad II (r. 1421–44 and 1446–51).
236. Two copies of Marāghī's *Sharḥ-i Kitāb al-adwār* are [606]/[620] (TSMK, A. 3470 [Karatay: F 280]) and [607] (Nuruosmaniye 3651).
237. Two copies of the *Fawā'id 'ashara* are [608], [609]. The first is bound with Marāghī's commentary on Urmawī's *al-Adwār* and is in Nuruosmaniye 3651.
238. One copy of the *Lahniyya* is [610].
239. This unidentified work by Marāghī is [611].
240. Three copies of 'Abd al-Azīz's treatise are [599], [600], [601]. One of these is TSMK, A. 3462 (Karatay: F 278). [601] is listed as *Kitāb 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd al-Qādir fī al-mūsīqī*, which presumably is the *Naqāwat al-adwār*.
241. None of Maḥmūd's works are in 'Atufi's inventory. For manuscript information on them, see Sayyid Muḥammad Taqī Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i dastnīwis-hā-yi Fārsī-yi kitābkhāna-yi Ayāṣūfiyā (Istanbul)* (Tehran: Majlis, 1390sh/2012), 197–99.
242. Two copies of Shirwānī's work on music are [612] and [613]; one of these is TSMK, A. 3449 (Karatay: A 7428). Shirwānī composed two versions of this work; TSMK, A. 3449 is his first version. For an example of the second version, see British Library, Or. 2361 (Owen Wright, "'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāghī and 'Alī b. Muḥammad Binā'ī," 476m10).
243. 'Atufi has three listings of Lādhīqī's works on music. One work [597] is listed as *Risāla Faṭḥīyya li-Mawlānā Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Lādhīqī fī al-mūsīqī*. Another work [598] is recorded as *Zayn al-alḥān bi-al-turkiyya fī al-mūsīqī* (Adornment of Melodies in Turkish on Music); whether this work is in the original language, i.e., Turkish, or is a translation from Arabic into Turkish is unclear. The third copy [596] is listed ambiguously as *Kitāb Mawlānā Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Lādhīqī fī al-mūsīqī* (Lādhīqī's Book on Music); this may well be the Arabic version of *Zayn al-alḥān*, since this is what we find in Nuruosmaniye 3655. [597] may be Aleppo, Aḥmadiyya MS 1206, since this copy bears Bayezid II's seal and is called *Risāla Faṭḥīyya*. (See al-Ḥājj Ḥāshim Muḥammad al-Rajab, *al-Risāla al-faṭḥīyya (fī al-mūsīqā), li-Muḥammad ibn 'Abdulḥamīd al-Lādhīqī* [Kuwait: al-Majlis al-waṭanī lil-thaqāfa, 1986], 19.)
244. One copy of *Kashf al-humūm* is [624], currently TSMK, A. 3465 (Karatay: A 7424).
245. One copy of *Muwashshah jāmi' al-maqāmāt* is recorded as [630].

246. Two copies of *Gharā'ib al-adwār* are [631], [632].
 247. 'Atufi recorded one copy of *Adwār al-mūsīqī* [633] bound with one copy of *Risāla manẓūma* [634].
 248. Copies of works with generic titles are [625] (Arabic), [626], [627] (Persian), [628] (Turkish), [629] (Arabic). [625] is

listed as *Mukhtaṣar bi-al-'arabiyya fī al-mūsīqī*, which is one of the aliases for Urmawī's *Kitāb al-adwār*. Thus [626], listed as *Sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar fī al-mūsīqī*, may well be Marāghī's commentary on it.

'Atufi's Categories	Classification of Works Using Modern Designations							
	Astrology	Hay'a	Almagest-related	Astronomical Instruments	Zijes/Tables	Constellations/Lunar Mansions	Timekeeping/ <i>Anwā'</i>	Practical Astronomy, e.g., qibla
(Judgments of the Stars)								
<i>Aḥkām al-nujūm</i>	27 ¹							
<i>ʿIlm al-aḥkām al-nujūm</i>	5 ²							
<i>Ikhtiyārāt al-nujūm</i>	1 ³							
<i>Aḥkām al-nujūm</i> (from titles)	2 ⁴							
(<i>aḥkām</i> subtotal)								
(Science of the Stars)								
<i>Nujūm</i>	33 ⁵			15 ⁶	29 ⁷	2 ⁸	2 ⁹	1 ¹⁰
<i>ʿIlm al-nujūm</i>	4 ¹³				2 ¹⁴			
<i>Min qibal al-nujūm</i>	7 ¹⁵			22 ¹⁶	1 ¹⁷	1 ¹⁸	2 ¹⁹	3 ²⁰
<i>Min qibal 'ilm al-nujūm</i>				1 ²³				1 ²⁴
(<i>nujūm</i> subtotal)								
(Science of Hay'a)								
<i>Hay'a</i>		65 ²⁵	8 ²⁶					
<i>ʿIlm al-hay'a</i>		43 ²⁸	3 ²⁹	1 ³⁰				
<i>Min qibal al-hay'a</i>		3 ³¹	3 ³²					
<i>Hay'a</i> (from titles)		4 ³³						
(<i>hay'a</i> subtotal)								
(Arithmetic)								
<i>Ḥisāb</i>								
<i>ʿIlm al-ḥisāb</i>								
<i>Min qibal al-ḥisāb</i>								
<i>Min qibal 'ilm al-ḥisāb</i>								
<i>Ḥisāb</i> (from titles)								
(<i>ḥisāb</i> subtotal)								
<i>ʿIlm al-jabr wa-al-muqabala</i>								
<i>Wafq</i> (magic squares?)								
(Geometry)								
<i>Handasa</i>								
<i>ʿIlm al-handasa</i>								
<i>Handasiyāt</i>								
<i>Min qibal al-handasa</i>						1 ⁴⁶		
<i>Handasa</i> (from titles)								
(<i>handasa</i> subtotal)								
(Music)								
<i>Musiqī</i>								
<i>ʿIlm al-mūsīqī</i>								
<i>Min qibal al-mūsīqī</i>								
<i>Musiqī</i> (from titles)								
(<i>musiqī</i> subtotal)								
Lahw (Amusement)								
Chess (from titles)								

										Totals
	Trigonometry/ Applied Math	Arithmetic	Geometry	Algebra	Music	Chess	Mech. Devices	Encyclopedic Works/Middle Books/Mixed Content	Other/ Unknown	(Totals)
										27
										5
										1
										2
										(35)
	1 ¹¹								1 ¹²	84
										6
		2 ²¹							2 ²²	40
										2
										(132)
	2 ²⁷									75
										47
										6
	1 ³⁴									5
										(133)
		21 ³⁵		1 ³⁶						22
		30 ³⁷								30
		1 ³⁸								1
		1 ³⁹								1
		9 ⁴⁰								9
										(63)
				1 ⁴¹						(1)
	2 ⁴²									(2)
			27 ⁴³							27
			2 ⁴⁴							2
								3 ⁴⁵		3
									2 ⁴⁷	3
			7 ⁴⁸							7
										(42)
					31 ⁴⁹					31
					3 ⁵⁰					3
					2 ⁵¹					2
					2 ⁵²					2
										(38)
						4 ⁵³				(4)

'Atufi's Categories	Classification of Works Using Modern Designations							
	Astrology	Hay'a	Almagest- related	Astronomical Instruments	Zījēs/ Tables	Constellations/ Lunar Mansions	Timekeeping/ <i>Anwā'</i>	Practical Astronomy, e.g., qibla
<i>Min qibal al-hay'a wa- al-nujūm</i>				254				155
<i>al-Nujūm wa-al-ṭibb</i> (medical astrology?)	256							
<i>Hīyal</i> (mechanical devices)								
Without specifications or multiple specifications ⁵⁸	659			30 ⁶⁰	2 ⁶¹	1 ⁶²		
TOTALS	87	115	14	71	34	5	4	6

- Aḥkām al-nujūm* (Astrology): 3, 4, 5, 11, 36, 37, 57, 58, 62, 63, 64, 82, 83, 84, 85, 87/160, 88/161, 89/162, 119, 120, 121, 139, 192, 200, 201, 202, 207. In addition, 141, 142, 143, 199, 253, 254, 256, 257, 259, and 260 are astrological but are catalogued in other chapters.
- ʿIlm al-aḥkām al-nujūm* (Astrology): 91, 92, 93, 94, 203.
- Ikhtiyārāt al-nujūm* (Astrology): 206. (258 is catalogued in another chapter.)
- Aḥkām al-nujūm* or *ʿIlm al-aḥkām al-nujūm* (from titles) (Astrology): 9, 10.
- Nujūm* (Astrology): 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 27, 28, 35, 59, 86/159, 114, 115, 116, 117, 140, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 154, 155, 156, 157, 193, 196, 204, 205. (81, 90, and 163 are astrological but are catalogued in another chapter.) *Burhān al-Kifāya fī al-nujūm* (314 {5}) is not listed separately by Şen and Fleischer, but see 120.
- Nujūm* (Instruments): 56/138, 67, 68, 104, 105, 106, 110, 131, 135, 136, 186, 223, 226, 228, 246. (221 [under *ʿIlm al-nujūm*] and 255 are catalogued in other chapters.)
- Nujūm* (Zījēs): 23, 24, 44/170, 45/171, 47, 48/98, 49/100, 50/99, 65, 69, 74/185, 76/172, 77/173, 78/174, 79/175, 80/176, 112/183, 113/184, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182.
- Nujūm* (Constellations): 123, 126/158.
- Nujūm* (Timekeeping): 33, 95.
- Nujūm* (Practical Astronomy): 233.
- Nujūm* (Applied Math): 242.
- Nujūm* (other/unknown): 243.
- ʿIlm al-nujūm* (Astrology): 1, 34, 55/153, 61.
- ʿIlm al-nujūm* (Zījēs): 15, 16.
- Min qibal al-nujūm* (Astrology): 46, 52, 60, 194, 195, 198, 208. In addition, 209 and 210 are astrological but are catalogued in other chapters.
- Min qibal al-nujūm* (Instruments): 8, 13, 14, 25, 51, 73, 96, 101, 107, 108, 111, 122, 132, 133, 187, 190, 215, 219, 236, 238, 241, 250.
- Min qibal al-nujūm* (Zījēs): 232.
- Min qibal al-nujūm* (Lunar Mansions): 240.
- Min qibal al-nujūm* (Calendars): 237, 245.
- Min qibal al-nujūm* (Practical Astronomy): 30, 31, 32.
- Min qibal al-nujūm* (Arithmetic): 506, 507.
- Min qibal al-nujūm* (other/unknown): 247 and 318 {13–14} (TSMK A. 3342 [Karatay: A 7141], which contains a number of treatises on astronomy and geometry; see [362]).
- Min qibal ʿilm al-nujūm* (Instruments): 134.
- Min qibal ʿilm al-nujūm* (Qibla): 211. In addition, 213 pertains to the qibla but is catalogued under *Kutub al-fiqh wa-kutub manāqib al-aʿimma*.
- Hay'a*: 261/296, 263, 264, 265/314, 266/315, 268, 269, 271, 274/318, 276/320, 277/321, 278/322, 279/323, 280/324, 282/326, 283/341, 284/342, 286/344, 287/345, 289/347, 290/348, 291/349, 292/350, 294/352/384, 295/353/363, 297/437, 298/438, 299/389, 303, 304, 305, 306/358, 310, 316, 317, 329, 331, 333/399, 334/400, 335/401, 337/403, 359, 360, 361/377, 365, 366, 379, 380, 381/406, 382/407, 383, 391, 392, 395, 396, 397, 398, 414, 415, 416, 428, 441, 442, 444, 446. (267, 357, 433, 443, and 592 are catalogued in other chapters.)
- Hay'a* (Almagest-related): 308, 309, 340/425, 417, 421, 422, 424, 439.
- Hay'a* (Trigonometry): 387, 388.
- ʿIlm al-hay'a*: 262/272, 270, 273/307, 275/319, 281/325, 285/343, 288/346, 293/332/351, 300/354, 301, 302, 311, 312, 313, 328, 330, 336/402, 338/404, 339/405, 355, 356, 364, 367, 368, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 378, 390, 393, 394, 408/435, 409/436, 410, 411, 412, 413, 431, 445. (434 is catalogued in another chapter.)
- ʿIlm al-hay'a* (Almagest-related): 423, 426, 427.
- ʿIlm al-hay'a* (Instruments): 248.
- Min qibal al-hay'a* (pertaining to *hay'a*): 251, 252, 448.

										Totals
	Trigonometry/ Applied Math	Arithmetic	Geometry	Algebra	Music	Chess	Mech. Devices	Encyclopedic Works/Middle Books/Mixed Content	Other/ Unknown	(Totals)
										(3)
										(2)
							1 ⁵⁷			(1)
								9 ⁶³	1 ⁶⁴	(49)
	6	64	36	2	38	4	1	12	6	505

32. *Min qibal al-hay'a* (*Almagest*-related): 418, 419, 420.
33. *Hay'a* (from titles): 429, 430, 432, 440.
34. *Hay'a* (from titles) (Trigonometry): 362.
35. *Hisāb*: 454/496, 461, 471, 475, 477, 478, 479, 485, 486, 487, 490, 493, 494, 501, 502, 509, 510, 511, 512, 520, 523. (455, 484, and 508 [multiple treatises] are catalogued in other chapters.)
36. *Hisāb* (Algebra): 499.
37. *ʿIlm al-ḥisāb*: 449/463, 450/465, 451/466, 452/467, 453/468, 457, 459/469, 460/470, 462, 464, 472, 473/480, 474, 476, 481/527, 482, 483, 488, 489, 491, 500, 503, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 521, 526. In addition, 495, 498, 513 (multiple treatises), 522, 533, and 534 are catalogued in other chapters.
38. *Min qibal al-ḥisāb*: 528.
39. *Min qibal ʿilm al-ḥisāb*: 530.
40. *Hisāb* (from titles): 456, 458, 492, 497, 504, 524, 529, 531, 532. (525 is catalogued in another chapter.)
41. *ʿIlm al-jabr wa-al-muqābala*: 505.
42. *Wafq* (Magic Squares?): 322 {18} and 324 {14} (not listed separately in Şen and Fleischer's list).
43. *Handasa*: 535, 538, 539/545, 540/546, 541/547, 542/548, 543/567, 550/560, 551/561, 552/562, 553/563, 554/564, 555/566/565, 557, 569, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 581 (various), 582 (various), 586, 589, 594. (558, 559, 590, and 591 are catalogued in other chapters.)
44. *ʿIlm al-handasa*: 536, 537.
45. *Handasiyāt* (Middle Books/mixed geometrical content): 566, 571, 572.
46. *Min qibal al-handasa* (Constellations): 124.
47. *Min qibal al-handasa* (other): 585, 588.
48. *Handasa* (known from titles): 369, 386, 544, 549, 568, 580, 583.
49. *Musīqī* (Music): 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606/620, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 613, 615, 616, 617, 619, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 631.
50. *ʿIlm al-mūsīqī*: 612, 614/618, 632.
51. *Min qibal al-mūsīqī*: 595, 630.
52. Music (from titles): 633, 634.
53. *Lahw* (Chess): 635, 636, 637, 638.
54. *Min qibal al-hay'a wa-al-nujūm* (Instruments): 70, 97. (447 is catalogued in another chapter.)
55. *Min qibal al-hay'a wa-al-nujūm* (Qibla): 212.
56. *Al-Nujūm wa-al-ṭibb* (Medical Astrology?): 53, 54.
57. *Ḥiyāl* (Mechanical Devices): 335 {4} (see 504 and 505).
58. In a number of entries, 'Atufi adds the comment *wa-rasā'il ukhrā* (other treatises) or *wa-ghayruh* (and other[s]). Such works can only be known if they are part of a currently identifiable codex. See, for example, 317 {18}, 318 {14}, 321 {3}, 323 {15}, 324 {16}, 330 {11}, 332 {14}.
59. Astrology (without category): 2, 6, 12, 20, 29, 118. (197 is catalogued in another chapter.)
60. Instruments (without category): 7, 26/137, 66, 71, 72, 75, 102, 103, 127, 128, 129, 130, 177, 188, 216, 217, 218, 220, 222, 224, 225, 229, 231, 234, 235 (5 treatises), 244. (109, 189, 214, 227, 230, and 249 are catalogued in other chapters.)
61. *Zīj*es (without category): 191, 239.
62. Constellations (without category): 125.
63. Encyclopedic Works (multiple categories): 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 538, 570, 587. (593 contains parts of the mathematical sections of Ibn Sina's *Shifā'*; this is not counted here since it is listed in 'Atufi's chapter on philosophy.)
64. Without category: 584 (*fi ʿilm al-riyāḍī*?).

BOOKS ON MATHEMATICAL AND MIXED-MATHEMATICAL SCIENCES: ARITHMETIC, GEOMETRY, OPTICS, AND MECHANICS

The Ottoman imperial palace library inventory, commissioned by Sultan Bayezid II in 908 (1502–3) and completed in 909 (1503–4),¹ is a compilation in Arabic that contains a large corpus of works corresponding to mathematical and “mixed-mathematical” sciences, which are not always categorized or titled as such in the inventory itself. The corresponding entries of this inventory—which was prepared by ‘Atufi, the royal librarian of the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul—are not limited to works with the term *riyāḍī* (mathematical) in their titles. Nor are they the same sciences that make up the classical “quadrivium,” namely arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music (*ḥisāb*, *handasa*, *nujūm*, *mūsīqī*), which are treated elsewhere in the present volume.² Astronomy is the first of those four sciences (*‘ilm*) that appears in the inventory, categorized under two distinct headings as the “sciences of astronomy (*nujūm*) and configuration (*hay’a*).” It is followed by the other three sciences—arithmetic (*ḥisāb*), geometry (*handasa*), and music (*mūsīqī*)—with the addition of books (*kutub*) on amusements (*lahw*), this time without the term “science” (*‘ilm*) preceding it (MS Török F. 59, 313–37).

As for subjects referred to as “mixed-mathematical” sciences in and beyond the present chapter,³ there is no category or title termed as such in the inventory. Nor was there any such term historically, besides the longer Aristotelian form of “mathematical sciences closer to physical/natural sciences.”⁴ Nevertheless, the term “mixed” fits the representation of these and other mathematical subjects in ‘Atufi’s inventory. This essay considers not only arithmetic and geometry—the subject of its first two parts (I–II)—but also optics and mechanics, the focus of its last two parts (III–IV). Each of these subjects has a corresponding list of entries at the end of the

essay, to which are added three supplementary parts under the headings of mathematics, collections, and surveying (V–VII).

The mathematical sciences of arithmetic (*ḥisāb*) and geometry (*handasa*) may be viewed as “mixed” in the sense that they involve combinations of different disciplines. The inventory represents each of these two fields as being combined with astronomy (322–32), as well as with other subjects. In the case of arithmetic, however, the entries stand on their own (333–35), as well as being combined with other subjects. Optics (*manāẓir*) and mechanics (*ḥiyāl*) are represented with fewer titles in the inventory, and optics occurs less frequently than mechanics, whether listed individually (310, 358–61) or in combination with other subjects. Other relevant cases, such as mathematical (*riyāḍī*) titles, collections (*majmū‘a*), and related fields like surveying (*misāḥā*) have their own groupings.

Especially notable are optics and mechanics: these closest of the age-old “mixed” mathematical sciences, involving “physical/natural” entities,⁵ do not appear under any of the “mathematical” sections, nor do they appear in the same section of the inventory. The most important optical texts, generally titled *Manāẓir*, as in the Greek *optika*,⁶ are often listed in the inventory under “Rational Philosophy” (*Ḥikma al-falsafīya*, 359–60): so is a treatise (*risāla*) on “Optics” (*Manāẓir*), followed by one on “Rainbow and Halo” (*Qaws-i quzah wa-al-hāla*) (361–62). Besides works titled *Manāẓir* and possible optical titles within related collections (331), a text involving “Shadows” (*Zill*) and one titled “Burning Mirrors” (*Marāyā al-muḥriqa*) are respectively entered under astronomy and mechanics (324, 310).

The case of mechanics is quite different. Texts titled *Ḥiyāl* ([Mechanical] Devices), as in the Greek *mechanika*, appear mostly under “Books on [Mechanical] Devices” (*Kutub al-Ḥiyāl*) (310). Their entries also appear next to those involving anything from lifting (*rafʿ*, *jarr*) heavy objects or water instruments (*ālāt*), to motion (*mutaḥarrak*) and clock (*sāʿat*) construction. But here, diverse titles are largely entered on the same page as “mechanical” works, crafts, or their “explanation” (*bayān*). Most of these, in turn, are listed right after books on “Wondrous Crafts” (*Ṣanāʿāt al-ʿajība*), which appear just before, but not within, the mathematical sections.

Other distinct features include entries on optics under “Rational Philosophy,” which end with the phrase “pertaining to philosophy” (*min qibal al-ḥikma*) (359–62) or “in philosophy” (*fī al-ḥikma*) (360–62). Entries on mechanics, grouped mostly as “[Mechanical] Devices” (*ḥiyāl*), include titles containing terms like “crafts” (*ṣināʿa*) or “wonder” (*ʿajīb*) (310).

Optics and mechanics, the two ancient subdivisions of geometry, have mixed representations in the inventory in yet other ways. In one case, optics is included among mechanical texts, and a treatise on mechanics is bound within arithmetical texts (310 {16–17}, 335 {4–5}). In another case, optical and mechanical titles are only recognizable by a combination of geometrical terms like “plane” (*basīṭ*) and “shadow” (*ẓill*), or “circles” (*dawāʾir*) and “moving” (*mutaḥarrika*) (324 {2}, 310 {8}). Most challenging are cases where inventory entries list works in volumes that contain multiple texts: these are indicated either as being part of a “collection” (*majmūʿa*) or as being “within the same volume” (*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*) (331, 310). Occasionally, the same entry is specified by both expressions. The contents of these entries are itemized by subject in the concluding list of entries, under “Collections.” Examples include optics represented by a “Collection” (*Majmūʿa*), such as “Intermediate [work]s” (*al-Mutawassīṭāt*)⁷ without a specified title; mechanics by titles recorded “in the same volume” (*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*) with other subjects; or optics and mechanics having single entries specifying both forms. Other exceptions include the terms *manāẓir* and *ḥiyāl* in inventory titles that fall outside optical and mechanical contexts (220–25).

The inventory entries corresponding to mathematical and mixed-mathematical sciences also represent fields beyond optics and mechanics, including surveying, a field with its own disciplinary “mixes,” and theoretical and practical aspects.⁸ Surveying, historically expressed as the science of “measure” (*misāḥa*), is not specified as such in the inventory. Among the few entries related to the subject, only one has the term *misāḥa* in its title (334 {7}). Two related titles specifically end with the phrase “pertaining to” (*min qibal*) arithmetic and geometry (334 {7}, 331 {14–15}), while another two are identifiable by titles pertaining to “height” (*irtifāʿ*) determination, whose astronomical wordings of “astrolabe” (*uṣṭurlāb*) and “pole” (*quṭb*) do not reveal whether these are with or without measurement (320–21).⁹

The inventory entries on crafts or arts (*ṣināʿa*, *fann*) are combined with the sciences in different ways. These range from the explicit expression “crafts of sciences like mathematics,” specifying “the science of number, geometry, and astronomy” (319 {9–10}) to an implicit representation of craftsmen (*ṣāniʿ*) in a title (326 {5}). They also range from the “crafts” of mechanics and those specified as “wondrous” (*ʿajība*), to titles including the term “construction” (*ʿamal*) and “instrument” (*ālā*) (310 {12–13}).

The inventory entries often specify the genre of a work as either book (*kitāb*) or treatise (*risāla*), and the language as either Arabic or Persian. But these entries are not always systematic in following traditional classifications and ordering of subjects. Among uncommon classifications are entries containing the term “craft” (*ṣināʿa*, pl. *ṣināʿāt*) preceding those containing the term “science” (*ʿilm*, pl. *ʿulūm*). These consist of “books on wondrous crafts” (*ṣanāʿāt al-ʿajība*), which are followed by “books on mechanics” (*kutub al-ḥiyāl*) in both the inventory’s table of contents and section headings (4 {7, 8}, 302 {10, 11}), and they precede the mathematical “sciences” (*ʿulūm*) of the next section (4 {11–14}, 313 {6–9}). As for order, the “sciences of astronomy, arithmetic, geometry, music,” are followed by “books on entertainment[s] like chess” (*kutub al-lahwi ka al-shaṭranjī*) (4 {15}, 313 {10}). Besides the listing of astronomy in these and other sections of the inventory as the first, rather than the third, entry of the quadrivium (4 {11–12}, 313 {6–7}), the inclusion of mathematical games such as

chess (*shaṭranj*) (337 {12–13}) within the classical quartet is historically uncommon, though not unprecedented.¹⁰

Still more striking is the previous section of books on mechanics, which follow immediately after “wondrous crafts” (4 {8}, 302 {11}, 310). These books are not only classified outside the mathematics section, but also without the term “science” (*‘ilm*), similar to the case of “entertainment[s] like chess.” The opening and closing entries on mechanics are also noteworthy. The first title under mechanics contains the positively charged expression “innovative constructions” (*badāyi‘ al-‘amal*) (310 {3, 15}), which distinguishes it, as well as the section it introduces, from the preceding section (307–9). The last entry is a work on “burning mirrors” (*mayārā al-muḥriqa*), which is an optical title (310 {16–17}). It is preceded in the inventory by entries involving instruments (*ālāt*) applied to water (*mā*) (310 {12–14}) and sound (*ṣawt*) (310 {16}). The entries of that section were possibly grouped as such because they involve devices or instruments. They differ from preceding entries, with some items using the term “wondrous” in other contexts. Positioned just before “wondrous crafts,” with subjects from alchemy (*kīmīyā*) to magic (*sīmīyā*), some of those entries are unexpectedly preceded by the term “science” (309 {8–9, 16–19}). By contrast, the next two headings, under books on mechanics and wondrous crafts, neither include such subjects, nor fall under the sciences.

My discussion of the two “mixed-mathematical” subjects of optics and mechanics has overshadowed the two “mathematical” disciplines of arithmetic and geometry because of the historical importance of titles catalogued under the former pair. The optical and mechanical texts of the inventory, although few in number compared to the large corpus of texts on mathematics proper, contain important and rare titles. The optical and mechanical titles in the inventory have the added advantage of revealing the distinct transmission and classification of their subjects, often through their titles alone.

In the present essay, I treat arithmetic, geometry, optics, and mechanics successively, according to the importance of their titles and related transmissions. The way in which the entries and their inventory categories were selected reflects a specifically Ottoman context.

I analyze that context not only from the viewpoint of disciplinary and methodological developments,¹¹ but especially from the perspective of textual transmission. This extends the discussion beyond Istanbul at the turn of the sixteenth century, where such fields emerge with distinctive features.

As is well known, the earliest phase of the transmission of the four sciences under discussion is associated with eighth- and ninth-century Baghdad through Arabic translations of Greek optical and mechanical works, some later known only through their Arabic versions.¹² The textual traditions of arithmetic, geometry, optics, and mechanics are documented as far back as ancient Greek works devoted to those subjects. In the case of arithmetic and geometry, the foundational texts are several books of Euclid’s *Elements* (ca. 300 BCE).¹³ In the case of optics, foundational texts were authored by both Euclid and Ptolemy (second century),¹⁴ while in mechanics essential works were by Heron and Pappus of Alexandria (second and fourth century, respectively).¹⁵ Most of these texts are represented in the inventory.

The next phase of textual transmission extends to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in both Islamic and European lands, through Arabic and Latin versions of translations and compositions, some preserved only in Arabo-Latin versions.¹⁶ My discussion of the distinct representations and transmissions of all four sciences starts with the most notable inclusions in the inventory, and generally follows the order of the entries, as well as the accompanying manuscript copies and derivative texts in each section. After discussing these entries, I assess major exclusions from the inventory and attempt to offer some explanations for these omissions.

I. ARITHMETIC

The textual tradition of arithmetic, which like geometry, optics, and mechanics is documented as far back as ancient Greek works, is represented in ‘Atufi’s inventory in a manner that outweighs the other three disciplines of the quadrivium. But this is so only quantitatively, insofar as the major titles and entries on different aspects of arithmetic outnumber those of all three other subjects. Arithmetical works, whether combined with other

subjects (322–32) or itemized separately (333–35), are represented in single and multiple copies, as well as in commentaries. Subjects variously combined with arithmetic range from astronomy and rational philosophy (322–32) to jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and medicine (*ṭibb*) (98–99). Some important works on the subject of theoretical arithmetic or the “science of numbers” are left out of this section. Books from the *Elements* of Euclid with a strong Arabic tradition, including parts of its thirteen books called “arithmetic books,”¹⁷ are not titled as such. Instead, the books of Euclid’s *Elements* are listed as “geometry” (*handasa*) in multiple copies (324, 326) and various versions (326–31), including a commentary on its tenth book. Some practically oriented works are classified under calculations involving instruments (333), inheritance (*al-farāʿid*) (99), and measurements in surveying or algebra, all with some form of the term “arithmetic” (*ḥisāb*) in their titles (334–35). But there are unexpected exclusions from the few titles in algebra (335) and from the topic of surveying, in particular (334). In algebra, these omissions include works of Khwarazmi (d. ca. 870), Thabit ibn Qurra (d. ca. 901), Abu Kamil (d. ca. 930), and ‘Umar Khayyam (d. ca. 1123).¹⁸ Excluded from the surveying section are the works of Ya‘qub al-Kindi, Abu Mansur Baghdadī (d. ca. 1037), Abu al-Fath Isfahani (d. after ca. 1119), Abu Bakr al-Khalil al-Tajir (possibly ca. 1300s), and Badr al-Din Tabari (ca. 1421),¹⁹ some of which were represented by manuscripts in Istanbul, as cited in major reference sources.

Also excluded are authors whose works are represented elsewhere in the inventory, such as the arithmetical works of Abu al-Wafa’ Buzjani (d. ca. 998): his “geometry needed by craftsmen” is listed (326 {5}), but not his “arithmetic needed by secretaries.”²⁰ The case of Ibn al-Haytham is also puzzling because a work on the “height of poles” that names him is included in the inventory (320 {19}–321 {1–2}), but some of his surveying works on determining high elevations, e.g., of mountains and clouds, as well as his important surveying work, “Principles of Measurement,”²¹ are excluded—unless they were part of his “Collection.” Rather than indicating an interest in alternative subjects, the missing arithmetical titles suggest problems in the transmission of texts, which may have affected the direction of specific developments (or non-developments) in the Otto-

man context, as discussed further below under other subjects covered in this chapter, starting with geometry.

II. GEOMETRY

Geometry represents a distinct case in terms of its theoretical and practical aspects in ‘Atufi’s inventory. Despite the absence of a separate heading introducing geometrical entries, other than astronomy (328–31), the subjects that are combined with geometry, from rational philosophy to medicine (351, 166), attest to an interest in the field’s theoretical and practical aspects, as well as the educational promise of combined volumes. Theoretical entries are dominated by standard books from ancient Greek traditions. The most well-represented entries are those concerning the *Elements* of Euclid translated from the Greek original, which range from definitions of that text to its variations (324, 326–31). There are also comprehensive versions of the work, representing its Arabic and Persian traditions by Nasir al-Din Tusi (d. ca. 1274) and Qutb al-Din Shirazi (d. ca. 1311), respectively (326–31).

The *Conics* (*Makhrūṭāt*) of Apollonius is another repeated title. Its entries range from an extract (*taṣaffuḥ*) by an author who is named but not fully identifiable (332 {8}) to the well-known works of Ibn al-Haytham, and possibly “Banu Musa” (fl. ca. 860s) (332, 330). Also included are anonymous titles in a collection (*majmū‘a*), and a summary (*talkhīṣ*) by an author identifiable as Abu al-Fath al-Isfahani (331 {12}).²²

A related inventory item is the collection of “Intermediate [Work]s” (*Mutawassitāt*), a set of books intermediately studied between Euclidean geometry and Ptolemaic astronomy in varying combinations (331).²³ Another popular work listed without an author’s name is *Ashkāl al-ta’āsīs* (Foundational Propositions) by Shams al-Din Samarqandi (fl. ca. 1275/76), a textbook used in fifteenth-century Samarqand as reported by its resident mathematician Ghiyath al-Din Jamshid al-Kashi (d. ca. 1429),²⁴ recorded together with its commentaries (*Sharḥ*) in the inventory (327–32). Al-Kashi’s own *Miftāḥ al-ḥisāb* (Key to Arithmetic) is listed in the arithmetical section of the inventory, but similarly lacks an author’s name (334, 335).

A title that stands out in the inventory's geometrical section is the second entry after Euclid's *Elements*: the *Book of Geometrical Constructions* of Abu al-Wafa' Buzjani, appearing here with the shorter subtitle "On What Is Needed [by Craftsmen/Artisans] from Geometrical Constructions" (326 {5}). This is a work whose beautifully transcribed and illuminated manuscript with a seal of the Timurid ruler Ulugh Beg (d. ca. 1449) is still in Istanbul. The manuscript, currently held in the Süleymaniye Library (MS Ayasofya 2753), originally belonged to the imperial library collection of the Topkapı Palace; hence it is almost certainly the one mentioned in 'Atufi's inventory.²⁵ Abu al-Wafa's text is not complemented in the inventory by other titles belonging to that work's rich tradition in either Arabic or Persian.²⁶ Notably, there is no mention of a unique Persian "Anonymous Compendium" related to that tradition, which is titled in Arabic *Fī tadākhul al-ashkāl* (Interlocking Figures), nor is there any sign of other rare geometrical texts in the manuscript codex containing it.²⁷

The transmission of works included in the geometry portion of the inventory may have affected developments positively in the direction of practical and ornamental geometry, and negatively in the direction of surveying and perspective practices. The prominence of several entries on Euclid's *Elements*, with books devoted to the application of areas, along with Abu al-Wafa's *Geometrical Constructions* in the same tradition, and al-Kāshī's *Key to Arithmetic*, which included dome and *muqarnas* calculations, implies an interest in the ornamental aspect of geometry. The exclusion of key surveying titles from 'Atufi's inventory, such as those on magnitude determinations involving distances, not just heights, may have hindered developments within the Ottoman lands that were to advance in Europe in the form of "linear perspective." Elsewhere, I have discussed how the transmission of such texts in Europe contributed to the development of perspective studies and their critical components.²⁸

III. OPTICS

From a historical standpoint, the most important entries discussed in this chapter are those related to op-

tics, though they are not given a prominent place in the inventory itself. As noted above, the entries on optics in 'Atufi's inventory lack a section devoted to the subject. Instead, they are mainly classified under "Rational Philosophy" (*Hikma al-falsafiya*) (348–63) where only some entries contain the term "optics" (*manāẓir*) in their titles (359–62). Others appear without such a term, as is the case with a treatise on "Rainbow and Halo" (*Qaws-i Quzah wa-al-Hāla*) in the same section, or with works categorized under collections. The latter include items listed under geometry as part of "Intermediate [Work]s" (331). Indeed, optical titles (*manāẓir*) exist among most collections in Istanbul as intermediate subjects, studied after Euclid's *Elements* and before Ptolemy's *Almagest*.²⁹ Works on optics are also listed in the inventory under astronomy and mechanics, possibly due to relevant "constructions" and "instruments": these are a treatise involving shadows (324 {2}) and a book on burning mirrors (310 {16–17}).

The most outstanding entry in this scattered group is one of the leading works on optics, namely Ibn al-Haytham's *Kitāb al-Manāẓir* (Book of Optics, composed ca. 1028–38). It has more than one entry in the inventory, and the second entry specifies six of its seven books (*maqāla*) (359 {7–8}).³⁰ This groundbreaking and celebrated work, known through twelfth- and thirteenth-century Latin translations, a fourteenth-century Italian version, and a late sixteenth-century printed edition, has been closely studied in both its Arabic and Latin traditions.³¹ So has its "checkered history", in terms of the "undeserved misfortune and unexpected good luck"³² of its respective transmission in Islamic and European lands. My own related work includes mapping the paths of the book's transmission alongside the foundational *Optics* of Euclid and Ptolemy.³³

The inclusion of Ibn al-Haytham's "Book of Optics" in the inventory of the Ottoman palace library, first noted and discussed in a different context by Gülru Necipoğlu,³⁴ is significant in that it documents a previously unknown and relatively late exception to the rule of the limited transmission of this work within Islamic regions. As mentioned above, Latin and Italian versions of this monumental work circulated in Europe between the twelfth and early fourteenth centuries. A notable Arabic commentary on Ibn al-Haytham's *Optics* was written by

Kamal al-Din Farisi (d. ca. 1318/19), a work cited in the inventory next to its summary, neither of which lists the author's name (359 {8, 9–10}, 360 {19}).

The two entries referring to Farisi's optical works stand out in the listings of the palace library inventory in another way. This important commentator on Ibn al-Haytham's *Optics* is acclaimed as having "saved that text" from oblivion in the author's own native lands.³⁵ The inventory's listing of Farisi's modestly titled *Tanqīh al-manāẓir* (Revision of Optics), as well as his slightly later *Kitāb al-Baṣā'ir fī 'ilm al-Manāẓir* (Insights into the Science of Optics), especially without citing their author, is significant.³⁶ These two Arabic titles are notable due to Farisi's critical position as an author on optics whose works may have been read in place of Ibn al-Haytham's rarely accessible foundational work.³⁷ The fact that Farisi is unnamed in the inventory strengthens that assumption without settling the question.

The two copies of Farisi's commentary on Ibn al-Haytham's *Optics* listed in the inventory may well have been those accessed by later Ottoman authors on optics. The case of the Damascus-born astronomer-mathematician Taqī al-Din ibn Ma'ruf (d. ca. 1585), who was once the director of the Istanbul observatory and who possibly had connections to Europe early in his career,³⁸ is worth a closer look. Taqī al-Din dedicated an Arabic work on optics to the Ottoman sultan Murad III (r. 1574–95) in 982 (1574/75). A. I. Sabra has long claimed that Taqī al-Din read Ibn al-Haytham's *Optics* through Farisi.³⁹ By referring to the name of Ibn al-Haytham, then, Taqī al-Din and other authors may simply have been indicating their access to the commentary of Farisi and its supposed summary, considering the limited transmission of Ibn al-Haytham's *Optics* in Islamic lands. Taqī al-Din's optical work, whether or not it was largely based on Farisi's commentaries on optical works, is too late to have been included in the palace library inventory, which was completed in 1503–4. But the recorded presence of Ibn al-Haytham's *Optics* in the imperial library of the Topkapı Palace, at least since the turn of the sixteenth century, occasions further reexamination. After all, this work could have entered the palace library collection in Bayezid II's reign or earlier under his father Mehmed II (r. 1451–81), though evidence points to it not having been much consulted, with the exception of Kamal al-Din Farisi's commentary based on that work.⁴⁰

Farisi's related optical works, especially the one on rainbows and controlled experimentation, have been the subject of scholarly attention, given the comparable treatment of these topics by Theodoric of Freiberg (d. ca. 1310) in Europe.⁴¹ The recording of the Arabic optical works of Ibn al-Haytham and Farisi in 'Atufi's inventory begins to recolor the "checkered history" of Ibn al-Haytham's *Optics* in terms of its transmission in Islamic and European lands.⁴² The previously unknown availability of Ibn al-Haytham's *Optics* in Istanbul before 1503–4, along with the apparent non-transmission to Europe of all its known manuscripts that still remain only in Istanbul, is especially noteworthy. This fact, coupled with the inclusion of Farisi's optical works in 'Atufi's inventory, adds different shades to their assumed internal and external transmissions, with possible east-west passages either before or after 1503–4. All such considerations further extend important historical questions to other understudied areas.

The presence of a treatise titled *Qaws-i quzah* (Rainbow) among the inventory's titles on optics is consistent with the strong representation of that subject by Farisi, as well as later authors discussed below (361–62). Farisi explicitly incorporated this subject within the disciplinary boundaries of optics in his seemingly well-circulated *Tanqīh*. This is in contrast to Ibn al-Haytham, whose "Halo and Rainbow" is included in a separate volume of his collected works, a text with a manuscript also in Istanbul.⁴³

The treatise on "Rainbow and Halo" (361 {19}, 362 {1}) in 'Atufi's inventory is attributed to Qadizada Rumi (d. after ca. 1440), while the name of his descendant, Mirim (Miram) Çelebi (d. ca. 1525), is handwritten on the front page of its extant manuscript in Istanbul (361 {19}–362 {1}).⁴⁴ Just before that entry, there is one titled *Risāla al-Manāẓir* (Treatise on Optics), which appears without any specified author or language and is accordingly entered in the same section as the optical entries under "rational philosophy" (361–62 {1–2}). This optical treatise may be the same anonymous text composed in Arabic and Persian and known through manuscripts only in Istanbul, both naming Sultan Selim I (r. 1512–20), son of Bayezid II.⁴⁵ The Arabic version of that text, whose extant manuscript is dated as being transcribed in 919

(1513–14), still allows a composition date before the completion of the inventory in 1503–4.

If the anonymous *Risāla al-Manāẓir* listed in the inventory is the same bilingual optical text whose shorter Arabic version bears a similar title, then it would have exposed its readers to various subjects of interest. Most striking is the report in that text of an otherwise unknown and undated outreach from scholars (*hukamā*) of Europe (*Farangistān*) to the learned (*‘ulamā*) in northeast Iran (*Khurasān*) for “experience” (*tajraba*) and “testing” (*imtahān*) of specific mirrors.⁴⁶ The text also refers to phenomena such as wonders (*‘ajā’ib*) and marvels (*gharā’ib*), comparable to the European *mira-bilia*, and testifies to the increasingly positive connotations of these expressions, as well as the widening community of their practitioners.⁴⁷

Last but not least, the inclusion in the inventory of an optical work on burning mirrors among texts on mechanics (*hiyal*), wonder(s) (*‘ajīb/‘aja’ib*), and craft(s) (*ṣan‘a/ṣanā‘āt*) is an indicator of the various aspects of optics itself. Among overlaps between optics and mechanics is the ancient Greek concept of “beyond nature” (*para phusin*), a notion that finds different expressions in the two fields, which represent distinct courses, especially in transmission, all to be further discussed under mechanics.

Among notable exclusions in the optical entries is the *Optics* of Ptolemy (ca. 170 CE) and a citation of its Arabic version, which was fully accessible to Ibn al-Haytham.⁴⁸ Why such an important title was excluded from the inventory remains a mystery, unless it was part of collections such as “Intermediate [Work]s,” as is often the case with Euclid’s *Optics* (331 {18}).

Besides the *Optics* of Euclid and Ptolemy, whose combined “Summary” is known to have been among Ibn al-Haytham’s works, a few early Arabic texts on optics and catoptrics assumed to have been used by Ibn al-Haytham are not specifically named in the inventory. These range from the relevant works of Ya‘qub al-Kindi (d. ca. 850) and Qusta ibn Luqa (d. ca. 912–13) to the undatable case of Ahmad ibn ‘Isa, whose text on optics and burning mirrors is attested in two known manuscripts, both in Istanbul.⁴⁹ In addition to these early texts, each of which is believed to have been accessible to Ibn al-Hay-

tham, whose own *Optics* superseded them all, the optical works of Nasir al-Din Tusi (d. ca. 1274) are also omitted from the inventory. This is an author on optics who was curiously deprived of access to Ibn al-Haytham’s *Optics*, as were many other later authors despite the text’s unquestionably strong presence in the 1503–4 inventory of the imperial palace in Istanbul, a city where the known manuscripts of all seven books of that work still reside.⁵⁰

IV. MECHANICS

No major exclusions or related historical questions apply to mechanics. Arabic entries on mechanics, recorded mostly on the same page of the inventory (310), include, in addition to those by Heron and Pappus of Alexandria, one composed by Philo of Byzantium (third cent. BCE).

Arabic compositions with recognizable authors are limited to the work of Ibn Razzaz al-Jazari (ca. 1200), in a listing that records the author as a master (*al-raʾīs*) and indicates that the text is illustrated (*muṣawwar*) (310 {11–12}). Another entry on the same work is listed without such specifications in an earlier section (201 {16}). There are also two anonymous texts whose titles suggest other aspects of mechanics, from “self-moving circular entities,” to “constructed clocks” (310 {7–9}). Additional titles variously represent mechanical devices, crafts, and wonders, or all of the above (307–10).

The inventory confirms that practical concerns are dominant in the case of mechanics. Court patronage was already indicated by translations of ancient mechanical works such as those by Heron and Pappus (310, 335). Both Greek authors are associated with early Islamic patrons: the dedication of Qusta ibn Luqa’s Arabic translation of Heron’s *Mechanics* is associated with an Abbasid ruler, and the anonymous translation of Pappus’s *Mechanics*, with the three courtier brothers Banu Musa.⁵¹ The inventory titles of Heron’s “Lifting of Heavy Objects” (*Rafʿi al-ashyāʾi al-thaqila*) and Pappus’s Introduction to [Mechanical] Devices (*Madkhal al-Hiyal*) reflect practical functions, as does their inclusion within specific mathematical collections (335, 310) as distinct from entries labeled as “entertainments” (*lahw*).

Entries on mechanics are also recorded in the inventory in a revealing manner. The classification of “books on mechanical devices” next to “wondrous crafts” places them outside the subject of mathematics proper. In contrast to mechanics, the only optical title suggesting practical aspects is that of burning mirrors, itself grouped with mechanical titles. Related distinctions include optical titles not typically associated with ruling patrons or courtiers, as I have noted in other studies.⁵²

The category of “wonders,” which is associated with both crafts and devices (*hiyal*) in the inventory, provides another useful comparison with optics. Various related terms that evoke a sense of “wonder” appear quite early on in the fields of mechanics and optics. The aforementioned ancient Greek concept of “beyond nature” is represented in mechanics through the pseudo-Aristotelian *Mechanical Problems* as well as by wondrous mechanical devices, such as a lever that produces amazingly unexpected effects. In optics, wondrous phenomena include the problem of the circular appearance of far “angled” objects, and an early response to this problem expressed by a proposition in Euclid’s *Optics*.⁵³

Genres such as wonders (*‘ajā’ib*) and its historical counterpart, marvels (*gharā’ib*), along with their evolving forms, are documented with positive connotations in no uncertain terms in both Arabic and Persian. These include works written shortly before the inventory dated 1503–4, as comparable trends were emerging in Europe through Latin expressions such as *mirabilia*.⁵⁴

The increasingly positive associations of such concepts are identifiable in works that date from at least the late 1400s, including those by an author with possibly more than one title represented in the inventory, the unnamed commentator of works under arithmetic (333 {16}). That author, Abu Ishaq Kubanani (d. after 1483), called the impressive *Geometrical Constructions* of Abu al-Wafa’ Buzjani, for which he was completing a Persian translation, a “wondrous book” (*kitāb ‘ujāb*), and referred to the works of the book’s initial translator as “marvels” (*gharā’ib*) in the “crafts of science.”⁵⁵ We have also seen that the terms “wondrous” and “marvelous” were used in a treatise on optics, which may be the same as the one recorded in the inventory (362 {1–2}). In that treatise, known through both Arabic and Persian versions, such terms are used in the positive context of

practices that are more advanced in eastern Islamic lands than in Europe. In this passage, as cited above, the anonymous author reports how scholars from Europe reached out to the learned in northeast Iran for “experience and testing” of specific mirrors.

The case of mechanics and the treatment of its titles, which variously involve the expression “wonder,” under a heading outside the mathematical sciences can hardly escape notice. The two mixed-mathematical sciences, mechanics and optics, proceeded with quite distinct developments. Remarkably, some major scientific developments in early modern Europe were already present in Arabic optical and mechanical texts in Islamic lands through concepts such as “controlled experimentation” in optics, and “control over nature” in mechanics. These concepts took different forms and courses of development in optics and mechanics, on the one hand, and in Islamic and European lands, on the other. This is where the explanation of distinct developments in optics and mechanics in disciplinary terms, and those in Islamic and European lands in methodological terms, must be supplemented by their contexts of transmission, as attempted here also for arithmetic and geometry.

NOTES

1. The manuscript of this inventory is preserved at the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences as MS Török F. 59. On the names and dates given in the present introduction in association with this compilation, see the editors’ introductory essays in this volume.
2. On the quadrivium, see in this volume: the chapter by Jamil Ragep et al., and the list of entries by A. Tunç Şen and Cornell H. Fleischer. See also *Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition* (hereafter *EI2*), s.v. “‘Ilm al-ḥisāb: The Science of Reckoning, Arithmetic,” by A. I. Sabra; *EI2*, s.v. “‘Ilm al-handasa, Geometry,” by M. Souissi; *EI2*, s.v. “‘Ilm al-hay’a, Science of the Figure (of the Heavens) or Astronomy,” by David Pingree; *EI2*, s.v. “al-Nujūm,” by Paul Kunitzsch; *EI2*, s.v. “Mūsīqī, later Mūsīqa,” by O. Wright.
3. See Elaheh Kheirandish, “The Mixed Mathematical Sciences: Optics and Mechanics in the Islamic Middle Ages,” in *The Cambridge History of Science*, ed. David C. Lindberg and Michael H. Shank, vol. 2, *Medieval Science* (Cambridge, 2013), 84–108; Elaheh Kheirandish, “Organizing Scientific Knowledge: The ‘Mixed’ Sciences in Early

- Classifications,” in *Organizing Knowledge: Encyclopaedic Activities in the Pre-Eighteenth Century Islamic World*, ed. Gerhard Endress (Leiden, 2006), 135–54.
4. Kheirandish, “Mixed Mathematical Sciences” and Kheirandish, “Organizing Scientific Knowledge,” 84 and 135, respectively, include the wording of Aristotle’s *Physics* 194a7 as *ta physikôtêra tôn mathématôn*. In Arabic, optics and mechanics are described as “sciences in which mathematical (*riyāḍī/handāsī*) and natural/physical (*ṭabīʿī*) sciences have a share (*ishtirāk/mushtarāk*)”; for the respective sources and passages, see Kheirandish, “Organizing Scientific Knowledge,” 135–54, 148, and 150. (Appendices I.a and II.a in that publication include the full passages and terms.)
 5. For details, see Kheirandish, “Mixed Mathematical Sciences.”
 6. See *EI2*, s.v. “Manāẓir, or ‘Ilm al-Manāẓir,” by A. I. Sabra.
 7. On the “Intermediate Works,” see Moritz Steinschneider, “Die ‘mittleren’ Bücher der Araber und ihre Bearbeiter,” *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik* 10 (1865): 456–99; on distinctions from “mixed” sciences, see Kheirandish, “Organizing Scientific Knowledge,” 137.
 8. In *Ihṣāʾ al-ʿulūm* (Enumeration of the Sciences) of Farabi (d. ca. 950), where the theoretical and practical are explicitly distinguished, surveying (*misāḥa*) falls under geometry, and practical (*ʿamalīya*) geometry is atypically treated before theoretical geometry (*naẓarīya*); Farabi, *Ihṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*, ed. ʿUthmān Amīn (Cairo: Maktabat al-Anjalū al-Miṣriyah, 1968), 95–96.
 9. For surveying problems, including magnitude determinations with or without measurement, see Elaheh Kheirandish, “An Early Tradition in Practical Geometry: The Telling Lines of Unique Arabic and Persian Sources,” in *The Arts of Ornamental Geometry: A Persian Compendium on Similar and Complementary Interlocking Figures*, Studies and Sources in Islamic Art and Architecture: Supplements to Muqarnas 13, ed. Gülrü Necipoğlu (Leiden, 2017): 79–144; Elaheh Kheirandish, “Optics and Perspective in and beyond the Islamic Middle Ages: A Study of Transmission through Multidisciplinary Sources in Arabic and Persian,” in *Renaissance Cultures of Optics and Practices of Perspective*, ed. Sven Dupré and Jeanne Peiffer (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, forthcoming 2019).
 10. The classification of chess among the mathematical sciences is found in some manuscript copies of the Persian *Jāmiʿ al-ʿulūm [=Sittīnī]* of Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī (d. ca. 1209), ed. ʿAlī Āl Dāvūd (Tehran, 2003). Examples of numbers rather than pieces in square checkers include a *Risāla dar shaṭranj* (Treatise on Chess) by Abū Ishāq Kūbanānī (d. after ca. 1483); see Kheirandish, “Early Tradition in Practical Geometry.”
 11. On the disciplinary and methodological contexts of optics, and mechanics categorized as “mixed mathematical sciences” prior to ʿAtufī’s inventory, see Kheirandish, “Organizing Scientific Knowledge” and “Mixed Mathematical Sciences,” respectively.
 12. On the Greco-Arabic transmission of ancient scientific works, see Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ʿAbbasid Society* (London, 1999). Ancient Greek works known only through Arabic include Ptolemy’s *Optics* (now known only through an Arabo-Latin version) and Heron’s *Mechanics*.
 13. On the Greek and Arabic traditions of Euclid’s *Element*, see, respectively, Thomas L. Heath, ed. and trans., *The Thirteen Books of Euclid’s Elements* (Cambridge, 1956); and Gregg De Young, “Ishaq ibn Hunayn, Hunayn ibn Ishaq, and the Third Arabic Translation of Euclid’s *Elements*,” in *Historia Mathematica* 19 (1992): 188–99. See also Gregg De Young, “*The Arithmetic Book of Euclid’s Elements* in the Arabic Tradition: An Edition, Translation, and Commentary” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1981).
 14. On the Greek and Arabic traditions of Euclid’s *Optics*, see, respectively, J. L. Heiberg and H. Menge, eds., *Euclidis Opera Omnia*, vol. 7, *Optica; Opticorum recensio Theonis; Catoptrica, cum scholiis antiquis* (Leipzig, 1895); and Elaheh Kheirandish, *The Arabic Version of Euclid’s Optics (Kitāb Uqlidis fī Ikhtilāf al-manāẓir): Edited and Translated with Historical Introduction and Commentary*, 2 vols. (New York, 1999); on the extant Arabo-Latin version of Ptolemy’s *Optics*, see Arbert Lejeune, *L’Optique de Claude Ptolémée dans la version latine d’après l’arabe de l’émir Eugène de Sicile* (Leiden, 1956; repr. 1989); and Mark A. Smith, *Ptolemy’s Theory of Visual Perception: An English Translation, with Introduction and Commentary* (Philadelphia, 1996).
 15. On the Greek and Arabic traditions of the *Mechanics* of Heron and Pappus of Alexandria, see L. Nix and W. Schmidt, Arabic ed. and German trans., *Herons von Alexandria Mechanik und Katoptrik* (Leipzig, 1900); D. E. P. Jackson, “The Arabic Version of the Mathematical Collection of Pappus Alexandrinus Book VIII” (PhD diss., Cambridge University, 1970); D. E. P. Jackson, “The Arabic Translation of a Greek Manual in Mechanics,” *The Islamic Quarterly* 16 (1972): 96–113; D. E. P. Jackson, “Scholarship in Abbasid Baghdad with Special Reference to Greek Mechanics in Arabic,” *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* (1987–88): 369–90; and Elaheh Kheirandish, “A Very Late Review Occasioned by a Fallen Book,” *Early Science and Medicine* 11 (2006): 207–22 (a publication on the Arabic and Persian mechanical tradition is in progress by this author).
 16. On the transmission of optical and mechanical works, see Kheirandish, “Mixed Mathematical Sciences,” esp. 91–94; on their Arabo-Latin transmissions, see for optics, David C. Lindberg, *Theories of Vision from Al-Kindi to Kepler* (Chicago, 1976); David C. Lindberg, *A Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Optical Manuscripts* (Toronto, 1975); and for mechanics, Wilbur Knorr, *Ancient Sources of the Medieval Tradition of Mechanics: Greek, Arabic, and Latin Studies of the Balance* (Florence, 1982). Arabic works surviving only in Latin versions include *De aspectibus* (Book of Aspects) of al-Kindi, and *Kitāb al-Qarastūn* (Book of *Qarastūn*) attributed to Thābit ibn Qurra.

17. See Gregg De Young, "The Arithmetic Books of Euclid's *Elements* in the Arabic Tradition" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1981).
18. For details, see J. L. Berggren, *Episodes in the Mathematics of Medieval Islam* (New York, 1986), 99–126; and "Islamic Mathematics," in *Cambridge History of Science*, 2:62–83, esp. 71–74.
19. Relevant manuscripts in Istanbul include algebraic works by Thabit ibn Qurra and Abu Kamil, and surveying works by Kindi and Baghdadi: see Max Krause, "Stambuler Handschriften islamischer Mathematiker," *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik, Astronomie und Physik* (Berlin, 1936), 455, 460, 449, 474; and Isfahani for a "Summary" on *Conics*, 484. On surveying works by Baghdadi, Isfahani, Khalil al-Tajir, and Tabari, see Kheirandish, "Early Tradition in Practical Geometry."
20. For details, see Kheirandish, "Early Tradition in Practical Geometry."
21. For Ibn al-Haytham's *Fī Usūl al-misāḥa* (Principles of Measurement), see Rushdī Rāshid, *Ibn al-Haytham, théorie des coniques, constructions géométriques et géométrie pratique*, vol. 3 of *Les mathématiques infinitésimales du IX^e au XI^e siècle*, 5 vols. (London, 2000), 3:541–45; and Ibn al-Haytham's *Theory of Conics, Geometrical Constructions and Practical Geometry*, trans. J. V. Field, vol. 3 of *A History of Arabic Sciences and Mathematics*, ed. Nader El-Bizri, 4 vols. (London, 2013), 3:513–66; see also Kheirandish, "Early Tradition in Practical Geometry," esp. n. 113. Works on height determination naming Ibn al-Haytham are included in Kheirandish, *Arabic Version of Euclid's Optics*, 1:xlvi–xlvii, lvi–lvii, and lviin30.
22. The text *Kitāb-u Talkhīṣ al-Makhrūṭāt fī al-handasa* (Book of Summary of *Conics* in Geometry) may be identified as composed by Abu al-Fath Isfahani; for details, see Kheirandish, "Early Tradition in Practical Geometry," which includes a reference to the name Abū al-Faṭḥ ibn Maḥmūd [sic] al-Iṣfahānī as reported in connection with "the Arabic version of Borelli's Latin translation" of parts of Apollonius's *Conics* in 1661 Florence, according to the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* of 1921. This seems to be the same author listed as "Isfahani" for a *Talkhīṣ al-Makhrūṭāt* in Krause's "Stambuler Handschriften islamischer Mathematiker," 484.
23. On the "Intermediate Works," see Steinschneider, "Die 'mittleren' Bücher der Araber und ihre Bearbeiter," and Kheirandish, "Organizing Scientific Knowledge," 137.
24. See Mohammad Bagheri, "A Newly Found Letter of Al-Kashi on Scientific Life in Samarqand," *Historia Mathematica* 24 (1997): 241–56.
25. On the manuscript details, see Kheirandish, "Early Tradition in Practical Geometry," Appendix I. For the Topkapı Palace origin of manuscripts classified as "Ayasofya" in the Süleymaniye Library, see also Zeren Tanındı's chapter in this volume.
26. The missing works include: in Arabic, the related works of Abu al-Wafa' and a commentary by Kamal al-Din Ibn Yunus (d. ca. 1242); and in Persian, the anonymous and undated translations of Abu al-Wafa's *Geometric Constructions*, as well as a translation completed by Abu Ishaq Kubanani (d. after ca. 1483): Kheirandish, "Early Tradition in Practical Geometry," appendices II and III.
27. On the text and its codex (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Persan 169, fols. 180r–199r), see Necipoğlu, ed., *Arts of Ornamental Geometry*.
28. For details, see Kheirandish, "Optics and Perspective."
29. For the manuscripts in Istanbul, see Kheirandish, *Arabic Version of Euclid's Optics*, vol. 1, xxxiv: m1; Krause, "Stambuler Handschriften islamischer Mathematiker," 441.
30. For the Arabic manuscripts of Ibn al-Haytham's *Optics*, all in Istanbul, see Krause, "Stambuler Handschriften islamischer Mathematiker," 476; for the published books, see Abdelhamid I. Sabra, ed., *Kitāb al-Manāzīr, Books I–III: On Direct Vision, and Books IV–V: On Reflection, and Images Seen by Reflection* (Kuwait, 1983 and 2002), English translation and commentary of Books I–III: *The Optics of Ibn al-Haytham*, 2 vols. (London, 1989); IV–V, 2 vols. (English translation of the latter volumes forthcoming.)
31. On the dependent Arabic and Latin traditions, see Sabra, *Optics of Ibn al-Haytham*, 2:lxiv–lxxiii, lxxiii–lxxix. The Latin texts are in Mark A. Smith, *Alhacen's Theory of Visual Perception; Alhacen on the Principles of Reflection; Alhacen on Image-Formation and Distortion in Mirrors*; Mark A. Smith, *Alhacen on Refraction, Critical Edition, with English Translation and Commentary* (Philadelphia, 2001, 2006, 2008, 2010); see also Mark A. Smith, "The Latin Source of an Italian Translation of Alhacen's *De aspectibus* (vat Lat 4595)," *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 11 (2001): 27–43. A printed Latin edition of Ibn al-Haytham's *Optics* appeared in Basel in 1572: Fredrick Risner, ed., *Opticae thesaurus, Alhazeni Arabic libri septem* (Basil, 1572), repr., with an introduction by D. C. Lindberg (New York, 1972). For details, see also Sabra, *Optics of Ibn al-Haytham*, 2:lxiv–lxviii.
32. Sabra, *Optics of Ibn al-Haytham*, 2:xi.
33. On "checkered history," see Sabra, *Optics of Ibn al-Haytham*, 2:xi; on the footpaths of this and related works, see Elaheh Kheirandish, "Light and Dark: The 'Checkered History' of Early Optics," in *God Is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth: Light in Islamic Art and Culture*, ed. Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair (New Haven, 2015), 61–85, esp. 78–79, plates 54–55.
34. The significance of the listing of Ibn al-Haytham's book on optics in the inventory of the Topkapı Palace's royal library was first noted and discussed by Gülru Necipoğlu in an architectural context. See her "The Scrutinizing Gaze in the Aesthetics of Islamic Visual Cultures: Sight, Insight and Desire," *Muqarnas* 32 (2015): 23–61, at 39 and 59n65, where the record of Ibn al-Haytham's *Optics* in the Ottoman library inventory is noted (59n65) and discussed in the context of the possible inclusion of that work in a collection at Galata Observatory and its relevance to "Ottoman architectural practice" (39).
35. For details, see A. I. Sabra, "The Commentary that Saved the Text: The Hazardous Journey of Ibn al-Haytham's Arabic

- Optics," *Early Science and Medicine* 12 (2007): 117–33, esp. 131–33; also Kheirandish, "Light and Dark," 72–77, where the preface of Farisi's commentary is also included in English translation.
36. For the respective published and unpublished editions of Farisi's *Tanqīh* and *Baṣā'ir*, see this chapter's list of entries (III. 2 and 3). For the listings of their manuscripts in Istanbul, see Krause, "Stambuler Handschriften islamischer Mathematiker," 508–9.
 37. On the assumption that "it was undoubtedly through the *Tanqīh* [of Farisi] that I. H.'s major doctrines eventually came to be better known in the Islamic world," see Sabra, *Optics of Ibn al-Haytham*, 2:lxix; the assumed rare accessibility of Ibn al-Haytham's *Optics* in this late period must be revisited in the light of its inventory records.
 38. On Taqī al-Dīn ibn Ma'rūf and his relevant works, see İhsan Fazlıoğlu's entry in *Biographical Encyclopaedia of Astronomers*, ed. Thomas Hockey (New York, 2007), 2:1122–24; on his European connections, see Avner Ben Zaken's *Cross-Cultural Scientific Exchanges in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1560–1660* (Baltimore, 2010); and Necipoğlu, "Scrutinizing Gaze," 37–39.
 39. On Taqī al-Dīn ibn Ma'rūf's *Nūr ḥadaqa al-ibṣār wa nūr ḥadiqa al-anzār* (The Light of the Eye and the Enlightened Landscape of Vision) and his access to Ibn al-Haytham's *Optics* through Farisi's Commentary, see Sabra, *Optics of Ibn al-Haytham*, 2:lxix, n. 116.
 40. The status of Ibn al-Haytham's *Optics* as "unknown or unused" in Islamic lands has been carefully established by A. I. Sabra after a thorough review of the existing Arabic literature; see Sabra, *Optics of Ibn al-Haytham*, 2:lxiv–lxviii.
 41. On Farisi and Theodoric, see Lindberg, *Theories of Vision from Alkindi to Kepler*; and Saira Malek, "Technical Terminology in Medieval Arab Science: The Case of Kamal al-Din and the Rainbow" (master's thesis, Cambridge University, 2008).
 42. An essay titled, "'Checkered History' Recolored: The Changing Fortunes and Misfortunes of Optical Works in Islamic and European Lands," was presented by this author in the Middle East Association in Boston (MESA) in 2016 in a session titled "Legacy of A. I. Sabra: New Perspectives on the History of Science in Islam."
 43. Süleymaniye Library, Atıf Efendi 1714. For color images of the table of contents and sample pages of this volume, see Kheirandish, "Light and Dark," 12.
 44. The manuscript is in the Ayasofya section of the Süleymaniye Library, 2414; on the handwritten name on it, see İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Mīram Çelebī" in *The Biographical Encyclopaedia of Astronomers*, 2 vols., ed. Thomas Hockey et al. (New York, 2007), 2:788–89.
 45. Both the Arabic and Persian texts refer to Sulṭān Selīm I son of Bāyezīd II without specifying his relation to the texts, either in the colophon of the short Arabic text, or within the much longer Persian text; both versions are extant in apparently unique manuscripts in Istanbul. The Arabic text, *Risāla fī 'Ilm al-Manāẓir* (Treatise on the Science of Optics), has the name Sa'd Allāh ibn 'Īsā in the colophon as the copyist, and the alternative forms of the name, Sa'd ibn 'Īsā and Sa'dī Çelebī, in the colophon of the text preceding it in the same codex and the cover page of the codex volume, respectively: Tashköprüzāde, *Shaqā'iq al-nu'māniyya fī 'ulamā' al-dawlat al-uthmāniyya*, ed. Ahmed Subhi Furat (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1985). The transcribed name(s), date of that *mufti* and book collector of Constantinople (d. ca. 1538/39), the Arabic manuscript, copyist information, colophon clarification, and primary source (reference kindly provided by Himmet Taşkömür) all indicate that the signed copyist of the Arabic text is not Mīram (or Mirem) Çelebī (d. ca. 1525), which does not rule out the possibility that he was the author of the Arabic or Persian version, or both. For his biography, see: İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Mīram Çelebī: Maḥmūd ibn Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā Qāḍizāde," in *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, 788–89. The Persian text, *Risāla fī Sabab ru'yat al-ashyā' wa bayān al-madhāhib fīhi wa bayān ru'yat al-ashyā' fī al-marāyā al-maṣnū'a* (Treatise on the Cause of the Vision of Objects and the Explanation of Traditions [on Vision] and the Vision of Objects in Constructed Mirrors) is listed in Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kültüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu* (Istanbul, 1961), 321: Hazin 603/5. The Arabic manuscript has "Esad Efendi 3457" on the cover page of the short text in Arabic transcribed on folios 72a–73b. On the Persian text, see Kheirandish, *Arabic Version of Euclid's Optics*, 1:1, lviii; Elaheh Kheirandish, "The 'Manazir' Tradition through Persian Sources," in *Les sciences dans le monde iranien*, ed. Z. Vesel, H. Beikbaghban, and B. Thierry de Crussol des Epesses (Tehran, 1998), 125–45; Elaheh Kheirandish, "Footprints of 'Experiment' in Early Arabic Optics," in *Evidence and Interpretation in Studies on Early Science and Medicine: Essays in Honor of John E. Murdoch*, ed. Edith Dudley Sylla and William R. Newman, *Early Science and Medicine* 14 (Leiden, 2009), 79–104; *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Optics," by Elaheh Kheirandish.
 46. The slightly different Arabic and Persian wordings both refer to an earlier timeframe in the context of the paraphrased passage, though an exact time cannot be determined in either case. For the manuscript references to each, see the preceding note. The bilingual text and its possible relation to the inventory entry is discussed in my forthcoming article, "'From Maragha to Samarqand and Beyond': Revisiting a Quartet of Scientific Traditions in 'Greater Persia' (ca. 1300s–1500s)," as part of the "Idea of Iran" annual symposiums and published volumes, sponsored through the joint efforts of the University of London (SOAS) and the Soudavar Memorial Foundation.
 47. The reference to "companions (*ashāb*) of wonder (*isti'jāb*) and marvel (*istrighrāb*)" reveals a community of practitioners. On relevant expressions and their positive connotations in the late Persian translation of the *Geometrical Constructions* of Abu al-Wafā' Buzjani completed by Abu Ishaq Kubanani cited above, see Kheirandish, "Early Tradition

- in Practical Geometry." On the historical meanings and distinctions of *ʿajāʾib* and *gharāʾib*, and comparable Latin expressions such as *mirabilia*, see Roy P. Mottahedeh, "ʿAjāʾib in the Thousand and One Nights," in *The Thousand and One Nights in Arabic Literature and Society*, ed. Richard C. Hovannisian and Georges Sabagh (Cambridge; New York, 1997), 29–39.
48. On the Arabo-Latin text, see Albert Lejeune, *L'Optique de Claude Ptolémée dans la version latine d'après l'arabe de l'émir Eugène de Sicile* (Leiden: Brill, 1989); and Mark A. Smith, *Ptolemy's Theory of Visual Perception*. On its atypical access to Ibn al-Haytham, see Sabra, *Optics of Ibn al-Haytham*, 2:lviii–lx.
 49. For more on early Arabic optical texts, see Elaheh Kheirandish, "The Many Aspects of Appearances: Arabic Optics to 950 AD," in *The Enterprise of Science in Islam: New Perspectives*, ed. Jan P. Hogendijk and Abdelhamid Sabra (Cambridge, 2003), 55–83. On the likely accessibility of the works by al-Kindi and Ibn ʿIsa to Ibn al-Haytham, see Sabra, *Optics of Ibn al-Haytham*, 2:26. On Ibn Luqa, see Elaheh Kheirandish, "Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā al-Baʿlabakkī," in *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*; on Ibn ʿIsa, see Kheirandish, "Footprints of 'Experiment'"; on the manuscripts of these optical texts, see Kheirandish, *Arabic Version of Euclid's Optics*, vol. 1, xlv–xlv. On the two known manuscripts of Ibn ʿIsa in Istanbul, see Krause, "Stambuler Handschriften islamischer Mathematiker," 513–14. It is possible that the anonymous manuscript listed in the entries (310 {16–17}) under *Kitābu al-Marāyā al-Muḥriqati* (Book on Burning Mirrors) corresponds to the second part of Ibn ʿIsa's *Kitāb al-Manāẓir al-Marāyā al-Muḥriqa* (Book of Optics and Burning Mirrors).
 50. For the entries of Ibn al-Haytham's *Optics* in the inventory, see 359 {7–8}. On the Arabic manuscripts of the text, see Sabra, *Optics of Ibn al-Haytham*, 2:lxix–lxxxiii. Books I–III: SK, Fatih 3212–14, dated 476 (1083); books IV–V: SK, Fatih 3215, dated 636 (1239); book VI: TSMA, Ahmed III 3339, dated 476 (1084); book VII: SK, Fatih 3216, dated 476 (1084); books I–VII: SK, Ayasofya 2448, dated 869 (1464–65); books I–III: TSMA, Ahmed III 1899, dated 915 (1509). Volumes in the Süleymaniye Library are classified as "Ayasofya" (originating from the Topkapı Palace) and "Fatih" (originating from Mehmed II's Istanbul mosque complex to which they were also donated from the Topkapı Palace), while several volumes are still preserved in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library. For the Arabic and Persian optical works of Tusi, see Kheirandish, *Arabic Version of Euclid's Optics*, 1:xxxvii–xlix; some copies of his Arabic optical treatises in Istanbul are recorded in Krause, "Stambuler Handschriften islamischer Mathematiker," 498.
 51. On some mechanical texts and their court associations, see Kheirandish, "Mixed Mathematical Sciences," esp. 96–97 and nn. 49–50. On functional and entertainment devices and their differences, see George Saliba, "The Function of Mechanical Devices in Medieval Islamic Society," in *Science and Technology in Medieval Society*, ed. Pamela O. Lang, *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 441 (New York, 1985), 141–51.
 52. See Kheirandish, "Mixed Mathematical Sciences," 86.
 53. On the expression "beyond nature" in the opening lines of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Mechanical Problems* as *para phusin*, as distinct from *kata phusin* ("according to nature") (847a11–15), and the context of the Greek tradition, see Mark J. Schiefsky, "Art and Nature in Ancient Mechanics," in *The Artificial and the Natural: An Evolving Polarity*, ed. Bernadette Bensaude-Vincent and William R. Newman (Cambridge, 2007), 67–108. For the corresponding early Arabic expressions *ʿajab* (wonder) and its modern English translation as "marvel," see Mohammad Abattouy, "A Partial Arabic Version of Pseudo-Aristotle's *Problemata Mechanica*," *Early Science and Medicine: A Journal for the Study of Science, Technology, and Medicine in the Pre-Modern Period* 6, no. 2 (2001): 96–122, at 110–13; for the expression *ʿajab* in Farabi's Enumeration of the Sciences (*Ihṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*) under mechanics, see the English translation of George Saliba, "Function of Mechanical Devices," 146; for the expression used in early optics, see Kheirandish, *Arabic Version of Euclid's Optics*, 2:47, and 47n182.
 54. See Roy Mottahedeh, "ʿAjāʾib in the Thousand and One Nights," 30–31, for the comparable Arabic and Latin terms *gharāʾib* and *mirabilia*, as well as modern English forms. For variations such as *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt* (Wonders of Creation), see Persis Berlekamp, *Wonder, Image, and Cosmos in Medieval Islam* (New Haven, 2011); on European variations, see Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York, Cambridge, 1998).
 55. On the expressions in Abū Ishāq Kūbanānī's completion of the Persian translation of the *Geometrical Constructions* of Abu al-Wafāʾ Būzjānānī, see Kheirandish, "Early Tradition in Practical Geometry."

LIST OF ENTRIES

SECTION ON BOOKS OF ARITHMETIC, GEOMETRY, OPTICS, MECHANICS, MATHEMATICS,
COLLECTIONS, AND SURVEYING

(*Tafṣīlu* [...] *kutubi ʿilmi al-ḥisābi wa-kutubi ʿilmi al-handasati wa-al-manāẓiri ... wa-kutubi al-ḥiyali*
[*wa-al-riyāḍiyyati wa-al-majmūʿati wa-al-misāḥā*])

This list of entries has seven parts: The first four parts (I–IV) correspond to the four main sciences covered in this chapter: I. Arithmetic (*Ḥisāb*), II. Geometry (*Handasa*), III. Optics (*Manāẓir*), and IV. Mechanics (*Ḥiyal*); the last three (V–VII) are supplementary parts: V. Mathematics (*Riyāḍī*), VI. Collections (*Majmūʿa*), and VII. Other: Surveying (*Misāḥā*).

Entries for each of these parts with comparable titles and authors in the reference works below¹ are so noted; so are those with overlaps in the “quadrivium” lists within this volume (arithmetic, geometry: Parts I–II here). Of these and other inventory entries covered only in this chapter (optics, mechanics: Parts III–IV, followed by supplementary sections: Parts V–VII), those recorded as part of a collection (*majmūʿa*) or volume (*mujallad*) are marked with an asterisk and cross-referenced within corresponding collections (Part VI).

As for the position of an entry within a collection, this is indicated by three dots before or after the entry, corresponding to preceding or succeeding items. Items added to the inventory entries are placed in square brackets; those omitted are in angled brackets. Anonymous texts are placed within quotation marks; questionable authors, dates, and languages are followed by question marks. The language of each text is left as Arabic, unless specified as Persian or uncertain. Entries under each part (I–VII) are presented mostly in the order of those listed in the inventory (1, 2), followed by the number of manuscript copies (1a, 1b), derivative or variant texts (1.1, 1.2), and in chronological order as much as possible. The main reference sources used for this section are cited and abbreviated in the first endnote; the following endnotes supplement entries as needed for the documentation of some titles, authors, or datings.

PART I. ARITHMETIC (*Ḥisāb/ʿIlm al-ḥisāb*)

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH SCIENCE OF ASTRONOMY (*ʿIlm al-nujūm / hayʿa*): 325–32]

1. “*Kitābu al-miʿati wa-al-ʿishrīna fī ḥisābi al-ḍarbi min qibali al-nujūmi*” (Book of a Hundred and Twenty [Items] in Arithmetic of Multiplication, Pertaining to Astronomy), Arabic, 318 {15–16}. [= VI.6]
1a. Same as above,* 323 {14}. [= VI.6]
2. “*Risālatu maʿrifati al-irtifāʾi bi-ghayri al-uṣṭurlābi fī al-nujūmi*” (Treatise on the Determination of Heights without an Astrolabe, in Astronomy), Arabic (?), 320 {5–6}. [= VII.3]²
3. “*Risālatun fī al-ḥisābi*”* (A Treatise on Arithmetic), Arabic, 322 {11}. [= VI.3]
- 3.1. “*Risālatun fī al-ḥisābi*”* (A Treatise on Arithmetic), Arabic, 323 {9–11}. [= VI.5]
- 3.2. “*Risālatu al-ḥisābi*”* (Treatise of Arithmetic), Arabic, 332 {12–14}. [= VI.30]
4. “*Risālatu al-ʿadadi bi-awḍāʾi al-aṣābiʿ*”* (Treatise on [Counting] Numbers according to the Position of Fingers), Arabic, 322 {16–17}. [= VI.4]
5. [Jamāl al-Dīn Saʿīd Turkistānī (fl. ca. 1312/13)], *Risālatun ʿAlāʾiyyatun fī al-ḥisābi** (Treatise on Arithmetic for ʿAlāʾ [al-Dīn?]), Arabic, 324 {8}. [= VI.9]³
5a. Same as above, 334 {4}. [= VI.9]

- 5b. Same as above Arabic, 290 {10}. [= VI.58] Title has the additional term *‘ilm*: “*Al-Risālatu al-‘Alā’iyyatu fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi*”^{*} (Treatise on the Science of Arithmetic for ‘Alā’ [al-Dīn?])
- 5.1 “*Risālatu al-‘Alā’iyyatu fī al-masā’ili al-ḥisābiyyati*”^{*} (Treatise on Problems in Arithmetic for ‘Alā’ [al-Dīn?]), Arabic, 334 {2–3}. [= VI.34]⁴
- 5.2 [Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Gharbī], *Kitābu al-Mu’jizāti al-najībīyyati fī sharḥi risālati al-‘Alā’iyyati fī al-ḥisābi* (Book of Noble Miracles of the Commentary on the Treatise on Arithmetic for ‘Alā’ [al-Dīn?]), Arabic, 334 {11–12}.⁵
6. “*Kitābun fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi*”^{*} (A Book on the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic, 325 {16–17}. [= VI.11]⁶
- 6.1 “*Risālatun fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi*”^{*} Arabic, 327 {14–16}. [= VI.13]⁷
7. [Al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn Niẓām al-Dīn al-A’raj al-Nisābūrī, d. after ca. 1327], *Risālatu al-Shamsiyyatu fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi*^{*} (*Shamsiyya* Treatise on the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic, 328 {13–15}. [= VI.14]⁸
- 7a. Same as above, 334 {8}.
- 7b. Same as above,^{*} 334 {5}.
- 7c. Same as above, 335 {9}.
- 7.1 [Abū Ishāq ibn ‘Abdallāh Kūbanānī Yazdī, d. after ca. 1483 (?)], *Sharḥu Shamsiyyati fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi* (Commentary on the *Shamsiyya* Treatise on the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic, 333 {16}.⁹
- 7.2 “*Sharḥu al-Shamsiyyati bi-al-fārisiyyati fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi*” (Commentary on the *Shamsiyya* Treatise in Persian on the Science of Arithmetic), Persian, 334 {1–2}.
- 7.3 “*Tarjumatun al-Risālati al-Shamsiyyati bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-ḥisābi*” (Translation of the *Shamsiyya* Treatise into Persian on Arithmetic), Persian, 334 {13}.
8. “*Kitābu al-Kifāyati fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi*”^{*} (Book [That] Suffices on the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic, 328 {19}–329 {1}. [= VI.15]¹⁰
9. [Abū al-Ḥasan] Thābit ibn Qurra [Ḥarrānī, d. ca. 901], *Kitābu Thābit ibn Qurra fī al-nisbati al-mu’allifati*^{*} (Book of Thābit ibn Qurra on the Composition of Ratios), Arabic, 329 {17}. EDITION: Pascal Crouzet, “Thābit ibn Qurra et la composition des rapports. Texte et traduction: *Livre sur la composition des rapports*,” in *Thābit ibn Qurra: Science and Philosophy in Ninth-Century Baghdad*, ed. Roshdi Rashed (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2009): 391–535. [= VI.17]¹¹
10. [‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Qūshjī, d. ca. 1474 (?)], *Risālatun Muḥammadiyyatun fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi*^{*} (A Treatise on the Science of Arithmetic for Mehmed [II?]), Arabic, 332 {11–12}. [= VI.29, 52]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH BOOKS ON MEDICINE (*Kutub al-ṭibbiyya*): 151–202]

- 10.1 [‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Qūshjī, d. ca. 1474 (?)], *Risālatun Muḥammadiyyatun fī al-ḥisābi*^{*} (A Treatise on Arithmetic for Mehmed [II?]), Arabic, 151 {19}. [= VI.52]

[UNDER SCIENCE OF ARITHMETIC (*‘Ilm al-ḥisāb*): 333–35]

11. [Ibn al-Khawwām ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Baghdādī, d. ca. 1327/28 (?)], *Risālatu fawā’idi al-bahā’iyyati [fī al-qawā’idi] al-ḥisābiyya* (Treatise of Uses of Rules of Arithmetic for ‘Bahā’ [al-Dīn]), Arabic, 334 {18}.¹²
- 11.1 [Ḥasan ibn Ḥasan Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī, d. ca. 1318/19], *Kitābu Asāsi al-qawā’idi fī uṣūli al-fawā’idi fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi* (Book of the Basis of Rules in the Principles of Uses in the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic, 333 {8}.¹³
- 11.1a. [Ḥasan ibn Ḥasan Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī, d. ca. 1318/19], *Kitābu Asāsi al-qawā’idi fī sharḥi al-fawā’idi al-bahā’iyyati fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi* (Book of the Basis of Rules in the Commentary on the Principles of Uses in the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic, 333 {10–11}.

- 11.1b. Same as above, 333 {13–14}.
- 11.1c. Same as above, 333 {16}.
- 11.2. [‘Imād al-Dīn Yahyā ibn Aḥmad Kāshānī, d. after ca. 1373 (?)], *Kitābu Ṭdāḥi al-maqāṣidi fī sharḥi al-Fawā’idi al-bahā’iyyati fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi** (Book of Clarification of the Aims of the Commentary on Uses of the Science of Arithmetic for ‘Bahā’ [al-Dīn]), Arabic, 334 {14–15}. [= VI.36]¹⁴
- 11.2a. [‘Imād al-Dīn Yahyā ibn Aḥmad Kāshānī, d. after ca. 1373 (?)], *Kitāb al-Ṭdāḥi [al-maqāṣidi] fī sharḥi al-Fawā’idi al-bahā’iyyati fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi* (Book of Clarification of the [Aims of the] Commentary on Uses of the Science of Arithmetic for ‘Bahā’ [al-Dīn]), Arabic, 333 {12}. On this author, see I. 11.2 above.
- 11.3. [Abū Ishāq ibn ‘Abdallāh Kūbanānī Yazdī, d. after ca. 1483 (?)], *Sharḥu [Fawā’idi] bahā’iyyati fī al-ḥisābi* (Commentary on the [Uses] of Arithmetic for ‘Bahā’ [al-Dīn]), Arabic, 335 {3}. On this author, see I. 7.1 above.
12. “*Risālatun fārisiyyatun fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi*”* (A Persian Treatise on the Science of Arithmetic), Persian, 333 {9–10}. [= VI.31]
- 12a. Same as above (?),* 333 {18}. [= VI.33]
- 12b. Same as above (?), 334 {1}.
- 12c. Same as above (?), 335 {9}.
- 12.1. “*Risālatu fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi*”* (A Treatise on the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic (?), 333 {19}.
- 12.1a. “*Risālatu [fī ‘ilmi] al-ḥisābi*,”* Arabic (?), 334 {7}.
- 12.2. “*Kitābun bi-al-‘Arabiyyati fī al-ḥisābi*” (A Book in Arabic on the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic, 334 {4}.
- 12.3. “*Sharḥu risālatin fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi*” (Commentary on a Treatise on the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic (?), 333 {14–15}.
- 12.4. “*Sharḥun mukhtaṣarun fī al-ḥisābi*” (A Brief Commentary on [the Science of] Arithmetic), Arabic (?), 334 {10–11}.
- 12.5. “*Maǧmū’atun fīhā Kitābu Jāmi’i uṣūli al-ḥisābi*”* (A Collection Containing the Comprehensive Book on the Principles of [the Science of] Arithmetic), Arabic, 334 {16–17}. [= VI.37]
13. [Aḥmad ibn Thabāt, d. 631/1234], “*Kitābu Ghunyati al-ḥussābi fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi*”* (The Book of the Calculator’s Set-Square in the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic, 333 {9–10}. [= VI.31] EDITION: Ulrich Rebstock, *Die Reichtümer der Rechner* (Ġunyat al-Ḥussāb) von Aḥmad b. Ṭabaāt (gest. 631/1234): *Die Araber, Vorläufer der Rechenkunst* (Walldorf-Hessen: Verlag für Orientkunde Dr. H. Vorndran, 1993).¹⁵
14. [Ṣalāḥī/Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Mūsā, fl. ca. 1334/35 (?)], *Mukhtaṣaru [Kitābi] al-Ṣalāḥī fī al-ḥisābi** (Summary of [the Book of] Ṣalāḥī on Arithmetic), Arabic, 334 {19}–335 {1}. [= VI.38]¹⁶
- 14.1. [Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Khatībī, after ca. 1334 (?)], *Kitābu Sharḥi Ṣalāḥiyyati fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi [‘Imādiyyati (?)]* (Book of Commentary on Ṣalāḥiyya in the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic, 333 {11}.¹⁷
- 14.2. “*Sharḥu mukhtaṣari Ṣalāḥī fī al-ḥisābi*”* (Commentary on the Summary of [the Book of] Ṣalāḥī in Arithmetic), Arabic, 334 {19}–335 {1}. [= VI.38]
- 14.2a. Same as above, 334 {6}.
15. [Abū Naṣr Samaw’al ibn Yahyā Maghribī, d. ca. 1174/75 (?)], *Kitābu al-Bāhiri fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi* (Book of Bāhir on the Science on Arithmetic), Arabic, 333 {13}. EDITION: Ṣalāḥ Aḥmad and Rushdī Rāshid, *Al-Bāhir fī al-jabr* (Damascus: Wizārat al-Ta’līm al-‘Ālī, 1972).¹⁸
16. [Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Karajī, d. ca. 1029/1030], *Kitābu al-Kāfi fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi** (Sufficient Book on the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic, 333 {15–16}. [= VI.32] EDITION:

Selections in A. S. Saidan, ed., *Arabic Arithmetic, Tārīkh 'ilm al-ḥisāb al-'arabī* (Amman: Jam'iyyat A'māl al-Maṭābī' al-Ta'āwuniyya, 1971).¹⁹

- 16.1 [Abū 'Abdallāh Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad Shaqqāq al-Baghdādī, d. ca. 1117/18 (?)], *Sharḥu [Kitāb] al-Kāfi fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābī** (Commentary on Sufficient [Book] on the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic, 333 {14–15}. [= VI.32]²⁰
- 16.2 "*Risālatu [al-] Kāfiyati fī al-ḥisābī*"* (Sufficient Treatise on Arithmetic), Arabic, 316 {11–12}. [= VI.1, VI.35]²¹
 - 16.2a Same as above, * Arabic (?), 334 {5–6}. [= VI.1, VI.35]
17. "*Iqnā'un fī al-misāḥati min qibali al-ḥisābī*" (A Satisfactory [Tract] on Surveying Pertaining to Arithmetic), Arabic, 334 {7}. [VII.1]
18. [ʿImād al-Dīn Kāshānī (?) after ca. 1373 (?)], *Kitābu al-Lubābī fī al-ḥisābī* (Book of Extract in the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic, 334 {8}.
19. "*Risāla fārisiyya fī al-siyāqati min qibali 'ilm al-ḥisābī*" (Treatise in Persian on Finance Cipher Pertaining to the Science of Arithmetic), Persian, 334 {9}.
20. [Ghiyāth al-Dīn Jamshīd ibn Mas'ūd Kāshānī/Kāshī, d. ca. 1429], *Kitābu Miftāhi al-ḥisābī fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābī* (Book of the Key to Calculation[s] in the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic, 334 {10}. EDITION: Yūnus Karāmātī, *Dar Qalamraw-i riyāziyyāt: Bāznivīsī va talkhīṣ-i kitāb-i Miftāḥ al-ḥisāb, aṣar-i Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn Jamshīd Kāshānī, ta'līf-i qarn-i nuḥum-i hijrī* (Tehran: Ahl-i Qalam, 1381 [2002]) (also Tehran 1303/1889, Moscow, 1956, Cairo, 1967, Damascus, 1977: see note).²²
 - 20a. Same as above, 335 {3}.
21. "*Mushkil-gushāy-i ḥussāb fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābī*" (Remover of Difficulties for Arithmeticians in the Science of Arithmetic), Persian (?), 334 {12}.²³
22. "*Al-Risālatu al-Nizāmiyyatu fī al-ḥisābī*" (Nizāmiyya Treatise in Arithmetic), Arabic, 334 {14}.
23. "*Al-Risālatu al-ʿImādiyya fī ṭuruqi ḥisābiyya*" (ʿImādiyya Treatise on Methods of Arithmetic), Arabic (?), 334 {17–18}.
24. [Abū Ṭāḥir [Sirāj al-Dīn] al-Sajāwandī, d. ca. 1077 (?)], *Risālatu Abī Ṭāḥir al-Sijāwandī bi-al-'arabiyyati fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābī* (Treatise of Abū Ṭāḥir [Sirāj al-Dīn] al-Sajāwandī in Arabic on the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic, 335 {1–2}.²⁴
25. [Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Ayūb al-Ṭabarī=Ḥāsib al-Ṭabarī (d. after 1092)], *Miftāḥ-i al-mu'āmilat fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābī* (The Key to Transactions in the Science of Arithmetic), Persian, 335 {2}. EDITION: *Miftāḥ al-mu'āmalāt (matn-i riyāzī az qarn-i panjum)*: based on unique MS dated 632 [=1234], Muḥammad Amīn Riyāḥī, ed. (Tehran: Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1349 [1970]).²⁵
26. [ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Ibrāhīm ʿIzz al-Dīn Zanjānī (d. ca. 1261/62)], *Kitābu ʿUmdati al-ḥussābī** (Book of the Basics of Calculations), Arabic (?), 335 {4}. [= VI.39]²⁶
- 26.1 [ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Ibrāhīm ʿIzz al-Dīn Zanjānī], *Kitābu ʿUmdati al-ḥussābī fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābī* (Book of the Basics of Calculation in the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic (?), 335 {8}. Inventory has a *fathā* but no *tashdid* for *ḥasāb*.²⁷
27. [ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Ibrāhīm ʿIzz al-Dīn Zanjānī], *Kitābu Quṣṭāsi al-mu'ādalati fī 'ilmi al-jabr wa-al-muqābalati** (Book of the Balance of Equation in the Science of Algebra and Balancing), Arabic (?), 335 {4–5}. [= VI.39]²⁸
28. "*Risālatu al-Jabri wa-al-muqābalati fī al-ḥisābī*" (Treatise on Algebra and Balancing in Arithmetic), Arabic (?), 335 {6}.
29. "*Risālatun fī Ma'rifati al-ḥisābī al-hindiyya*" (Treatise on Knowledge of Hindu Arithmetic), Arabic (?), 335 {5–6}.
30. Najmu al-Millati wa-al-Dīn (?), *Risālatu Najmi al-Millati wa-al-Dīn fī al-ḥisābī al-hawā'ī** (Treatise of Najm al-Milla wa-al-Dīn on Mental Arithmetic), Arabic (?), 335 {7–8}. [= VI.40]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH RATIONAL PHILOSOPHY (*Ḥikmat al-falsafīyya*): 348–63]

31. “*Risālatu al-Niẓāmī fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi*”* (Treatise of al-Niẓām on the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic, 358 {3–4}. [= I.22, VI.43]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH NON-SCIENTIFIC BOOKS: 73–298]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH BOOKS ON JURISPRUDENCE (*Kutub al-fiqh*): 73–101]

32. “*Majmū‘atun fihā rasā‘ilu fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi wa-‘ilmi al-wafq*”* (A Collection Containing a Treatise in the Science of Arithmetic and the Science of Magic Squares), 98 {19}–99 {1}. [= VI.49]
33. “*Kitābun fī ‘ilmi al-farā‘idi, wa-Rasā‘ilu fī al-ḥisābi*”* (A Book on the Science of Inheritance, and a Treatise on Arithmetic [in the same volume]), Arabic (?), 99 {15–16}. [= VI.50]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH BOOKS ON SUFISM (*Kutub al-taṣawwuf*): 105–51]

34. “*Risālatu al-ḥisābi bi-‘aqdi al-aṣbā‘*”* (Treatise on Arithmetic according to Finger-Reckoning), Arabic (?), 118 {18–19}–119 {1–5}. [= VI.51]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH BOOKS ON MEDICINE (*Kutub al-ṭibbiyyati*): 151–202]

35. “*Kitābu Jawāmi‘i al-ḥisābi fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi*”* (Book of Generalities of Calculation in the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic (?), 160 {9–10}. [= VI.53]

[UNDER POETRY COLLECTIONS (DĪWĀN) IN ARABIC (*Dawāwīni al-‘arabiyyati*): 203–28]

36. “*Mukhtaṣarun fī qawā‘idi al-ḥisābi*”* (An Abridgement on Rules of Arithmetic), Arabic, 226 {6–7}. [= VI.53]
37. “*Majmū‘atun awwaluha Tuḥfatu al-ṣudūri fī al-ḥisābi*”* (A Collection Beginning with the Gift of Export in Arithmetic), Arabic, 228 {1–2}. [= VI.56]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH THE SCIENCE OF CONJUGATION (*‘ilmi al-ṣarfī wa-al-naḥwī*): 280–92]

38. “*Kitābu Sharḥi risālatin fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi*”* (Book of the Commentary on a Treatise on Arithmetic), Arabic (?), 285 {13}. [= VI.57]
39. “*Risālatu kāshifati al-mushkilāti al-‘Alā‘iyyati*”* (Treatise on the Discoveries of the Problems of al-‘Alā‘iyya [Book]), Arabic (?), 285 {13–14}. [= VI.57]

[UNDER BOOKS OF LEXICONS OF ARABIC, PERSIAN, AND OTHER LANGUAGES (*Kutubi al-lughati al-‘arabiyyati wa-al-fārisiyyati wa-ghayrihimā*): 293–300]

40. “*Risālatu Ashkāli al-ḥisābi min al-siyāqati*”* (Treatise on Propositions of Arithmetic by [the Method] *Siyāq*), Arabic, 298 {17–18}. [= VI.59]

PART II. GEOMETRY (*Handasa /‘Ilm al-handasa*)

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH SCIENCE OF ASTRONOMY (*‘Ilm al-nujūm / hay’a*): 325–32]

1. “*Kitābu Uqlidis fī al-handasati*”* (Book of Euclid on Geometry), Arabic (?), 326 {4}.
- 1a. Same as above (?), 328 {19}–329 {1}. [= VI.15]
- 1.1. “*Kitābu al-Tajrīdi fī ‘usūli al-handasati*”* (Book of the Abstract on Foundations of Geometry), Arabic, 328 {19}–329 {1}. [= VI.15]
- 1.2. “*Kitābu Da‘āwa Uqlidis min qibali handasati*”* (Book of the Definitions of Euclid Pertaining to Geometry), Arabic, 324 {11}. [= VI.10]

- 1.3 [Khawāja Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan] Naṣīr [al-Dīn] al-Ṭūsī, d. ca. 1274, *Kitābu [Tahrīr] Uqlīdis fī al-handasati li-l-Naṣīr [al-Dīn] al-Ṭūsī** (Book of [the Recension of] Euclid on Geometry by Naṣīr [al-Dīn] al-Ṭūsī), Arabic, 326 {3–4}. [= II.3d; VI.13]²⁹
 - 1.3a. Same as above, 326 {8–9}.
 - 1.3b. Same as above, 326 {10}.
 - 1.3c. Same as above, 326 {18}.
 - 1.3d. Same as above,* 327 {14}. [= VI.13]
 - 1.3e. Same as above, 329 {8}.
 - 1.3f. Same as above, 329 {8–9}.
 - 1.3g. Same as above,* 330 {5–7}. [= VI.18]
 - 1.3h. Same as above,* 331 {9–10}. [= VI.19]
- 1.4. “*Rasā’ilu ukhrā fī al-handasati*”* (Other Treatises on Geometry), 331 {9–10}. [= VI.19]
- 1.5. “*Rasā’ilu muta’alliqatun bi-ba’di mawāḍi’i Kitābi Uqlīdis fī al-handasati*”* (Treatises Belonging to Parts of the Book of Euclid on Geometry), Arabic, 330 {5–7}. [= VI.18]
- 1.6. [Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn] al-Ahwāzī, d. after ca. 961, *Sharḥu al-maqālātī ‘āshirati min Kitābi Uqlīdis li-l-Ahwāzī fī al-handasati** (Commentary on Book Ten of the Work of Euclid on Geometry), Arabic, 327 {15}.³⁰
- 1.7. [Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Mas’ūd ibn Muṣliḥ Shīrāzī, d. ca. 1311], *Tarjamatu Kitābi Uqlīdis min Kitābi Durrat al-tāj** (Translation of the Book of Euclid from the Book of the Pearl of the Crown [of Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī] on Geometry), Persian, 329 {3–5}. [= VI.16] EDITION: Muḥammad Mishkāṭ, *Durrat al-tāj li-ghurraṭ al-dubāj*, 2nd ed. (Tehran: Hikmat, 1987–). [= VI.16]³¹
2. Abū al-Wafā’ [Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ismā’il al-Būzjānī], d. ca. 998, *Kitābu Abī al-Wafā’ [... al-Būzjānī] Fīmā yaḥtāju ilayhi [al-ṣānī’] min a’-māli handasati* (The Book of Abu al-Wafa’ [al-Buzjani] on What Is Needed [by the Artisan/Craftsman] from Geometrical Constructions), Arabic, 326 {5}. EDITION: Ṣālih Ahmad al-‘Alī, *Mā yaḥtāju ilayhi al-ṣānī’ min ‘ilm al-handasa* (Baghdad: Jāmi‘at Baghdād, Markaz Ihya’ al-Turāth al-‘Ilmī al-‘Arabī, 1979). A facsimile reproduction of the manuscript in Istanbul’s Süleymaniye Library (Ayasofya 2753) is in Abū al-Qāsim Qurbānī and Muḥammad ‘Alī Shaykhān, *Būzjānīnāma: Sharḥ-i aḥvāl va āsār-i riyāz-i Abū al-Wafā’ Būzjānī* (Tehran: Intishārāt va mūzish-i Inqilāb-i Islāmī, 1992).³²
3. “*Kitābu al-‘Uṣūl al-aṣliyyati fī al-handasati*” (The Book of the Main Foundations of Geometry), Arabic, 327 {6}.
4. “*Kitābu Ablūniyūs fī al-Makhrūṭāt fī al-‘ilmi al-handasati*” (The Book of Apollonius on Conics in the Science of Geometry), Arabic, 330 {8}. EDITION: *Apollonius de Perge, Coniques: Texte grec et arabe*, ed. Roshdi Rashed (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008).³³
 - 4a. Same as above, 330 {8–9}.
- 4.1. [Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan] Ibn al-Haytham, d. after ca. 1040–41, *Majmū’atun min Rasā’il Ibn al-Haytham wa-fihā Kitābu Ablūniyūs fī al-Makhrūṭāt fī al-handasati** (A Collection of Treatises by Ibn al-Haytham, among them the Book of Apollonius on *Conics* in Geometry), Arabic, 332 {10–11}. [= VI.28] EDITION: *Majmū’ al-rasā’il*, 8 vols.: vol. 6: *Fī Shakl Banī Mūsā* (Hyderabad: Dā’irat al-Ma’ārif al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1938/39); J. P. Hogendijk, *Maqālah fī tamām kitāb al-makhrūṭāt: Ibn al-Haytham’s Completion of the Conics* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1985).³⁴
- 4.2. Abū al-Ḥusayn [‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad (?)], *Kitābu Ablūniyūs fī al-Makhrūṭāt [fī] taṣṣafuḥi Abī al-Ḥusayn fī al-handasati* (The Book of Apollonius’s *Conics* in Geometry through the Examination of Abū al-Ḥusayn), Arabic (?), 331 {8}.³⁵
- 4.3. “*Kitābu Ablūniyūs [fī al-Makhrūṭāt]*”* (Book of Apollonius [on *Conics*]), Arabic, 331 {10–11}. [= VI.20]

- 4.4. [Abū al-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd/Muḥammad ibn Qāsim Iṣfahānī, d. after ca. 1119 (?)], [*Kitābu*] *Talkhīsu al-Makhrūṭāti fī al-handasati* (Book of Summary of Conics in Geometry), completed 513 [1119] (?), Arabic, 327 {8}. [= VI.30]³⁶
 - 4.4a. Same as above, 331 {11–12}. [= VI.30]
 - 4.4b. Same as above,* 332 {12–14}. [= VI.30]
5. [Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ashraf Ḥusaynī Samarqandī, d. ca. 1310 (?)], *Matnu Ashkālī al-ta'sīsi fī al-handasati*,* (Text of Foundational Propositions in Geometry), Arabic, 332 {2–3}. EDITION: Gregg De Young, “The *Ashkāl al-Ta'sīs* of al-Samarqandī: A Translation and Study,” *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften* 14 (2001): 57–117. [= VI.25]³⁷
- 5.1. [Salāḥ al-Dīn Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd Qāḍī-zāda al-Rūmī, d. after ca. 1440 (?)], *Sharḥu Ashkālī al-ta'sīsi li-Qāḍī-zāda al-Rūmī fī al-handasati** (Commentary on Foundational Propositions by Qāḍī-zāda al-Rūmī on Geometry [composed ca. 1412 (?)]), Arabic, 332 {2–3}. EDITION: Muḥammad Suwaysī, ed., *Ashkāl al-ta'sīs lil-Samarqandī. Sharḥ Qāḍī Zādah al-Rūmī* (Tūnis: al-Dār al-Tūnisīyah lil-Nashr, Bayt al-Ḥikmah, 1984. [= VI.25]³⁸
 - 5.1a. Same as above,* 327 {11–14}. [= VI.12]
- 5.2. Same as above, 329 {14}.
 - 5.2a. Same as above, 330 {18}.
 - 5.2b. Same as above,* 344 {3}. [= VI.41]
 - 5.2c. Same as above,* 332 {6–7}. [= VI.26]
- 5.3. [Quṭb al-Dīn Ḍelebī, d. after ca. 1474], *Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi Ashkāl al-ta'sīs li-Māwlanā marḥūmi Quṭb al-Dīn Ḍelebī -ṭāba tharāhu- li handasati* (Margin Commentary on *Ashkāl al-ta'sīs* by Our Late Master Quṭb al-Dīn Ḍelebī on Geometry), Arabic (?), 327 {17–18}.³⁹
6. [Abū al-Ḥasan] Thābit ibn Qurra [Ḥarrānī, d. ca. 901], *Risālatu Thābit ibn Qurra fī al-Shakli mulaqqabi bi-al-quṭā'i min Kitābi Majisṭī [li-Baṭlamyūs] fī al-hay'ati** (Treatise of Thābit ibn Qurra on the Figure Called Sector from the Book of Almagest [by Ptolemy]) on Astronomical Configurations, Arabic, 329 {18–19}. [= VI.17]
- 6.1. “*Sharḥu al-Shakli mulaqqabi bi-al-quṭā'i min Kitābi Majisṭī fī al-hay'ati*”* (Commentary on the Figure Called Sector from the Book of Almagest [by Ptolemy]) on Astronomical Configuration), Arabic, 329 {17–18}. [= VI.17]
7. “*Majmū'atun fihā Kutubu al-handasati*”* (A Collection Containing Books of Geometry), Arabic, 330 {12–13}. [= VI.27]
- 7.1. “*Majmu'a min Rasā'il fī al-handasati*”* (A Collection of Treatises on Geometry), Arabic, 332 {8–9}. [= VI.27.1]
8. “*Majmū'atun min al-Mutawassīṭāti wa-ghayrihā min qibali al-handasati wa-al-hay'ati*”* (A Collection of Intermediate [Work]s and Other [Subject]s Pertaining to Geometry and Astronomical Configuration), Arabic, 331 {2–3}. [= III.6, VI.23]
- 8.1. “*Majmū'atun min al-Mutawassīṭāti wa-ghayrihā min al-handasiyyāti*”* (A Collection of Intermediate [Work]s and Others from Geometrical [Subject]s), Arabic, 331 {17}. [= VI.23.1]
- 8.2. “*Majmū'atun fihā Kitābu Uqlīdis wa-al-Mutawassīṭāti wa-al-handasiyyāti*”* (A Collection Containing the Book of Euclid, Intermediate [Work]s and Geometri[cal Subject]s), Arabic, 331 {17–18}. [= VI.24]
9. “*Majmū'atun min Kutub al-hay'ati wa-al-handasati awwaluhā Kitābu Ablūniyūs*”* [*fī al-Makhrūṭāti*] (A Collection of Books on Astronomical Configuration and Geometry, Starting with the Book of Apollonius [on Conics]), Arabic, 331 {10–11}. [= VI.20]

10. [Abū Sahl Vījan ibn Rustam Kūhī, d. ca. 1014/15 (?)], *Risālatu al-Barkāri al-tāmmi min qibali al-handasati** (Treatise on the Complete Compass Pertaining to Geometry), Arabic, 331 {14–15}. [= VI.21, VII.2] EDITION: Franz Woepcke, “Trois traités arabes sur le compas parfait,” *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale* 22, no. 1 (1874): 145–75.⁴⁰
11. Abū al-Faṭḥ [Maḥmūd/Muḥammad ibn Qāsim Iṣfahānī], d. after ca. 1119/20 (?), *Majmū‘atun min Rasā’ili Abī al-Futūḥ* [Maḥmūd/Muḥammad ibn Qāsim Iṣfahānī] *awwaluhā fi al-shakli al-rābi‘i fi al-manṭiqi, wa-al-bāqiyatu fi al-handasiyyati** (A Collection of Treatises by Abu al-Futuh Starting with the Fourth Proposition in Logic, and the Rest on Geometri[cal Subjects]), Arabic, 331 {15–16}. [= VI.22] On the author, see II. 4.4 above.

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH RATIONAL PHILOSOPHY (*Hikmat al-falsafīyya*): 348–63]

12. [Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Abdallāh] Ibn Sīnā, d. ca. 1037, *Al-Fannu al-awwalu fi al-handasati, wa-al-Fannu al-thānī fi al-hay’ati, min riṣāḍiyyāti Kitāb al-Shifā’ li-Ibn Sīnā fi al-falsafīyyati** (The First Part on Geometry, and the Second Part on Astronomical Configuration, from the Mathematics [Section] of the Book of Healing of Ibn Sina on Philosophy[ical Sciences]), Arabic, 351 {11–12}. [= V.7; VI.42] EDITION: *Al-Shifā’. Al-Riṣāḍiyyāt*, ed. Ibrāhīm Bayyūmī Madkūr, Muḥammad Riḍā Mudawwar, and Imām Ibrāhīm Aḥmad (Cairo: al-Hay’ah al-Miṣriyya al-‘Āmma li-l-Kitāb, 1975–80), 1: *Handasa*, 2: *Ḥisāb*; 3: *Musīqī*, 4: *Hay’a*.⁴¹

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH NON-SCIENTIFIC BOOKS: 18–298]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH BOOKS OF EXEGESIS (*Kutubi al-tafāsīri*): 18–30]

13. “*Risālatun fi al-handasati ...wa-Risālatun fi al-tafāsīri*”* (A Treatise on Geometry...and Treatise in Exegesis), Arabic (?), 27 {1–2}. [= VI.46]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH BOOKS ON THE SCIENCE OF MAGIC SQUARES] (*Kutub... ‘ilmi al-wafqī*): 45–55]

14. “*Kitābun fi al-handasati wa-Risālatāni fi al-wafqī*”* (A Book on Geometry and Two Treatises on Magic Squares [in the same volume]), Arabic (?), 51 {14–15}. [= VI.47]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH BOOKS ON THE SCIENCE OF THEOLOGY (*‘ilm al-kalām*): 56/57–68]

15. [Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ashraf Ḥusaynī Samarqandī, d. 1302 (?)], *Risālatu Ashkāli al-ta’sīsi fi al-handasati** (Treatise on Foundational Propositions in Geometry), Arabic, 64 {11–12}. [= VI.48]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH BOOKS ON MEDICINE (*Kutub al-ṭibbiyyati*): 151–202]

16. [Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ashraf Ḥusaynī Samarqandī, d. 1302], *Risālatu ashkāli al-ta’sīsi fi al-handasati** (Treatise on Foundational Propositions in Geometry), Arabic, 166 {13}. [= VI.54] On the author, see II. 5 above.
17. “*Risālatu istikhrāji khaṭṭayni ‘alā mas’alati al-handasati li-taḍ‘ifi al-madhbahī li-dafi al-wabā’i min qibali al-ṭibbi*”* (Treatise of Drawing Two Lines on a Geometrical Problem for Weakening Slaughter in Repelling the Plague Pertaining to Medicine), Arabic, 167 {2–3}.

PART III. OPTICS (*Manāẓir*/*ʿIlm al-manāẓir*)[UNDER/COMBINED WITH RATIONAL PHILOSOPHY (*Ḥikmat al-falsafīyya*): 348–63]

1. [Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan] Ibn al-Haytham, d. after ca. 1040/41, *Kitābu [I]bn al-Haytham fi al-Manāẓiri min qibali al-ḥikmatī* (Book of Ibn al-Haytham on Optics Pertaining to Philosophy) [ca. 1027/28–38], Arabic, 359 {7}. MANUSCRIPTS: Books I–III: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (SK), Fatih 3212-14, 476 (1083). Books IV–V: SK, Fatih 3215, 636 (1239). Book VI: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi (TSMK) A. 3339, 476/1084. Book VII: SK, Fatih 3216, 476 (1084). Books I–VII: SK, Ayasofya 2448, 869 (1464/65). Books I–III: TSMK, A. 1899, 915 (1509). EDITION: Abdelhamid I. Sabra, *Kitāb al-Manāẓir*. Books I–III (Kuwait: The National Council for Culture, Arts, and Letters, 1983); Books IV–V (Kuwait: The National Council for Culture, Arts, and Letters, 2002). TRANSLATION: A. I. Sabra, *The Optics of Ibn al-Haytham, Books I-III: On Direct Vision* (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1989), 2 vols.; Books IV–V, forthcoming. On the author, see II.4.1 above.⁴²
- 1.1. [Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan] Ibn al-Haytham, d. after ca. 1040/41, *Kitābu [I]bn al-Haytham fi al-Manāẓiri min qibali al-ḥikmatī fi sitti mujalladātin* (Book of Ibn al-Haytham on Optics Pertaining to Philosophy in Six Volumes) [ca. 1027/28–38], Arabic, 359 {7–8}. On the author, manuscripts, editions, and translations of books I–VII, see note III.1 above.
2. [Ḥasan ibn Ḥasan Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī, d. ca. 1318/19], *[Kitābu] Tanqīhi al-Manāẓiri* ([Book of] Revision of [Ibn al-Haytham's] Optics [ca. 1304], Arabic, 359 {8}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK, A. 3340, 204 fols., Nīshapūr, 15 Shaʿban 716 [1316] (A. I. Sabra, 1989, lxxii, n. 115); SK, Ayasofya 2598, 317 fols., 8 Dhu'l-Hijja 1079 [1669] (Krause, 1936, 508, cited in lxxii, n. 115); Tehran Majlis Library 62451, 265 fols. 23 Rabiʿ II 1096 [1685] (A. I. Sabra, 1989, vol. 2, lxxii, n. 115); Tehran Milli Library 327, 1064 (wrongly catalogued as the *Optics* of Ibn al-Haytham); Tehran Milli Library 2701, undated. EDITIONS: *Kitāb Tanqīh al-Manāẓir li-dhaw' al-ibṣār wa-al-baṣā'ir*, 2 vols. (Hyderabad: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1928–30); *Kitāb Tanqīh al-Manāẓir li-dhaw' al-ibṣār wa-al-baṣā'ir*, part I, ed. M. Ḥijāzī and M. Mukhtār (Cairo: al-Hayʾa al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma lil-Kitāb, 1404 [1984]). On the author, see I.11.1.⁴³
- 2.1. [Ḥasan ibn Ḥasan Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī, d. ca. 1318/19], *Kitābu Tanqīhi al-manāẓiri min qibali al-ḥikmatī* ([Book of] Revision of [Ibn al-Haytham's] Optics Pertaining to Philosophy, Arabic, 359 {9–10}. On the author, manuscripts, and editions, see note III.2 above.
3. [Ḥasan ibn Ḥasan Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī, d. ca. 1318/19], *Kitābu al-Baṣā'iri fi ʿilmi al-manāẓiri fi al-ḥikmatī* (Book of Insights on the Science of Optics In[volving] Philosophy), ca. 1309, Arabic, 360 {19}. MANUSCRIPTS: Tehran Muṭahharī/Sipahsālār 554, 80 fols., 731H, copied by Ḥusayn ibn Ḥasan Shāhanshāh Simnānī, colophon has the year of Fārisī's death as 718H; SK, Ayasofya 2451, 837H; Tehran Muṭahharī/Sipahsālār 2911/27, 1092H; SK, Esʿad Efendi 2006, undated; Mashhad Āstān Quds 5434, undated. See Elaheh Kheirandish, *The Arabic Version of Euclid's Optics: Kitāb Uqlidis fi Ikhtilāf al-manāẓir*, Sources in the History of Mathematics and Physical Sciences 16, 2 vols. (New York: Springer, 1999), 1:xlix–l. EDITION: Maryam Farahmand, *Kitāb al-Baṣā'ir fi ʿilm al-manāẓir* (master's thesis, Tehran University, 2009). On the author, see I.11.1; III.2–2.1.
4. *“Risālatu al-Manāẓiri min qibali al-ḥikmatī”* (Treatise on Optics Pertaining to Philosophy), Arabic (?), 362 {1–2}.⁴⁴
5. [Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd] Qāḍī-zāda Rūmī (?), d. after ca. 1440], *Risālatu Qaws-i quzaḥ wa-al-hālātī li-Qāḍī-zāda al-Rūmī fi al-ḥikmatī* (Treatise on the Rainbow and Halo by Qāḍī-zāda Rūmī in Philosophy), Arabic, 361 {19}–362 {1}. On the author, see II. 5.1 above.⁴⁵

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH SCIENCE OF ASTRONOMY (*ʿIlm al-nujūm/hayʿa*): 325–32]

6. *Majmūʿatun min al-Mutawassīṭāti, wa-ghayrihā min qibali al-handasati wa-al-hayʿati** (A Collection of Intermediate [Work]s, and Other [Subject]s Pertaining to Geometry and Astronomical Configuration), Arabic, 331 {2–3}. [= II.8, VI.23]
- 6.1 *Majmūʿatun min al-Mutawassīṭāti, wa-ghayrihā fī al-handasiyyāti** (A Collection of Intermediate [Work]s, and Other Geometrical [Subject]s), Arabic, 331 {17}. [= II.8.1, VI.23.1]
- 6.2 *Majmūʿatun fihā Kitābu Uqlidis, wa-al-Mutawassīṭātu fī al-handasiyyāti** (A Collection Containing the Book of Euclid and Intermediate [Work]s, among Them Geometri[cal Subject]s), Arabic, 331 {17–19}. [= II.8.2, VI.24]
7. *“Risālatun fī al-ʿamal bi-al-basīṭati al-ḥilliyyati fī al-nujūmi”* (A Treatise on Constructing with a Shadowed Plane in Astronomy), Arabic (?), 324 {2}.

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH BOOKS ON MECHANICS (*Kutub al-ḥiyāl*): 310]

8. *“Kitābu al-Marāyā al-muḥriqati”* (Book on Burning Mirrors), Arabic (?), 310 {16–17}.

MANĀẒIR (ASPECTS) IN NON-OPTICAL CONTEXTS [UNDER/COMBINED WITH DĪWĀNS IN ARABIC (*Dawāwīni al-ʿarabiyyati*): 203–28]

9. *“Kitābu manāẓiri al-inshāʾi li-Khaw[ā]ja-i Jahān”* (Book on Aspects of Literary Composition from the *Khawāja* of the World), Arabic, 220 {17}.
10. *“Risālatu al-muʿammā al-mawsūmatu bi-al-Manāẓiri”* (Treatise on a Puzzle Called Aspects), Arabic, 225 {10}.
 - 10a. Same as above, Arabic, 225 {11}.
11. *“Kitābu al-manāẓiri fī al-muʿammā”* (Book of Aspects on Puzzle[s]), Arabic (?), 225 {19}.

PART IV. MECHANICS (*Ḥiyāl / Kutub al-ḥiyāl*)

1. *“Risālatu Badāʾiʿi al-ʿamali fī ṣanāʾiʿi al-ḥiyālī”* (Treatise on Innovative Constructions in Arts/Crafts of [Mechanical] Devices), Arabic (?), 310 {3}.
 - 1a. Same as above, 310 {15}.
2. [Qusṭā ibn Lūqā al-Baʿlabakkī, d. ca. 912/13]. *Kitābu Īrun fī Ḥiyālī Rafʿi al-ashyāʾi al-thaqīla** (The Book of Heron [of Alexandria] on the [Mechanical] Devices for the Lifting of Heavy Objects), Arabic, 310 {4–5}. [= VI.44] MANUSCRIPT: SK Ayasofa 2755. EDITION AND TRANSLATION: L. Nix and W. Schmidt, eds. and trans., *Heron von Alexandria Mechanik und Katoptrik* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1900); B. Carra de Vaux, *Heron D’Alexandre: Les Mekaniques ou L’Elevateur des Corps Lourds* (Paris: Les Belle Lettres), 1988.⁴⁶
- 2.1 [Qusṭā ibn Lūqā al-Baʿlabakkī, d. ca. 912/13], *Thal[ā]thu maqālātīn min Kitābi Īrun fī Rafʿi al-ashyāʾi al-thaqīla** (Three Books from the Work of Heron [of Alexandria] on the Lifting of Heavy Objects), Arabic, 310 {6–7}. On the author, manuscript, editions, and translations, see IV.2 above. [= VI.45]
3. *“Rasāʾilu ukhrā fī ʾajāʾibi al-ṣanāʾiʿi ālāti al-mā”** (Other Treatises on the Wonders of the Arts/Crafts of Water Instruments), Arabic, 310 {4–5}. [= VI.44]
4. *“Madkhalu Babūs fī al-ḥiyālī ka-jarri al-athqālī”* (Introduction of Pappus [of Alexandria] on [Mechanical] Devices for Lifting Weights), Arabic, 310 {5}. EDITION: D. E. P. Jackson, “The Arabic Version of the Mathematical Collection of Pappus Alexandrinus, Book VIII” (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1970): includes manuscripts. [= VI.39]
 - 4a. Same as above, 310 {6}. [= VI.39]
 - 4b. Same as above, 335 {4}. [= VI.39]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH THE SCIENCE OF ARITHMETIC (*ʿilm al-ḥisāb*)]

4c. Same as above, * 335 {4}. [= VI.39]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH BOOKS ON (MECHANICAL) DEVICES (*Kutub al-ḥiyāl*), continued]

5. “*Risālatu al-Dawāʾiri al-mutaḥarrikati min dhawātihā*”* (Treatise on Self-Moving Circles/Circular [Entitles]), Arabic, 310 {8}. [= VI.45]
6. “*Risālatu ʿAmali al-sāʿāti allatī tarmī bi-al-banādīq*”* (Treatise on the Construction of Clocks Driven by Balls), Arabic, 310 {8–9}. [= VI.45]
7. [Badīʿ al-Zamān Abū al-ʿIzz ibn Ismāʿīl ibn al-Razzāz al-Jazarī, fl. ca. 1200], *Kitābun muṣawwarun li-l-Raʾīs al-Jazarī fī al-ṣanāʾiyi al-ʿajibati wa-al-ḥiyāl* (An Illustrated Book of Master al-Jazarī on Wondrous and Mechanical Arts/Crafts), Arabic, 310 {11–13}. EDITION: Aḥmad Yūsuf al-Ḥasan, *Al-Jāmiʿ bayn al-ʿilm wa-al-ʿamal al-nāfi fī ṣināʿat al-ḥiyāl* [=A Compendium of Theory and Practice in the Mechanical Arts] (Aleppo: Maʿhad al-Turāth al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī, Jāmiʿat Ḥalab, 1979). TRANSLATION: Donald R. Hill, *The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices* = *Fī maʿrifat al-ḥiyāl al-handasiyya* (Dordrecht: Reidel, 1974).⁴⁷

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH BOOKS ON MEDICINE (*Kutub al-ṭibbiyyati*): 151–202]

- 7.1. [Badīʿ al-Zamān Abū al-ʿIzz ibn Ismāʿīl ibn al-Razzāz al-Jazarī, fl. ca. 1200], *Kitābu Abī al-ʿIzz al-Jazarī fī al-umūri al-ʿajibati wa-al-ḥiyāl* (Book of Abū al-ʿIzz Jazarī on Matters of Wonder and [Mechanical] Devices), Arabic, 201 {16}. On the author and text, see IV.7 above.

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH BOOKS ON (MECHANICAL) DEVICES (*Kutub al-ḥiyāl*), continued]

8. “*Kitābun fī al-ḥiyāl wa-al-umūri al-ʿajibati fī ʿamali ālāti al-mā*” (A Book on [Mechanical] Devices and Wondrous Matters on Constructing Water Instruments), Arabic, 310 {12–13}.
9. “*Kitābu Bayāni ṣanāʿāti [ay al-ʿajibati]*” (Book on the Explanation of Arts/Crafts [or Wonders]), Arabic (?), 310 {13}.
 - 9a. Same as above, 310 {14–15}.
10. “*Kitābu Filun fī al-ḥiyāl al-ʿajibati fī ʿamali ālāti al-mā*” (Book of Philon [of Byzantium] on Wondrous [Mechanical] Devices for Constructing Water Instruments), Arabic, 310 {14}.

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH BOOKS ON WONDROUS CRAFTS (*Kutubi al-ṣināʿāti al-ʿajibati*): 307–11]

11. “*ʿUyūnu al-ḥaqāʾiqi fī ṣanāʾi al-ḥiyāl al-ʿajibati*”* (Truthful Visions on the Craft of Wondrous [Mechanical] Devices), Arabic (?), 307 {3–4}. [= VI.60]
12. “*Zahru al-basātīni fī al-ḥiyāl wa-al-ṣanāʾi al-ʿajibati fī khawāṣṣi al-aḥjāri wa-al-ashjārī*”* (Bloom of Gardens on [Mechanical] Devices and Wondrous Crafts on Qualities of Stones and Trees), Arabic (?), 307 {8–9}. [= VI.61]
13. “*Mukhtaṣaru ʿUyūni al-ḥaqāʾiqi fī al-aʿmāl al-ʿajibati wa-al-ḥiyāl min qibali ʿilmi al-sīmiyāʾi*”* (Abridgement of Truthful Visions on Wondrous Constructions and [Mechanical] Devices Pertaining to the Science of Natural Magic), Arabic, 309 {9}.

TERM *ḤIYAL* (DEVICES) IN NON-MECHANICAL CONTEXTS

14. “*Kitābu al-tadhkirati al-h[a]rawiyyati fī al-ḥiyāl al-ḥarbiyyati <min qibali al-tawārīkhi>*” (Book on Harawī’s Memorial on War Devices <Pertaining to History>), Arabic, 196 {5}.
15. “*Kitābu luṭfi al-tadbīri fī ḥiyāl al-mulūki fī umūri al-salṭanati*” (Book of the Delicate Plan on the Devices of Kings in Matters of Rule), Arabic (?), 197 {14}.

PART V. MATHEMATICS (*Riyāḍiyya/al-Riyāḍiyyāt*)[UNDER/COMBINED WITH SCIENCE OF ASTRONOMY (*ʿIlm al-nujūm/hayʿa*): 313–37]

1. *Kitābu Ikhwāni al-ṣafāʾ* [ʿi] fī funūni al-ʿulūmi ka-al-riyāḍiyyati mithla ʿilm al-ʿadadi wa-al-handasati wa-al-nujūmi wa-ghayrihā* (Book of Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ on the Crafts/Arts of Sciences like Mathematics, such as the Science of Numbers and Geometry and Astronomy and Other [Subject]s), Arabic, 319 {9–11}. EDITION AND TRANSLATION: Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, *Rasāʾil: On Arithmetic and Geometry. An Arabic Critical Edition and English Translation of Epistles 1–2*, ed. and trans. Nader El-Bizri (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
 - 1a. Same as above, 319 {11–12}.
 - 1a. Same as above, 319 {12–14}.
2. *Kitābu Ikhwāni al-ṣafāʾ* [ʿi] fī thal[ā]tha mujalladātin (Book of Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ in three volumes), Arabic, 319 {14}.
3. *ʿJāmiʿu al-qismayni min al-riyāḍi wa-al-ṭabīʿi fī al-nujūmi wa-al-ṭibbī* (Compendium of Parts of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy on Astronomy and Medicine), Arabic (?), 319 {16–17}.
4. *ʿMujalladun awwalu min tarjamati Kitābi Ikhwāni al-ṣafāʾ i bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-riyāḍiyyati wa-ghayrihā** (A Volume on the First Part of the Translation of the Book of Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ on Mathematics in Persian and Other [Subject]s), Persian (?), 324 {2–4}. [= VI.7]
5. *ʿMujalladun min Kitābi Ikhwāni al-ṣafāʾ i fī al-riyāḍiyyati, wa-ghayrihā* (A Volume from the Book of Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ on Mathematics and Other [Subject]s), Arabic, 324 {4–5}. [= VI.8]
6. *ʿKitābu al-ḥawāshī fī al-ʿilmi al-riyāḍi* (Book of Margins on the Science of Mathematics), Arabic?, 324 {12}.

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH RATIONAL PHILOSOPHY (*Ḥikmat al-falsafīyya*): 348–63]

7. [Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbdallāh] Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Fannu al-awwalu fī al-handasati wa-al-fannu al-thānī fī al-hayʿati min riyaḍiyyati Kitābi al-Shifāʾ li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-falsafīyyati** (First Craft/Art of Geometry, Second Craft/Art of Astronomical Configuration from the Mathematics Section] of *Kitāb al-Shifāʾ* of Ibn Sīnā in Philosophi[cal Sciences]), Arabic, 351 {11–12}. [= II.12, VI.42] On the author, see II. 12.
- 7.1 [Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbdallāh] Ibn Sīnā, *Riyāḍiyyātu Kitābin li-Ibn Sīnā* (Mathematic[al section] of the Book [of *al-Shifāʾ*] by Ibn Sīnā), Arabic, 355 {16–17}. On the author, see II. 12.

PART VI. COLLECTIONS (*Majmūʿa / Mujallad*)[UNDER/COMBINED WITH SCIENCE OF ASTRONOMY (*ʿIlm al-nujūm/hayʿa*): 313–37]

1. *Risālatu [al-]Kāfiyyati fī al-ḥisābi wa-Risālatu Si faṣl bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-nujūm** (Sufficient Treatise on Arithmetic, and Treatise of Thirty Chapters in Persian on Astronomy), Arabic (?), 316 {11–12}. [= I.16.2, 16.2a]
2. *Majmūʿatu Rasāʾili Ibn al-Haytham baʿḍuhā fī samti al-qiblati wa-baʿḍuhā fī khaṭṭi niṣf al-nahāri wa-baʿḍuhā fī irtifāʿi al-quṭbi min qibali al-nujūmi** (Collection of Treatises by Ibn al-Haytham, Some on Direction of the Qibla, Some on the Line of Equator, Some on Height of Pole[s] Pertaining to Astronomy), Arabic, 320 {19}–321 {1}. [= VII.4]
3. *Risālatun fī al-ḥisābi, wa-Kitābu al-shajaratī wa-al-thamaratī fī aḥkāmī al-nujūmi** (A Treatise on Arithmetic, and the Book of Trees, and [Ptolemy's] *Tetrabiblos* (?)) on Principles of Astronomy), Arabic, 322 {11}. [= I.3]

4. *Risālatu Fattāḥi fī al-inshā'i, wa-Risālatu al-a'dādi bi-al-awḍā'i al-aṣābi'i, wa-Kitābu al-'amali bi-al-kurati fī al-nujūmi** (Treatise of the Conquerer in Composition, Treatise on [Counting] Numbers according to the Position of Fingers, and Book of Construction of Spheres in Astronomy), Arabic, 322 {16–17}. [= I.4]
5. *Risālatun fī al-hay'ati, wa-Risālatun fī al-darajī wa-al-daqa'i fī al-nujūm, wa-Risālatun al-ḥisābi** (A Treatise on Astronomical Configuration, a Treatise on Degrees and Minutes, in Astronomy, and a Treatise on Arithmetic), Arabic, 323 {9–11}. [= I.3.1]
6. *Kitābu al-mi'ati wa-al-'ishrīna fī ḥisābi al-darbi min qibali al-nujūmi wa-Risālatun 'alā ṭarīqi al-su'ālī wa-al-jawābi fī al-nujūmi, wa-Rasā'ilu ukhrā** (Book of a Hundred and Twenty [Items] in Multiplication Arithmetic Pertaining to Astronomy, and a Treatise according to the Method of Question and Answer on Astronomy, and Other Treatises), Arabic, 323 {14–15}. [= I.1, I.1a]
7. *Mujalladun awwalu min tarjamati Kitābi Ikhwāni al-ṣafā'i bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-riyādiyyāti wa-ghayrihā** (First Volume on the Translation of the Book of Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' on Mathematics in Persian and Other [Subject]s), Persian, 324 {2–4}. [= V.4]
8. *Mujalladun min Kitābi Ikhwāni al-ṣafā'i fī al-riyādiyyāti wa-ghayrihā** (A Volume from the Book of Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' on Mathematics and Other [Subject]s), Arabic, 324 {4–5}. [= V.5]
9. *Majmū'atun min Rasā'ila awwaluhā Risālatun 'Alā'iyyatun fī al-ḥisābi, wa-thāniyatuhā Risālatu al-muzhirāti fī al-'amali bi-al-muqanṭarāti, wa-thālithatuhā Risālatu khashfi al-raybi fī al-'amali bi-al-jaybi** (A Collection of Treatises, First, 'Alā'iyya Treatise on Arithmetic, and Second, Treatise on the...Construction of Quadrants (?), and Third, Treatise on the Lifting of Doubt in the Constructions with the Sinus [Functions]), Arabic, 324 {8–10}. [= I.5, I.5a]
10. *Risālatu al-'amali bi-al-kurati al-falakiyyati min qibali nujūm, wa-Kitābu da'āwa Uqlidis min qibali handasati** (Treatise on the Construction of Heavenly Spheres Pertaining to Astronomy, and Book of Definitions of Euclid Pertaining to Geometry), Arabic, 324 {10–11}. [= I.1.2]
11. *Kitābun fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābi, wa-Sharḥu al-Tadhkirati fī 'ilmi al-hay'ati** (A Book on the Science of Arithmetic, and Commentary on the Memoir on Astronomy [by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī]), Arabic, 325 {16–17}. [= I.6]
12. *Risālatu Mawlānā ['Alī] Qūshjī bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-hay'ati wa-Risālatun fārisiyyatun fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābi wa-Sharḥu Ashkāli al-ta'sisi li-Qāḍī-zāda al-Rūmī li handasati* (A Treatise in Persian on Astronomical Configuration by Mawlānā ['Alī] al-Qūshjī, and a Treatise in Persian in the Science of Arithmetic, and Commentary on Foundational Propositions in Geometry by Qāḍī-zāda al-Rūmī), Persian, 327 {11–14}. [= II.5.1, II.5.1a]
13. *Kitābu [Tahrīr] Uqlidis li-l-Naṣīr [al-Dīn] al-Ṭūsī fī al-handasati wa-Sharḥu al-maqālati 'ashirati min Kitābi Uqlidis li-l-Ahwāzī fī al-handasati wa-Risālatun fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābi** (Book of [the Recension of] Euclid on Geometry by Naṣīr [al-Dīn] al-Ṭūsī, and Commentary on the Tenth Book of Euclid on [the Elements of] Geometry by Ahwāzī, and a Treatise on the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic, 327 {14–16}. [= I. 6.1; II.1.3, 1.3d]
14. *Sharḥu Kitābi al-Chaghminī li-Qāḍī-zāda al-Rūmī fī al-hay'ati, wa-Risālatu al-'ishqi bi-al-fārisiyyati, wa-al-Risālatu al-Shamsiyyatu fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābi** (Commentary on the Book of Chaghminī on Astronomical Configuration by Qāḍī-zāda al-Rūmī, and Treatise on Love in Persian, and Shamsiyya Treatise on the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic, 328 {13–15}. [= I.7, VI.26]
15. *Kitābu al-Tajridi fī 'usūli al-handasati, wa-Kitābu Uqlidis [fī al-handasati], wa-Kitābu al-Kifāyati fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābi** (Book of the Abstract on Foundations of Geometry, and Book of Euclid [on Geometry], and Adequate Book on the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic, 328 {19}–329 {1}. [= I.8; II.1, 1a, 1.1]

16. *Thulthu jumalin min Kitābi Durrati al-tāji fī al-mantiqi wa-al-falsafati, wa-Tarjumatu Kitābi Uqlidis min Kitābi Durrati al-tāji fī al-handasati** (Three Parts from the Book of the Pearl of the Crown [by Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī] on Logic and Philosophy, and Translation of the Book of Euclid on the Book of Pearl of the Crown in Geometry), Persian, 329 {3–5}. [= II.1.7]
17. *Kitābu Thābit ibn Qurra fī al-nisbati mu'allafati wa-Sharḥu al-Shakli mulaqqabi bi-al-quṭā' min Kitābi Majisṭi fī al-hay'ati wa-Risālatu Thābit ibn Qurra fī al-Shakli mulaqqabi bi-al-quṭā' min Kitābi Majisṭi fī al-hay'ati** (Book of Thābit ibn Qurra on the Composition of Ratios, and Commentary on the Figure Called Sector from the Book of Almagest [by Ptolemy] on Astronomical Configuration, and Treatise of Thābit ibn Qurra on the Figure Called Sector from the Book of Almagest [by Ptolemy] on Astronomical Configuration), Arabic, 329 {17–19}–330 {1}. [= I.9, II.6.1]
18. *Kitābu [Taḥrīr] Uqlidis li-l-Naṣīr [al-Dīn] al-Ṭūsī fī al-handasati wa-Rasā'ilu muta'alliqatun bi-ba'di mawāḍi'i Kitābi Uqlidis fī al-handasati** (A Book of [the Recension of] Euclid on Geometry by Naṣīr [al-Dīn] al-Ṭūsī, and Treatises Belonging to Parts of the Book of Euclid on Geometry), Arabic, 330 {5–7} [= II. 1.3a–h, 1.5]
19. *Majmū'a fihā Kitābu [Taḥrīr] Uqlidis li-l-Naṣīr [al-Dīn] al-Ṭūsī fī al-handasati, wa-rasā'il ukhrā fī al-handasati ghayrihā** (A Collection Containing a Book of [the Recension of] Euclid by Naṣīr [al-Dīn] al-Ṭūsī on Geometry, and Other Treatises on Geometry), Arabic, 331 {9–10}. [= II.1.3a–h, 1.4]
20. *Majmū'atun min Kutubi al-hay'ati wa-al-handasati awwaluhā Kitābu Ablūniyūs [fī al-Makhrūṭātī]** (A Collection of Books on Astronomical Configuration and Geometry Starting with the Book of Apollonius [on *Conics*]), Arabic, 331 {10–11}. [= II.4.3, 9]
21. *Risālatun fī al-Tashwīqi ilā al-ḥayāti al-dā'imati, wa-Risālatu al-Barkāri al-tāmmi min qibali al-handasati** (A Treatise on Encouraging Permanent Life, and Treatise on the Complete Compass Pertaining to Geometry), Arabic, 331 {14–15}. [= II.10, VII.2]
22. *Majmū'atun min Rasā'il Abī al-Futūḥ awwaluhā fī al-shakli al-rābi'i fī al-mantiqi, wa-al-bāqiyatu fī al-handasiyyati** (A Collection of Treatises by Abū al-Futūḥ Starting with the Fourth Proposition in Logic, and the Rest on Geometri[cal Subjects]), Arabic, 331 {15–16}. [= II.11]
23. *Majmū'atun min al-Mutawassitāt wa-ghayrihā min al-handasati wa-al-hay'ati** (A Collection of Intermediate [Work]s and Other [Subject]s in Geometry and Astronomical Configuration), Arabic, 331 {2–3}. [= II.8, III.6]
- 23.1 *Majmū'atun min al-Mutawassitāt wa-ghayrihā min al-handasiyyati** (A Collection of Intermediate [Work]s and Others on Geometri[cal Subject]s, Arabic, 331 {17}. [= II.8.1, III.6.1]
24. *Majmū'atun fihā Kitābu Uqlidis, wa-al-Mutawassitāt fihā al-handasiyyati, wa-Kitābu Taḥrīri al-Majisṭi fī al-hay'ati, wa-al-Tadhkiratu fī al-hay'ati** (A Collection Containing the Book of Euclid, and Intermediate [Work]s, Including Geometri[cal Subject]s, and the Book of the Recension of the Almagest on Astronomical Configuration, and a Memoir on Astronomical Configuration), Arabic, 331 {17–19}. [= II.8.2, III.6.2]
25. *Matnu Ashkāli al-ta'sīsi fī al-handasati, wa-sharḥu Ashkāli al-ta'sīsi li-Qāḍi-zāda al-Rūmī fī al-handasati, wa-matni al-ḥikmati al-hidāyati** (Text of Foundational Propositions on Geometry, and Commentary on Foundational Propositions by Qāḍi-zāda al-Rūmī on Geometry, and Text of the Guiding Wisdom), Arabic, 332 {2–3}. [= II.5, 5.1]
26. *Sharḥu Ashkāli al-ta'sīsi fī al-handasati, wa-Sharḥu al-Chaghmīnī li-Qāḍi-zāda al-Rūmī fī al-hay'ati** (Commentary on Foundational Propositions on Geometry, and Commentary on Chaghmīnī's Astronomical Configuration by Qāḍi-zāda al-Rūmī), Arabic, 332 {6–7}. [= II.5, 5.1, VI.14]

27. *Majmu'atun min Rasā'ili fī al-handasati wa-al-hay'ati wa-ghayrihā** (A Collection of Treatises on Geometry, and Astronomical Configurations, and Other [Subject]s), Arabic, 330 {12–13}. [= II.7.7.1]
- 27.1 *Majmu'atun min Rasā'ili fī al-handasati wa-ghayrihā** (A Collection of Treatises on Geometry, and Other [Subject]s), Arabic, 332 {8–9}. [= II.7.1]
28. *Majmū'atun min Rasā'ili Ibn al-Haytham wa-fihā Kitābu Ablūniyūs fī al-Makhrūṭāti fī al-handasati** (A Collection of Treatises by Ibn al-Haytham Including the Book of Apollonius on *Conics* in Geometry), Arabic, 332 {10–11}. [= II.4.1]
29. *Risālatun Fathīyyatun fī 'ilmi al-hay'ati, wa-Risālatun Muḥammadiyyatun fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābi** (The Conqueror Treatise on the Science of Astronomical Configurations, and a Treatise on the Science of Arithmetic Dedicated to Mehmed [II]), Arabic, 332 {11–12}. [= I.10, I.10.1; VI.52]
30. *Talkhīsu al-Makhrūṭāti fī al-handasati, wa-Risālatu al-ḥisābi, wa-Kitābu Mi'yāri al-ash'ari wa-Kitābu zubdati al-hay'ati, wa-rāsā'ilu ukhrā** (Book of Summary of the *Conics* in Geometry, and Treatise on Arithmetic, and Book of Meters of Poetry, and Book of Select Astronomical Configurations, and Other Treatises, Arabic, 332 {12–14}. [= I.3.2, II.4.4–4.4b]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH SCIENCE OF ARITHMETIC (*Ilm al-ḥisāb*): 333–35]

31. *Risālatun fārisīyyatun fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābi wa-Kitābu Ghunyat al-ḥussābi fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābi** (A Persian Treatise on the Science of Arithmetic, and the Book of the Calculator's Set-Square on the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic, 333 {9–10}. [= I.12, 13]
32. *Kitābu al-Kāfi fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābi wa-Sharḥu [Kitāb] al-Kāfi fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābi** (Sufficient Book on the Science of Arithmetic, and Commentary on the Sufficient [Book] on the Science of Arithmetic), 333 {15–16}. [= I.16, 16.1]
33. *Risālatun fārisīyyatun fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābi wa-Tarjumatu [Kitāb] Khwāja Šafī al-Dīn bi-al-fārisīyyati fī 'ilmi al-musiqī** (A Persian Treatise on the Science of Arithmetic, and Persian Translation of Khwāja Šafī al-Dīn's [Book] on the Science of Music), Persian, 333 {18–19}. [= I.12, 12a–c]
34. *Risālatu aḡwibati Ibn Sīnā li-masā'ili Abī al-Rayḥān [Bīrūnī], wa-al-Risālatu al-'Alā'iyyatu fī al-masā'ili al-ḥisābiyyati** (Treatise of the Answers of Ibn Sina to Questions by Abū al-Rayḥān [Bīrūnī], and the 'Alā'iyya Treatise on Problems in Arithmetic), 334 {2–3}. [= I.5, 5a, 5.1]
35. *Al-Risālatu al-Shamsīyyatu fī al-ḥisābi, wa-Risālatu Kāfiyatun fī al-ḥisābi** (The *Shamsīyya* Treatise on Arithmetic, and Sufficient Treatise on Arithmetic), Arabic, 334 {5–6}. [= I.7, 7a–c, I.16.2, 16.2a]
36. *Kitābu Iḏāhi al-maḡāṣidi fī sharḥi al-Fawā'id al-bahā'iyyati fī 'ilm al-ḥisābi, wa-Sharḥu Maṭīqi al-maṭāli'i li-l-'Allāma** (Book of Clarification of the Aims of the Commentary on the Notable Uses of the Science of Arithmetic, and Commentary on Logic by the Knowledgeable 'Allama), Arabic, 334 {14–16}. [= I.11.2]
37. *Majmū'atun fihā Kitābu Jāmi'i uṣūli al-ḥisābi, wa-Kitābu 'Umdat al-kuttābi** (A Collection Containing the Book on the Principles of the Science of Arithmetic, and the Dependable Book of Secretaries), Arabic, 334 {16–17}. [= I.12.5]
38. *Mukhtaṣaru [Kitāb] al-Šalāḥi fī al-ḥisābi, wa-Sharḥu mukhtaṣari [Kitāb] al-Šalāḥi fī al-ḥisābi** (Abridgement of [the Book of] Šalāḥi on Arithmetic, and Commentary on the Abridgement of [the Book of] Šalāḥi on Arithmetic), Arabic, 334 {19}–335 {1}. [= I.14, 14.2, 14.2a]
39. *Madkhalu Bābūs fī al-ḥiyali ka-jarr al-athqālī, wa-Kitābu 'Umdat al-ḥussābi, wa-[Kitāb] Quṣṭāsi al-mu'adalati fī 'ilmi al-jabri wa-al-muqābalati** (Introduction of Pappus [of Alexandria] on [Mechanical] Devices for Lifting Weights, and the Dependable Book of Calculators, and Book of the Scale of Equation in the Science of Algebra and Balancing), Arabic, 335 {4–5}. [= I.26, I. 27, IV.4, 4a, 4b]

40. *Risālatun min qibali al-hay'ati, wa-Risālatu Najmi al-Millati wa-al-Dīni fī al-ḥisābi al-hawā'ī** (A Treatise Pertaining to Astronomical Configuration, and Treatise of Najm al-Milla wa-al-Dīn on Mental Arithmetic), Arabic, 335 {7–8}. [= I.30]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH BOOKS ON LOGIC (*Manṭiq*): 339–47]

41. *Kitāb Lawāmi'i al-asrāri fī sharḥi maṭālī'i al-anwāri fī al-manṭiqi wa-Sharḥu Ashkālī al-ta'sīsi fī al-handasati** (Book of Radiance of Secrets in the Commentary of Rises of Lights on Logic, and Commentary on Foundational Propositions [by Qāḍi-zāda al-Rūmī] on Geometry), Arabic, 344 {2–3}. [= I.5.2, II.15, 16, VI.26]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH RATIONAL PHILOSOPHY (*Ḥikmat al-falsafīyya*): 348–63]

42. *Al-Fannu al-awwalu fī al-handasati, wa-Al-Fannu al-thānī fī al-hay'ati min ri'yāḍiyyāti Kitābi al-Shifā'i li-Ibn Sinā fī al-falsafīyyāti** (First the Craft/Art of Geometry, and Second the Craft/Art of Astronomical Configuration from the Mathematics [Section] of the *Book of Healing* by Ibn Sinā on Philosophi[cal Sciences]), Arabic, 351 {11–12}. [= II.12, V.7]
43. *Sharḥu Ḥikmatī al-hidāyati li-Ibn Mubārak Shāh, wa-Risālatu al-Nizāmi fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābi, wa-rasā'ilī al-ukhrā** (Commentary on the Guiding Wisdom of Ibn Mubārak Shāh, and Treatise of al-Nizām on the Science of Arithmetic, and Other Treatises), Arabic, 358 {3–4}. [= I.22 (?), 31]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH BOOKS ON MECHANICS (*Kutub al-ḥiyāl*): 302–11]

44. *Kitābu Īrun fī al-Ḥiyālī Raf'i al-ashyā'i al-thaqīla, wa-Rasā'ilu ukhrā fī 'ajā'ibi al-ṣanā'i'i ālāti al-mā'ī** (The Book of Heron [of Alexandria] on the [Mechanical] Devices for Lifting Heavy Objects, and Other Treatises on Wonders of the Arts/Crafts of Water Instruments), Arabic, 310 {4–5}. [= IV.2, 2.1, 3]
45. *Majmū'atun fihā Thalāthu maqālātīn min Kitābi Īrun Fī Raf'i al-ashyā'i al-thaqīla, wa-fihā Risālatu al-Dawā'iri al-mutaḥarrikati min dhawātihā, wa-fihā Risālatu 'Amali al-sā'āti allatī tarmī bi-al-banādīqi, wa-fihā Risālatu Jadāwili al-tawārikh wa-ikhtiyārātī al-a'mālī bi-ḥasabi ittīṣālātī al-qamari, wa-fihā Kitābu Qirānātī wa-ittīṣālātī al-kawākibi** (A Collection Containing Three Books from the Work of Heron [of Alexandria] on the Lifting of Heavy Objects, and Treatise on Self-Moving Circles/Circular [Entities], and Treatise on the Construction of Clocks Driven by Balls, and Treatise of Tables for the Dates and Wills to Act according to the Connections of the Moon, and Book of Connections and Conjunctions of the Stars), Arabic, 310 {6–11}. [= VI.2, 5, 6]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH BOOKS ON NON-SCIENTIFIC SUBJECTS: 18–307]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH BOOKS OF EXEGESIS (*Kutubi al-tafsīri*): 18–30]

46. *Risālatun fī al-handasati, wa-Risālatu ṭālī'i Sulṭāni al-Salāṭin Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān bin Meḥemmed Khān-zīda naṣruḥu-wa-Risālatun fī al-tafsīri** (A Treatise on Geometry, and Treatise on the Horoscope of Sultan of Sultans, the Sultan Bayezid son of Mehmed Khan, may his victory increase, and a Treatise on Exegesis), Arabic (?), 27 {1–2}. [= II.13]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH BOOKS ON THE SCIENCE OF MAGIC SQUARES] (*Kutub... 'ilmi al-Wafqi*): 45–55]

47. *Kitābun fī al-handasati, wa-Risālatāni fī al-wafqi** (A Book on Geometry, and Two Treatises on Magic Squares), Arabic (?), 51 {14–15}. [= II.14]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH BOOKS ON THE SCIENCE OF THEOLOGY (*ʿIlm al-kalām*): 56/57–68]

48. *Kitāb al-maʿārif fī sharḥ al-ṣahāʾif fī ʿilmi al-kalāmi, wa-Risālatu ashkālī al-taʾsīsi fī al-handasati** (Book on the Science of Theology, and Treatise on Foundational Propositions in Geometry), Arabic, 64 {11–12}. [= II.15]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH BOOKS ON JURISPRUDENCE (*Kutub al-fiqh*): 73–101]

49. *Majmūʿatun fihā rasāʾil fī ʿilmi al-ḥisābi wa-ʿilmi al-wafq...sharḥi al-masāʾil min kitāb al-dawr fī al-fiqhi** (A Collection Containing Treatises on the Science of Arithmetic and Science of Magic Squares..., and Commentary on Recurring Problems in Jurisprudence), Arabic, 98 {19}–99 {1}. [= I.32]
50. *Kitābun fī ʿilmi al-farāʾidi, wa-Rasāʾilu fī al-ḥisābi** (A Book on the Science of Inheritance, and Treatise on Arithmetic), Arabic (?), 99 {15–16}. [= I.33]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH BOOKS ON SUFISM (*Kutubi al-taṣawwufi*): 105–51]

51. *Risālatu al-ḥisābi bi-ʿaqdi al-aṣbāʾi...wa-Risālatun fī sharḥi suʾālī...min qibali al-taṣawwufi** (Treatise on Arithmetic according to Finger-Reckoning...and a Treatise on Explanation of a Question...Pertaining to Sufism), Arabic, 118 {18–19}–119 {1–5}. [= I.34]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH BOOKS ON MEDICINE (*Kutub al-ṭibbiyyati*): 151–202]

52. *Risālatu al-Nisābūrī fī al-ṭibbi al-nabawī wa-Sharḥi Ḍāghūjī li-l-Fanārī, wa-Risālatun fathīyyatun li-Mawlānā ʿAlī al-Qūshjī fī al-hayʾati, wa-Risālatun Muḥammadīyyatun fī al-ḥisābi** (Treatise of Nisābūrī in Prophetic Medicine, and Commentary on *Isagoge* by al-Fanārī, and Conqueror's Treatise by Mawlānā ʿAlī al-Qūshjī on Astronomical Configuration, and a Treatise on Arithmetic dedicated to Mehmed [II]), Arabic, 151 {18–19}. [= I.10, I.10.1; VI. 29]
53. *Kitābu Jawāmiʿi al-ḥisābi fī ʿilmi al-ḥisābi, wa-Kitābun fī ʿilmi al-tashriḥi min qibali al-ṭibbi** (Book of Generalities of Calculation in the Science of Arithmetic, and Book on the Science of Dissection Pertaining to Medicine), Arabic (?), 160 {9–10}. [= I.35]
54. *Majmūʿatun min Rasāʾila awwaluhā mukhtaṣarun sharīfun fī Ṣināʾati al-ṭibbi, wa-thāniyatuhā Risālatu ashkālī al-taʾsīsi fī al-handasati** (A Collection, the First Treatise of Which Is an Esteemed Abridgement on the Craft of Medicine, and the Second the Treatise on Foundational Propositions in Geometry), Arabic, 166 {12–13}. [= II.16]

[UNDER POETRY COLLECTIONS (DĪWĀNS) IN ARABIC (*Dawāwīni al-ʿarabiyyati*): 203–28]

55. *Fī Ṣanāʾiʿi al-shiʿriyyati wa-Mukhtaṣarun fī qawāʾidi al-ḥisābi** (On Poetical Crafts and an Abridgement on Rules of Arithmetic), Arabic, 226 {6–7}. [= I.37]
56. *Majmūʿatun awwaluhā Tuḥfatu al-ṣudūr fī al-ḥisābi wa-awākhiruhā Rawḍatu al-faṣāḥati fī ṣanāʾiʿi al-badʿiyyati al-shiʿriyyati** (A Collection Beginning with Gift of Export in Arithmetic, and Ending with Garden of Eloquence in the Crafts of Innovative Poetry), Arabic, 228 {1–2}. [= I.37]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH THE SCIENCE OF CONJUGATION (*ʿIlmi al-ṣarfī wa-al-naḥwi*): 280–92]

57. *Kitābu Sharḥi risālatin fī ʿilmi al-ḥisābi, wa-Risālatu Kāshifati al-mushkilāti [Kitābu] al-ʿAlāʾiyyati, wa-Ḥāshiyati Kitāb al-Wāfiyati al-maʾrūfu bi-[al-Mutawassīti] fī al-naḥwi** (Book of Commentary on a Treatise on Arithmetic, and Treatise on the Discoveries of the Problems of al-ʿAlāʾiyya's Book], and Kitāb al-Wāfi known as Intermediate in Conjugation), Arabic (?), 285 {13–15}. [= I.38, 39]

58. *Kitābu tashīlī al-fawā'idī fī al-naḥwi, wa Risālatun fī bayān ṭuruq al-ḥadīth, wa al-Risālatu al-'Alā'iyyatu fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābi** (Book on Simplification of the Benefits of Conjugation, and a Treatise on Explanation of the Methods of Ḥadīth, and the Treatise *al-'Alā'iyya* on the Science of Arithmetic), Arabic, 290 {9–11}. [= I.40]

[UNDER BOOKS OF LEXICONS OF ARABIC, PERSIAN, AND OTHER LANGUAGES (*Kutubi al-lughati al-'arabiyyati wa-al-fārisiyyati wa-ghayrihimā*): 293–300]

59. *Kitābu al-asmā'i 'alā tartibi al-ḥurūfi...wa-Risālatu ashkāli al-ḥisābi min al-siyāqati** (Book of Names according to Alphabetically Organized Letters ... and Treatise on Propositions of Arithmetic by Cipher), Arabic, 298 {13–18}. [= I.40]

[UNDER/COMBINED WITH BOOKS ON WONDROUS CRAFTS (*Kutubi al-ṣinā'āti al-'ajībati*): 307–11]

60. *ʿUyūnu al-ḥaqā'iqi fī ṣanā'i'i al-ḥiyali al-'ajībati, wa-Kitāb al-ṭibbi wa-Rasā'ilu al-siḥri wa-'ilmi al-naḥsi wa-ghayrihi wa-Kitābun fī al-kīmīyā'i wa-risālatun fī 'ilmi al-aḥjār** (Truthful Visions on the Craft of Wondrous [Mechanical] Devices, and Book on Medicine, and Treatise on Magic, and Science of Breathing and Other [Subject]s in Alchemy, and a Treatise on the Science of Stones), 317 {3–5}. [= IV.11]
61. *Zahru al-basātini fī al-ḥiyali, wa-al-Ṣanā'i'i al-'ajībati fī khawāṣṣi al-aḥjāri wa-al-ashjāri** (Flower Orchards in [Mechanical] Devices, and Wondrous Crafts in Qualities of Stones and Trees), Arabic, 307 {8–9}. [= IV.12]

PART VII. OTHER: SURVEYING (*Misāḥā*)

1. *"Iqnā'un fī al-misāḥati min qibali al-ḥisābi"* (A Satisfactory [Tract] on Surveying Pertaining to Arithmetic), Arabic (?), 334 {7}. [= I.17]⁴⁸
2. [Abū Sahl Wījān ibn Rustam Kūhī (d. ca. 1014/15?). *Risālatu al-Barkāri al-tāmmi min qibali al-handasati** (Treatise on the Complete Compass Pertaining to Geometry), Arabic (?), 331 {14–15}. [= II.10, VI.21] On author, manuscripts, edition, and translation, see II.10.
3. *"Risālatu ma'rīfati al-irtifā'i bi-ghayri al-uṣṭurlābi fī al-nujūmi"* (Treatise on Determination of Height[s] without an Astrolabe in Astronomy), Arabic (?), 320 {5–6}. [= I.2] See I.2, n. 2.
4. [Abū 'Alī al-Hasan ibn al-Hasan] Ibn al-Haytham, d. after ca. 1040/41, *Majmū'atu Rasā'ilī Ibn al-Haytham...ba'ḍuhā fī irtifā'i al-quṭbi** (Collection of Treatises by Ibn al-Haytham, Some of Them on Height of Pole[s]), Arabic, 320 {19}–321 {1}. [= VI.2] On this author, see II.4.1.

NOTES

1. Max Krause, "Stambuler Handschriften islamischer Mathematiker," *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik, Astronomie und Physik* (Berlin, 1936): 437–532 [= Krause 1936]; Abū al-Qāsim Qurbānī, *Zindagīnāmah-i rīyāzīdānān-i dawrah-i Islāmī az sadah-i siyūm tā sadah-i yāzdahum-i hijrī* (Tehran, 1986/87) [= Qurbānī 1986/87]; Boris A. Rozenfeld and Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Mathematicians, Astronomers, and Other Scholars of Islamic Civilization and Their Works (7th–19th c.)* (Istanbul, 2003) [= Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu 2003]. See also A. Tunç Şen and Cornell H. Fleischer's list of entries on the Mathematical Sciences in this volume.
2. See Şen and Fleischer's list of entries, where a manuscript of this work is cited as SK Ayasofya 2627.
3. The dates of Turkistānī are given in Qurbānī (1986/87, 214) as "alive in 712 [=1312/13]"; in Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 247) as "first half of 14th c." (with the text composed in 1312 and translated as "Treatise for 'Alā' al-Dīn"). Şen and Fleischer's list of entries cites four copies of this text in the inventory. Qurbānī (1986/87, 214) refers in his entry on the author to a "text on arithmetic by Abu al-Ḥasan

- ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ‘Alī ibn ‘Alī ibn Kaykhusruw Bahmanī, which could be a commentary (*Sharḥ*) on *al-‘Alā’iyya*”; he also lists a manuscript of the main text in Uppsala, as do Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 247).
4. The longer title of this text with the additional term “problems” (*masā’il*) in it, is listed here as “I.5.1” to include the possibility of it being an anonymous version of that text, in contrast to its treatment as another copy of Turkistānī’s *‘Alā’iyya* in Şen and Fleischer’s list of entries.
 5. Şen and Fleischer list this text under al-Turkistānī, while giving the name of the author as “Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Gharbī, *K. al-mu’jizāt al-najībiyya fī sharḥ al-R. al-‘alā’iyya* (The Book of Superior Miracles, known as a Commentary on the Epistle on the Problems of Arithmetic), 334 {11–12}, with a manuscript: TSMK A. 3117 (Karatay: A 7012).” The entry above (I. 5.2) is listed under “Gharbī” as the author because of the documentation in Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 248), attributing such a title to that author. But a slightly different title translation is given here than in both Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu and Şen and Fleischer.
 6. Cited in Şen and Fleischer’s list of entries, which mentions a copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2742. The same list cites “*K. fī al-ḥisāb*, with a copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2723.” With the title given in the inventory (334 {4}) as “*Kitābun bi-al-‘Arabiyyati fī al-ḥisābi*” (A Book in Arabic on the Science of Arithmetic), this text has a separate entry in my list under I.12.2.
 7. This title opening with the term *Risāla* (treatise), as distinct from the opening term *Kitāb* of note 6 above, is treated as a different version of that text here under I.6.1. Şen and Fleischer list this as “an unspecified treatise on arithmetic,” under “al-Tūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn Abū Ja’far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. 1274),” adding that this book should be the copy now housed as SK Ayasofya 2742, a codex with a slightly different title: *K. fī ‘ilm al-ḥisāb*: see note 6 above.
 8. The dates for Nisābūrī are given in Qurbānī (1986/87, 507–9) as “seventh and eighth centuries,” and in Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 238) as “13th–14th c.” Şen and Fleischer’s list of entries provides the date “d. ca. 1329–30.” Here, Nisābūrī’s date is listed as “died after 728 [=1327/38]” based on a note in Qurbānī 1986/87, 507, about a *Tafsīr* he completed in that year; and the term *Shamsiyya* is left in the original, as in *‘Alā’iyya* referring to ‘Alā’ al-Dīn: see note 3 above.
 9. The author’s last name, Kūbanānī, after the region Kūbanān (more recently, “Kūhbanān”) between Kirman and Yazd, while correctly given in Qurbānī (1986/87, 60–61), is placed there in n.1 next to a certain “Kūbanān in Isfahan.” Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 282) have it incorrectly as “Kubnawī.” Şen and Fleischer’s list of entries cites “al-Kirmānī (fl. late fifteenth century).”
 10. This text, listed in Şen and Fleischer as “*K. al-kifāya fī ‘ilm al-ḥisāb*” has its title translated there as “The Book of Competence in Arithmetic), 328 {19}–329 {1}. Bound with al-Nasawī’s *K. al-tajrīd fī-ūṣūl al-ḥandasa* (Abstract of Euclid’s Elements) and *K. Uqlīdus*.” Here I literally translated it as “Book [that] Suffices on the Science of Arithmetic.”
 11. The author’s name is given in Krause (1936, 453–57) as “Thābit b. Qurra ibn Zahrūn”; it is followed by “Ḥarrānī” in Qurbānī (1986/87, 204–10); the latter is followed by “Şābi” in Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 48–56); and without any of these parts in Şen and Fleischer’s list of entries.
 12. The dates for this author are given in Qurbānī (1986/87, 23–24) as “d. 728 [=1327/8],” in Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 231) as “d. 1325 (?)” and in Şen and Fleischer’s list of entries as “(d. 1324).” Here, I have adopted the latest date from Qurbānī (1986/87, 23), where the dedication of the book to “Bahā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Sham al-al-Dīn Juvaynī” informs the translation of the part of the title “Bahā’iyya” as “for ‘Bahā’ [al-Dīn],” left out of the translation in Şen and Fleischer.
 13. The dates of this author are based on his death date given in one of the manuscripts of his *Kitāb al-Baṣā’ir* as 718 [=1318/19]: see Part III, no. 3. The present entry is cited in Krause (1936, 508–10), with three of its manuscripts in Istanbul; in Qurbānī (1986/87, 401–13), with some manuscripts and commentaries of it in libraries in Iran; in Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 236) with more manuscripts worldwide. See also Şen and Fleischer’s list of entries. The title translation I have given above (I.11.1) is closest to that of the latter.
 14. The name and dates of the author are given in Krause (1936, 512) as “Imād al-Dīn Baghdādī” with manuscripts of the text in Istanbul under *al-Fawā’idi al-bahā’iyyati fī ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi* without its opening part *İdāhi al-maqaṣidi fī sharḥi...*; in Qurbānī (1986/87, 322–23), as “Imād al-Dīn Yahyā ibn Aḥmad Kāshānī, ca. 733–744 [=1343–1373]”; in Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 243) as “Imād al-Dīn Kāshī d. 1340.” See also Şen and Fleischer’s list of entries, where the manuscript of this and another variant of it are respectively given as SK Ayasofya 2716 and TSMK A. 3142 (Karatay: A 6999). The name and date in my list (I.112–11.2a) are adopted from Qurbānī (1986/87, 322).

15. The name and dates of this author are given in Qurbānī (1986/87, 124) as “Ahmad Ibn Thābit, d. ca. 671 [=1272]”; in Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 211) slightly differently, as “Ahmad Ibn Thabāt” d. 1272/73. Şen and Fleischer’s list of entries gives the title as “Qāḍī al-Humāmīya, Jamāl al-Dīn Ahmad al-‘Abbās Ahmad b. Thābit (d. 1272).”
16. The name of the author is listed in Qurbānī (1986/87, 297) as “Şalāhī,” where the date of his *Mukhtaşar* is cited from Brocklemann as composed in 735 [=1334/35] along with a commentary on it. Qurbānī includes an incomplete manuscript of a commentary on this text in Mashhad under the title *‘Imādiyya* written for a minister called ‘Imād al-Dīn, with a note that the Mashhad catalogue gives the date of this commentary, not the text, as 735 [=1334/35]. See Şen and Fleischer’s list of entries, where the name is given as “Şalāh al-Dīn Mūsā,” with the date “fl. late fourteenth century?” They cite İhsan Fazlıoğlu, who attributes it to Şalāh al-Dīn Mūsā, who lived and flourished before Qāḍizāde al-Rūmī. See Fazlıoğlu, “Kadıze-i Rumi,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*. Without a comparable entry in Krause 1936 and Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu 2003, the author’s name and date in my list above (I.14) combines those given in Qurbānī and Şen and Fleischer. The term *Şalāh* could also refer to the text’s dedicatee rather than its author, as in cases like *Bahā’* or *‘Alā’* noted above.
17. The name of the author is given in Qurbānī (1986/87, 297) as “Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Khaṭībī” after Brocklemann. Şen and Fleischer’s list of entries cites this entry under “Şalāh al-Dīn Mūsā (fl. late fourteenth century?),” and mention as copies SK Ayasofya 2751 and TSMK A. 3141 (Karatay: A 7011). They add: “According to both the Karatay catalogue and the catalogue of the Süleymaniye Library, the author of this work bearing Bāyezīd II’s seal is a certain Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Khaṭībī. No information has been found about this individual.”
18. The dates for this author are given in Qurbānī (1986/87, 266–69) as “d. 570 [=1174/75]”; in Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 184–86) as “d. ca. 1175”; and in Şen and Fleischer as “(d. 1180).”
19. The dates for this author are given in Qurbānī (1986/87, 391–97) as “d. 420 [=1029–30] after Suter”; in Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 119–20) as “d. c. 1025”; and in Şen and Fleischer, as “d. eleventh century.” The translation of the term *Kāfī* as “Sufficient” in the entry above (I. 16) is given in Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 119), in contrast to “Adequate” in Şen and Fleischer.
20. The name and date of this author are given in Qurbānī (1986/87, 85–86) after Suter, where it is added that part of the author’s name, Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad, is given elsewhere as “Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn.” Şen and Fleischer list the text under al-Karajī.
21. This entry is treated as an anonymous text since its authorship remains questionable; Şen and Fleischer list it under “al-Arbilī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Umar b. Şālīḥ (d. twelfth century).” Krause (1936, 513) and Qurbānī (1986/87, 123) list an “Arbilī,” dated by the latter to the “second half of seventh [=thirteenth] century.” Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 187) have a “Muḥammad Irbilī” in contrast to the name “Arbilī” in the other sources above, all of which give the text’s title as *Kifāya*, rather than the *Kāfiya* of this entry (I.16.2).
22. The name of this author appears as both “Kāshānī” (Qurbānī 1986/87, 365–88) and “Kāshī” (Krause 1936, 513; Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu 2003, 269–72). Şen and Fleischer list him as “al-Kāshī, Ghiyāth (al-Milla wa-) al-Dīn (d. 1429).”
23. Şen and Fleischer list this under “Khayr al-Dīn Khalīl b. Ibrāhīm (d. late fifteenth century),” on which my translation is based.
24. The dates of this author are given in Qurbānī (1986/87, 261) as “d. ca. 470 [=1077/78],” citing Brocklemann for the date of the sixth [=twelfth] century and title of *al-Tajnis fi al-ḥisāb* as “apparently part of his *Farāyid-i Sirājiyya* or *Sijāwandiyya*.” It is given in Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 193–94) as “12–13th c.” Şen and Fleischer list this entry under “al-Sijāwandī, Sirāj al-Dīn”; they add, “Cevat İzgi records the title as *al-Tajnis fi al-ḥisāb*. See: Cevat İzgi, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: İz, 1997), 245–46.”
25. This entry is in Krause (1936, 492); Qurbānī (1986/87, 444–45); and Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 116). Şen and Fleischer list the entry under “al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Ayyūb b. Ḥāsib (d.?).”
26. This author is listed in Krause (1936, 492) and Qurbānī (1986/87, 307) for a different work, but in Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 207) for the title given above (I. 26). Şen and Fleischer list the entry under “al-Zanjānī, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Ibrāhīm (fl. thirteenth century)” without the part “Izz al-Dīn.”
27. Şen and Fleischer list this entry under “al-Zanjānī.”
28. Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 207) refer to a source where this work (M7) is identified with M1 (entry I.26 above). Şen and Fleischer list this entry under “al-Zanjānī.”

29. Krause (1936, 494–505, 499); Qurbānī (1986/87, 486–505, 495–98); Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 211–19, 212). Şen and Fleischer list this entry under “al-Ṭūsī, Naşīr al-Dīn Abū Ja’far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. 1274).”
30. Krause (1936, 462) list the work under Ahwazi, not dated; Qurbānī (1986/87, 75–77) under “Abu al-Ḥasan Ahwāzī, dated 2nd half of fourth [=tenth] century, and possibly the first quarter of fifth century [=eleventh] century”; Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 80) under Ahmad Ahwazi, preceded by Abu al-Ḥusayn, dated 10th c. Şen and Fleischer list it under “al-Ahwāzī, Ahmād b. al-Ḥusayn al-Kātib (d.?).”
31. Krause (1936, 507–8, no. 6); Qurbānī (1986/87, 351–54, no. 1); Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 233–35, M3). Şen and Fleischer list it under “al-Shirāzī, Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Mas’ūd b. Muşliḥ (d. 1311).”
32. Krause (1936, 466); Qurbānī (1986/87, 154–69: 388 [= 998]); Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 96–98). Şen and Fleischer list it under “al-Būzjānī, Abū al-Wafā’ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā (d. 997 or 998).” On the tradition of this book in Arabic and Persian and some folios of its manuscript in Istanbul, see Elaheh Kheirandish, “An Early Tradition in Practical Geometry: The Telling Lines of Unique Arabic and Persian Sources,” in *The Arts of Ornamental Geometry: A Persian Compendium on Similar and Complementary Interlocking Figures*, Studies and Sources in Islamic Art and Architecture: Supplements to Muqarnas 13, ed. Gülru Necipoğlu (Leiden, 2017), 79–144.
33. This text is an Arabic version of Apollonius’s *Conics*, whose seven books (*maqāla*) survive in different manuscripts. One of these versions carries the name of “Banū Mūsā,” fl. ca. 860s (?), the three brothers who wrote and supported scientific works in ninth-century Baghdad: see Qurbānī (1986/87, 147–53, 151: no. 3); Krause (1936, 448–49) has an entry on the author excluding this work; Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 34–36) include two versions naming one or more brothers: M1, M7. Şen and Fleischer list this text without any reference to the Banū Mūsā, placing it under “Apollonius of Perga (early second century BCE).”
34. Krause (1936, 474–79, no. 3): *Fī Shakl Banī Mūsā*; Qurbānī (1986/87, 47–52), d. 430 [=1038/39], no. 24; Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 131–38: M12). Şen and Fleischer list it under “Ibn al-Haytham, Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan (d. ca. 1040).” The dates of Ibn al-Haytham must be adjusted to “d. after ca. 432 [=1040/41]” in the light of evidence provided by A. I. Sabra, *The Optics of Ibn al-Haytham*, vol. 2, xxiii. See also above III. 2.
35. The author of this text is specified in the inventory as “Abū al-Ḥusayn.” He is identified as ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad in Şen and Fleischer’s list of entries, under “Apollonius of Perga (early second century BCE).” [Abū al-Ḥusayn ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad] *Taşaffuḥ*, 331 {8}, where its manuscript is cited as “TSMK A. 3463 (Karatay: A 6995).”
36. Qurbānī (1986/87, 92–98) notes that “Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn Qāsim ibn Faḍl İsfahānī, alive and active in 513 [=1119/20], completed *Talkhīṣ al-makhrūṭāt* in 513 [1119/20]”; Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 174) mention “Muḥmūd ibn Muḥammad ibn Qāsim..., 12th c.” Şen and Fleischer identify the author as “al-İsfahānī, Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. Faḍl (d.?).” In my entry above under II. 4.4, the author’s name and dates are taken from David Pingree, “Abu’l-Fath Esfahani,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, 1/3, 1983, 284–85.
37. The dates of this author are given by Qurbānī (1986/87, 285) as “alive in 675 [=1276/75]” and by Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 230) as “2nd half of 13th c.” Şen and Fleischer identify him as “al-Samarqandī, d. 1302.”
38. The dates of this author are given by Qurbānī (1986/87, 342–45) as “d. ca. 840 [=1436/37]”; by Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 272–74) as “ca. 1440.” Şen and Fleischer identify the author as “Qāḍizāde al-Rūmī, d. after 1440.” The text “1a. *Sharḥ ashkāl al-ta’āsīs*, Arabic, 327 {12–14}” is translated as “Commentary on al-Samarqandī’s Compendium of Geometry,” and followed by the edition noted under II.5.1 above. In that entry, the author’s full name and death date are adopted from F. Jamil Ragep, “Qāḍizāde al-Rūmī: Şalāḥ al-Dīn Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Rūmī,” in Thomas Hockey et al. (eds.), *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, Springer Reference (New York: Springer, 2007), 942.
39. The only modern source with an entry on this author is the list of Şen and Fleischer, who identify him as “Quṭb al-Dīn Çelebī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā Qāḍizāde (fl. late fifteenth century).” In my entry above under II. 5.3, the dates of this author are derived from A. Tashköprüzāde’s *Al-Shaqā’iq al-nu’māniyya fī ‘ulamā’ al-dawlat al-‘uthmāniyya*, ed. Ahmed Subhi Furat (Istanbul: Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1985), 327–28. On Miram Çelebī see İhsan Fazlıoğlu, “Miram Çelebī: Maḥmūd ibn Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā Qāḍizāde,” in Thomas Hockey et al.,

eds., *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, Springer Reference (New York: Springer, 2007), 788–89, as well as n43 of my essay in this volume.

40. This author is dated in Qurbānī (1986/87, 421–30) as “d. ca. 405 [=1014/15]”; in Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 102–5) as “10–11th c.” The former date is adopted in Şen and Fleischer.
41. This entry on the mathematical parts (*riyāḍiyyāt*) of *Kitāb al-Shifā’* carrying the name of Ibn Sīnā in the inventory 351 {11.2} is listed in my entry II. 12 above under the same author with a death date of ca. 1036/37, after Qurbānī (1986/87, 29–34) and Rozenfeld-İhsanoğlu (2003, 122–27). Şen and Fleischer list it as “Anonymous.”
42. All the known manuscripts of Ibn al-Haytham’s *Kitāb al-Manāẓir* are currently in Istanbul, where two manuscripts under that title are reported in the inventory (359 {7, 7–8}; III.1, III.1.1). The latter copy is specified as being in “six volumes.” A copy of this text is wrongly reported to be in Tehran’s Millî Library: Muştafâ Dirâyâtî, *Fihristvârah-i dastnvisht’hâ-yi Īrân (Dinâ)* (Tehran: Kitābkhānah, Mûzih va Markaz-i Asnād-i Majlis-i Shurâ-yi Islāmî, 1389 [=2010]), 10:36. My personal examination showed it to be another copy of Kamal al-Din Fārisī’s *Tanqīḥ al-Manāẓir*, for which seventeen other copies are cited in the same catalogue: 3:374–75.
43. Copies of Fārisī’s *Tanqīḥ al-Manāẓir* in some Iranian libraries are listed chronologically in Dirâyâtî’s *Fihristvârah* 3 (1389 [=2010]), 374–75.
44. On a “Treatise on the Science of Optics” (*Risāla fi ‘ilm al-Manāẓir*) comparable to the one in this inventory titled *Risālatu al-Manāẓiri*, see my essay in this volume, especially n43.
45. This treatise carries the name of Qāḍizāde Rūmī in the inventory (361 {19}, 362 {1}), but the name of Mīram (or Mirem) Çelebî, his great grandson, is handwritten on the front page of an extant manuscript in Istanbul with that title: SK Ayasofya 2414. On the latter figure, see n. 42 of my essay in this volume.
46. Krause (1936, 458–60) gives no author date; Qurbānī (1986/87, 348–50) lists the death date as “300 [=912–13]”; Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 59–60) state “d. ca. 910.” Şen and Fleischer list the author as “Qusṭā b. Lūqā al-Ba‘labakkī (d. ca. 912–13).”
47. Krause (1936, 491); Rozenfeld and İhsanoğlu (2003, 201–2). Şen and Fleischer do not have an entry on the author or text.
48. This anonymous text is translated in Şen and Fleischer as “Persuasive Argument on Arithmetic Calculation of Distance,” Arabic, fifteenth century, 334 {7}, with the edition as “İhsan Fazlıoğlu, *Uygulamalı Geometrinin Tarihine Giriş: El-İkna fi ilmi’l-misaha* (Istanbul: Dergah, 2004).”

BOOKS ON LOGIC (*MANṬIḤ*) AND DIALECTICS (*JADAL*)

The ordering of subjects in the palace library inventory prepared by ‘Atufi seems to reflect a general sense of rank. Logic and dialectics appear toward the end of the inventory, suggesting that they were ranked relatively low. Nevertheless, these disciplines were regularly studied in Ottoman colleges (madrasas). The cataloguer ‘Atufi himself contributed to them, writing a commentary on *Īsāghūjī* (Introduction), the standard introductory handbook on logic by Athir al-Din al-Abhari (d. 1265).¹ Ottoman palace slaves (the *kapıkulu*) were also taught logic, and it is explicitly for the education of this group that a Turkish work on logic dedicated to Sultan Bayezid II and entitled *Zübdet ül-beyān* (The Cream of Exposition) was written. (More on this work below.)

The inventory features 116 entries in the section devoted to books on logic (*manṭiq*) and dialectics (*jadal*). These appear in no discernable order. ‘Atufi will usually provide an abbreviated title, but on a few occasions he gives a title in full, and on some occasions he does not give a title at all, simply writing, for example, “a treatise on logic” or “a commentary on a book on logic” or “a Persian book on logic.” Authors are usually identified in abbreviated form (for example, Sa’d al-Din for Sa’d al-Din Mas’ud al-Taftazani), sometimes in fuller form (Sa’d al-Din al-Taftazani), and sometimes not at all. There is little consistency in the way a work is listed. For example, ‘Atufi has four entries for the commentary by Qutb al-Din al-Razi on the handbook *Maṭālī’ al-anwār* (The Dawning of Lights) by Siraj al-Din al-Urmawi (d. 1283). The first entry reads “Commentary on the *Maṭālī’* by al-Qutb al-Razi”; the second, “Commentary on the *Maṭālī’* by Qutb al-Din”; the third gives the full title of the commentary but without any indication of the author: *Lawāmi’ al-asrār fī sharḥ Maṭālī’ al-anwār* (The Blazing

Secrets in Commenting upon the Dawning of Lights); the fourth entry has “The Commentary on the Logic of *Maṭālī’ al-anwār*, entitled *Lawāmi’ al-asrār*,” again with no indication of the author.

To take another example, ‘Atufi has four entries on the same Qutb al-Din al-Razi’s commentary on another handbook of logic, *al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya* (The Epistle for Shams al-Din) by Najm al-Din al-Katibi (d. 1276). The first three entries, which appear close together in the list, are given as “Commentary on the *Shamsiyya* entitled The Sea of Principles (*Baḥr al-qawā’id*) by Qutb al-Din,” which is inaccurate, for the title of Qutb al-Din’s commentary is actually “An Explication of the Principles” (*Tahrīr al-qawā’id*). The fourth entry for this work is simply given as “The Commentary on the *Shamsiyya* by Qutb al-Din.”

‘Atufi indicates at the end of each brief entry whether the work is “on logic” or “on dialectics,” and on a handful of occasions he uses the phrase *min qibali al-manṭiq* or *min qibali al-jadal* (i.e., “pertaining to logic or dialectics”), perhaps when the topic treated in a work does not belong to one discipline in a clear-cut manner. For example, a treatise on the impermissibility of circularity in the acquisition of knowledge (*fī imtinā’ al-dawr fī l-iktisāb*) and a treatise on “knowledge and discourse” (*‘ilm wa-nuṭq*) are described as *min qibali al-manṭiq*, presumably because the topics could also have been treated in a work on theology (*kalām*). Similarly, a treatise written in defense of the position that a particular (as opposed to a universal) cannot be the predicate (*maḥmūl*) of a proposition is described as *min qibali al-manṭiq*, presumably because the same issue could have been discussed within the science of semantics and rhetoric (*‘ilm al-ma’ānī wa l-bayān*).

A few entries include works that are not on the subject of logic at all. Most of these are the result of a manuscript in which multiple works are bound together, only some of which focus on logic. On a few occasions, a work is misclassified. 'Atufi lists a "treatise with queries concerning the two books of the Imam that are entitled *al-Ma'ālim* (Landmarks)" (*Risālat al-as'ila al-mūrada 'alā naw'ayyi kitābi al-Imāmi al-mawsūmi bi-al-Ma'ālim*). This is almost certainly identical to a similarly titled manuscript in the Topkapı Palace Library (Ahmet III 3426) that has the seal of Sultan Bayezid II. The manuscript contains the objections written by Najm al-Din al-Katibi (d. 1276) on the works *al-Ma'ālim fi uṣūl al-dīn* (Landmarks in Theology) and *al-Ma'ālim fi uṣūl al-fiqh* (Landmarks in Jurisprudence) by Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 1210).² Neither Razi's works nor Katibi's objections can reasonably be classified as pertaining to logic or dialectics. It appears that the opening discussion of knowledge (*'ilm*), conception (*taṣawwur*), and assent (*taṣdīq*) misled either the cataloguer or the source he was following, since works on logic typically began in this fashion. Also, a work by the Egyptian scholar Shams al-Din al-Dalaji (d. 1540) is classified as being on logic, even though it only has a very short introductory chapter on logic, whereas the bulk of it is an abridgement of another work on philosophical theology (*kalām*) by the fourteenth-century Timurid scholar Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftazani.³

If a work is in Persian or Turkish, 'Atufi indicates this; the default option is clearly that a work on logic or dialectics has been written in Arabic.

In what follows, the logic works included in the list will be discussed first, the works on dialectic second, and finally some concluding observations will be made.

LOGIC

The works on logic can be grouped broadly into the following categories:

Post-Avicennan Summas of Logic

These are extensive works devoted solely to logic. The MS Török F. 59 list includes the major summas of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries:

- *al-Baṣā'ir al-naṣīriyya* (The Insights for Nasir al-Din) by 'Umar b. Sahlan al-Sawi (fl. 1127); three copies are listed.
- *al-Manṭiq al-kabīr* (The Long Logic) attributed to Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 1210).⁴
- *Kashf al-asrār* (The Disclosure of Secrets) by Afdal al-Din al-Khunaji (d. 1248); two copies are listed, as well as a copy of the commentary on the work by Najm al-Din al-Katibi (d. 1276).
- *Asās al-iqtibās* (The Principle of Acquisition) by Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (d. 1274); nine copies are listed.
- *Jāmi' al-daqa'iq* (The Collected Subtleties) by Najm al-Din al-Katibi (d. 1276).
- *Qistās al-afkār* (The Measure of Thoughts) by Shams al-Din al-Samarqandi (d. 1322) with the author's own commentary; three copies are listed.

It is particularly noteworthy that there are nine copies of Tusi's summa *Asās al-iqtibās* in the inventory. All of these copies are indicated as being in Persian, implying that they are not copies of the Arabic translation prepared by Molla Hüsrev (d. 1480) and dedicated to Sultan Mehmed II.⁵ The number of copies of the work is unexpected and suggests that it was popular among the users of the library, perhaps primarily scribes and palace pages (*kapıkulu*) who might have found Persian more accessible than Arabic. Apart from being written in Persian, Tusi's work is also unusual in that it retains an archaic feature that makes it quite different from the standard works on logic that were taught and studied in Ottoman madrasas: Its material is arranged in accordance with the books of the old Peripatetic *Organon*, rather than being divided into two main parts dealing with conceptions (*taṣawwurāt*) and assents (*taṣdīqāt*), as was typical of later post-Avicennian logicians.⁶ Ottoman ulama who wrote on logic from the fifteenth century to the eighteenth appear not to have been particularly influenced by Tusi's summa.

Handbooks on Logic and Their Commentaries (shurūḥ) and Glosses (ḥawāshī)

MS Török F. 59 also lists multiple copies of the standard logic handbooks taught in Ottoman colleges (and colleges in the Turco-Persianate world in general).⁷ At the introductory level, the standard handbook was

al-Abhari's aforementioned *Īsāghūjī*, usually studied with the commentary of Husam al-Din al-Kati (d. 1359) or the more demanding commentary of Molla Fenari (d. 1431). The inventory includes three copies of the former commentary, and two copies of the latter.

At the intermediate level, the standard handbook was *al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya* (The Epistle for Shams al-Din) by Najm al-Din al-Katibi (d. 1276). The inventory includes three copies of the commentary on this handbook by Sa'd al-Din al-Taftazani (d. 1390) and four copies of the commentary by Qutb al-Din al-Razi (d. 1365). It also includes single copies of each of the commentaries by Ibn al-Mutahhar al-Hilli (d. 1325), Mirek Ibn Mubarakshah (fl. 1355), and Musannifek (d. 1470); the last of these is in Persian.

At the advanced level, a widely studied handbook was *Maṭālī' al-anwār* (The Dawning of Lights) by Siraj al-Din al-Urmawi (d. 1283). The inventory includes two copies of the commentary by Shams al-Din al-Isfahani (d. 1348) and four copies of the commentary by Qutb al-Din al-Razi (d. 1365). There are also seven copies of the gloss on Qutb al-Din's commentary by al-Sayyid al-Sharif al-Jurjani (d. 1413). There are three copies of the Persian translation of Qutb al-Din's commentary by 'Ala' al-Din al-Tusi (d. 1482).

The Logic Sections of Philosophical Summas

The list of works on logic also includes general philosophical summas that devote sections to logic. Examples include:

- Two copies of the logic books of *al-Shifā'* (The Healing) by Avicenna (d. 1037), and a copy of the Book on Demonstration (*Burhān*) from the same work.
- Two copies of *Dānishnāme-yi 'Alā'* (The Book of Science for 'Ala' al-Dawla), a Persian compendium of philosophy by Avicenna.
- *al-Mu'tabar* (The Considered View) by the Jewish philosopher Abu l-Barakat al-Baghdadi (d. 1152). The copy is listed as consisting of four volumes.
- A manuscript with the logic section of *al-Mashārī' wa l-muṭārahāt* (Sources and Exchanges), a lengthy presentation of philosophy by the "Illuminationist" (i.e., anti-Peripatetic Platonist) philosopher Yahya al-Suhrawardi (d. 1191).
- A copy of *al-Muqāwamāt* (Firm Standings), a shorter presentation of logic and philosophy by Suhrawardi.
- A copy of *al-Mulakhkhaṣṣ* (The Epitome) on logic, metaphysics, physics, and theology by Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 1210). Other copies of this work, as well as later commentaries on it, are listed in the preceding section of 'Atufi's inventory, on "Islamic philosophy" (*al-hikma al-islāmiyya*).
- The logic section of *Hidāyat al-hikma* (The Guidance of Philosophy) by Athir al-Din al-Abhari (d. 1265). This work was a widely studied introduction to physics and metaphysics in the Turco-Persianate world. It originally included a first section on logic as well, but this fell into disuse in later centuries and was rarely covered by later commentators.⁸ There are two entries explicitly stating that the manuscripts include both the logic part (*manṭiq al-Hidāya*, *al-Hidāya fī l-manṭiq*) and philosophy parts of the work (*ḥikmat al-Hidāya*). There are many more copies of the work, along with copies of the numerous commentaries on it, in the subsequent section on "Philosophy in the *falsafa* tradition" (*al-hikma al-falsafiyya*).
- *Bayān al-ḥaqq* (The Exposure of the Truth) by Siraj al-Din al-Urmawi (d. 1283), a summa of logic and metaphysics. Three copies of this work are listed, as well as three copies of a commentary on the logic part of the work by a certain Amin al-Din al-Salimi.⁹ The relative popularity of the work may reflect the fact that Urmawi settled and died in Konya, and his works may therefore have been particularly widely copied and studied in Anatolia and Rumelia.¹⁰
- A copy of *al-Asrār al-khaṭiyya fī l-'ulūm al-'aqliyya* (The Hidden Secrets of the Rational Sciences) by the Shi'ite scholar Ibn al-Mutahhar al-Hilli (d. 1325), a summa of logic, physics, and metaphysics, is listed in the section on logic and dialectics. Another copy appears in the preceding section on "Islamic philosophy."

It is not always clear why these works appear in the logic section of the inventory. Why, for example, do *al-Mu'tabar* by Abu l-Barakat al-Baghdadi and *al-Muqāwamāt* by al-Suhrawardi appear in the section devoted to works on logic, whereas Avicenna's *al-Ishārāt wa l-tanbīhāt* (Pointers and Reminders) and its numerous commentaries, as well as Suhrawardi's *al-Tawḥīdāt*

(Intimations) and *Hikmat al-ishrāq* (The Philosophy of Illumination) with their commentaries only appear in the subsequent section on “Philosophy in the *falsafa* tradition”? All of the works mentioned have an opening section on logic, followed by presentations of physics and metaphysics. There is no apparent reason to classify some of these works as logical works and others as philosophical works.

Pre-Avicennan Works

There are only a handful of listings of logical works from pre-Avicennan authors, a clear testimony to the powerful influence of Avicenna on the later Islamic tradition of logic. A notable entry here is the valuable copy of al-Farabi’s Long Commentary on Aristotle’s *De Interpretatione*, erroneously listed as a commentary on “Aristotle’s book on logical syllogisms.” Copied in 538 (1143), it is still extant in the Topkapı Palace Library.¹¹ Another early work is listed as “The Book of Aristotle translated into Arabic by Ishaq b. Hunayn on logic.” This is probably identical with another manuscript in the Topkapı Palace Library (A. 3362), which has the seal of Sultan Bayezid II and includes the translation by Hunayn b. Ishaq of Porphyry’s *Eisagōgē* and Aristotle’s *Categories*, *De Interpretatione*, *Prior Analytics*, and *Posterior Analytics*.¹²

Treatises on Specific Topics

There are in addition numerous treatises on specific topics related to logic. The inventory includes, for example, two entries on a “Treatise on the Fourth Figure” (*Risāla fi l-shakl al-rābi*). This is presumably the treatise defending the fourth figure of the syllogism by Najm al-Din Ibn al-Sari (d. 1153), studied by Abdelhamid Sabra in a pioneering article from 1965.¹³ Many of the listed treatises are by the aforementioned fourteenth-century scholar Qutb al-Din al-Razi, who also wrote the standard commentaries on the logic handbooks of Katibi and Urmawi. There are four copies of his treatise on universals (*kulliyāt*) and two of his treatise on conception and assent (*taṣawwur wa-taṣdīq*).

Exclusions

It may be instructive to supplement this brief overview with some observations on what is *not* included in the

section of works on logic. As already noted, there are precious few logical works by authors predating Avicenna. There are also no logical works by authors from Islamic Spain or the Maghreb. For example, the annotations on al-Farabi’s logical works by Ibn Baja/Avempace (d. 1138) and the commentaries on Aristotle’s logical works by Ibn Rushd/Averroes (d. 1198) are absent. By the late fifteenth century, the Maghreb had its own tradition of post-Avicennan logic, represented by the works of Muhammad al-Sharif al-Tilimsani (d. 1370), Ibn ‘Arafa (d. 1401), Ibn Marzuq al-Hafid (d. 1439), and Muhammad b. Yusuf al-Sanusi (d. 1490), for example. These are also not to be found in the collection.¹⁴ The list of works in the MS Török F. 59 collection is almost exclusively oriented toward the eastern, Persianate tradition of logic.

More surprisingly, there are no references to the later handbook by the eminent Timurid scholar Sa’d al-Din al-Taftazani (d. 1390) entitled *Tahdhīb al-manṭiq* (The Condensation of Logic). Nor does the list include any of the numerous later commentaries on this work. Especially the commentary by the Persian scholar Jalal al-Din al-Dawani (d. 1502) came to be widely studied in Ottoman scholarly circles in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and elicited numerous glosses by Ottoman scholars. The absence of this work, as well as other works by Dawani, is somewhat puzzling in light of the fact that he dedicated a number of works to Bayezid II.¹⁵

DIALECTICS

The works on dialectics (*jadal*) included in the inventory all belong to the tradition going back to the Central Asian scholar Rukn al-Din al-‘Amidi (d. 1218).¹⁶ This tradition was distinct from, though influenced by, both the earlier juridical and theological traditions of eristic and the Aristotelian tradition of the *Topics*. Unlike earlier juristic and theological works on *jadal*, ‘Amidi’s tradition was topic-neutral and incorporated formal propositional logic from the discipline of logic. A notable entry is a manuscript that contains the following three seminal works in this tradition:¹⁷

- Rukn al-Din al-‘Amidi (d. 1218): *al-Irshād* (The Guide)
- Athir al-Din al-Abhari (d. 1265): *al-Qawāḍiḥ al-jadaliyya* (Dialectical Confutations)

– Burhan al-Din al-Nasafi (d. 1288): *al-Fuṣūl* (Maxims)

By the end of the fifteenth century, the standard handbook of dialectics in this tradition—by then often termed *‘ilm al-munāẓara* (the science of disputation) or *ādāb al-baḥṭh* (the rules of discussion)—was a short treatise by Shams al-Din al-Samarqandi (d. 1322). ‘Atufi’s list includes the standard commentaries on this work by Muhammad al-Bihishti (d. 1348), Qutb al-Din al-Gilani (fl. 1420), and Mas‘ud al-Shirwani (d. 1499).

Surprisingly, there are no works from the earlier tradition of juristic and theological *jadal*—for example, the classic works of al-Baji (d. 1081), al-Juwayni (d. 1085), al-Ghazali (d. 1111), and al-Barawi (d. 1171)—that had been influential in Maliki and Shafi‘i circles in the Arabic-speaking world.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

A remarkable fact is that ‘Atufi’s list includes a conspicuously low number of works on logic and dialectic by Ottoman scholars. Exceptions are the two copies of Molla Fenari’s commentary on *Īsāghūjī*, as well as a work entitled *Zūbdat ūl-beyān* (The Cream of Exposition) that is described by ‘Atufi simply as a work “in Turkish.” Thanks to a study by Havva Kızılçardak, it is known that the author was a certain Mehmed Ladiki, who dedicated his work to Sultan Bayezid II and stated in the introduction that he had written it for the education of the *kapıkulu* class.¹⁸ These are three entries out of 116.

To be sure, the category “Ottoman scholar” still had porous boundaries in the fifteenth century. Should it include, for example, ‘Ali al-‘Ajami (d. 1456), Musan-nifek (d. 1470), or ‘Ala’ al-Din al-Tusi (d. 1482), three scholars who were born and educated in Iran but who spent some or all of their later years in the Ottoman realm? If we consider such scholars to be “Ottoman,” then of course the number of works by “Ottoman scholars” would increase somewhat.

Nevertheless, there is a way to rephrase the point I have made without getting entangled in discussions about who was and who was not an Ottoman scholar. Someone who only had access to the list of works on logic and dialectics in ‘Atufi’s inventory, with no contex-

tual information except that it is a list of the holdings of a library, would be able to conclude with some confidence that the library was in the Turco-Persian cultural area, rather than, say, in North Africa. But it would be very difficult to determine whether the library was in Istanbul or, for example, in Tabriz, Shiraz, Herat, or Bukhara. Even the two copies of Fenari’s commentary on Abhari’s *Īsāghūjī* would not be a decisive clue, for this was a work that was also studied and glossed beyond the Ottoman borders, for example in Azeri areas to the east and in the Tatar areas north of the Black and Caspian Seas.¹⁹ The presence of an unidentified work on logic “in Turkish” would of course not have been decisive, either, for such a work could also have been written in Azerbaijan, Herat, or Central Asia.

By contrast, if someone were to see a bare list of works on logic in the present-day Topkapı Library (for example, a list extracted from Karatay’s modern catalogue of Arabic works on logic in that library) the Ottoman nature of the collection would be easy to determine.²⁰ That list would include numerous works on logic and dialectics by Ottoman scholars—works that were widely studied in the Turkish-speaking areas of the empire but that were not well known further east, in Iran, India, or Central Asia. Examples are works by ‘Allamek Bosnavi (d. 1636), Hüseyin Adanavi (fl. 1660), Kara Halil Tirevi (d. 1711), Es‘ad Yanyavi (d. 1729), Mehmed Saçaqlı-zade (d. 1732), Ebu Sa‘id Hadimi (d. 1762), and Isma‘il Gelenbevi (d. 1791).²¹ It is clear that the formation of a distinct *Ottoman* tradition of logic and dialectics occurs in the period after the compilation of ‘Atufi’s palace library inventory.

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NOTES

1. For an extant copy, see Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*, 4 vols. (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1966), 3:669–70 (nr. 6803).
2. See *ibid.*, nr. 6916. The objections of Katibi have recently been edited with the annotations of Ibn Kammuna (d. 1284); see *As‘ilat Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī ‘an al-Ma‘ālim li-Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī ma‘a ta‘āliq Ibn Kammūna*, ed. S.

- Schmidtke and R. Pourjavady (Berlin and Tehran: Institute of Islamic Studies and Iranian Institute of Philosophy, 2007). The editors have not used the Topkapı manuscript.
3. Two copies of Dalajī's work, entitled *Sharḥ Jannat abkār al-aḥkār* (Commentary on the Paradise of Novel Thoughts), are now extant in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul. See Istanbul, SK Laleli MS 2170 and Ayasofya MS 2545.
 4. This appears to be the sole extant copy of this massive work. It is in the Topkapı Palace Library; see Karatay, nr. 6782. The attribution to Razi is not beyond doubt.
 5. There are two extant copies of Molla Hüsrev's Arabic translation in the Topkapı Palace Library today (Karatay, nrs. 6812, 6813), and these bear the seal of Sultan Bayezid II, so it is likely that 'Atufi missed the fact that some of the copies of *Asās al-iqtibās* were not in Persian but in Arabic.
 6. Naşir al-Dīn Tūsī, *Asās al-iqtibās*, ed. Mudarris Razavī (Tehran 1326/1947).
 7. A sense of the standard handbooks of logic in the early sixteenth century can be gathered from the autobiographical account of the Ottoman scholar and judge Aḥmed Ṭāşköprüzāde (1495–1561); see his *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya fī 'ulamā' al-dawlah al-'Uthmāniyya*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabā'ī Bihbihānī (Tehran: Kitābkhāne Mūzih va Markaz-i Asnād, Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, 2010), 471–77. In logic, Ṭāşköprüzāde studied Abharī's *Īsāghūjī* with the commentary of Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Kātī, Kātībī's *al-Shamsiyya* (The Epistle for Shams al-Din) with the commentary of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī's gloss on Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī's commentary on Urmawī's *Maṭālī' al-anwār* (The Dawning of Lights).
 8. The widely copied commentaries on the work by Mawlana Zade al-Kharziyāni (d. 1409), Muḥammad Ibn al-Sharīf (d. 1424), Qadī Mir Husayn al-Maybudī (d. 1504), and Mulla Sadra al-Shirāzī (d. 1635) skip the logic section of Abharī's handbook.
 9. For another work by this obscure author, see Karatay nr. 6730: a copy of his lengthy commentary on Abharī's *Hidāyat al-ḥikma* (The Guidance of Philosophy).
 10. On Urmawī, see Louise Marlow, "A Thirteenth-Century Scholar in the Eastern Mediterranean: Sirāj al-Dīn Urmawī, Jurist, Logician, Diplomat," *Al-Masaq* 22 (2010): 279–313.
 11. Karatay, nr. 6763. The manuscript is the basis of the edition prepared by W. Kutsch & S. Marrow (Beirut: Imprimerie catholique, 1960).
 12. Karatay, nr. 6643.
 13. A. I. Sabra, "A Twelfth Century Defense of the Fourth Figure of the Syllogism," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965): 14–28. Sabra used a manuscript in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul (Ayasofya MS 4830).
 14. A copy of Sanusi's commentary on Ibn 'Arafa's *Epitome (Mukhtaṣar)* on logic is extant in the Topkapı Palace Library (Karatay, nr. 6889), but the manuscript dates from 1120 (1708).
 15. On Dawanī and his works, see Reza Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 4–16. For later Ottoman glosses on his commentary on *Tahdhīb al-mantiq* (The Condensation of Logic), see Rudolf Mach, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts (Yahuda Section) in the Garrett Collection, Princeton University Library* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), nrs. 3238–42.
 16. The North African historian Ibn Khaldun identified this school of dialectics in a brief survey of the field in his celebrated *Muqaddima*; see *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, 3 vols. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1958), 3:33. For a survey of the evolution of dialectics in Arabic, see Larry Miller, "Islamic Disputation Theory: A Study of the Development of Dialectic in Islam from the Tenth through the Fourteenth Centuries" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1984).
 17. The current location of this manuscript is not known to me.
 18. Havva Kızılçardak, *Lādikli Mehmet Çelebi'nin Türkçe "Zübde'tü'l-Beyān" Adlı Mantık Eseri Üzerine Bir İnceleme* (master's thesis, Marmara University, 2010). I am grateful to Professor Mürteza Bedir for drawing my attention to this thesis.
 19. Two widely studied glosses on the commentary were written by the Azeri scholar Kul Ahmed Şirvani (fl. sixteenth century) and the Tatar scholar Burhan al-Din Bulghari (fl. 1480s).
 20. Karatay, 3:656–707.
 21. Ibid., nrs. 6795, 6845, 6885, 6893–6909.

LIST OF ENTRIES

PREPARED BY DIDAR AKBULUT

SECTION ON BOOKS ON DIALECTICS AND LOGIC

(Taḥṣīlū [...] kutubi ‘ilmi al-jadali wa-kutubi al-manṭiqi)

GAL Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1943–49.

Kātib Çelebî Kātib Çelebî, *Kashf al-zunûn ‘an asāmī al-kutub wa-al-funûn*. Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941–43.

Aristotle (d. 322 BCE) and Porphyry (d. ca. 305 CE)

- 1 *Eisagōgē, Categories, De Interpretatione, Prior Analytics, and Posterior Analytics*. Translated into Arabic by Ḥunayn b. Ishāq (d. 873), Arabic, 344 {7}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3362 (Karatay, 6643).

Al-Fārābī, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. 950)

- 1 Long commentary on Aristotle’s *De Interpretatione*, Arabic, 343 {14–15}.¹ MANUSCRIPT: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi (hereafter TSMK) A. 3439 (Karatay, 6763),² copied in 538 (1143). EDITION: al-Fārābī. *Sharḥ kitāb Aristūṭālīs fī al-‘Ibārā*. Ed. Wilhelm Kutsch and Stanley Marrow. Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1971.

Ibn Sīnā, Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd Allāh (d. 1037)

- 1 *Kitāb al-Najāt* (The Book of Salvation), Arabic, 341 {10} (only the section on logic), 352 {7, 15–16} (2 copies), 358 {12–13}, 360 {5}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3448 (Karatay, 6671), copied by Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh al-Na’āl. EDITION: Ibn Sīnā [Avicenna]. *Al-Najāt: Mukhtaṣar al-Shifā’*. [Cairo]: Maṭba‘at al-Sa’āda, 1912.
- 2 *Kitāb al-Shifā’* (The Book of Healing; only the section on logic), Arabic, 343 {9, 10} (3 copies), 344 {1–2}, 351 {5, 6, 9–11, 13–14, 17–19} (7 copies), 352 {1}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK A. 3445 (Karatay, A 6666). EDITIONS: Ibn Sīnā [Avicenna]. *Al-Shifā’*. *Al-Manṭiq*. *Al-Shi’r*. Ed. Ibrāhīm Madkūr and Maḥmūd Khuḍayrī. Cairo: Impr. Nationale, 1952–70; *al-Burhān min Kitāb al-Shifā’*. Ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī. Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍa al-Miṣriyya, 1954; *al-Shifā’: al-Qiyās*. Ed. S. Zāyid and I. Madkour. Cairo: n.p., 1964.
- 3 *Dānishnāme-yi ‘Alā’ī* (The Book of Science), Persian, 341 {16–17}, 345 {6}. EDITIONS: Ibn Sīnā [Avicenna]. *Dānishnāmah-i ‘alā’ī: Manṭiq va Falsafah-i ‘Awlā’*. Ed. Aḥmad Khurāsānī. Tehran: Kitābkhānah-i Fārābī, 1981; *Dānishnāmah-i ‘alā’ī: Bakhsh-i Manṭiq*. Ed. Muḥammad Mishkvah and Muḥammad Mu‘īn. Hamadan: Dānishgāh-i Bū ‘Alī Sīnā, 2004.
- 4 *Kitāb al-Mūjaz fī al-manṭiq* (The Book of Epitome of Logic), Arabic, 344 {11–12}, 362 {15–17}. MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 4849; Ayasofya 4829; Carullah 1441; Nurosmāniye 4894.
- 5 *Kitāb (al-Mukhtaṣar) al-awsaṭ* (The Middle Book), Arabic, 360 {14}. MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye Library, Carullah 1441; Turhan V. Sultan 213; Nurosmāniye 4894; Nurosmāniye 2763.
- 6 [*Urjūza fī ‘ilm al-manṭiq* (The Science of Logic in Verse)]
 - 6.1 “*Sharḥ Urjūzat Ibn Sīnā fī al-manṭiq*” (Commentary on Ibn Sīnā’s Logic in Verse), Arabic, 346 {4–5}.
- 7 *Al-Ishārāt wa-al-tanbihāt* (Pointers and Reminders), Arabic, 343 {14} (only the section on logic), 348 {11–18} (9 copies), 349 {2, 3, 4–5} (3 copies), 356 {16}, 358 {13}, 362 {9–10}, 363 {9–10, 10–11}

(2 copies). MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK A. 3278 (Karatay, 6649); A. 3248 (Karatay, 6650); A. 3353 (Karatay, 6651); A. 3355 (Karatay, 6652). EDITIONS: Ibn Sīnā [Avicenna]. *Al-Ishārāt wa-al-tanbīhāt*. Ed. J. Forget. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1892; ed. M. Zārī. Tehran: Bustan-i Kitāb-i Qum Press, 1423 (2002).

- 7.1 Al-Ṭūsī, *Sharḥ li-kitāb al-Ishārāt* (Commentary on the Book of Pointers). See al-Ṭūsī.
 - 7.1.1 Al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī, *Muḥākamāt* [*ḥāshiya ‘ala sharḥ al-Ishārāt*]. See al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī.
- 7.2 Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī, *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt* (Commentary on the Pointers). See Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī.
 - 7.2.1 Al-Āmidī, *I’tirāḍāt ‘alā sharḥ al-Imām al-Rāzī li-l-Ishārāt* (Objections to al-Rāzī’s Commentary on the Pointers). See al-Āmidī.
- 7.3 Al-Ḥillī, *Muḥākamāt bayn shurrāḥ al-Ishārāt*. (Arbitration between the Commentators of the Pointers). See al-Ḥillī.
- 7.4 Al-Urmawī, *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt* (Commentary on the Pointers). See al-Urmawī.
- 7.5 Najm al-dīn al-Nakhjuwānī (fl. 1229). *Zubdat al-naqḍ wa-lubāb al-kashf* [*Sharḥ al-Ishārāt al-Nakhjuwānī*] (The Cream of Critique and the Pith of Disclosure: Commentary of the Pointers by al-Nakhjuwānī), Arabic, 363 {8–9}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK A. 3264 (Karatay, 6653); A. 3259 (Karatay, 6654).
- 7.6 Al-Mas‘ūdī, *al-Shukūk ‘alā al-Ishārāt* (Aporiai on the Pointers), Arabic, 362 {6}. EDITION: Muḥammad Ibn Mas‘ūd al-Mas‘ūdī and Ayman Shihadeh. *Doubts on Avicenna: A Study and Edition of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Mas‘ūdī’s Commentary on the Isharat*. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- 7.7 Al-Samarqandī, *Bisharāt al-Ishārāt* (The Glad Tidings of Pointers). See al-Samarqandī.

Qāḍī al-Sāwī, Zayn al-dīn ‘Umar b. Sahlān (fl. 1127)

- 1 *Al-Baṣā’ir al-naṣīriyya* (The Insights for Naṣīr al-dīn), Arabic, 343 {16–18} (2 copies), 344 {4–5}, 356 {10}, 360 {19}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3438 (Karatay, A 6771), copied in 866 (1481). EDITION: Ibn Sahlān ‘Umar al-Sāwī. *Al-Baṣā’ir al-naṣīriyya fī al-manṭiq*. Ed. Muḥammad ‘Abduh. Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-Kubrā al-Amīriyya, 1316 (1898).
- 2 [*Tabṣira* (The Insight). Persian.] EDITION: Sāwī Ibn Sahlān ‘Umar. *Tabṣira; va Dū risālah-i digar dar manṭiq*. Ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh. Tehran: Dānishgāh-i Tihārān, 1958.
 - 2.1 “*Kitāb al-Mubīn fī sharḥ al-matīn*” (The Evident Book on the Commentary of the Text) (Arabic translation and commentary of *Tabṣira*), Arabic, 342 {18–19}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3432 (Karatay, A 6891), dedicated to Mehmed II.

Ibn al-Sarī, Najm al-dīn Abū Futūḥ Aḥmad (d. 1153)

- 1 *Risāla fī al-shakl al-rābi‘* (Treatise on the Fourth Figure), Arabic, 341 {18}, 342 {1–2}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 4830.

Abū al-Barakāt al-Baghdādī, Hibatallāh ‘Abd Allāh b. Malkā (d. 1152)

- 1 *Al-Mu‘tabar fī al-ḥikma* (The Considered View), Arabic, 343 {12–13}, 360 {9–10}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3222 (Karatay, 6685). [Only the sections on physics, astronomy, and chemistry.] EDITION: Abū al-Barakāt Hibat Allāh al-Baghdādī. *Al-Mu‘tabar fī al-ḥikma*. Hyderabad, Deccan: Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1357 (1938).

Al-Suhrawardī, Shihāb al-dīn Yaḥyā b. Ḥabash (d. 1191)

- 1 (*Manṭiq*) *al-Mashārī‘ wa-al-muṭāraḥāt* (The logic section of the Sources and Exchanges), Arabic, 341 {14}, 353 {15–16, 17–18, 18–19} (3 copies). EDITION: Yaḥyā Ibn Ḥabash al-Suhrawardī.

- Al-Mashārī‘ wa-al-Muṭārahāt*. Ed. Maqsūd Muḥammadī and Ashraf ‘Alipūr. Beirut and Baghdad: Manshūrāt al-Jamal, 2011.
- 2 *Al-Tabwīhāt* (Intimations), Arabic, 353 {19}, 354 {6}, 355 {4–5, 8} (2 copies), 357 {12}, 358 {4}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3281 (Karatay, 6686). EDITION: Yaḥyā Ibn Ḥabash al-Suhrawardī. *Al-Tabwīhāt al-lawḥiyya wa-al-‘arshiyya*. Ed. Najafqulī Ḥabībī. Tehran: Mu‘assasah-i Pizhūhishī-i Ḥikmat va Falsafah-i Īrān, 2009.
 - 2.1 Ibn Kammūna, *Sharḥ al-Tabwihāt* (Commentary on Intimations). See Ibn Kammūna.
 - 3 *Kitāb al-Muqāwamāt* (The Book of Firm Standings), Arabic, 343 {6}, 354 {1}, 355 {5}, 358 {4}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3252 (Karatay, 6689); A. 3266 (Karatay, 6690). EDITION: Yaḥyā Ibn Ḥabash al-Suhrawardī. *Kitāb al-Muqāwamāt*. In *Majmū‘ah-i Muṣannafāt-i Shaykh-i Ishrāq Shihāb al-dīn Yaḥyā Suhrawardī*. Ed. Henry Corbin and Seyyed Hossein Nasr. Tehran: Anjuman-i Shāhinshāhī-i Falsafah-i Īrān, 1976.
 - 4 *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* (The Philosophy of Illumination), Arabic, 348 {19}, 355 {5–6, 8–9, 11–12, 12–13, 13–14, 15–16} (6 copies), 358 {5}, 363 {9–10}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK A. 3183 (Karatay, 6694); A. 3197 (Karatay, 6695); A. 3267 (Karatay, 6696). EDITION: Yaḥyā b. Ḥabash al-Suhrawardī. *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* [The Philosophy of Illumination]. Ed. and trans. H. Ziai and J. Walbridge. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1999.
 - 4.1 Al-Shirāzī, Quṭb al-dīn, *Sharḥ Hikmat al-ishrāq* (Commentary on the Philosophy of Illumination), Arabic, 354 {2, 3, 4, 5, 6–7} (5 copies), 355 {8–9, 11–12} (2 copies), 356 {2–3}, 363 {3–4}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK E.H. 1698 (Karatay, 6697); E.H. 1699 (Karatay, 6698); A. 3212 (Karatay, 6699); A. 3229 (Karatay, 6700); A. 3236 (Karatay, 6701); A. 3280 (Karatay, 6702); R. 1773 (Karatay, 6703). EDITION: Quṭb al-dīn Maḥmūd Ibn Mas‘ūd al-Shirāzī. *Sharḥ-i Ḥikmat al-ishrāq-i Suhrawardī*. Ed. ‘Abd Allāh Nūrānī and Maḥdī Muḥaqqiq. Tehran: Mu‘assasah-i Muṭāla‘āt-i Islāmī, Dānishgāh-i Tihārān, Dānishgāh-i Makgīl, 2001.
- Al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭīb (d. 1210)
- 1 *Al-Mantiq al-kabīr* (The Long Logic), Arabic, 342 {6}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3401 (Karatay, A 6782), copied by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Khujandī in 667 (1268) [attribution uncertain].
 - 2 *Al-Mulakhkhaṣ* (The Epitome), Arabic, 339 {14–15}, 346 {12–13}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3224 (Karatay, 6710).
 - 2.1 Al-Kātibī, *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ al-musammā bi-al-Munaṣṣaṣ* (Commentary on the Epitome named the Precise). See al-Kātibī.
 - 2.2 Fakhr al-dīn Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad (Ibn al-Ḥillī) (d. 1369). *Sharḥ Mulakhkhaṣ al-imām al-Rāzī al-musammā bi-al-Risāla al-Fakhriyya* (Treatise by Fakhr al-dīn, Commentary on al-Rāzī’s Epitome), Arabic, 339 {16–17}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK A. 3182 (Karatay, 6711); A. 3205 (Karatay, 6712). [Only the section on *ḥikma*.]
 - 3 *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt* (Commentary on the Pointers), Arabic, 349 {13–14}, 350 {1–2}. EDITION: Fakhr al-dīn Muḥammad Ibn ‘Umar al-Rāzī. *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt wa-al-tanbīhāt*. Ed. ‘Alī Rizā Najafzādah. Tehran: Amjuman-i Āṣār va Mafākhir-i Farhangī, 2005.
 - 3.1 Al-Āmidī, *I‘tirādāt ‘alā sharḥ al-imām al-Rāzī li-l-Ishārāt* (Objections to al-Rāzī’s Commentary on the Pointers). See al-Āmidī.

Al-ʿAmīdī, Rukn al-dīn Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad (d. 1218)

- 1 *Kitāb al-Irshād* (The Guide), Arabic, 347 {7–9}. MANUSCRIPTS: See GAL I, chap. 10: “Die Mystik.”

Al-Āmidī, Sayf al-dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Thaʿlabī (d. 1233)

- 1 *Iʿtirāḍāt ʿalā Sharḥ al-Imām al-Rāzī li-l-Ishārāt* (Objections to al-Rāzī’s Commentary on the Pointers), Arabic, 340 {3–4}. EDITION: Sayf al-dīn ʿAlī al-Āmidī. *Kashf al-tamwīhāt fī Sharḥ al-Rāzī ʿalā al-Ishārāt wa-al-tanbīhāt*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2013.

Al-Khūnajī, Afḍal al-dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (d. 1248)

- 1 *Kashf al-asrār ʿan ghawāmiḍ al-afkār* (The Disclosure of Secrets from the Mysteries of Thoughts), Arabic, 341 {13}, 347 {14}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3354 (Karatay, A 6783), copied by ʿAbd Allah b. Muḥammad in 683 (1284) in Shiraz. EDITION: Afḍal al-dīn al-Khūnajī. *Kashf al-asrār ʿan ghawāmiḍ al-afkār*. Ed. K. El-Rouayheb. Berlin and Tehran: Institute for Islamic Studies and Iranian Institute of Islamic Philosophy, 2010.
- 1.1 Al-Kātībī, *Sharḥ Kashf al-asrār ʿan ghawāmiḍ al-afkār* (Commentary on The Disclosure of Secrets from the Mysteries of Thoughts). See al-Kātībī.

Al-Abharī, Athīr al-dīn al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿUmar (d. 1265)

- 1 *Hidāyat al-ḥikma* (The Guidance of Philosophy), Arabic, 347 {16}, 352 {10–11, 11–13} (3 copies), 356 {10–11}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3228 (Karatay, A 6784).
- 2 *Īsāghūjī* (The Introduction), Arabic, 347 {15–17}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK E.H. 1959 (Karatay, 6785). EDITION: Al-Abharī, Athīr al-dīn. *Īsāghūjī*. Istanbul: Maṭbaʿa-yi ʿAmire, 1315 (1899/1900).
- 2.1 Al-Kātī, Ḥusām al-dīn Ḥasan (d. 1359), *Sharḥ Īsāghūjī* (Commentary on the Introduction), Arabic, 344 {8}, 346 {6–7, 8–9} (2 copies). MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK A. 3357 (Karatay, 6786); K. 1165 (Karatay, 6787); A. 3370 (Karatay, A 6788); A. 3405 (Karatay, A 6789), copied by Khalīl b. Shaykh Muṣṭafā in 858 (1454); E.H. 1958 (Karatay, 6790); A. 3889 (Karatay, 6836); K. 1171 (Karatay, 6842). EDITIONS: Ḥusām al-dīn al-Kātī. *Qāla Aqūlu [Sharḥ Īsāghūjī]*. Lithograph. Cawnpore: Maṭbaʿa-i Nizāmī, 1279 (1862); *Sharḥ Kitāb Īsāghūjī*. Ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Fūda. Amman: Dār al-Faṭḥ li-l-Dirāsāt wa-l-Nashr, 2013.
- 2.2 Al-Bardaʿī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. 1520), *Ḥāshiyā ʿala sharḥ Ḥusām al-Kātī* (Gloss on the Commentary of al-Kātī), Arabic, 341 {5}. MANUSCRIPTS: Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi, no. 4439; no. 9649.
- 2.3 Mollā Fenārī, Shems al-dīn Mehmed (d. 1431), *Sharḥ Īsāghūjī* (Commentary on the Introduction), Arabic, 344 {8–9}, 346 {7–8}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK E.H. 1960 (Karatay, 6791); E.H. 1961 (Karatay, 6792); H. 650 (Karatay, 6793); K. 1166 (Karatay, 6794). EDITION: Mehmed Fenārī. *Sharḥ Īsāghūjī*. Istanbul: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Ḥarbiyya, 1278 (1861).
- 3 *Al-Qawāḍih al-jadaliyya* (Dialectical Confutations), Arabic, 347 {7–9}. EDITION: Athīr al-dīn al-Mufaḍḍal Ibn ʿUmar al-Abharī. *Al-Qawāḍih al-jadaliyya*. Ed. Sharīfa bint ʿAlī Ibn Sulaymān Ḥawshānī. Beirut: Tawzīʿ Dār al-Warrāq, 2004.
- 4 *Tanzīl al-afkār* (Revelation of Thoughts), Arabic, 360 {11}, 362 {2}. MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye Library, Laleli 2562; Reisülküttab 569; Nurosmāniye 2662.
- 4.1 Al-Ṭūsī, *Taʿdīl al-miʿyār fī naqḍ Tanzīl al-afkār* (Settling the Criteria in Criticizing the Revelation of Thoughts). See al-Ṭūsī.

Al-Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-dīn Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. 1274)

- 1 *Asās al-iqtibās* (The Principle of Acquisition), Persian, 342 {11, 12–13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18} (8 copies), 343 {3–4, 5–6} (2 copies). MANUSCRIPT: Aporiai A. 3444 (Karatay, F 931), copied by Muḥammad al-Badakhshānī in 880 (1475) in Kefe. EDITION: Naṣīr al-dīn al-Ṭūsī. *Asās al-iqtibās*. Ed. M. Raḡavī. Tehran: Chāpkhānah-i Dānishgāh, 1326 (1947).
 - 1.1 Mollā Hüsrev (d. 1480), trans., *Asās al-iqtibās* (The Principle of Acquisition), Arabic, dedicated to Mehmed II. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK A. 3428 (Karatay, A 6812), copied in 869 (1464); A. 3441 (Karatay, A 6813), copied in 867 (1463).
- 2 *Sharḥ li-kitāb al-Ishārāt wa-al-tanbīhāt* (Commentary on the Book of Pointers), Arabic, 349 {10–13, 14–19} (10 copies), 350 {3–7, 9–11} (7 copies), 351 {1}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK A. 3211 (Karatay, 6655); A. 3226 (Karatay, 6656); A. 3255 (Karatay, 6657); A. 3272 (Karatay, 6658); A. 3285 (Karatay, 6659); A. 419 (Karatay, 6660). EDITION: Naṣīr al-dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī and Avicenna. *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt wa-al-tanbīhāt*. Ed. Ḥasan Ḥasan'zādah Āmulī. Qum: Büstān-i Kitāb, 2004.
 - 2.1 *Al-Muḥākamāt [Ḥāshiya 'alā sharḥ al-Ishārāt]*. (Arbitration-Gloss on the Commentary of the Pointers). See Quṭb al-dīn al-Rāzī.
- 3 *Ta'dīl al-mi'yār fī naqd Tanzīl al-afkār* (Settling the Criteria in Criticizing the Revelation of Thoughts), Arabic, 357 {18}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3496 (Karatay, 6733). EDITION: Naṣīr al-dīn al-Ṭūsī. *Ta'dīl al-mi'yār fī naqd Tanzīl al-afkār*. In *Collected Papers on Logic and Language*. Ed. M. Mohaghegh and T. Izutsu, 139–248. Tehran: Institute of Islamic Studies, 1974.

Al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī, Najm al-dīn 'Alī b. 'Umar (d. 1276)

- 1 *Jāmi' al-daqa'iq fī kashf al-haqā'iq* (The Collected Subtleties in the Disclosure of Truths), Arabic, 339 {18–19}, 341 {11}, 352 {7–8}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3372 (Karatay, A 6849), copied by Hindūshāh b. Sanjar in 683 (1284) in Baghdad.
- 2 *Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣṣ al-musamma bi-al-Munaṣṣaṣ* (Commentary on the Epitome named the Precise), Arabic, 339 {14–15}. MANUSCRIPTS: Köprülü Library, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 887; 888; 889.
- 3 *Sharḥ Kashf al-asrār* (Commentary on The Disclosure of Secrets), Arabic, 342 {5}, MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye Library, Carullah 1417; 1418; Laleli 2664; 2665.
- 4 *Al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya* (The Epistle for Shams al-dīn), Arabic, 341 {4–5}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK A. 3388 (Karatay, 6814); A. 3384 (Karatay, 6815); A. 3402 (Karatay, 6816).
 - 4.1 Al-Ḥillī, *Sharḥ al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya al-musammā bi-al-Qawā'id al-jaliyya* (Commentary on the Epistle for Shams al-dīn titled the Evident Rules). See al-Ḥillī.
 - 4.2 Mirak Ibn Mubārakshāh, Shams al-dīn Muḥammad (fl. 1355), *Sharḥ al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya* (Commentary on the Epistle for Shams al-dīn), Arabic, 341 {14–15}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3433 (Karatay, A 6833).
 - 4.3 Quṭb al-dīn al-Rāzī, *Tahrīr al-qawā'id al-mantiqiyya fī sharḥ al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya* (An Explication of the Logical Principles in the Commentary of the Epistle for Shams al-dīn). See al-Rāzī.
 - 4.3.1 Al-Jurjānī, *Ḥāshiya (Kūchak) 'ala sharḥ al-Quṭb li-l-Shamsiyya* (Gloss on the Commentary of Quṭb al-dīn al-Rāzī's commentary on the Epistle for Shams al-dīn). See al-Jurjānī.
 - 4.4 Al-Taftāzānī, Ṣa'd al-dīn Mas'ūd (d. 1390), *Sharḥ al-Shamsiyya* (Commentary on the Epistle for Shams al-dīn), Arabic, 341 {2–3, 10–11} (2 copies), 347 {5–7}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3427 (Karatay, A 6819). EDITION: Ṣa'd al-dīn al-Taftāzānī. *Sharḥ al-Shamsiyya*. Lithograph. Luc-know: al-Maṭba' al-Yūsufī, 1317 (1899).

- 4-5 Muşannifek, 'Alā al-dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad (d. 1470), *Sharḥ al-Shamsiyya* (Commentary on the Epistle for Shams al-dīn), Persian, 342 {3}. MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 2557; Esad Efendi 1956; Şehid Ali Paşa 1792.

Al-Urmawī, Sirāj al-dīn Abū al-Thanā' Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr (d. 1283)

- 1 *Maṭālī' al-anwār* (The Dawning of Lights), Arabic, 339 {13}, 340 {5–6} (2 copies), 341 {1–2}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK A. 3421 (Karatay, A 6850), copied in 713 (1313); A. 3429 (Karatay, A 6851). EDITION: Sirāj al-dīn Urmawī. *Maṭālī' al-anwār*. Printed with Quṭb al-dīn al-Rāzī, *Lawāmi' al-asrār fī Sharḥ Maṭālī' al-anwār*. Istanbul: Maṭba'a-yi 'Amire, 1277 (1860/61).
 - 1.1 Al-Isfahānī, *Tanwīr al-Maṭālī'* (The Illumination of Dawning). See al-Isfahānī.
 - 1.2 Al-Rāzī, *Lawāmi' al-asrār fī sharḥ Maṭālī' al-anwār* (The Blazing Secrets in Commenting upon the Dawning of Lights). See al-Rāzī.
 - 1.2.1 Al-Jurjānī, *Ḥaṣhiya 'ala Lawāmi' al-asrār fī sharḥ Maṭālī' al-anwār* (Gloss on the Blazing Secrets in Commenting upon the Dawning of Lights). See al-Jurjānī.
 - 1.2.2 Al-Ṭūsī, 'Alā' al-dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad (d. 1482), *Tarjama-yi sharḥ-i Maṭālī'* (Translation of the Commentary on the Dawning), Persian, 341 {8}, 343 {13}, 344 {5–6}. MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 2486; Ayasofya 2487.
 - 1.3 "*Lawāmi' al-afkār al-sharḥ Maṭālī' al-anwār*" (The Blazing Thoughts in Commenting upon the Dawning of Lights), Arabic, 340 {4–5}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK A. 3412 (Karatay, A 6854), copied in 693 (1294); A. 3437 (Karatay, A 6853), copied by Yusūf b. Ḥusayn al-Sīwāsī in 877 (1472).
- 2 *Kitāb Bayān al-ḥaqq* (Book of the Exposition of the Truth), Arabic, 341 {6–7, 9, 12–13} (3 copies). MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK A. 3440 (Karatay, A 6874); A. 3378 (Karatay, A 6873), copied by Awḥad b. Aḥmad al-Sīwāsī.
 - 2.1 Amīn al-dīn al-Sālimī, *Sharḥ Bayān al-ḥaqq* (Commentary on the Exposition of the Truth), Arabic. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3442 (Karatay, A 6875), copied by Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 341 {9, 12} (2 copies).
- 3 *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt* (Commentary on the Pointers), Arabic, 350 {8–9}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 269 (Karatay, 6661).

Ibn Kammūna, 'Izz al-dawla Sa'd b. Maṣṣūr (d. 1284)

- 1 *Al-Ḥikma al-jadīda [al-Kāshif; al-jadīda fī al-ḥikma]* (The New Philosophy; The Revealer), Arabic, 353 {7–9} (2 volumes). EDITION: Sa'd Ibn Maṣṣūr Ibn Kammūnah Işfahānī. *Al-Kāshif: al-Jadīd fī al-ḥikma*. Ed. Ḥāmid Nāji. Tehran [and Berlin]: Mu'assasah-i Pizhūhishī-i Ḥikmat va Falsafah-i Īrān; Mu'assasah-i Muṭāla'āt-i Islāmī-i Dānishgāh-i Āzād-i Birlīn, 2008.
- 2 *Sharḥ al-Tawḥīdāt* (Commentary on the Intimations), Arabic, 354 {9–10}, 355 {10–11}, 360 {6–7}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3208 (Karatay, A 6705), copied by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Āshī in 696 (1296). EDITION: Ibn Kammūna. *Al-Tanqīḥāt fī Sharḥ al-Tawḥīdāt*. Ed. Najafqulī Ḥabībī. Tehran: Markaz al-Buḥūth wa-l-Dirāsāt li-l-Turāth al-Makhtūṭ, 2009.

Al-Nasafī, Burhān al-dīn Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. 1288)

- 1 *Al-Fuṣūl [al-Muqaddīma al-Burhānīyya]* (Maxims; Introduction by Burhān al-dīn), Arabic, 347 {9}. MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye Library, Amcazade Hüseyin 403; Ayasofya 2468; Carullah 2106; H. Hüsnü Paşa 1229; Laleli 739; Reisülküttab 1204; Şehid Ali Paşa 2303.
 - 1.1 Al-Samarqandī, *Sharḥ Muqaddīmat al-Nasafī fī al-'ilm al-jadal* (Commentary on the Introduction of al-Nasafī). See al-Samarqandī.

- 1.2 "*Taqrīb al-Ṣultānī fī sharḥ al-Burhān*" (Approaching the Sultan in Commenting on the book of Burhān), Arabic, 342 {4}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK 4861.
- 2 [*Kitāb Mansha' al-naẓar* (The Book of the Source of Ratiocination)]. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye Library, Esad Efendi 3034; Reisülküttab 1204; Şehid Ali Paşa 2303.
- 2.1 Al-Samarqandī, *Sharḥ Mansha' al-naẓar* (Commentary on the Source of Ratiocination). See al-Samarqandī.

Al-Samarqandī, Shams al-dīn Muḥammad (d. 1322)

- 1 *Bisharāt al-Ishārāt* (The Glad Tidings of Pointers), Arabic, 350 {7–8}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2418.
- 2 *Qisṭās al-afkār* (The Measure of Thoughts), Arabic, 343 {12}, 345 {3}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK A. 3396 (Karatay, 6775); A. 3399 (Karatay, 6776); A. 3418 (Karatay, A 6777), copied by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad in 862 (1458). EDITION: Semerkandī, Şemsüddīn. *Kisṭāsu'l-Efkār - Düşüncenin kisṭası*. Ed. and trans. Necmettin Pehlivan. Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2014.
- 2.1 By the author, *Sharḥ Qisṭās al-afkār* (Commentary on the Measure of Thoughts), Arabic, 345 {1}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK A. 3399 (Karatay, 6776); A. 3397 (Karatay, 6778).
- 3 *Sharḥ Muqaddimat al-Nasafī fī al-ʿilm al-jadal* (Commentary on the Introduction of al-Nasafī), Arabic, 355 {1–2}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 1316 (Karatay, 6879).
- 4 *Sharḥ Mansha' al-naẓar* (Commentary on the Source of Theory), Arabic 343 {8}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3371 (Karatay, 6878).
- 5 *Risāla fī ādāb al-baḥṭh* (The Rules of Discussion).
- 5.1 Al-Bihishti al-Isfārāʾīnī, Muḥammad (d. 1348), (*al-Maʿāb fī*) *Sharḥ al-ādāb* (The Recourse in the Commentary on the Rules of Discussion), Arabic, 341 {3}, 347 {2}. MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye Library, Amcazade Hüseyin 301; Ayasofya 4846; Fatih 4727; Fatih 4728; Harput 213; Kadizade Burhan 64; Serez 2277; Şehid Ali Paşa 2305.
- 5.2 Al-Gilānī, Quṭb al-dīn (fl. 1427), *Sharḥ ādāb al-baḥṭh* (Commentary on the Rules of Inquiry), Arabic, 346 {2}. MANUSCRIPT: E.H. 1539 (Karatay, 6915).
- 5.3 Al-Bulghārī, Burhān al-dīn (fl. 14th century),³ *Qāfiyat al-dhāl fī sharḥ ādāb al-baḥṭh* (The Rhyming Attached to the Commentary of the Rules of Inquiry), Arabic, 346 {3}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK A. 3425 (Karatay, A 6880, 39a-ff.), copied by Zakāriyyāʾ b. Yūsuf in 803 (1400) in Milas. (Bound together with al-Isfahānī's *Nāẓir al-ʿayn*), copied by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Masʿūd al-Dawlawī in 777 (1376); Süleymaniye Library, Şehid Ali Paşa 2305.
- 5.4 Al-Shirwānī al-Rūmī, Kamāl al-dīn Masʿūd b. Ḥusayn (d. 1499), *Sharḥ ādāb al-baḥṭh* (Commentary on the Rules of Discussion), Arabic, 347 {11–13}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK A. 1887 (Karatay, 6772); A. 3351 (Karatay, A 6773); R. 1775 (Karatay, 6774); E.H. 1539 (Karatay, 6915).

Al-Ḥillī, al-ʿAllāma Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. ʿAlī b. al-Muṭahhar (d. 1325)

- 1 *Muḥākamat bayn shurrāḥ al-Ishārāt* (Arbitration between the Commentators of the Pointers), Arabic, 340 {2–3}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3400 (Karatay, A 6769).
- 2 *Al-Asrār al-khafīyya fī al-ʿulūm al-ʿaqliyya* (The Hidden Secrets of the Rational Sciences), Arabic, 339 {15}, 344 {19}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3254 (Karatay, 6758). EDITION: Ibn Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī. *Al-Asrār al-khafīyya fī al-ʿulūm al-ʿaqliyya*. Qum: Markaz al-Abḥāth wa-l-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyya, 1421 (2000/2001).

- 3 *Sharḥ al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya al-musammā bi-al-Qawā'id al-jaliyya* (Commentary on the Epistle for Shams al-dīn titled the Evident Rules), Arabic, 342 {8–9}. EDITION: Ibn Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī. *Al-Qawā'id al-jaliyya fī sharḥ al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya*. Ed. F. Ḥ. Tabrīzīān. Qum: Mu'assasat al-Nashr, 1412 (1991).

Al-Isfahānī, Shams al-dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd (d. 1348)

- 1 *Tanwīr al-Maṭālī'* (The Illumination of Dawning), Arabic, 342 {2, 3–4} (2 copies). MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye Library, Hacı Beşir Ağa 423; Laleli 2672.
- 2 *Nāẓir al-'ayn* (The Principal Essence), Arabic, MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3425 (Karatay, 6880) copied by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Mas'ūd al-Dawlawī in 777 (1376).
 - 2.1 Aḥmad b. 'Umar al-Mālikī (d. 1393) [?], *Sharḥ Nāẓir al-'ayn* (Commentary on the Principle of Essence), 346 {3}.⁴

Al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī, Quṭb al-dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. 1365)

- 1 *Taḥrīr al-qawā'id al-mantiqīyya fī sharḥ al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya* (An Explication of the Logical Principles in the Commentary of the Epistle for Shams al-dīn), Arabic, 341 {17–19} (3 copies), 342 {19}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK A. 3368 (Karatay, 6820); A. 3370 (Karatay, A 6821), copied in 795 (1393); A. 3436 (Karatay, A 6822). EDITIONS: Al-Taḥṭānī Quṭb al-dīn Muḥammad al-Rāzī. *Sharḥ Matn al-Shamsiyya*. Dersaâdet: Ahmed Efendi Matbaası, 1907; *Taḥrīr al-qawā'id al-mantiqīyya bi-sharḥ al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya*. Printed with al-Sayyid al-Sharīf Jurjānī, *Hāshiya 'ala Sharḥ al-Shamsiyya*. Cairo: Mustafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1948.
 - 1.1 Al-Jurjānī, *Hāshiya 'ala al-sharḥ al-Quṭbī li-l-Shamsiyya* (Gloss on the Commentary of Quṭb al-dīn of the Epistle for Shams al-dīn). See al-Jurjānī.
- 2 *Lawāmi' al-asrār fī sharḥ Maṭālī' al-anwār* (The Blazing Secrets in Commenting upon the Dawning of Lights), Arabic, 341 {7}, 342 {6–7}, 344 {2–3, 15–16} (2 copies). MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK A. 3359 (Karatay, 6855); A. 3363 (Karatay, 6856); A. 3365 (Karatay, 6857); A. 3376 (Karatay, 6858); A. 3382 (Karatay, 6859); A. 3381 (Karatay, A 6860); A. 3408 (Karatay, 6861); A. 3410 (Karatay, 6862); A. 3419 (Karatay, 6863); A. 3435 (Karatay, A 6864). EDITION: Al-Taḥṭānī Quṭb al-dīn Muḥammad al-Rāzī. *Lawāmi' al-asrār bi-sharḥ Maṭālī' al-anwār*. Istanbul: Maṭba'a-yi 'Amire, 1277 (1860/61).
 - 2.1 Al-Jurjānī, *Hāshiya 'ala Lawāmi' al-asrār fī sharḥ Maṭālī' al-anwār* (Gloss on the Blazing Secrets in Commenting upon the Dawning of Lights). See al-Jurjānī.
 - 2.2 'Alī Shirāzī, *Hāshiya* ['*alā Hashiyat?*] *sharḥ al-Maṭālī'* (Gloss on Commentary of the Dawning of Lights), Arabic, 347 {13–14}. [Possibly identical to the super-gloss on al-Jurjānī's gloss by al-Sayyid 'Alī al-'Ajamī (d. 1456).] MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye Library, Şehid Ali Paşa 1611; Millet Library, Feyzullah Efendi 1878.
- 3 *Al-Muḥākamāt* [*Hāshiya 'ala sharḥ al-Ishārāt*]. (Arbitration-Gloss on the Commentary of the Pointers), Arabic, 340 {2–3}, 350 {14–15, 16–17, 19} (3 copies), 351 {1–3}, 353 {11–12}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK A. 3466 (Karatay, 6764); A. 3398 (Karatay, 6765); A. 3380 (Karatay, 6766); A. 3395 (Karatay, 6767); A. 3446 (Karatay, A 6768); K. 877 (Karatay, 6770). EDITION: Al-Taḥṭānī Quṭb al-dīn Muḥammad al-Rāzī. *Al-Muḥākamāt*. Printed with al-Ṭūsī, *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*. Tehran: Maṭba'at al-Ḥaydari, 1377 (1957/58).
- 4 *Risāla fī al-taşawwur wa-al-taşdīq* (Treatise on Conception and Assent), Arabic, 345 {3–4}. EDITION: Al-Taḥṭānī Quṭb al-dīn Muḥammad al-Rāzī. *Risāla fī al-taşawwur wa-al-taşdīq*. Printed with Şadr al-Shirāzī, *Risāla fī al-taşawwur wa-al-taşdīq*. Ed. Mahdī Shari'atī. Qum: Mu'assasat Ismā'iliyān, 1996.

- 5 *Risāla fī al-kullīyyāt* (Treatise on the Universals), Arabic, 345 {4}, 346 {5–6, 11} (2 copies). EDITION: Kutbuddin Rāzī, *Risāle fī tahkīkī'l-kullīyyāt*. Ed. and trans. Ömer Türker. Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2013.

Al-Jurjānī, al-Sayyid al-Sharīf 'Alī b. Muḥammad (d. 1413)

- 1 *Ḥāshīya 'ala Lawāmi' al-asrār fī sharḥ Maṭālī' al-anwār* (Gloss on the Blazing Secrets in Commenting upon the Dawning of Lights), Arabic, 341 {1}, 343 {7, 18–19} (2 copies), 344 {16–17}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK A. 3410 (Karatay, A 6862); A. 3194 (Karatay, 6865); A. 3366 (Karatay, 6866); A. 3367 (Karatay, 6867); A. 3413 (Karatay, 6868); A. 3415 (Karatay, 6869); A. 3434 (Karatay, 6870). EDITION: Al-Sayyid al-Sharīf Jurjānī. *Al-Sayyid 'alā Sharḥ al-Maṭālī'*. Istanbul: Dār al-Ṭibā'a al-ʿĀmira, 1277 (1860). EDITIONS: Al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī. *Al-Sayyid 'alā Sharḥ al-Maṭālī'*. Istanbul: Dār al-Ṭibā'a al-ʿĀmira, 1277 (1860); Istanbul: Maṭba'at al-Ḥājj Muḥarrām Afandī al-Busnawī, 1303 (1886).
 - 1.1 “*Ḥāshīya 'ala ḥāshiyat al-Maṭālī' li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf*” (Supergloss on al-Sayyid al-Sharīf’s Gloss on the Dawning), Arabic, 344 {14–15}, 345 {11–12}. MANUSCRIPT: TSMK A. 3366 (Karatay, A 6866), copied in 808 (1405).
- 2 *Ḥāshīya (Kūchak) 'alā al-sharḥ al-Quṭbī li-l-Shamsiyya* (Gloss on the Commentary of Quṭb al-dīn of the Epistle for Shams al-dīn), Arabic, 345 {9–10}. MANUSCRIPTS: TSMK A. 3431 (Karatay, 6832); A. 3361 (Karatay, 6834); A. 3383 (Karatay, 6835); A. 3389 (Karatay, 6836); A. 3390 (Karatay, 6837); A. 3423 (Karatay, 6838); E.H. 1965 (Karatay, 6839); E.H. 1965 (Karatay, 6840); E.H. 1966 (Karatay, 6841); K. 1171 (Karatay, 6842). EDITIONS: Al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī. *Ḥāshīya 'alā Sharḥ al-Shamsiyya*. Printed with Quṭb al-dīn al-Rāzī, *Tahrīr al-qawā'id al-manṭiqiyya bi-sharḥ al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya*. Cairo: Mustafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1948; printed with Quṭb al-dīn al-Rāzī, *Tahrīr al-qawā'id al-manṭiqiyya bi-sharḥ al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya*. Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Amīriyya, 1323 (1905).
 - 2.1 ‘Imād ibn Yaḥyā al-Farīsī (fl. 1453), *Ḥāshiyat 'Imād 'alā ḥāshiyat al-Sayyid al-Sharīf li-sharḥ al-Shamsiyya* (Gloss of ‘Imād on al-Sayyid al-Sharīf’s Gloss on the Commentary of the Epistle for Shams al-dīn), Arabic, 345 {10–11}. EDITION: ‘Imād ibn Yaḥyā al-Farīsī. *Ḥāshīya 'alā ḥāshiyat al-Sayyid al-Sharīf li-sharḥ al-Shamsiyya*. İstanbul: Yahya Efendi Matbaası, 1287 (1870).
- 3 “*Tarjama risālat al-Sayyid al-Sharīf fī al-mantiq bi-al-'arabiyya*” (Translation of al-Sayyid al-Sharīf’s Persian treatise on logic titled *al-Kubrā* into Arabic), Arabic, 345 {17–18}. EDITION: Nūr al-dīn Muḥammad al-Jurjānī (d. 1434). *Tarjama-yi risāla-yi-Waladiyyah li-l-Sayyid*. Istanbul: İzzet Efendi Matbaası, 1288 (1871). [The translation’s attribution to Nūr al-dīn al-Jurjānī is highly doubtful.]

Al-Lādīkī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥāmid (fl. 1480)

- 1 *Zūbdeṭü al-beyān* (The Cream of Exposition), Turkish, 344 {4}. MANUSCRIPT: Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 2490.

Al-Dalājī, Shams al-dīn Abū Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. 1540)

- 1 *Sharḥ Jannat abkār al-afkār* (Commentary on the Paradise of Novel Thoughts), Arabic, 345 {13}. MANUSCRIPTS: Süleymaniye Library, Laleli 2170; Ayasofya 2545.

NOTES

1. Erroneously listed as “Fārābī’s commentary on Aristotle’s book on logical syllogisms.”
2. Manuscripts in bold bear the seal of Bayezid II.
3. The manuscript Carullah 1870 in the Süleymaniye Library titled *Sharḥ al-Muqaddima al-Burhānīyya* is attributed to Burhān al-dīn Ibrāhīm b. Yūsūf al-Bulghārī, and dated to 738 (1337).
4. Aḥmad b. ‘Umar al-Malikī is identified as the only commentator by Kātib Çelebī (p. 1921). According to Kātib Çelebī, al-Isfahānī’s work is named *Nāẓirat al-‘ayn*, and the commentary is titled *Nāḍirat al-‘ayn* (The Flourishing of the Essence). It is possible, however, that Kātib Çelebī was mistaken and that the only commentary is by al-Isfahānī himself.

PHILOSOPHICAL MANUSCRIPTS: TWO ALTERNATIVE PHILOSOPHIES

The distinctive and highly significant feature of the catalogue of philosophical manuscripts is their classification under two headings, *al-ḥikma al-islāmiyya* and *al-ḥikma al-falsafiyya*, both being distinct from that of the manuscripts on theology, *ʿilm al-kalām*, which is found in a separate and earlier section of the palace library inventory (see the article by Atçıl above). The cataloguer's title of the entire section on philosophical manuscripts reads *Tafṣīl kutub al-ḥikma al-islāmiyya wa-kutub ʿilm al-jadal wa-kutub al-mantiq wa-kutub al-ḥikma al-falsafiyya*,¹ or "Listing of books on Islamic philosophy, science of disputation (dialectic), logic, and philosophical philosophy" (339 {1–4}). There are several indicators here concerning the development and nomenclature of the sciences in the eastern Islamic world by the time of Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512).

The enormously influential philosophy of Avicenna (Ibn Sina, d. 1037) brought about a sea change in intellectual history and inaugurated a lengthy period of intense philosophical discussion by thinkers aiming to defend, revise, or reject his ideas.² The main factor generating this explosive reaction was that Avicenna's philosophy constituted a comprehensive, rationally justified, and internally self-consistent account of reality, a scientific system as a worldview that demanded, or necessitated, adherence. As such, it set itself up, or was seen as having set itself up, against other ideologies with contending worldviews, most notably the Islamic one based on the Qur'an and the *sharī'a*. Prior to Avicenna, the products of philosophers had consisted of treatises on discrete subjects and abstruse commentaries on the canonical philosophical texts, all of which were matters for specialists that could not and did not claim endorsement or allegiance from society as a whole; Avicenna's

all-embracing scientific system did. As a result, it was not long before the two rival worldviews, the philosophical/Avicennan and the Islamic, were presented by adherents of the latter as being antithetical and utterly irreconcilable, whereas until that time such rivalries were normally discussed as alternative ideological and theoretical positions that found their place in society as a whole. Within slightly more than half a century after Avicenna's death, the theologian and jurist al-Ghazali (d. 1111) expressed conservative political ideologies that were occasioned by the incursion of the Saljuqs into the Middle East and their domination of the political scene as defenders of the Baghdad Caliphate against the encroaching heterodox Isma'ili Fatimids. He elevated the legal status of heterodoxy to a capital offense and excommunicated three philosophical positions as constituting unbelief (*kufṛ*), namely, "the eternity of the world, the denial of God's knowledge of particulars, and the denial of bodily resurrection,"³ effectively casting the philosophers in the same light as the Isma'ilis. In the following centuries, the best minds in the eastern Islamic world spent their energies in apologetic pursuits trying to accommodate Avicenna's scientific system within the Islamic paradigm. Avicenna's system could not be rejected wholesale—that would have been tantamount to idiocy by any self-respecting intellectual—but neither could its tenets that offended Islam's unnegotiable positions, as articulated by al-Ghazali, be maintained. Thus the scientific/philosophical system as a whole—which consisted of logic; the theoretical sciences of physics, mathematics, and metaphysics; and the practical sciences of ethics and politics—was fragmented, isolating the religiously offensive portions of metaphysics and some of the physics for special

theological treatment, while the remaining parts of philosophy were now studied independently. Along with the fragmentation came a change in nomenclature. What was previously known as “philosophy” (*ḥikma* and *falsafa*), covering all of these fields, now became “the sciences” (*al-‘ulūm*). Logic (*manṭiq*) was dissociated from the rest, becoming an independent field, and it was also amplified with the development of such research methods as “dialectic” (*jadāl*) and “research methodology” (*adab al-baḥṭh*); *ḥikma* was restricted to the areas of physics and metaphysics (originally the *bêtes noires* of the religious) as these two fields were integrated into an Islamic framework; and the term *falsafa* alone remained to designate physics and metaphysics done in the Avicennan mode.

Against this background, the cataloguer’s categories in the philosophical section of the palace library inventory are seen to be based not on subject matter or field of inquiry, as in all other cases, but on the degree of adherence to Islamic doctrine. Works that were considered to defend or follow Islamic doctrine are categorized under *ḥikma islāmiyya*, and those that did not, or those that presented an account without reference to Islamic doctrine, are categorized under *ḥikma falsafiyya*. This is expressly stated by the cataloguer in a comment he inserted in his own hand⁴ between the lines of the title of the section covering all philosophy (given above in the first paragraph). Between the first and second line, and the words *al-ḥikma al-islāmiyya* (339 {9–10}) he adds, in his characteristic cursive hand, *wa-hiya llatī yubḥathu fihā ‘alā qānūn al-shar‘ al-sharīf al-nabawī*, that is, “[Islamic philosophy,] which is the one in which research is conducted in accordance with the rules of the noble Prophetic Law.” He inserts a similar comment in the section on Islamic theology, *‘ilm al-kalām* (66 {1–2}). The catalogue entry is the following: *Kitāb Durrat al-tāj fī l-ḥikma al-islāmiyya bi-l-fārisiyya min qibal ‘ilm al-kalām*, or, “Item. *The Crown Pearl* [by Qutbaddin al-Shirazi, d. 1311] on Islamic philosophy, in Persian, [written] from the perspective of Islamic theology.” Under the word “Islamic,” he inserts the following comment between the lines: *wa innamā qāla al-islāmiyya li-anna akthar mabāḥithihī shar‘iyyāt*, or, “He [i.e., the cataloguer] said ‘Islamic’ [i.e., ‘Islamic’ rather than *falsafiyya*, ‘philosophical’] only because the majority of the

subjects investigated pertain to Islamic law.” In each case the cataloguer tries to explain the categorization of the book(s) based on the criterion of adherence to Islamic doctrine.

So if we take the word *ḥikma* in *ḥikma islāmiyya* and *ḥikma falsafiyya* to refer to the particular disciplines of physics and metaphysics, the former can be understood as “Islamic physics and metaphysics,” and the latter as “philosophical physics and metaphysics.” Alternatively, if we take *ḥikma* to refer to the field of philosophy in general, the former would be “Islamic philosophy,” and the latter, “philosophical philosophy,” which would mean, actually, “non-Islamic philosophy,” or, if we want to use anachronistically modern concepts, “secular philosophy,” or even “scientific philosophy.” Thus the entry on 356 {10–11} reads, *Matn al-Hidāya li-Athīraddīn fī l-manṭiq wa-l-ḥikma al-falsafiyya*, “The text [as opposed to a commentary on the text] of *The Guidance* [in/of Philosophy] by Athīraddīn [al-Abhari, d. 1264] on Logic and on Philosophical Physics and Metaphysics,” whereas the entry on 339 {9–10} reads, *Matn Mulaḥḥaṣ al-Imām al-Rāzī fī l-manṭiq wa-l-ḥikma al-islāmiyya*, “The Text of *The Digest* by [Fakhraddīn] al-Rāzī [d. 1210] on Logic and on Islamic Physics and Metaphysics.”

A prominent characteristic of the classification technique used by the cataloguer is that he actively announces his criteria for listing a work under this or that category, usually with the formula *min qibal* followed by the category he selects, right after the title of the work he cites. The expression *min qibal*, here used beyond its customary function, is intended to specify the scholarly field to which a work pertains and the perspective from which it was written. It thus practically means a work “written from the perspective of” or, more specifically, “written following the method or doctrine of.” This distinction is deemed necessary when the title in question may easily be perceived as pertaining to a related field and might thus be miscatalogued. Books with astronomical content, for example, must be specified as pertaining to either astronomy (*min qibal ‘ilm al-hay’a*) or astrology (*min qibal ‘ilm al-nujūm*, or just *min qibal al-nujūm*).⁵ In the case of books with philosophical content, the expression is used to differentiate among three disciplines: Islamic theology (*‘ilm al-kalām*), Islamic philosophy (*ḥikma islāmiyya*), and “philosophical”

philosophy (*ḥikma falsafīyya*), with the criterion being, as just mentioned, the degree of adherence to Islamic doctrine.

This constitutes what appears to be a novelty for this cataloguer, or at least for the intellectual tradition in which he was schooled and which he reflects. Theology (*ʿilm al-kalām*) and philosophy (*falsafa* and *ḥikma*) had clearly delineated boundaries in the period before Avicenna, and there was no question of their being confused. But after Avicenna's philosophical system came to dominate intellectual life in the eastern Islamic world, and following the efforts of a number of theologians, notably al-Ghazali and Fakhraddin al-Razi, to accommodate one to the other, the lines between the two disciplines tended to blur, as already recognized by Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406).⁶ By the time of Mehmed II (r. 1444–46, 1451–81), philosophy and theology were practically indistinguishable at the level of discourse (and presumably also in substance, though scholarship is only now beginning to sort this out), and added to these was yet a third discipline, the Ibn ʿArabi line of mysticism, which had fully adopted the methods of argumentation and terminology of the other two. The confusion is best illustrated—and documented—by Mehmed II himself, when he requested that the brilliant poet and scholar al-Jami (1414–92) should compose a treatise showing precisely how these three disciplines differ from each other. Al-Jami obliged, in a treatise entitled *al-Durra al-fākhirā* (The Precious Pearl), which took the form of an arbitration, or impartial judgment (*muḥākama*), among the three positions on the questions of God's existence and unity, his attributes, and the emanation of the world from him.⁷ In this astonishing text, the different positions of the three disciplines are expressed in a highly technical philosophical language and mode of argumentation that can hardly be differentiated on any formal level—especially when one compares this language with the language of theology and metaphysics before Avicenna—but only, if at all, on the basis of minute shifts of doctrinal content. As such, the philosophization of theology and mysticism at the discursive level becomes complete and justifies Mehmed II's puzzlement.

The problem persists to this day, with a considerable number of scholars seeing the post-Avicennan period as

one of engagement in an all-embracing “philosophical theology.”⁸ However, the catalogue presents concrete evidence that discriminations did exist, and indeed to such an extent that they could provide the basis of differentiated classification. Not only does the cataloguer see theology (*ʿilm al-kalām*) as distinct from philosophy (*falsafa* and *ḥikma*), but he also introduces a further discrimination within philosophy itself, between Islamic and “philosophical” (or non-Islamic, secular) philosophy. There was thus a genuine effort by the cataloguer and the intellectual tradition in which he was educated to come to terms with the problem and try to differentiate among the three disciplines.

The question of what constituted the criteria of discrimination, however, will require further study. In general, it is clear, as already mentioned, that adherence to the main tenets of Islamic doctrine (primarily, one would suppose, the three subjects from which any deviation constituted unbelief, according to al-Ghazali) was the main discriminating factor between “Islamic philosophy” (*ḥikma islāmīyya*) and “philosophical philosophy” (*ḥikma falsafīyya*). But given the density and opacity of argumentation in all these works, discerning which book belonged to which category would not have been easy. And indeed, there are instances in the inventory where uncertainty and confusion can be observed. In the inventory section on philosophical manuscripts, Avicenna's treatise on eschatology known as *The Provenance and Destination* is in one place classified as “philosophical philosophy” (*Risālat Ibn Sīnā fī l-Mabdaʾ wa-l-maʿād al-falsafī*, 356 {8–9}), and in another place as “Islamic philosophy” (*Risāla fī l-Mabdaʾ wa-l-maʿād ʿalā ṭarīqat al-ḥikma al-islāmīyya*, 362 {7}). Similarly, al-Abhari's *Kashf al-ḥaqāʾiq* is listed as belonging to both “Islamic” and “philosophical philosophy” (*fī l-manṭiq wa-l-ḥikma al-falsafīyya maʿa al-ḥikma al-islāmīyya*, 339 {18–19}). Furthermore, there was at times uncertainty as to whether a work belonged to theology proper (*ʿilm al-kalām*) or “Islamic philosophy.” As we saw above, the Persian *Crown Pearl* by Qutbaddin al-Shirazi is listed in the section on Theology as having been written from the point of view of *ʿilm al-kalām*, despite the fact that it is characterized as being a work on “Islamic philosophy” (*Kitāb Durrat al-tāj fī l-ḥikma al-islāmīyya bi-l-fārisīyya min qibal ʿilm al-kalām*), thus betraying uncertainty

about its proper subject. Indicating yet further oscillation is the cataloguer's interlinear comment that "He said 'Islamic' [i.e., 'Islamic' rather than *falsafīyya*, 'philosophical'] only because the majority of the subjects investigated belong to Islamic law" (*wa innamā qāla al-islāmīyya li-anna akthar mabāḥithihī shar'īyyāt*). The *Durrat al-tāj* therefore is seen as potentially belonging to all three categories: it could have been a work on "philosophical philosophy" on the basis of its chapters not dealing specifically with Islamic law, but it is listed as a work representing the point of view of "theology," even though by its contents as a whole it belongs to "Islamic philosophy." One might suppose that the fluidity, or uncertainty, of the categorization was artificial (and not based on the ambiguity of the contents themselves), insofar as the Turkish preface to the inventory mentions as a specific rule the fact that some books may be listed under two or more disciplines. Thus, if several manuscript copies of a single work were available, they would be catalogued under separate possible disciplines from which a reader might request them (see Appendix IV). However, the very fact that the same work could be requested under one of the three disciplines by itself indicates the fluidity of categorization in the minds of the requesting scholars themselves.

The sultan's orders to the cataloguer were "to classify every book according to its particular discipline,"⁹ a task which he duly performed. But of course it cannot be maintained that the cataloguer read every single book in these three categories—theology, Islamic philosophy, and philosophical philosophy—and that he was in a position fully to understand it so that he could establish the category to which each book belonged. It is clear that he gained his knowledge about how to classify these works from the tradition in which he was trained, where manifestly such discussions were conducted by the scholars and specific works were assigned to a particular category. The significance of the evidence provided by the inventory is thus that, certainly by the fifteenth century during which the cataloguer was born and educated, scholars were engaged in ascertaining the methods and contents of books on the broader subjects of theology and philosophy and further classifying them according to criteria they developed based on the adherence of the books to Islamic doctrine. They did not view

all such authorial activity as an inchoate engagement in "philosophical theology" (as some modern scholars would have it), but discriminated among the genres with a view to approve or criticize certain titles, methods of inquiry, and approaches. The inventory thus gains an additional function as a catalogue raisonnée, serving to alert readers about the possible religious reprehensibility of some titles. This is not censure, and certainly not the Muslim version of the Roman Catholic Index Librorum Prohibitorum, but it prepares the ground for such a list should the occasion have arisen.

The religious watchdog aspect of the inventory becomes increasingly clear when it is noted that the cataloguer on occasion allows himself to intervene, *as part of his description of a volume*, going beyond the requirement to identify the discipline to which a book pertains, with his own critical comments after listing the titles of the works. These comments in the section on philosophical manuscripts are invariably critical of "philosophical philosophy," that is, non-Islamic philosophy. Al-Ghazali's notorious *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (Precipitance of the Philosophers), for example, is additionally described as "invalidating philosophical philosophy" (*fī ibtāl al-ḥikma al-falsafīyya*). Furthermore, of the two major philosophers listed under "philosophical philosophy," Avicenna and Suhrawardi (d. 1191), some works by the latter are characterized as "leaning toward truth" (*al-mā'ila ilā l-ḥaqq*, 353 {2, 4–5, 6}), with the implication, first, that they do not represent but only approximate "truth" (Islamic doctrine), and second—and most importantly—that even so, they are better than the works of Avicenna which do not represent truth at all, since no such comment is made about any of them. The anonymous *Ḥaqā'iq al-ḥalā'iq* (The True Natures of Created Beings, 340 {11}) is described as being on the subject of "Islamic philosophy" and orthodoxy ("true knowledge," *fī l-ḥikma al-islāmīyya wa l-ma'ārif al-ḥaqīqīyya*), and al-Tahtani's (d. 1364) *Arbitration between the Commentaries on Avicenna's al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbihāt* (Pointers and Reminders) is said to have been conducted on the basis of orthodox Islamic doctrine (*al-Muḥākamāt bayna shurūḥ al-Ishārāt 'alā ṭarīqat al-ḥaqq min al-qawā'id al-islāmīyya*, 340 {2–3}).

The next question concerns the identity and number of books listed under the three categories. The section

on works of theology (*kalām*) presents nothing extraordinary. Although its holdings are not comprehensive, as Atçıl remarks in his essay above, it nevertheless contains major works in the field from the ninth century until the cataloguer's own lifetime, including texts and commentaries by Ottoman scholars manifestly used for education. The books listed under *ḥikma islāmiyya* and *ḥikma falsafīyya*, on the other hand, present a different picture. Those under the former heading, to begin with, are very few: they consist mainly of some works by Fakhraddin al-Razi, notably his *Mulakhkhaṣ* (Digest), with commentaries, and his commentary on Avicenna's *Ishārāt* (Pointers); along with al-Tahtani's *Muḥākamāt* (Arbitration); al-Abhari's *Kashfal-ḥaqā'iq* (Disclosure of Truths); al-Urmawi's (d. 1283) *Maṭālī' al-anwār* (Dawn of Lights) with his own commentary on it, *Lawāmi' al-afkār* (Brilliant Thoughts); al-Hilli's (d. 1325) *al-Asrār al-khaṭīyya* (Hidden Secrets); and two other unidentified treatises—all authors who lived within slightly more than a century of each other, the oldest being al-Razi (d. 1210) and the youngest al-Hilli (d. 1325), with no one else listed for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The cataloguer clearly does not identify any of the works that were composed during the two centuries before his compilation of the inventory, such as the works of al-Ijī and al-Jurjani, as pertaining to "Islamic philosophy," but rather lists them under theology.

The books listed under *ḥikma falsafīyya* are more numerous and present a slightly more varied picture, but one that is essentially analogous to the *ḥikma islāmiyya* category in that there are no works on this subject listed from the two centuries preceding the inventory: the youngest author included in the list who is not a commentator on Avicenna or Suhrawardi is Ibn Kammuna, who died in 1284. This section on "philosophical philosophy" is dominated by Avicenna (d. 1037), for whom there are listed thirty-seven works, together with their commentaries, along with numerous other unspecified treatises. Suhrawardi comes next as a distant second, with nine titles to his name, also with commentaries, and a few other unspecified treatises; followed by Ibn Kammuna, for whom are registered seven works, three with known titles and four unspecified. Other than Suhrawardi, Ibn Kammuna, and commentators, the rest are richly represented: they all the well-known names

in eastern Islam from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, each listed for the most part by his most famous book (see the names in the inventory below).

By contrast, philosophers from al-Andalus are completely absent, including Averroes (Ibn Rushd, d. 1198). Even Greek philosophers and philosophers in the east before Avicenna are sparsely represented. Plato has four titles, one of which is spurious, a second anonymous, the third may be related to the *Republic*, and only the fourth is the *Timaeus*. Surprisingly, Aristotle is very poorly represented, with just four titles, three of which are anonymous, and the fourth is claimed to be a commentary, also anonymous, on his *Categories*. Of the philosophers in early Islam, al-Kindi (d. after 866) has just one title; Hunayn b. Ishaq (d. 873) is represented by a fragment, it seems, from his gnomology on the anecdotes of the philosophers; the Ikhwan al-safa' (tenth century) have their epistles; and Miskawayh (d. 1030) has just two titles. The case with al-Farabi (d. 950–51) is interesting: although he is the best represented philosopher among this group with seven titles—as he should be, given his prominence in the history of philosophy in Islam—five of those titles nevertheless are anonymous, being mostly treatises in collective volumes (*majmū'a*) that 'Atufi did not bother to register singly by title; the sixth is a non-descript book on ethics; and only the seventh is a logic commentary on Aristotle's *Prior Analytics*, a field which al-Farabi covered thoroughly, both in quantity and quality.

All this indicates that in its first two centuries (1300 to 1500), Ottoman scholarship developed little interest in philosophical studies as an independent discipline or in its history and canonical texts, and only followed intellectual trends in the Iranian world from the Saljuqs onward, during the time when the new discipline of Islamic philosophy, with its decidedly religious outlook, was formulated and developed in contradistinction to the "philosophical" or secular philosophy of Avicenna. Ottoman scholars adopted this understanding of Islamic philosophy from their Iranian predecessors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, along with the inimical attitude towards the philosophy of Avicenna as religiously reprehensible, evidenced by 'Atufi's critical comments. They accordingly showed little interest in the history of philosophy before Avicenna, and certainly

no interest in philosophical developments in al-Andalus, which in any case had long ceased to exist by the time of Bayezid II. By contrast, the Safavids, who had newly organized as a state when 'Atufi was cataloguing, later developed an attitude toward philosophy that was inclusive of the works of pre-Avicenna authors, the Andalusians as represented by Averroes, and the ancient Greeks. On the basis of the evidence provided by this inventory, we might also investigate the attitude of Mehmed II concerning philosophy in the context of his well-known cultural policies, which included the copying of classical Greek works, the translation of others, and the commissioning of works on the assessment of religious and philosophical theses, such as the work by al-Jami mentioned above. Furthermore, 'Atufi's understanding of philosophical works as indicated by his cataloguing practices raises the question of the relationship between Mehmed II's policies on this subject and those of his son.¹⁰

The cataloguer's classification and listing of philosophical works thus offer prime evidence for the development of philosophy in the eastern Islamic lands after Avicenna. Avicenna's philosophy, which is massively represented in the extensive holdings in Bayezid II's library, was identified with philosophy as such, given the name "philosophical philosophy"—i.e., non-Islamic philosophy, since it was distinguished from "Islamic philosophy," understood to be conducted on the basis of Islamic principles—and criticized as not being conducive to, or representing, truth. Scholars after Avicenna engaged in attempts to fashion a philosophical approach that would avoid those aspects of his philosophy seen as being contrary to Islamic principles. These efforts, mostly represented in the work of Fakhraddin al-Razi,¹¹ generated a new discipline and a body of doctrinal content that has been called (by 'Atufi and some modern scholars) "Islamic philosophy," as distinct from Islamic theology (*'ilm al-kalām*). Works produced until the end of the thirteenth century were regarded as belonging to one or the other category, and it is clear that scholars had devised a set of criteria whereby the distinction could be made.¹² The cataloguer relies on this tradition to assign each philosophical work to its proper category, even if in some cases doubts persist. However, it also appears that both streams of philosophical

activity, the "Islamic" and the "philosophical" (or non-Islamic), peter out by the end of the thirteenth century, as the cataloguer cannot identify any works in these areas from that time until his days. Presumably, then, "Islamic philosophy" eventually blends together with *kalām*, as the latter increasingly adopts philosophical terminology and argumentation for those parts of the subject that do not deal with specific Islamic doctrine and law (the *shar'īyyāt*), while philosophy proper just dies out, and henceforth philosophy is discussed only as a *historical* body of work, mainly the works of Avicenna, with no contemporary representatives of the discipline. References to philosophy and philosophers (usually to the "Peripatetics," *al-mashshā'ūn*) in theological works after the thirteenth century are to the frozen corpus of Avicenna's works.

NOTES

1. Following the Arabists' convention, I normally transliterate titles without inflection (*i'rāb*).
2. See Dimitri Gutas, "The Heritage of Avicenna: The Golden Age of Arabic Philosophy, 1000–ca. 1350," in *Avicenna and His Heritage*, ed. Jules Janssens and Daniel De Smet (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 81–97.
3. See Ayman Shihadeh, "From al-Ghazālī to al-Rāzī: 6th/12th Century Developments in Muslim Philosophical Theology," *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 15 (2005): 141–79, at 149. See in general for these developments, Dimitri Gutas, "Avicenna and After: The Development of Paraphilosophy. A History of Science Approach," in *Islamic Philosophy from the 12th to the 14th Century*, ed. Abdelkader Al Ghouz, *Mamluk Studies* 20 (V&R unipress, Bonn University Press, 2018) 19–71.
4. The inventory is written in an elegant and almost fully vocalized *naskhī* hand, that of the scribe, who is different from the cataloguer, 'Atufi. 'Atufi himself records this in the main text of the Arabic introduction to the inventory when he refers to himself as the "lowly servant" (*al-'abd al-ḥaqīr*) obeying the sultan's order to compile the inventory. Beneath the words *al-'abd al-ḥaqīr* (12 {10}) he adds between the lines in his own cursive hand, "he is the compiler of the register, not its scribe" (*wa-huwa mu'allif al-daftar, lā kātibuhū*).
5. See the article on astrology by A. Tunç Şen and Cornell H. Fleischer above.
6. Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, ed. and abridged by N. J. Dawood (Princeton, 1969), chapter 6, section 14 on *kalām*, 353.

7. The treatise was translated and annotated, in an exemplary fashion, by Nicholas L. Heer, *The Precious Pearl: Al-Jāmī's al-Durrah al-Fākhirah with the Commentary of 'Abd al-Ghafūr al-Lārī* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1979).
8. A view shared by many and expressed, for example, in Robert Wisnovsky, "Avicenna and the Avicennian Tradition," in *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy*, ed. Peter Adamson and Richard C. Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 92, etc., with the term "philosophical theology" appearing now in titles of books, as in Frank Griffel's *Al-Ghazālī's Philosophical Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
9. See the Arabic introduction to the inventory and the English translation in Appendix V.
10. Cf. Gülru Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople," *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 1–81. See also the essays of Gülru Necipoğlu and Cemal Kafadar in this volume.
11. This is now amply demonstrated in recent research, notably in the work of Heidrun Eichner; see her *The Post-Avicennian Philosophical Tradition and Islamic Orthodoxy: Philosophical and Theological Summae in Context* (Habilitationsschrift, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 2009) and "Dissolving the Unity of Metaphysics: From Fahr al-Dīn al-Rāzī to Mullā Ṣadrā al-Šīrāzī," *Medioevo* 32 (2007): 139–97.
12. The problem of the distinction between what had by then come to be seen as two distinct disciplines was evidently discussed in scholarly circles, as may be seen in al-Urmawī's essay on the subject, *Risāla fī l-farq bayna naw'ay al-'ilm al-ilāhī wa-l-kalām* (Treatise on the Distinction between the Genres of Metaphysics and Theology), discussed by Eichner in the first of her works cited in the preceding note: Eichner, *Post-Avicennian Philosophical Tradition*, 286–88 and 507–14.

LIST OF ENTRIES

SECTION ON BOOKS ON ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY AND PHILOSOPHICAL PHILOSOPHY

(*Tafşilu kutubi al-ḥikmatī al-islāmīyyati* [...] *wa-kutubi al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyati*)

Commentaries, supercommentaries, and glosses are listed under the title of the work on which they comment, and their authors are also listed separately, in alphabetical order, with a reference only to the author on whose work they comment. Under each author, the works are listed as follows: Integer numbers (1, 2, 3) indicate separate works by that author. Lowercase letters (a, b, c) indicate separate copies of the same work. Decimal numbers (.1, .2, .3) indicate separate commentaries on the original work by various commentators. A second decimal number after a first (.1.1, .1.2, .1.3) indicates a supercommentary on a commentary of the listed work. Lowercase Roman numerals in parentheses, (i), (ii), (iii), indicate that the MS contains only parts of the listed work, or is a translation of it.

Names of authors in square brackets [] indicate that the work in question is listed in the palace library inventory anonymously but that the author has been identified through its title.

References to standard reference works are: C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden, 1943–49) (henceforth, *GAL*, cited pages refer to the pages of the first edition listed in the margins of the second edition) and its Supplement (*GALS*); Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ed. Ş. Yaltkaya and R. Bilge, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1972); *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1960–2004); the works of Ibn Sīnā are identified with a reference to their serial number in D. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 2nd ed. (Leiden 2014), Inventory at 411–558.

The authors and their works are listed alphabetically. The article, prepositions, and the words *R[isāla]*, *M[aqāla]*, and *K[itāb]* are disregarded in the alphabetization.

The Arabic titles of the books are translated in italics; descriptions of books in lieu of titles by the cataloguer are translated in Roman.

PART ONE

“Islamic Philosophy” (*al-ḥikma al-islāmīyya*)

AL-ABHARĪ, Athīraddīn al-Mufaḍḍal b. ‘Umar (d. 1264)

- 1a. *Kashf al-ḥaqā’iq fī al-manṭiq wa-al-ḥikma al-falsafīyya ma’a al-ḥikma al-islāmīyya* (*Disclosure of Truths*), Arabic [*GALS* 1:843, no. V], 339 {18–19}.
- 1b. See below under “Philosophical Philosophy.”

[AL-ĀMIDĪ, Sayfaddīn Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī al-Tha‘labī (d. 1233)]

1. *I’tirāḍāt ‘alā Sharḥ al-Imām al-Rāzī li-l-Ishārāt* → Fakhraddīn al-Rāzī 2.1 in this section.

ANONYMOUS

1. *Sirr al-dhabīḥa fī al-ḥikma al-islāmīyya* (*The Secret of Immolation*), Arabic, 340 {6–7}.
2. *Ḥaqā’iq al-khalā’iq fī al-ḥikma al-islāmīyya wa-al-ma’arīf al-ḥaqīqīyya* (*The True Natures of Created Beings*), Arabic, 340 {11}.

FAKHRADDĪN ABŪ ṬĀLIB MUḤAMMAD (ibn al-Ḥillī) (d. 1369)

1. *Sharḥ Mulakhkhaṣ al-imām al-Rāzī al-musammā bi-al-Risāla al-Fakhriyya* (*Treatise by Fakhraddīn, commentary on al-Rāzī’s Digest*) → Fakhraddīn al-Rāzī 1.2.

AL-ḤILLĪ, al-‘Allāma Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. ‘Alī b. al-Muṭahhar (d. 1325)

- 1a. *Kitāb al-Asrār al-khaṭfiyya fī al-ḥikma al-islāmīyya* (*Hidden Secrets*), Arabic [GALS 2:209, no. 39], 339 {15}.
- 1b. Same as preceding (*Kitāb al-Asrār al-khaṭfiyya fī al-mantiq wa-al-‘ulūm al-ḥikmīyya*), 344 {19}–345 {1}.

[AL-KĀTIBĪ, Najmaddīn ‘Alī b. ‘Umar al-Qazwīnī (d. 1277)]

1. *al-Munaṣṣaṣ, Sharḥ al-Mulakhkhaṣ* → Fakhraddīn al-Rāzī 1.1.

[QUTBADDĪN AL-RĀZĪ AL-TAḤTĀNĪ, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. 1364)]

1. *al-Muḥākamāt bayna Shurūḥ al-Ishārāt ‘alā ṭarīqat al-ḥaqq min al-qawā‘id al-islāmīyya* (*Arbitration between the Commentaries on Avicenna’s Pointers*), Arabic, 340 {2–3} → Ibn Sīnā 18.7, below in “Philosophical Philosophy.”

AL-RĀZĪ, Fakhraddīn Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭīb (d. 1210)

1. *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī al-mantiq wa-al-ḥikma al-islāmīyya* (*The Digest*), Arabic [GAL 1:507, no. 24], 339 {17–18}.
- 1.1. [al-Kātibī] *Sharḥ Mulakhkhaṣ al-imām al-Rāzī al-musammā bi-al-Munaṣṣaṣ fī al-mantiq wa-al-ḥikma al-islāmīyya*, Arabic [GAL 1:507, no. 24], 339 {14–15}.
- 1.2a. [Fakhraddīn abū Ṭālib Muḥammad (ibn al-Ḥillī)?] *Sharḥ Mulakhkhaṣ al-imām al-Rāzī al-musammā bi-al-Risāla al-Fakhriyya fī al-ḥikma al-islāmīyya*, Arabic [GALS 2:209, no. 2,2], 339 {16–17}.
- 1.2b. Same as preceding, listed anonymously, 339 {19}–340 {1}.
2. [Sharḥ al-Ishārāt]
- 2.1. al-Āmidī, K. *al-Iṭirādāt ‘alā Sharḥ al-imām al-Rāzī li-l-Ishārāt* [= *Kashf al-tamwihāt fī Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*] (*Objections to al-Rāzī’s Commentary on Pointers*), Arabic [GALS 1:816, no. 20b], 340 {3–4}.
3. *Majmū‘a min rasā’il al-Rāzī (a) fī al-ālām wa-al-ladhdhāt* (*On Pains and Pleasures*) [GAL 1:507, no. 27], (b) *wa-fī tafsīr al-suwar al-arba‘ fī al-maṭālib al-arba‘a* (*Commentary on Four Qur’ānic Verses*) [GAL 1:506, no. 6c?], (c) *wa-fī naḥy al-jiha* (*On Negating Direction*) [GAL 1:507, no. 30c]; *kullun min hādhihī al-thalāth min qibāl al-ḥikma al-islāmīyya*, Arabic, 340 {7–10}.

AL-URMAWĪ, Sirājaddīn Abū al-Thanā’ Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr (d. 1283)

- 1a. *Maṭālī‘ al-anwār fī al-mantiq wa-al-ḥikma al-islāmīyya* (*Dawn of Lights*), Arabic [GAL 1:467, no. 1], 339 {13}.
- 1b. Same as preceding, 340 {5–6}.
2. *Lawāmi‘ al-afkār fī sharḥ Maṭālī‘ al-anwār fī al-mantiq wa-al-ḥikma al-islāmīyya* (*Brilliant Thoughts, commentary on Dawn of Lights*), Arabic [GALS 1:848, no. 1a], 340 {4–5}.

PART TWO

“Philosophical Philosophy” (*al-ḥikma al-falsafiyya*)

AL-ABHARĪ, Athīraddīn al-Mufaḍḍal b. ‘Umar (d. 1264)

- 1a. *Hidāyat al-ḥikma* or *fī al-ḥikma* (*Guidance of / in Philosophy*), Arabic [GAL 1:464, no. 1; GALS 1:839, no. 1], 356 {11}.

- 1b. Same as preceding, listed anonymously, 347 {16}, bound together with his *Īsāghūjī* and Suhrawardī's *Rasā'il*, unspecified.
- 1c. Same as preceding, listed anonymously, 352 {10}.
- 1d. Same as preceding, listed anonymously, 316 {13}, bound with *Sharḥ K. al-Chaghmīnī fī al-hay'a* and *Sī faṣl* by Ṭūsī.
- 1e. Same as preceding, containing only physics and metaphysics, 332 {3}, bound with two other geometrical treatises.
- 1f. Same as preceding, 347 {10–11}, bound with unspecified treatises on *ādāb al-baḥth*.
- 1g. Same as preceding, listed anonymously, 61 {3}.
- 1.1a. Mīrak b. Mubārakshāh al-Bukhārī, *Sharḥ (Commentary)*, Arabic [GAL 1:464, no. I 3], 357 {8}, bound with the *Sharḥ* by al-Ḥusaynī.
- 1.1b. Same as preceding, 358 {7}.
- 1.1c. Same as preceding, 358 {3}, bound with *R. al-Nizām fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb* and *Rasā'il ukhrā*, unspecified.
- 1.1d. Same as preceding, 311 {2–3}, bound with three other treatises on astronomy, music, and tactica.
- 1.2a. Mawlānāzāde al-Harawī, *Sharḥ ḥikmat al-Hidāya (Commentary on the Physics and Metaphysics of The Guidance)*, Arabic, completed ca. 845/1441 [GAL 1:464, no. I 4], 359 {4}.
- 1.2b. Same as preceding, 352 {11–13}.
- 1.2c. Same as preceding, 61 {2}.
- 1.2d. Same as preceding, 61 {14}.
- 1.2e. Apparently same as preceding, *Matn Mawlānāzāde al-musammā bi-al-Hidāya fī al-ḥikma*, 60 {13}.
- 1.2f. Mawlānāzāde al-Harawī, *Ḥāshiya 'alā al-Hidāya (Supercommentary on the Physics and Metaphysics of The Guidance)*, Arabic, 352 {10–11}.
- 1.2g. Same as preceding, 61 {15}.
- 1.2h. Mawlānāzāde al-Harawī, *Ḥāshiya 'alā Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-Hidāya (Supercommentary on the Commentary of the Physics and Metaphysics of The Guidance)*, Arabic, 361 {4}.²
- 1.3. Muḥammad b. Sharīf al-Ḥusaynī, *Sharḥ (Commentary)*, Arabic, ca. 825/1422 [GAL 1:464, no. I 1], 357 {9}, bound with the *Sharḥ* by Mīrak.
- 1.4a. "*al-Nihāya fī sharḥ Ḥikmat al-Hidāya*" (*The Ultimate Commentary on the Physics and Metaphysics of The Guidance*), Arabic, 358 {11}.
- 1.4b. Same as preceding, 359 {13}.
- 1.4c. Same as preceding, 363 {7–8}.
- 1.5a. "*Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-Hidāya*" (*Commentary on the Physics and Metaphysics of The Guidance*), Arabic, 356 {11–12}.
- 1.5b. Same as preceding, 359 {4}.
- 1.5c. Same as preceding, 360 {14}.
- 1.5d. Same as preceding, 68 {5–6}, bound with *Kashf al-fawā'id* (al-Ḥillī).
- 2a. *Kashf al-ḥaqā'iq fī al-mantiq wa-takḥī'at al-ḥikma (The Unveiling of Truths in Logic and Finding Fault with Physics and Metaphysics)*, Arabic [GALS 1:843, no. V], 352 {8}.³
- 2b. See above, under "Islamic Philosophy."
- 3a. *Tanzīl al-afkār fī ta'dīl al-asrār (Revelation of Thoughts to Settle the Secrets [of Philosophy])*, Arabic [GALS 1:843, no. VII], 360 {11}.
- 3b. Same as preceding, 362 {2}, listed anonymously.

- 3.1. “*Ta’dīl al-mi’yār fī Sharḥ Tanzīl al-afkār*” (*Settling Criteria in Commenting on Revelation of Thoughts*) [GALS 1:843, no. VII], Arabic, 357 {18–19}.

ABŪ AL-BARAKĀT AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, Awḥadazzamān Hibatallāh ‘Abdallāh b. Malkā (d. after 1165)

- 1a. *al-Mu’tabar fī al-mantiq wa-al-ḥikma* (*Personally Considered [Theory of] Logic and Philosophy*), Arabic [GAL 1:460, no. 2], 343 {12–13}, in four volumes.
 1b. Same as preceding, 360 {9–10}, noted as being the last volume of the set.

AL-ĀMIDĪ, Sayfaddīn Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī al-Tha’labī (d. 1233)

1. *Kashf al-Tamwīhāt* (= *I’tirādāt ‘alā Sharḥ al-imām al-Rāzī li-l-Ishārāt*) → Fakhraddīn al-Rāzī 2.1 above under “Islamic Philosophy.”

ANONYMOUS

1. *R. al-Ajwiba min al-as’ila* (*Answers to Questions*), Arabic, 363 {1}, first treatise in a *majmū’a* whose second treatise is the anonymous *Ījāz al-ḥikma*. The title resembles that of a number of treatises by Ibn Sīnā (see GP 5, 8–9, GS 14c, GL 15, GS-Ps 2a–b).
2. *R. fī al-Akhlāq wa-al-siyāsa*, 133 {18}, bound with other anonymous treatises on mirrors for princes, creeds, Sufism, *al-Ṣuḥuf al-yūnāniyya*, Ibn Sīnā’s *al-Jumāna al-ilāhiyya*, and the Ps.-Avicennan *R. fī Daḥ al-aḥzān* (al-Kindī).
- 3a. *Anwār al-afkār fī al-ḥikma* (*Luminous Thoughts*, on Philosophy), Arabic, 362 {8}.
- 3b. Same as preceding, 62 {14–15}, bound with *‘Amal al-aṣṭurlāb* (al-Aṣṭurlābī?), *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (al-Ghazālī), *Sharḥ Khuṭbat Ibn Sīnā* (al-Khayyām?), and *Lawāmi’ al-bayyināt* (Fakhraddīn al-Rāzī).
4. *R. bi-al-fārisiyya fī al-ḥikma al-falsafiyya* (Persian treatise on philosophical philosophy), 359 {1}.
5. *R. bi-al-fārisiyya fī al-mantiq wa-al-ḥikma al-falsafiyya* (Persian treatise on logic, physics, and metaphysics), 352 {13–14}.
6. *al-Fuṣūl al-ashrafiyya* (*Chapters for Ashraf* [?]), Arabic, 356 {12}. Brockelmann (GALS 1:774, no. I 8) mentions Shamsaddīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī as the author of this “philosophisches Lehrbuch.” Also mentioned in *Dhayl Kashf al-zunūn*, II.193,5 Bilge ed.
7. *Fuṣūl-i Sulṭānī min qibal al-ḥikma* (*Imperial Chapters*, pertaining to philosophy), Persian, 359 {19}.
8. *R. fī al-Ḥikma al-ilāhiyya* (*On Divine Philosophy*), Arabic, 361 {16}.
9. *al-Ḥikma al-rashīdiyya* (*Philosophy for Rashīd* [?]), Arabic, 356 {7–8}.
10. *al-R. al-Ḥikmiyya* (Philosophical Treatise), unspecified, Arabic, 360 {18}.
11. *Ījāz al-ḥikma* (*Précis of Philosophy*), Arabic, 363 {2}, second treatise in a *majmū’a* whose first treatise is *R. al-Ajwiba min al-as’ila*.
12. *R. fī al-Ilāhiyyāt wa-al-ṭabī’iyyāt* (Treatise on metaphysics and physics), Arabic, 357 {15–16}.
13. *R. al-Jiha fī al-ḥikma* (*On Directions*), Arabic, 357 {15}. Most likely this is one of the books on directions (up, down, etc., whether they exist or not) by one of the Anatolian scholars, as given by Ḥājji Khalīfa 1:859, who lists as authors Khōjazāde, Afḍalzāde, Kestelli, Khaṭībzāde, Ḥasan al-Samsūnī, and Qāḍizāde al-Rūmī.
14. *Kutub al-‘ulūm* (Books on sciences), unspecified, 361 {6}, in a *majmū’a* together with Suhrawardī’s *Kalimāt al-taṣawwuf* and *al-Abwāḥ al-‘imādiyya*.

15. *Majmū'a* (Collective volume), whose first work is Ḥunayn b. Ishāq's [*Nawādir al-falāsifa*] *Nuqūsh khawātīm al-ḥukamā' wa-ādābihim wa-ijtimā'atihim*, but whose contents are otherwise unspecified, 362 {18}.
16. *Majmū'a fi al-ḥikma* (Collective volume on philosophy), unspecified, whose first treatise is *R. Madārij al-wujūd li-l-ḥakīm al-Mrqī* (al-Maraqī? See note 12) *fi al-naḥs*, 362 {14–15}.
17. *Majmū'a min kutub al-ḥikmiyyāt wa-ghayrihā* (Collective volume on philosophy and other subjects), unspecified, 361 {8–9}.
18. *Majmū'a min rasā'il fi al-ḥikma al-falsafiyya wa-ghayrihā* (Collective volume with treatises on philosophy and other subjects), unspecified, 363 {2–3}.
- 19a. *Majmū'a min rasā'il <fi> al-ḥikmiyyāt wa-ghayrihā* (Collective volume with treatises on philosophy and other subjects), unspecified, 361 {8}.
- 19b. Same as preceding, 362 {4–5}.
- 19c. Same as preceding, 362 {19}–363 {1}.
20. *R. fi al-Manṭiq wa-al-ṭabī'iyyāt wa-al-ilāhiyyāt* (Treatise on logic, physics, and metaphysics), Arabic, 360 {18–19}.
21. *al-Muthul al-Aflātūniyya* → see under the title
22. *R. fi al-Nafs* (*On the Soul*), Arabic, 360 {11–12}.
23. *al-Rasā'il al-muta'alliqa bi-ithbāt wājib al-wujūd wa-al-rasā'il al-muta'alliqa bi-al-naḥs* (Treatises relating to proving the necessary existent and treatises relating to the soul), unspecified, 362 {12–13}.
24. *Rasā'il ukhrā* (Other treatises), unspecified, 355 {3}, bound in one volume with *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-'ayn li-Ibn Mubārak Shāh*, *Sharḥ Muqaddimat al-Nasafī fi 'ilm al-jadal*, and *Ḥāshiyat Sharḥ al-Tajrid li-l-Ḥilli fi 'ilm al-kalām*.
25. *Rasā'il ukhrā* (Other treatises), unspecified, 358 {4}, bound with *Sharḥ li-Ibn Mubārak Shāh*, and *R. al-Niẓām fi 'ilm al-ḥisāb*.
26. *Rasā'il ukhrā li-Aristātālīs wa-Aflātūn wa-ghayrihimā* (Other treatises), unspecified, attributed to Plato and Aristotle and others, 361 {13–14}, bound with an anonymous *Sharḥ Ḥayy b. Yaqzān*, Abū Manṣūr's *Sharḥ Ḥayy b. Yaqzān*, Ibn Sīnā's *R. al-Ṭayr*, *al-Ajrām al-'ulwiyya*, and *Ḥudūth al-ḥurūf*.
27. *R. fi thalāth mabāḥith fi al-ḥikmiyyāt* (Treatises on three philosophical subjects), unspecified, 361 {15}, bound with al-Jāmī's translation of some verses (*abyāt*) by Ibn al-Fāriḍ.
- 28a. *al-Ṣuḥuf al-yūnāniyya* (*The Greek Scrolls*), 133 {19}–134 {1}, bound with other anonymous treatises on ethics, politics, mirrors for princes, creeds, Sufism, Ibn Sīnā's *al-Jumāna al-ilāhiyya*, and the Ps.-Avicennan *R. fi Daḥ al-aḥzān* (al-Kindī).
- 28b. Same as preceding, 134 {12}, bound with other anonymous works on ethics and hortatory literature, along with *R. fi al-Ṣalāt* attributed to Ibn Sīnā.

ARISTOTLE (d. 322 BCE)

1. [*K. al-Maqūlāt* (*Categories*)]
- 1.1. "*Sharḥ Alfāẓ Aristūṭālīs fi K. al-Maqūlāt*" (*Commentary on Aristotle's Terms in the Categories*), Arabic, 343 {17–18}, bound with [al-Sāwī's] *al-Baṣā'ir al-Naṣiriyya fi al-manṭiq*.
2. *Rasā'il ukhrā li-Aristātālīs wa-Aflātūn wa-ghayrihimā* (Other treatises by Aristotle, Plato, and others), unspecified, Arabic, 361 {13}, bound with an anonymous *Sharḥ Ḥayy b. Yaqzān*, Abū Manṣūr's *Sharḥ Ḥayy b. Yaqzān*, Ibn Sīnā's *R. al-Ṭayr*, *al-Ajrām al-'ulwiyya*, and *Ḥudūth al-ḥurūf*.

3. *Tarjamat kitāb Aristātālīs bi-al-‘arabiyya fī al-ḥikma* (Arabic translation of a book by Aristotle on philosophy), unspecified, 356 {7}.
4. *K. Aristūtālīs naqalahu ilā al-‘arabiyya Ishāq b. Hunayn fī al-mantiq* (Book on logic by Aristotle translated into Arabic by Ishāq b. Hunayn), unspecified, 344 {7}.

AL-FĀRĀBĪ, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. 950)

- 1a. *R. fī al-Ḥikma* (Treatise on philosophy), unspecified, Arabic, 361 {3–4}.
- 1b. Same as preceding, unspecified, 58 {10}, bound with *Tajrīd* and *Qawā'id al-‘aqā'id* by Ṭūsī.
2. *R. fī al-Akhlāq* (*On Ethics*), unspecified, Arabic, 140 {10–12}, bound with Miskawayh's *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq*.
3. *Sharḥ li-K. Aristūtālīs fī al-Qiyāsāt* (*Commentary on Aristotle's Prior Analytics*), Arabic, 343 {14–15}.
4. *Risālatāni li-Abī al-Naṣr [sic] al-Fārābī fī al-ḥikmiyyāt* (Two treatises by al-Fārābī), unspecified, Arabic, 361 {14}.
5. *Majmū'a min rasā'il* (Collective volume of treatises), unspecified, Arabic, 358 {10–11}.
- 6a. *Majmū'a min rasā'il Abī al-Naṣr [sic] al-Fārābī fī al-ḥikmiyyāt al-falsafiyya* (Collective volume of treatises by al-Fārābī on philosophy), unspecified, Arabic, 361 {9–10}.
- 6b. Same as preceding, unspecified, 361 {17}.
7. *Majmū'a fī awā'ilihā rasā'il al-Fārābī* (Collective volume beginning with treatises by al-Fārābī), unspecified, Arabic, 345 {18}.

AL-GHAZĀLĪ, Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. 1111)

- 1a. *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa* (*Doctrines of the Philosophers*), Arabic, 488/1095 [GAL 1:425, no. 56], 359 {5–6}.
- 1b. Same as preceding, 62 {11}, bound with other works by him.
- 2a. *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (*Precipitance of the Philosophers*), Arabic, 488/1095 [GAL 1:425, no. 55] 348 {18–19}, bound in one volume with Ibn Sīnā, *al-Ishārāt*; Suhrawardī, *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*; Ṣadraddīn al-Qūnawī, *Miftāḥ al-ghayb*. The work is additionally described as *fī ibṭāl al-ḥikma al-falsafiyya*.
- 2b. Same as preceding, 62 {12}, bound with other works by him.
- 2c. Same as preceding, 62 {13}.
- 2d. Same as preceding, 62 {14}.
- 2e. Same as preceding, 62 {16}, bound with *Anwār al-afkār* (?), *‘Amal al-aṣṭurlāb* (al-Aṣṭurlābī?), *Sharḥ Ḥuṭbat Ibn Sīnā* (al-Khayyām?), and *Lawāmi' al-bayyināt* (Fakhraddīn al-Rāzī).

AL-HAMADHĀNĪ, Niẓāmaddīn Maḥmūd b. Faḍlallāh b. Aḥmad al-Tūdī (fl. 1252)

1. *Sharḥ al-Lamaḥāt* → Suhrawardī 5.1

AL-ḤILLĪ, al-‘Allāma Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. ‘Alī b. al-Muṭahhar (d. 1325)

1. *Ḥāshiyat Sharḥ al-Ṭūsī* → Ibn Sīnā 18.4.1
2. *Idāḥ al-maqāṣid fī sharḥ Ḥikmat al-‘ayn* → al-Kātibī 1.2

HUNAYN b. ISHĀQ (d. 873)

- 1a. [Nawādir al-falāsifa =] Nuqūsh khawātīm al-ḥukamā' wa-ādābihim wa-ijtimā'atihim (*Signet rings of the philosophers, their sayings and congregations* [= *Anecdotes of the Philosophers*]), Arabic, 362 {18–19}, first work in a *majmū'a* whose contents are otherwise unspecified.
- 1b. Same as preceding, 148 {13}.

AL-ḤUSAYNĪ, Muḥammad b. Sharīf al-Jankī (ca. 1422)

1. *Sharḥ Hidāyat al-ḥikma* → al-Abharī 1.3

IBN KAMMŪNA, 'Izzaddawla Sa'd b. Maṣṣūr al-Baghdādī (d. 1284)

1. *R. fī al-Burhān al-gharīb fī al-tawḥīd* (*Unusual Demonstration of God's Oneness*), Arabic, 353 {7}, bound with his *Mukhtaṣar fī al-ḥikma* and his *al-Ḥikma al-jadīda*.⁴
- 2a. *al-Ḥikma al-jadīda* (*The New Philosophy*), Arabic [Pourjavady and Schmidtke (as in note 4), no. 1.3.1], 353 {7–8}, bound with his *Mukhtaṣar fī al-ḥikma* and his *R. fī al-Burhān al-gharīb fī al-tawḥīd*.
- 2b. Same as preceding, 353 (8).
3. *Mukhtaṣar fī al-ḥikma* (*Compendium of Philosophy*), Arabic, 353 {6–7}, bound with his *R. fī al-Burhān al-gharīb fī al-tawḥīd* and his *al-Ḥikma al-jadīda*.⁵
4. *Kitābāni li-Ibn Kammūna* (two books by Ibn Kammūna), unspecified, 359 {17–18}, bound with the *Qaṣīda* of al-Ṭayyibī.
5. *Risālatāni li-Ibn Kammūna* (two treatises by Ibn Kammūna), unspecified, 359 {16–17}, in a *majmū'a* of otherwise unspecified treatises not by him.
6. *Sharḥ al-Talwīḥāt* → Suhrawardī 8.1

IBN SĪNĀ, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh (d. 1037)

- 1a. *al-Adwiyā al-qalbiyya* (*Cardiac Remedies*), Arabic [GMed 2], 356 {17}, bound with his *al-Ishārāt*, *al-Ta'liqāt*, and *Rasā'il ukhrā*.
- 1b. Same as preceding, 358 {13–14}, bound with his *al-Najāt*, *Uyūn al-ḥikma*, *al-Ishārāt*, *Tafsīr sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*, *Tafsīr sūrat al-Mu'awwidhatayn*, and *Rasā'il ukhrā*.
2. *R. fī Aḥwāl al-'aql* (*On the States of the Intellect*) = *Aḥwāl al-nafs* ? (*On the States of the Soul*), Arabic [GM 3?], 361 {19}, bound with Miskawayh, *al-Fawz al-aṣghar*.
3. *Fī al-Ajrām al-'ulwiyya* (*On the Supernal Bodies*), Arabic [GP 6], 361 {11–12}, bound with an anonymous *Sharḥ Ḥayy b. Yaqzān*, Abū Maṣṣūr's *Sharḥ Ḥayy b. Yaqzān*, Ibn Sīnā's *R. al-Ṭayr* and *Ḥudūth al-ḥurūf*, and *Rasā'il ukhrā li-Aristāṭālīs wa-Aflātūn wa-ghayrihimā*.
4. *Ajwibat Ibn Sīnā li-Masā'il Abī al-Rayḥān* (*Answers to Questions Posed by al-Bīrūnī*), Arabic [GP 8], 334 {2}, bound together with *al-R. al-'Alā'iyya fī al-masā'il al-ḥisābiyya*, *al-Ajwiba min al-as'ila* (*Answers to Questions*): see under Anonymous.
5. *R. al-Arzāq* (*On Wealth*), Arabic [GM-Ps 11] 360 {16–17}, bound with the *R. al-Ṣalāt* and other unspecified *Rasā'il ukhrā* of his.
- 6a. *Asbāb Ḥudūth al-ḥurūf* (*The Causes of the Articulation of Letters*), Arabic [GL 16], after 415/1024, 361 {12}, bound with an anonymous *Sharḥ Ḥayy b. Yaqzān*, Abū Maṣṣūr's *Sharḥ Ḥayy b. Yaqzān*, Ibn Sīnā's *R. al-Ṭayr* and *al-Ajrām al-'ulwiyya*, and *Rasā'il ukhrā li-Aristāṭālīs wa-Aflātūn wa-ghayrihimā*.
- 6b. Same as preceding, 306 {11}, the first treatise in a *majmū'a* of his works, the second of which is the *R. fī al-Kīmīyā*.
7. Auto-/Biography → al-Jūzjānī

8. [al-‘Aynīyya (*Poem Rhyming in ‘ayn*) [GP-Ps 4]]
- 8.1a. “*Sharḥ al-qaṣīda al-mansūba ilā Ibn Sīnā [al-‘Aynīyya?]*” (*Commentary on the Poem Attributed to Ibn Sīnā*), Arabic, 363 {6–7}, bound together with four anonymous treatises: *Sharḥ al-namaṭ al-tāsi‘ min al-Ishārāt*, *Toḥfe-ye shāhī fi ma‘rifat al-aṣṭurlāb* [Quṭbaddīn al-Shīrāzī?], *Madkhal manẓūm fi al-nujūm*, *R. fārisiyya fi al-Raml*.
- 8.1b. “*Sharḥ al-qaṣīda [sic] Ibn Sīnā [al-‘Aynīyya?]*” (*Commentary on the Poem by Ibn Sīnā*), Arabic, 304 {17}, bound together with *R. fi al-Firāsa*.
9. *al-Burhān (Demonstration) =? Fī Uṣūl ‘ilm al-burhān (On the Principles of Demonstration)*, Arabic [GL 12], 360 {15}, bound with [al-*Mukhtaṣar*] *al-Awsaṭ*. This, in all probability, is the work following *al-Risāla al-mūjaza fi uṣūl al-mantiq*, rather than the *Burhān* of the *Shifā’*. See Gutas, *Avicenna*, GL 12 and GL 2.
- 10a. *Dāneshnāme-ye ‘Alā’ī (Philosophy for ‘Alā’addawla)*, Persian [GS 7], 341 {16–17}, containing the logic only.
- 10b. Same as preceding, 345 {6}.
11. *al-Fayḍ al-ilāhī (Divine Effluence) = al-Af‘āl wa-al-infi‘ālāt (Actions and Affections)*, Arabic [GPP 1e], 358 {18}, last treatise in a volume with other works, as follows: *Risālat al-Jabr wa-al-qadar min qibal ‘ilm al-kalām*; *wa-Sharḥ iṣṭilāḥāt al-mashāyikh fi al-taṣawwuf*; *wa-al-Risāla al-Nayrūzīyya fi al-ḥurūf al-muqaṭṭa‘āt fi awā’il al-suwar ‘alā za‘im Ibn Sīnā min qibal al-ḥikma*.
12. [Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān (*Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān*) [GM 7]]
- 12.1a. Abū Manṣūr al-Ḥusayn [Ibn Zayla], *Sharḥ Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān (Commentary on Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān)*, Arabic, 361 {2}, bound with an anonymous *Sharḥ* on the same.
- 12.1b. Same as preceding, 361 {10–11}, bound with an anonymous *Sharḥ Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān*, Ibn Sīnā’s *R. al-Ṭayr*, *al-Ajrām al-‘ulwīyya*, and *Ḥudūth al-ḥurūf*, and *Rasā’il ukhrā li-Aristāṭālīs wa-Aflāṭūn wa-ghayrihimā*.
- 12.2. “*Sharḥ Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān*” (*Commentary on Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān*), Arabic, 361 {10}, bound with the *Sharḥ Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān* of Abū Manṣūr, Ibn Sīnā’s *R. al-Ṭayr*, *al-Ajrām al-‘ulwīyya*, and *Ḥudūth al-ḥurūf*, and *Rasā’il ukhrā li-Aristāṭālīs wa-Aflāṭūn wa-ghayrihimā*.
- 12.3. “*Sharḥ R. Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān ‘alā ṭarīqat al-lughaz allatī hiya li-Ibn Sīnā*” (*Commentary on Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān by Way of Ibn Sīnā’s Allegories*), Arabic, 361 {1}, bound with *Sharḥ li-Abī Manṣūr al-Ḥusayn*.
- 12.4. “*Sharḥ K. Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān bi-al-fārisiyya*” (*Commentary on Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān*), Persian, 362 {17–18}.
13. *al-Hidāya (The Guidance)*, Arabic [GS 4], 358 {6–7}.
- 14a. *al-Ḥikma al-mashriqiyya (Eastern Philosophy)*, Arabic [GS 8], 357 {7–8}.
- 14b. Same as preceding, 359 {5}, with the note, *al-qadr alladhī wujida*.
15. *R. fi al-Hindibā’ (On Endive)*, Arabic [GMed 4], 344 {13–14}, bound together with his *al-Mūjaz fi al-mantiq*, *Aḥwāl al-nubuwwa* (Ps.-Ibn Sīnā’s?), and the correspondence of al-Ṭūsī with al-Qōnawī.
- 16a. *al-Hudūd (Definitions)*, Arabic [GL 6], 359 {14}, bound with Suhrawardī’s *al-Lamaḥāt*.
- 16b. Same as preceding, 346 {16–17}, in a *Majmū’a* containing al-Jūzjānī’s Auto-/biography and al-Ṭabarī’s *al-Mantiq*.
17. *R. fi ‘ilm al-‘arūd [On Prosody]*, Arabic, presumably by Ibn Sīnā [GL-Ps 6?], 362 {10}, last treatise in a *majmū’a* of unspecified number of treatises, presumably by Ibn Sīnā, the first of which is *al-Ishārāt*.
- 18a. *al-Ishārāt wa-al-tanbihāt (Pointers and Reminders)*, Arabic, 421–25/1030–34 [GS 9], 348 {11}.

- 18b. Same as above, 348 {11–12}.
- 18c. Same as above, 348 {12–13}.
- 18d. Same as above, 348 {13}.
- 18e. Same as above, 348 {14}.
- 18f. Same as above, 348 {14–15}.
- 18g. Same as above, 348 {15–16}, bound in one volume with unspecified *Rasā'il* by Ibn Sīnā.
- 18h. Same as above, 348 {17}.
- 18i. Same as above, 348 {17–18}, bound in one volume with al-Ghazālī, *Tahāfut*; Suhrawardī, *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*; Ṣadraddīn al-Qōnawī, *Miftāḥ al-ghayb*.
- 18j. Same as above, 349 {2–3}.
- 18k. Same as above, 349 {3}.
- 18l. Same as above, 356 {16}, bound with his *al-Ta'liqāt*, *al-Adwīya al-qalbiyya*, and *Rasā'il ukhrā*.
- 18m. Same as above, 358 {13}, bound with his *Uyūn al-ḥikma*, *al-Najāt*, *al-Adwīya al-qalbiyya*, *Tafsīr sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*, *Tafsīr sūrat al-Mu'awwidhatayn*, and *Rasā'il ukhrā*.
- 18n. Same as above, 362 {9}, in a *majmū'a* of unspecified number of treatises, presumably by Ibn Sīnā, the last of which is *R. fī 'Ilm al-'arūḍ*.
- 18o. Same as above, 363 {9}, bound together with [Suhrawardī's] *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*.
- 18p. Same as above, 363 {10–11}, bound together with an anonymous [Ibn Sīnā's?] *Risāla* on philosophy and [Ibn Sīnā's] *al-Jumāna al-ilāhiyya bi-al-'arabiyya al-manzūma*.
- 18q. Same as above, 140 {10}, bound with *K. al-Iṣtilāḥāt* by al-Qāshānī.
- 18(i). *Manṭiq al-Ishārāt (Logic of Pointers)*, 343 {14}.
- 18(ii). Separate copy (*naẓm*) of the last three chapters of the second part of the same work (*anmāt* 8–10), 349 {4–5}.
- 18(iii)a. Persian translation of the *Ishārāt*, 349 {8}.
- 18(iii)b. Same as preceding, 349 {9}.
- 18(iii)c. Same as preceding, 350 {18–19}.
- 18.1. al-Mas'ūdī, *al-Shukūk fī al-Ishārāt (Aporiai on Pointers)*, Arabic [GALS 1:817, no. 20e]⁶, 362 {6}, last work in a *majmū'a* of Ibn Sīnā's *Rasā'il*, unspecified.
- 18.2a. al-Rāzī, *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt (Commentary on Pointers)*, Arabic [GALS 1:817, no. 20b], 349 {13–14}.
- 18.2b. Same as preceding, 350 {1–2}.
- 18.2.1. al-Āmidī, *I'tirāḍāt 'alā Sharḥ al-Imām al-Rāzī li-l-Ishārāt (Objections to al-Rāzī's Commentary on Pointers)* → al-Rāzī 2.1 under "Islamic Philosophy."
- 18.3. al-Nakhjuwānī, *Zubdat al-naqd fī Sharḥ al-Ishārāt (The Cream of Critique in Commenting on Pointers)*, Arabic [GALS 1:817, no. 20h], 363 {8–9}.
- 18.3(i). al-Nakhjuwānī, *Sharḥ Ṭabī'iyyāt al-Ishārāt (Commentary on the Physics of Pointers)*, Arabic, 350 {17–18}.
- 18.4a. al-Ṭūsī, *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt (Commentary on Pointers)*, Arabic [GALS 1:817, no. 20b], 349 {10}.
- 18.4b. Same as preceding, 349 {10–11}.
- 18.4c. Same as preceding, 349 {11–12}.
- 18.4d. Same as preceding, 349 {12–13}.
- 18.4e. Same as preceding, 349 {14–15}.
- 18.4f. Same as preceding, 349 {15–16}.
- 18.4g. Same as preceding, 349 {16}.
- 18.4h. Same as preceding, 349 {17}.
- 18.4i. Same as preceding, 349 {18}.
- 18.4j. Same as preceding, 349 {18–19}.

- 18.4k. Same as preceding, 350 {3}.
- 18.4l. Same as preceding, 350 {3–4}.
- 18.4m. Same as preceding, 350 {4–5}.
- 18.4n. Same as preceding, 350 {5–6}.
- 18.4o. Same as preceding, 350 {6–7}.
- 18.4p. Same as preceding, 350 {9–10}.
- 18.4q. Same as preceding, 350 {10–11}.
- 18.4r. Same as preceding (bound in one volume with Quṭbaddīn al-Taḥṭānī's *Muḥākamāt*), 350 {13–14}.
- 18.4s. Same as preceding (as lemmata to Quṭbaddīn al-Taḥṭānī's *Muḥākamāt*?), 350 {16–17}.⁷
- 18.4(i). *Ṭabīʿīyāt Sharḥ al-Ishārāt* (*Commentary on the Physics of Pointers*), Arabic, 353 {10–11}.
- 18.4(ii). *Ṭabīʿīyāt Sharḥ al-Ishārāt wa-Ilāhiyyātuhū* (*Commentary on the Physics and Metaphysics of Pointers*), 350 {12–13}.
- 18.4(iii). *Kitāb min awāʿil Sharḥ al-Ishārāt* (Beginning parts of Ṭūsī's *Commentary on Pointers*), 353 {9–10}.
- 18.4.1. al-Ḥillī, *Hāshiyat Sharḥ al-Ṭūsī* (*Supercommentary on Ṭūsī's Commentary on Pointers*), Arabic, 351 {3–4}.
- 18.4.2. "*Hāshiyat Sharḥ al-Ṭūsī*" (*Supercommentary on Ṭūsī's Commentary on Pointers*), Arabic, 359 {1–2}.
- 18.5. al-Urmawī, *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt* (*Commentary on Pointers*), Arabic [GALS I.817, no. 20f], 350 {8–9}.
- 18.6. [al-Samarqandī, Shamsaddīn], *Bishārāt al-Ishārāt* (*The Glad Tidings of Pointers*), Arabic [GALS I.817, no. 20i], 350 {7–8}.
- 18.7a. Quṭbaddīn al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī, *al-Muḥākamāt bayna Sharḥay al-Ishārāt* (*Arbitration between the Two Commentaries on Pointers and Reminders*), Arabic [GAL II.209, no. 5], 350 {14–15}, bound in one volume with al-Ṭūsī's *Commentary*.
- 18.7b. Same as preceding, 350 {16}.
- 18.7c. Same as preceding, 350 {19}–351 {1}.
- 18.7d. Same as preceding, 351 {1–3}.
- 18.7e. Same as preceding, 353 {11–12}.
- 18.7f. See above, under "Islamic Philosophy."
- 18.8. "*Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*" (*Commentary on Pointers*), Arabic, 350 {2}, listed right after the Rāzī commentary.
- 18.9. "*Sharḥ al-uṣūl wa-al-jumal alladhī huwa ka-l-sharḥ li-K. al-Ishārāt fī al-ḥikma al-falsafīyya*" (*Commentary on the principles and main points, being like a commentary on Pointers*), Arabic, 353 {2–3}.⁸
- 18.10. "*Sharḥ Ṭabīʿīyāt al-Ishārāt*" (*Commentary on the Physics of Pointers*), Arabic, 349 (19)–350 {1} and 350 {11–12}, listed right after the Ṭūsī commentary 18.5j and 18.5q.
- 18.11. "*Sharḥ al-namaṭ al-tāsi' min al-Ishārāt*" (*Commentary on the ninth chapter [of the second part] of Pointers*), Arabic, 363 {4}, bound together with four anonymous treatises: "*Toḥfe-ye shāhī fī ma'rīfat al-aṣṭurlāb*" [Quṭbaddīn al-Shīrāzī?], "*Madkhal manzūm fī al-nujūm*," "*R. fārisīyya fī al-Raml*," "*Sharḥ al-qaṣīda al-mansūba ilā Ibn Sīnā* ['Aynīyya?]."
- 18.12. → al-Āmidī
19. *al-Jawābāt al-ʿashr* (*Answers to Ten [Questions]*), Arabic [GP 9], 356 {5}, bound together with *al-Mabda' wa-al-ma'ād*.
- 20a. *al-Jumāna al-ilāhiyya bi-al-ʿarabiyya al-manzūma* (*The Divine Pearl, in Arabic verse*) [GM 9], 363 {11–12}, bound together with Ibn Sīnā's *al-Ishārāt* and an anonymous *Risāla* [Ibn Sīnā's?].

- 20b. Same as preceding, 134 {1}, bound with other anonymous treatises on ethics, politics, mirrors for princes, creeds, Sufism, “*al-Ṣuḥuf al-yūnāniyya*,” and the Ps.-Avicennan *R. fī Daḡ al-aḥzān* (al-Kindī).
- 20c. Same as preceding, 148 {4–5}, bound with other anonymous ethical treatises and one logical poem.
21. [*al-Khuṭba (al-tasbīḥiyya/al-gharrāʾ?)*], Arabic, [GPW 6a].
- 21.1a. [‘Umar al-Khayyām?], *Sharḥ Khuṭbat b. Sīnā bi-al-fārisiyya* (*Commentary on Ibn Sīnā’s Homily [in Praise of God]*), Persian, 358 {8–9}.
- 21.1b. Same as preceding, 358 {9–10}.
- 21.1c. Same as preceding, 62 {15–16}, bound with “*Anwār al-afkār*” (?), “*ʿAmal al-aṣṭurlāb*” (al-Aṣṭurlābī?), *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (al-Ghazālī), and *Lawāmiʿ al-bayyināt* (Fakhraddīn al-Rāzī).
22. *R. fī al-Kūmiyāʾ* (*On Alchemy*), Arabic [GP-Ps 9], 306 {11–12}, the second treatise in a *majmūʿa* of his works, the first of which is *Fī Hudūth al-Ḥurūf*.
- 23a. *al-Mabdaʾ wa-al-maʿād* (*The Provenance and Destination*), Arabic [GM 1], 356 {4}, bound together with *al-Jawābāt al-ʿashr*.
- 23b. Same as preceding, 356 {8–9}.
- 23c. Same as preceding, 356 {9}, bound together with *al-Baṣāʾir al-Naṣīriyya fī al-manṭiq*.
- 23d. Same as preceding, consisting of one of three treatises by this title, entered as *thalāth rasāʾil li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-mabdaʾ wa-al-maʿād al-falsafī*, 356 {3–4}, without specifying the other two.
- 23e. Same as preceding, 357 {10}.
- 23f. Same as preceding, listed anonymously,⁹ 362 {7}, bound with [Ibn Sīnā’s] *Risālatāni*, unspecified.
- 24a. *al-Mūjaz fī al-manṭiq* (*Epitome of Logic*), Arabic [GL 3], 362 {16}, the first treatise in a *Majmūʿa min rasāʾil Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikma al-falsafīyya*, the last of which is the Auto/-Biography, otherwise unspecified.
- 24b. Same as preceding, 344 {11–12}, bound with *Aḥwāl al-nubuwwa* (Ibn Sīnā’s?), the correspondence of al-Tūsī and al-Qōnawī, and Ibn Sīnā’s *Hindibāʾ*.
25. *al-Mubāḥathāt* (*Discussions*), Arabic [GS 14], 357 {6}, bound with his *al-Taʿlīqāt* and *Rasāʾil ukhrā*.
26. [*al-Mukhtaṣar*] *al-Awsaṭ fī al-manṭiq*, Arabic [GL 1], 360 {14}, bound with *al-Burhān*.
- 27a. *al-Najāt* (*The Salvation*), Arabic [GS 6], 352 {7}.
- 27b. Same as preceding, 352 {15–16}.
- 27c. Same as preceding, 358 {12}.
- 27d. Same as preceding, 358 {12–13}, bound with his *ʿUyūn al-ḥikma*, *al-Ishārāt*, *al-Adwīya al-qalbiyya*, *Tafsīr sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*, *Tafsīr sūrat al-Muʿawwidhatayn*, and *Rasāʾil ukhrā*.
- 27e. Same as preceding, 360 {5–6}, noted as the last volume of the book.
- 27(i). *Manṭiq K. al-Najāt* (*Logic of The Salvation*), 341 {10}.
- 27(ii). *Riyāḍiyyāt Kitābin li-Ibn Sīnā* (*Mathematics* [section] of a book by Avicenna [of the *Najāt* or the *Shifāʾ*?]), 355 {16–17}.
- 27.1. “*Sharḥ al-Najāt*” (*Commentary on The Salvation*), Arabic, 354 {8}.
- 27.2. “*Sharḥ al-Najāt*” (*Commentary on The Salvation*), Arabic, 355 {19}–356 {1}.
28. *al-Nayrūziyya* (*The New Year’s Treatise*), Arabic [GPW 5k], 358 {17}, bound with other works, as follows: *Risālat al-Jabr wa-al-qadar min qibal ʿilm al-kalām*; wa-*Sharḥ iṣṭilāḥāt al-mashāyikh fī al-taṣawwuf*; wa-al-risāla al-musammāt bi-al-Fayḍ al-ilāhī fī mithl al-karāmāt wa-al-muʿjizāt ʿalā zaʿm Ibn Sīnā min qibal al-ḥikma fī mujallad wāḥid.

29. *R. fī al-Qaḍā' wa-al-qadar* (*On the [Divine] Decree and Predestination*), Arabic [GM 4], 135 {16}, bound with other treatises on mysticism by Ibn 'Arabī and others.
- 30a. *R. fī al-Ṣalāt* (*On Prayer*), Arabic [GM-Ps 3], 359 {2–3}.
- 30b. Same as preceding, 360 {16}, bound with the *R. al-Arzāq* and other unspecified *Rasā'il ukhrā* of his.
- 30c. Same as preceding, 362 {11}, the first treatise in a *majmū'a* of unspecified number of treatises, presumably by Ibn Sīnā.
- 30d. Same as preceding, 134 {13}, bound with other anonymous treatises on ethics and hortatory literature.
- 31a. *al-Shifā'* (*The Cure*), Arabic [GS 5], 351 {5}.
- 31b. Same as preceding, 351 {6}.
- 31c. Same as preceding, 351 {9–10}.
- 31d. Same as preceding, 351 {10–11}.
- 31e. Same as preceding, 351 {17–18}.
- 31(i)a. *Manṭiq* (*Logic*), 343 {9}.
- 31(i)b. Same as preceding, 343 {10}.
- 31(i)c. Same as preceding, 343 {10–11}.
- 31(ii). *Burhān Manṭiq al-Shifā'* (*Posterior Analytics of The Cure*), 344 {1–2}.
- 31(iii)a. *Manṭiq, Ṭabī'yyāt and Ilāhiyyāt of the Shifā'* (*Logic, Natural Sciences, and Metaphysics of The Cure*), 351 {13–14}.
- 31(iii)b. Same as preceding, 351 {18–19}.
- 31(iv). Volume one of *al-Shifā'* (*The Cure*), containing *Manṭiq* and *Ṭabī'yyāt* (*Logic and Natural Sciences*) to the end of *al-Samā' al-ṭabī'ī* (*Physics*), 352 {1}.
- 31(v). *al-Qiyās* (*Syllogism [=Prior Analytics]*) of the *Manṭiq* of *al-Shifā'* (*Logic of The Cure*), 352 {3}.
- 31(vi). *Riyāḍiyyāt Kitābin li-Ibn Sīnā* (*Mathematics [section] of a book by Avicenna [of the Najāt or the Shifā' ?]*), 355 {16–17}.
- 31(vii). *al-Handasa* and *al-Hay'a* from the *Riyāḍiyyāt* of the *Shifā'* (*Geometry and Astronomy from the Mathematics part of The Cure*), 351 {11–12}.
- 31(viii)a. *Ṭabī'yyāt of the Shifā'* (*Natural Sciences part of The Cure*), 351 {14–15}.
- 31(viii)b. Same as preceding, 351 {16–17}, missing the last part.
- 31(ix)a. *Ṭabī'yyāt and Ilāhiyyāt of the Shifā'* (*Natural Sciences and Metaphysics parts of The Cure*), 351 {8–9}.
- 31(ix)b. Same as preceding, 351 {15–16}.
- 31(x)a. *Ilāhiyyāt of the Shifā'* (*Metaphysics part of The Cure*), 351 {7}.
- 31(x)b. Same as preceding, 352 {2}.
- 32a. *Tafsīr sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ, Tafsīr sūrat al-Mu'awwidhatayn* (*Commentary on the Sincere Religion, Daybreak, and Men [chapters of the Qur'ān]*), Arabic [GPW 5a-b], 358 {14}, bound with his *al-Najāt, al-Ishārāt, 'Uyūn al-ḥikma, al-Adwīya al-qalbiyya*, and *Rasā'il ukhrā*.
- 32b. *R. fī al-Kalām fī al-Fātiḥa* (*Discussion on the Opening Chapter of the Qur'ān*), Arabic [GPW 5f], 135 {16}, bound with mystical treatises by Ibn 'Arabī and others.
- 33a. *al-Ta'liqāt* (*Notes*), Arabic [GS 12a], 356 {16–17}, bound with his *al-Ishārāt, al-Adwīya al-qalbiyya*, and *Rasā'il ukhrā*.
- 33b. Same as preceding, 357 {6}, bound with his *al-Mubāḥathāt* and *Rasā'il ukhrā*.
- 33c. Same as preceding, 359 {19}–360 {1}, listed anonymously.
- 33d. Same as preceding, 361 {2–3}, listed anonymously.

34. *R. al-Ṭayr (The Bird)*, Arabic [GM 8], 361 {11}, bound with a “*Sharḥ Ḥayy b. Yaqzān*,” Abū Maṣṣūr’s *Sharḥ Ḥayy b. Yaqzān*, Ibn Sīnā’s *al-Ajrām al-‘ulwiyya* and *Ḥudūth al-ḥurūf*, and *Rasā’il ukhrā li-Aristātālīs wa-Aflātūn wa-ghayrihimā*.
35. [*Urjūza fī ‘ilm al-manṭiq (The Science of Logic, in verse)*], Arabic [GL 4].
- 35.1a. “*Sharḥ Urjūzat Ibn Sīnā fī al-manṭiq*” (*Commentary on Ibn Sīnā’s Logic in Verse*), 346 {4–5}.
- 35.1b. “*Sharḥ Urjūzat Ibn Sīnā fī al-manṭiq*” (*Commentary on Ibn Sīnā’s Logic in Verse*), 163 {10–11}.
36. *R. fī Ummahāt al-faḍā’il wa-al-akhlāq ... wa-R. Mukātabātihi ma’a Abī Sa’īd (On Ethics, with his correspondence with Abū Sa’īd)*, Arabic [GPP-Ps 3?], 143 {8–9}.
- 37a. *‘Uyūn al-ḥikma (Elements of Philosophy)*, Arabic [GS 3], 358 {13}, bound with his *al-Najāt*, *al-Ishārāt*, *al-Adwīya al-qalbiyya*, *Tafsīr sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*, *Tafsīr sūrat al-Mu’awwidhatayn*, and *Rasā’il ukhrā*.
- 37b. Same as preceding, 359 {12}, in a *Majmū’a min rasā’il, awwaluhā ‘Uyūn al-ḥikma*, otherwise unspecified.
- 37.1a. Fakhraddīn al-Rāzī, *Sharḥ ‘Uyūn al-ḥikma (Commentary on Elements of Philosophy)*, Arabic [GALS 1:817, no. 23], 354 {12}.
- 37.1b. Same as preceding, 354 {15}.
- 37.1c. Same as preceding, 354 {16}.
- 37.1d. Same as preceding, 360 {7–8}, noted as the first volume only.
38. Unspecified treatises in collective volumes (*majmū’*)
- 38(i)a. *Majmū’at rasā’il fī al-manṭiq wa-al-ḥikma wa-al-ṭibb wa-ghayrihā* (Treatises on logic, natural sciences and metaphysics, medicine, and other subjects), 356 {13}.
- 38(i)b. Same as preceding, 356 {14–15}.
- 38(i)c. Same as preceding, 358 {8}.
- 38(ii). *Majmū’a* of unspecified number of treatises, presumably by Ibn Sīnā, the first of which is *al-Ishārāt* and the last, *R. fī ‘Ilm al-‘arūḍ*, 362 {8–10}.
- 38(iii). *Majmū’a* of unspecified number of treatises, presumably by Ibn Sīnā, the first of which is Ibn Sīnā’s *R. al-Ṣalāt*, 362 {10–11}.
- 38(iv). *Majmū’a min rasā’il Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikmiyyāt* (Philosophical treatises by Ibn Sīnā), unspecified, 362 {5}, bound with al-Mas’ūdī’s *Shukūk fī al-Ishārāt*.
- 38(v). *Majmū’a min rasā’il Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikma al-falsafiyya* (Philosophical treatises by Ibn Sīnā), whose first treatise is *al-Mūjaz fī al-manṭiq* and last the Auto-/Biography, otherwise unspecified, 362 {15–17}.
- 38(vi). *Majmū’a* of an unspecified number of treatises by Ibn Sīnā, 306 {10–12}, the first of which is *Ḥudūth al-ḥurūf* and the second *R. fī al-Kīmiyā’*.
- 38(vii). *Rasā’il* (Treatises), 348 {16}, unspecified number and titles in one volume, bound with *Ishārāt* (no. 18g above).
- 38(viii). *Rasā’il* (Treatises), 359 {15–16}, in a *majmū’a* of unspecified other treatises by Ibn Sīnā, the first of which is the Auto-/Biography.
- 38(ix). *Rasā’il Ibn Sīnā fī al-manṭiq wa-ghayrihi* (Treatises by Ibn Sīnā on logic and other subjects), unspecified, 343 {19}.
- 38(x). *Rasā’il ukhrā* (Other treatises), unspecified, 356 {17}, bound with his *al-Ishārāt*, *al-Ta’līqāt*, and *al-Adwīya al-qalbiyya*.
- 38(xi). *Rasā’il ukhrā* (Other treatises), unspecified, 357 {7}, bound with his *al-Mubāḥāthāt* and *al-Ta’līqāt*.
- 38(xii). *Rasā’il ukhrā* (Other treatises), unspecified, 358 {14–15}, bound with his *al-Najāt*, *‘Uyūn al-ḥikma*, *al-Ishārāt*, *al-Adwīya al-qalbiyya*, *Tafsīr sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*, *Tafsīr sūrat al-Mu’awwidhatayn*.

- 38(xiii). *Rasā'il ukhrā* (Other treatises), unspecified, 360 {17}, bound with his *R. al-Ṣalāt* and *R. al-Arzāq*.
- 38(xiv). *Thalāth rasā'il li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-mabda' wa-al-ma'ād* (Two other treatises by Ibn Sīnā on Provenance and Destination, bound with a third, which is *al-Mabda' wa-al-ma'ād*), 356 {3–4}.
- 38(xv). *Risālatāni* (Two treatises), unspecified, 362 {7–8}, bound with *al-Mabda' wa-al-ma'ād*.
- 38(xvi). Anonymous and unspecified *Risāla fī al-ḥikmiyyāt* (Treatise on philosophy), 363 {11}, sandwiched between Ibn Sīnā's *al-Ishārāt* and *al-Jumāna al-ilāhiyya bi-al-'arabiyya al-manzūma*.
- 38(xvii). *K. Ibn Sīnā fī al-manṭiq wa-al-ḥikma al-falsafiyya* (Book by Ibn Sīnā on logic and physics and metaphysics), unspecified, 324 {15}, bound with *K. Zubdat al-idrāk fī al-hay'a, R. fī 'ilm aḥkām al-nujūm*, and *Rasā'il ukhrā*.

IBN ZAYLA, Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir (d. 1048)

1. *Sharḥ Ḥayy b. Yaqzān* → Ibn Sīnā 12.1

IKHWĀN AL-ṢAFĀ' (fl. tenth cent.)

- 1a. *Kitāb Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' fī funūn al-'ulūm* (*The Book of the Sincere Brethren on Different Sciences*), Arabic, 319 {9–11}; the description goes on to mention only the mathematical sciences as examples, which may indicate that the MS contained only those.
- 1b. Same as preceding, 319 {11–12}.
- 1c. Same as preceding, 319 {12–14}.
- 1d. Same as preceding, 319 {14}.
- 1e. Same as preceding, 324 {4–5}, with the note, *fī al-riyādiyyāt wa-ghayrihā*, which may mean that it contained only the mathematical sections.
- 1(i)a. *Mujmal al-ḥikma* (*Epitome of Philosophy*), abridged Persian translation of the *Rasā'il* (*Epistles*), 352 {9}, listed anonymously; cf. Ḥājji Khalifa 2: 1604–5.
- 1(i)b. Same as preceding, 356 {18}.
- 1(i)c. Same as preceding, 357 {11}.
- 1(i)d. Same as preceding, 357 {11–12}.
- 1(ii). Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', *Kitāb*, Persian, 324 {2–4}, first volume only on mathematics.

AL-JURJĀNĪ AL-SAYYID AL-SHARĪF, 'Alī b. Muḥammad (d. 1413)

1. *Majmū'a fihā al-rasā'il al-muta'alliqa bi-'tirāḍ al-Sayyid al-Sharīf 'alā wujūd al-jihā li-mawālī al-Rūm, raḥimahum Allāh ta'ālā, fī al-ḥikma* (Volume containing philosophical treatises by the Anatolian masters—God's mercy on them—relating to the objections of al-Sayyid al-Sharīf to the existence of directions), Arabic, 360 {2–4}.

AL-JŪZJĀNĪ, Abū 'Ubayd 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad (d. ca. 1050)

- 1a. [al-Jūzjānī], *Sīrat Ibn Sīnā wa-Fihrist kutubihī al-muṣannafa* (*The Biography of Ibn Sīnā and Catalogue of His Books*), Arabic [Gutas, *Avicenna*, 391–92], 359 {15–16}, first work in a *majmū'a* of unspecified other treatises by him.
- 1b. Same as preceding, 362 {16–17}, the last treatise in a *Majmū'a min rasā'il Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikma al-falsafiyya*, whose first is *al-Mūjaz fī al-manṭiq*, otherwise unspecified.
- 1c. Same as preceding, 306 {8–9}, bound with *Rasā'il* by Ibn Sīnā, unspecified, and a *R. fī al-Kīmīyā*.
- 1d. Same as preceding, 346 {16}, in a *Majmū'a* containing his *al-Hudūd* and al-Ṭabarī's *al-Manṭiq*.

AL-KĀTIBĪ, Najmaddīn ‘Alī b. ‘Umar al-Qazwīnī (d. 1277)

1. *Ḥikmat al-‘ayn* (*Essential Philosophy*), Arabic [GAL 1:466, no. II], 354 {17–18}, bound in one volume with Dāwūd al-Qayṣarī, *Sharḥ li-l-Fuṣūṣ fī al-taṣawwuf* and Ibn Mubārakshāh, *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-‘ayn*.
- 1(i). Persian translation of the above, 356 {1–2}.
- 1.1a. Mīrak al-Bukhārī Ibn Mubārakshāh, *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-‘ayn* (*Commentary on Essential Philosophy*), Arabic [GAL 1:466, no. II 1a], 354 {13–14}.
- 1.1b. Same as preceding, 354 {18–19}, bound in one volume with Dāwūd al-Qayṣarī, *Sharḥ li-l-Fuṣūṣ fī al-taṣawwuf* and al-Kātibī, *Ḥikmat al-‘ayn*.
- 1.1c. Same as preceding, 354 {19}–355 {1}, bound in one volume with *Sharḥ Muqaddimat al-Nasafī fī ‘ilm al-jadal*; *Hāshiyat Sharḥ al-Tajrīd li-l-Hillī fī ‘ilm al-kalām*; *Rasā’il ukhrā*.
- 1.1d. Same as preceding, 355 {17–18}.
- 1.1e. Same as preceding, 355 {18–19}.
- 1.1f. Same as preceding, 356 {5–6}.
- 1.1g. Same as preceding, 359 {12–13}.
- 1.2a. [al-‘Allāma al-Hillī], *Īdāḥ al-maqāṣid fī sharḥ Ḥikmat al-‘ayn* (*Explanation of the Topics in the Commentary on Essential Philosophy*), Arabic [GAL 1:467, no. II 3], 355 {7}.
- 1.2b. Same as preceding, 357 {3–4}.
- 1.3. “*al-Fawā’id fī Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-‘ayn al-qawā’id*” (*Useful Lessons in the Commentary on Essential Philosophy*), Arabic [GAL 1:467, no. II 4], 355 {3–4}.
- 1.3.1a. “*Hāshiyat Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-‘ayn*” (*Glosses on the Commentary on Essential Philosophy*), Arabic, 357 {4}.
- 1.3.1b. Same as preceding, 357 {5}.
- 1.3.1c. Same as preceding, 357 {5}.
- 1.4a. “*Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-‘Ayn*” (*Commentary on Essential Philosophy*), 354 {10–11}.
- 1.4b. Same as preceding, 354 {11}.
- 1.4c. Same as preceding, 354 {13}.
- 1.4d. Same as preceding, 359 {3}.

AL-KINDĪ, Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb b. Ishāq (d. between 861 and 866)

1. *R. fī Daf’ al-aḥzān*, 134 {1–2}, bound with other anonymous treatises on ethics, politics, mirrors for princes, creeds, Sufism, *al-Ṣuḥuf al-yūnāniyya*, and Ibn Sīnā’s *al-Jumāna al-ilāhiyya*.

AL-MAS‘ŪDĪ, al-Imām Sharafaddīn Muḥammad b. Mas‘ūd b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī (d. before 1204)

1. *K. al-Ḥikma* (*Philosophy*), Persian, 358 {2}.¹⁰
2. *al-Shukūk fī al-Ishārāt* → Ibn Sīnā 18.1

MAWLĀNĀZĀDE, Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Harawī (fifteenth cent.)

1. *Hāshiya ‘alā Sharḥ Hidāyat al-ḥikma* → al-Abharī 1.2

MĪRAK AL-BUKHĀRĪ, Shamsaddīn Muḥammad b. Mubārakshāh (d. ca. 1340)¹¹

1. *Sharḥ Hidāyat al-ḥikma* → al-Abharī 1.1
2. *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-‘ayn* → al-Kātibī 1.1

MISKAWAYH, Abū ‘Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb (d. 1030)

- 1a. *al-Fawz al-aṣghar* (*The Lesser Felicity*), Arabic [GAL 1:343, no. 4], 360 {13}.

- 1b. Same as preceding, 361 {18}, bound with Ibn Sīnā, *R. fī Aḥwāl al-ʿaql*.
2. *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq*, Arabic, 140 {10–11}, bound with a *R. fī al-Akhlāq* attributed to al-Fārābī.

AL-MRQĪ (al-Maraqī? unidentified)¹²

1. *R. Madārīj al-wujūd li-l-hakīm al-Mrqī fī al-naḥs* (*Paths of Being*, by the philosopher al-Mrqī, on the soul), 362 {14}, the first treatise in a *majmūʿa fī al-ḥikma*, unspecified.

al-Muthul al-aflātūniyya (*The Platonic Archetypes*), Arabic, 359 {9}.

AL-NAKHJ UWĀNĪ, Najmaddīn Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad (fl. 1229)

1. *Zubdat al-naqḍ fī sharḥ al-Ishārāt* → Ibn Sīnā 18.3

NĀṢIR-I KHUSRAW, Abū Muʿīn al-Kubādhīyānī (d. before 1078)

1. *Jāmiʿ al-ḥikmatayn* (*Merger of the Two Wisdoms* [i.e., Religion and Philosophy]), Persian [*Encyclopaedia of Islam*², s.v.], 356 {15}, listed anonymously.

PLATO (d. 347 BC), and Ps.-PLATO

1. *al-Muthul al-aflātūniyya* → see under the title
2. *Rasāʾil li-Aflātūn* (*Treatises by Plato*), unspecified, 361 {13}, bound with an anonymous *Sharḥ Ḥayy b. Yaqzān*, Abū Maṣʿūr's *Sharḥ Ḥayy b. Yaqzān*, Ibn Sīnā's *R. al-Ṭayr*, *al-Ajrām al-ʿulwīyya*, and *Hudūth al-hurūf*, and *Rasāʾil ukhrā li-Aristāṭālīs wa-ghayrihimā* [i.e., with Plato].
3. *al-Siyāsa al-madaniyya* (*Government of Cities*), 360 {4–5}, bound with his *Timaeus*.
4. *Timaeus* (*K. Aflātūn al-musammā bi-Ṭīmāwus fī al-ḥikmiyyāt*), Arabic, 360 {4}, bound with his *al-Siyāsa al-madaniyya*.

QĀḌĪZĀDE AL-RŪMĪ, Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd (d. ca. 1435)¹³

1. *R. Qaws Quzaḥ wa-al-hāla* (*On the Rainbow and the Halo [of the Moon]*), 361 {19}–362 {1}.¹⁴

QUṬBADDĪN AL-RĀZĪ AL-TAḤṬĀNĪ, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. 1364)

1. *al-Muḥākamāt bayna Sharḥay al-Ishārāt* → Ibn Sīnā 18.7

AL-RĀZĪ, Fakhraddīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭīb (d. 1210)

- 1a. *al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqiyya* (*Eastern Investigations*), Arabic [*GAL* 1:507, no. 21], 356 {18–19}.
- 1b. Same as preceding, 357 {1}.
- 1c. Same as preceding, 357 {2}.
- 1d. Same as preceding, 357 {3}.
- 1e. Same as preceding, 357 {16–17}.
- 1f. Same as preceding, 357 {17–18}.
- 1g. Same as preceding, 360 {1–2}.
2. *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt* → Ibn Sīnā 18.2
3. *Sharḥ ʿUyūn al-ḥikma* → Ibn Sīnā 35.1

AL-SAMARQANDĪ, Shamsaddīn Muḥammad (fl. ca. 1291)

1. *Bishārāt al-Ishārāt* → Ibn Sīnā 18.6

AL-SĀWĪ, Zaynaddīn ʿUmar b. Sahlān al-Qāḍī (d. ca. 1145)

- 1a. *al-Baṣā'ir al-Naṣīriyya fī al-manṭiq* (*Insights on Logic for Naṣīraddīn Maḥmūd b. Abī Sanjar*), Arabic [GALS 1:830, no. 1 (*Nāṣīriyya!*)], 356 {10}, bound together with Ibn Sīnā, *al-Mabda' wa-al-ma'ād*.
- 1b. Same as preceding, 343 {16}.
- 1c. Same as preceding, 343 {16–17}, bound with *Sharḥ Alfāz Aristūṭālīs fī K. al-Maqūlāt*.
- 1d. Same as preceding, 344 {4–5}.

AL-SHAHRAZŪRĪ, Shamsaddīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd (thirteenth cent.)

1. *al-Shajara al-ilāhiyya* (*The Divine Tree*), Arabic [GAL 1:469, no. 3], 360 {8–9}, noted as the first volume only.¹⁵

SHAMSADDĪN ABŪ AL-MAFĀKHİR, 'Uthmān b. al-Muẓaffar b. Rūzbahān (d. before 1266)

1. *al-Hidāya wa-al-tabyīn fī al-ḥikma* (*Guidance and Explanation of Philosophy*), Arabic [GALS 2:1024, no. 79, and Nachträge in GALS 3:1319], 359 {11}.

AL-SHĪRĀZĪ, Ghiyāthaddīn Maṣṣūr b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī (d. 1542)

1. *Sharḥ Hayākil al-nūr* → Suhrawardī 2.1

AL-SHĪRĀZĪ, Quṭbaddīn Maḥmūd b. Mas'ūd (d. 1311)

1. *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* → Suhrawardī 3.1

SUHWARWARDĪ, Shihābaddīn Yaḥyā b. Ḥabash b. Amīrak al-Maqtūl (d. 1191)

- 1a. *al-Abwāḥ al-'Imādiyya* ([*Philosophical*] *Tablets for 'Imādaddīn Qara Arslān*), Arabic [GAL 1:438, no. 6], 355 {14}, bound in one volume with his *Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq*, *Hayākil al-nūr*, and *al-Wāridāt*.
- 1b. Same as preceding, 360 {15–16}.
- 1c. Same as preceding, 361 {7}, as the second treatise in a *majmū'a* together with his *Kalimāt al-taṣawwuf* and other unspecified *kutub al-'ulūm*.
- 1d. Same as preceding, 322 {14}, listed anonymously and bound with *Sī faṣl* by Ṭūsī.
2. *Hayākil al-nūr* (*Temples of Light*), Arabic [GAL 1:438, no. 5], 355 {15}, bound in one volume with his *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, *al-Abwāḥ*, and *al-Wāridāt*.
- 2.1. Maṣṣūr al-Ḥusaynī al-Shīrāzī, *Sharḥ Hayākil al-nūr* (*Commentary on Temples of Light*), Arabic [GAL 1:438, no. 5b; GAL 2:414, no. 5], 360 {12–13}.
- 3a. *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* (*The Philosophy of Illumination*), Arabic [GAL 1:437, no. 1], 348 {19}–349 {1}, bound in one volume with Ibn Sīnā, *al-Ishārāt*; al-Ghazālī, *Tahāfut*; Ṣadraddīn al-Qōnawī, *Miftāḥ al-ghayb*.
- 3b. Same as preceding, 355 {5}, bound in one volume with his *al-Talwīḥāt*, *al-Muqāwamāt*, and *al-Lamaḥāt*.
- 3c. Same as preceding, 355 {10}.
- 3d. Same as preceding, 355 {12–13}.
- 3e. Same as preceding, 355 {13–14}.
- 3f. Same as preceding, 355 {14}, bound in one volume with his *al-Abwāḥ*, *Hayākil al-nūr*, and *al-Wāridāt*.
- 3g. Same as preceding, 358 {5–6}, bound with his *al-Talwīḥāt*, *al-Muqāwamāt*, and *al-Lamaḥāt*.
- 3h. Same as preceding, 363 {10}, bound together with [Ibn Sīnā's] *al-Ishārāt*.
- 3.1a. al-Shīrāzī, Quṭbaddīn, *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* (*Commentary on the Philosophy of Illumination*), Arabic [GAL 2:211, no. 10], 354 {2}.

- 3.1b. Same as preceding, 354 {3}.
- 3.1c. Same as preceding, 354 {4}.
- 3.1d. Same as preceding, 354 {5}.
- 3.1e. Same as preceding, 354 {6–7}.
- 3.1f. Same as preceding, 355 {8–9}.
- 3.1g. Same as preceding, 356 {2–3}.
- 3.1h. Same as preceding, 363 {3–4}.
- 3.2. “*Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*” (*Commentary on the Philosophy of Illumination*), Arabic, 355 {11–12}.
- 4. *Kalimāt al-taṣawwuf* (*Sufi Sayings*), Persian [GALS 1:783, no. 25], 361 {6}, as the first treatise in a *majmūʿa* together with his *al-Ahwāḥ al-ʿImādiyya* and other unspecified *kutub al-ʿulūm*.
- 5a. *al-Lamaḥāt* (*Flashes*), Arabic [GAL 1:438, no. 4], 362 {3–4}.
- 5b. Same as preceding, 355 {5}, bound in one volume with his *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, *al-Talwīḥāt*, and *al-Muqāwamāt*.
- 5c. Same as preceding, 357 {13}, bound together with his *al-Talwīḥāt*, *Lawāḥiq al-Talwīḥāt*, and *Rasāʾil ukhrā*.
- 5d. Same as preceding, 358 {5}, bound with his *al-Talwīḥāt*, *al-Muqāwamāt*, and *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*.
- 5e. Same as preceding, 359 {14}, bound with Ibn Sīnā’s *al-Ḥudūd*.
- 5f. Same as preceding, 353 {14–15}.
- 5.1a. *al-Hamadhānī, Sharḥ al-Lamaḥāt* (*Commentary on Flashes*), Arabic, 650/1252 [GALS 1:782, no. 4], 353 {13}.
- 5.1b. Same as preceding, 353 {14}.
- 6a. *al-Mashārīʿ wa-al-muṭāraḥāt* (*Watering Pools and Conversations*), Arabic [GAL 1:437, no. 3], 353 {15–16}.
- 6b. Same as preceding, 353 {17–18}.
- 6c. Same as preceding, 353 {18–19}.
- 6(i). *Manṭiq K. al-Mashārīʿ wa-al-muṭāraḥāt* (*Logic of Watering Pools and Conversations*), 341 {14}.
- 7a. *al-Muqāwamāt* (*Objections*), Arabic [GALS 1:782, no. 2], 354 {1}, bound together with his *al-Talwīḥāt*.
- 7b. Same as preceding, 355 {5}, bound in one volume with his *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, *al-Talwīḥāt*, and *al-Lamaḥāt*.
- 7c. Same as preceding, 358 {5}, bound with his *al-Talwīḥāt*, *al-Lamaḥāt*, and *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*.
- 7d. Same as preceding, 343 {6}.
- 8a. *al-Talwīḥāt* (*Intimations*), Arabic [GAL 1:437, no. 2], 354 {6}.
- 8b. Same as preceding, 353 {19}–354 {1}, bound together with his *al-Muqāwamāt*.
- 8c. Same as preceding, 355 {4}, bound together with his *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, *al-Muqāwamāt*, and *al-Lamaḥāt*.
- 8d. Same as preceding, 355 {8}.
- 8e. Same as preceding, 357 {12}, bound together with his *Lawāḥiq al-Talwīḥāt*, *al-Lamaḥāt*, and *Rasāʾil ukhrā*.
- 8f. Same as preceding, 358 {4}, bound together with his *al-Muqāwamāt*, *al-Lamaḥāt*, and *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*.
- 8(i). *Lawāḥiq al-Talwīḥāt* (*Appendices to Intimations*), Arabic, 357 {12}, bound together with his *al-Talwīḥāt*, *al-Lamaḥāt*, and *Rasāʾil ukhrā*.

- 8.1a. Ibn Kammūna, *Sharḥ al-Talwihāt* (*Commentary on Intimations*), Arabic, completed 667/1268 [GALS 1:782, no. 2b], 354 {9–10}.
- 8.1b. Same as preceding, 355 {10–11}.
- 8.1c. Same as preceding, 360 {6–7}, noted as the first volume only.
- 8.2a. “*Sharḥ*” (*Commentary*), 352 {14–15}.
- 8.2b. Same as preceding, 353 {1–2}.¹⁶
- 8.2c. Same as preceding, 357 {14}.
- 8.3. “*Sharḥ al-Talwihāt bi-khaṭṭ al-shāriḥ*” (*Commentary on Intimations*, in the hand of the commentator),¹⁷ 354 {8–9}.
- 8.4. “*Tabīʿiyyāt, Ilāhiyyāt al-Talwihāt maʿa Sharḥihā*” (*Physics and Metaphysics of Intimations*, together with their commentary, 352 {18}–353 {1}).
- 8.5. “*Kitāb al-Taʿlīqāt fī Sharḥ al-Talwihāt*” (*Notes on the Commentary on Intimations*), 353 {5–6}.¹⁸
- 8.6. “*Sharḥ Ṭabīʿiyyāt al-Talwihāt*” (*Commentary on the Physics of Intimations*), 352 {17–18}.
- 8.7. “*Sharḥ Ilāhiyyāt al-Talwihāt*” (*Commentary on the Metaphysics of Intimations*), 352 {16–17}.
9. *al-Wāridāt* (*Inspirations*), Arabic [GALS 1:783, no. 31], 355 {15}, bound together with his *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, *al-Alwāḥ*, and *Hayākil al-nūr*.
10. *Majmūʿa fihā kutub al-Suhrawardī fī al-ḥikma al-falsafiyya al-māʿila ilā al-ḥaqq*, unspecified (Collective volume containing Suhrawardī’s books on philosophy which tend toward the truth), 353 {4–5}.
11. *Rasāʾil ukhrā* (Other treatises), unspecified, 357 {13}, bound together with his *al-Talwihāt*, *Lawāḥiq al-Talwihāt*, and *al-Lamaḥāt*.
12. *Rasāʾil al-Suhrawardī fī al-ḥikmiyyāt* (Philosophical treatises by Suhrawardī), unspecified, 347 {16–17}, bound with [al-Abhari’s] *Īsāghūjī* and *al-Hidāya*.

AL-ṬŪSĪ, Naṣīraddīn Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (d. 1274)

- 1a. *Akhlaq-i Naṣīrī* (*Ethics for Naṣīr*), Persian [GALS 1:928, note 1], 343 {4–5}, bound with *Asās al-iqtibās* on logic.
- 1b. Same as preceding, 136 {18}.
- 1c. Same as preceding, 140 {3}.
- 1d. Same as preceding, 146 {3}.
- 2a. *Mukātabāt al-Shaykh Ṣadraddīn al-Qōnawī maʿa al-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī* (*Correspondence between Qōnawī and Ṭūsī*), Arabic and Persian, 322 {19}, bound with *Muntakhab K. Anwār al-jawāhir fī manāzil al-qamar* and a *R. fī al-Wafq*.
- 2b. Same as preceding, 344 {12–13}, bound with Ibn Sīnā’s *al-Mūjaz fī al-manṭiq* and *Hindibāʾ*, the *Aḥwāl al-nubuwwa* (ps.-Ibn Sīnā’s?).
- 2c. Same as preceding, 63 {11–12}.
3. *R. fī al-Nufūs al-arḍiyya* (*On Terrestrial Souls*), Arabic [GAL 1:510, no. 22v (*al-ʿarāḍiyya*!)], 362 {2–3}.
4. *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt* (*Commentary on Pointers and Reminders*) → Ibn Sīnā 18.4
5. *Thalāth Rasāʾil ithnāni minḥa li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī* (*Three Treatises, Two of Which Are by Ṭūsī*), unspecified, 358 {1–2}.

ʿUMAR AL-KHAYYĀM, Abū al-Faṭḥ b. Ibrāhīm (d. 1132)

1. *Sharḥ Khuṭbat Ibn Sīnā* → Ibn Sīnā 21.1

AL-URMAWĪ, Sirājaddīn Abū al-Thana' Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr (d. 1283)

1. *Bayān al-ḥaqq* (*Exposition of the Truth*), Arabic [*GALS* 1:849, no. V], 341 {6}.
2. *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt* → Ibn Sīnā 18.5

NOTES

1. See R. Wisnovsky, in *Oriens* 41 (2013): 369.
2. The titles are conflicting, though it seems hardly likely that Mawlānāzāde would have written three different commentaries on the *Hidāya*, if indeed he is the author of all of them. Most probably the *Ḥaṣhiya* is the work of Khojāzāde, studied by Emre Önal, *Hocazade ve Ḥaṣhiya ala Ṣarḥ Hidayet al-Hikma Adl Eseri* (master's thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Istanbul, 2006), based on MS Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Yozgat, no. 720, fols. 89b–118a, dated 884, during the author's lifetime. The bewildering variety of commentaries, glosses, and supercommentaries on the *Hidāya* needs sorting out.
3. Anawati in the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 1:216 gives the title as *Jāmi' al-daqa'iq fi kashf al-ḥaqā'iq*, though Brockelmann (*GAL* 1:467, no. VI) lists this as a work by al-Kātibī.
4. This title is not listed among the works inventoried by R. Pourjavady and S. Schmidtke, *A Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad* (Leiden, 2006).
5. This title is not listed as such in Pourjavady and Schmidtke (preceding note), though it may be the same as his *Talkhīṣ al-ḥikma* (no. 1.3.3).
6. Now edited by Ayman Shihadeh, *Doubts on Avicenna* (Leiden, 2016).
7. The entry reads *Kitāb Muḥākamāt Qutb al-Milla wa-al-Dīn wa-Sharḥ al-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī li-Kitāb al-Ishārāt fi al-ḥikma al-falsafiyya*. When two or more independent works are bound in a single volume, the cataloguer records this as *fi mujallad wāḥid*, but not in this case, which might mean that the Qutbaddīn text follows the Ṭūsī text as lemmata.
8. This appears to be a description of the commentary in its opening lines, which has been taken by the cataloguer as its title.
9. It is noteworthy that the cataloguer (or the MS?), classifies this work in this entry as belonging to Islamic philosophy, not “philosophical” philosophy: *R. fi al-Mabda' wa-al-ma'ād 'alā ṭarīqat al-ḥikma al-islāmiyya*.
10. This is merely a bibliographer's description of the subject of the book and not a proper title. Shihadeh's inventory (note 5 above) of al-Mas'ūdī's works, 20–28, lists only two books on general philosophy, neither of which would appear to be this one.
11. The identity and dates of this scholar have yet to be properly established; Brockelmann (*GAL* 1:466, no. II 1a; 2:212, no. 1b [where the Hijra date 840 is a misprint for 740]; *GALS* 2:297, no. 1b) gives somewhat conflicting data, though they all seem to go back to H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1900), no. 397.
12. The entry by M. Aminrazavi on Afḍal al-Dīn Kāshānī (12th cent.), Persian philosopher and poet, in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Science, and Technology in Islam* (Oxford, 2014), makes mention in the bibliography (entry Nafīsī) of an edition (1972, Kashan, Iran) of a *Dīwān* of Ḥakīm Afḍal al-Dīn Muḥammad Marāqī Kāshānī. My thanks to Peri Bearman for the reference.
13. Cf. Suter (note 11 above), no. 430. *GAL* 2:212, no. 2, gives the date listed by Ḥājji Khalīfa, 815H, which is wrong.
14. If this work is by Qāḍizāde, this appears to be the only attestation of it.
15. For this work see R. Pourjavady and S. Schmidtke, “Some Notes on a New Edition of a Medieval Philosophical Text in Turkey: Shams al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī's *al-Shajara al-ilāhiyya*,” *Die Welt des Islams* 46 (2006): 77ff. One of the Istanbul manuscripts discussed here may well be this one.
16. Somebody somewhere added a comment to the title, which the cataloguer reproduced (here reproduced in bold): *Sharḥ Talwīḥāt al-Suhrawardī fi al-manṭiq wa-al-ḥikma al-falsafiyya al-mā'ila ilā al-ḥaqq*.
17. Without indication of the *shāriḥ*.
18. Same comment as in the preceding note.

APPENDICES

ZEYNEP ATBAŞ

APPENDIX I

PRELIMINARY LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS STAMPED WITH BAYEZID II'S SEAL IN THE TOPKAPI PALACE MUSEUM LIBRARY

The catalogues of manuscripts in the Topkapı Palace Library were published by Fehmi Ethem Karatay in 1960–69. Since the physical features and contents of the books are mentioned by Karatay, the following list will not include such information.

Fehmi E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1961).

Fehmi E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*, 4 vols. (Istanbul, 1962–69).

Fehmi E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu* (Istanbul, 1961).

QUR'AN

- [1] TSMK, E.H. 26 (Karatay: A 33): Selected verses from the Qur'an. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [2] TSMK, E.H. 28 (Karatay: A 35): Selected verses from the Qur'an. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [3] TSMK, R. 4 (Karatay: A 80): Qur'an section. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [4] TSMK, E.H. 61 (Karatay: A 103): Qur'an. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [5] TSMK, E.H. 80 (Karatay: A 109): Qur'an. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [6] TSMK, E.H. 151 (Karatay: A 136): Qur'an. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [7] TSMK, R. 30 (Karatay: A 314): Qur'an. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [8] TSMK, R. 32 (Karatay: A 323): Qur'an. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [9] TSMK, H.S. 4 (Karatay: A 373): Qur'an. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [10] TSMK, K. 16 (Karatay: A 376): Qur'an. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [11] TSMK, E.H. 183 (Karatay: A 404): Qur'an. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [12] TSMK, R. 1 (Karatay: A 695): Qur'an. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [13] TSMK, E.H. 72 (Karatay: A 798): Qur'an. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [14] TSMK, A. 5 (Karatay: A 800): Qur'an. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II, hidden by illumination.
- [15] TSMK, K. 18 (Karatay: A 802): Qur'an. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [16] TSMK, R. 72 (Karatay: A 942): Qur'an. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [17] TSMK, R. 70 (Karatay: A 101): An'ām. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [18] TSMK, B. 19 (no catalogue entry): An'ām. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [19] TSMK, B. 33 (no catalogue entry): An'ām. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [20] TSMK, B. 34 (no catalogue entry): Qur'an section. SEAL: Bayezid II.

QIRĀ'AT WA TAJWĪD

- [21] TSMK, A. 175 (Karatay A 1647): Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. Firrūh b. Abī al-Qāsim Khalaf b. Aḥmad al-Ru'aynī al-Shaṭībī, *al-Durar al-muḍī'a fī sharḥ khall rumūz al-Shāṭibiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [22] TSMK, A. 179 (Karatay: A 1654): Burhān al-Dīn Abu al-'Abbās Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm, *Sharḥ ḥirz al-amānī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [23] TSMK, A. 156 (Karatay: A 1676): Anonymous, *al-Tibyān fī tajwīd al-Qur'an*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.

TAFSĪR

- [24] TSMK, A. 28/2 (Karatay: A 1712): Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd 'Alam al-Hudā al-Mutakallim al-Māturīdī al-Samarqandī, *Ta'wīlāt Abī Maṣṣūr al-Māturīdī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [25] TSMK, A. 28/1 (Karatay: A 1713): Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd 'Alam al-Hudā al-Mutakallim al-Māturīdī al-Samarqandī, *Ta'wīlāt Abī Maṣṣūr al-Māturīdī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [26] TSMK, A. 130a 2 (Karatay: A 1717): Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Jaṣṣāṣ al-Rāzī, *Aḥkām al-Qur'an*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [27] TSMK, A. 130a 4 (Karatay: A 1719): Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Jaṣṣāṣ al-Rāzī, *Aḥkām al-Qur'an*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [28] TSMK, A. 227 (Karatay: A 1795): Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī, *Ḥāshiya 'alā al-kashshāf li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [29] TSMK, A. 231 (Karatay: A 1805): Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, *Ba'd ḥawāshī 'alā al-kashshāf li-l-Taftāzānī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [30] TSMK, A. 224 (Karatay: A 1811): Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb-zāda, *Ḥāshiyat Khaṭīb-zāda 'alā al-kashshāf*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [31] TSMK, A. 225 (Karatay: A 1812): Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb-zāda, *Ḥāshiyat Khaṭīb-zāda 'alā al-kashshāf*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [32] TSMK, A. 82 (Karatay: A 1819): Abū al-Maḥāmid Faṣīḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Mābarnābādhī, *Fara'id al-tafsīr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [33] TSMK, A. 57/4a (Karatay: A 1824): 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Abī Bakr Ghālīb b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Muḥārībī al-Ghīrnātī, *Jāmi' al-muḥarrar al-ṣaḥīḥ al-wajīz fī tafsīr al-Qur'an al-'azīz*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [34] TSMK, A. 121 (Karatay: A 1858): Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū al-Baqā 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥusayn al-Akbarī al-Ḥanbalī, *al-Tibyān fī i'rāb al-Qur'an*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [35] TSMK, K. 554 (Karatay: A 1766): 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq al-ta'wīl*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [36] TSMK, A. 134 (Karatay: A 1929): Muḥammad al-'Abbāsī, *Kashf al-ḥaqq al-yaqīn fī tafsīr al-qāḍī Naṣr al-Dīn*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [37] TSMK, A. 198 (Karatay: A 1978): Bosnali Qāḍī Muḥammad b. Mūsā ‘Allāmak, *Ḥāshiya ‘alā Bayḍāwī li-‘Allāmak*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II, erased.
- [38] TSMK, K. 563 (Karatay: A 1999): Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Abī al-Barakāt ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Nasafī, *Madārik al-tanzīl wa ḥaqā’iq al-ta’wīl*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [39] TSMK, A. 23 (Karatay: F 3): Rashīd al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl b. Abū Sa’id Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Kashf al-asrār wa ‘uddat al-abrār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [40] TSMK, R. 195 (Karatay: F 939): Anonymous, *Tafsīr-i sūra-i Yūsuf*. DESCRIPTION: Bayezid II’s ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [41] TSMK, A. 59 (Karatay: A 2107): Ḥusayn b. Māya al-Maghribī al-Mālikī, *al-Rawḍa al-fā’iḥa fī tafsīr al-fātiḥa*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.

ḤADĪTH

- [42] TSMK, A. 667 (Karatay A 2188): ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥusayn al-Anṣārī al-‘Irāqī, *Sharḥ al-alfīya li-l-‘Irāqī al-musammā bi-l-fatḥ al-mughīth*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [43] TSMK, A. 244 (Karatay A 2248): Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [44] TSMK, A. 243 (Karatay A 2266): Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. SEAL: Bayezid II, erased.
- [45] TSMK, A. 406/I (Karatay: A 2335): ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa’d b. Abī Jamra al-Azdī, *Bahjat al-nufūs*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [46] TSMK, A. 406/2 (Karatay: A 2336): ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa’d b. Abī Jamra al-Azdī, *Bahjat al-nufūs*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [47] TSMK, A. 376 (Karatay: A 2338): Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahādur al-Zarkashī, *Tanqīḥ li-alfāz al-jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [48] TSMK, A. 403 F2 (Karatay: A 2386): Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahādur al-Zarkashī, *Fath al-bārī fī sharḥ al-Bukhārī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [49] TSMK, A. 403 F5 (Karatay: A 2387): Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahādur al-Zarkashī, *Fath al-bārī fī sharḥ al-Bukhārī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [50] TSMK, A. 403 F6 (Karatay: A 2388): Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahādur al-Zarkashī, *Fath al-bārī fī sharḥ al-Bukhārī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [51] TSMK, A. 403 F7 (Karatay: A 2389): Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahādur al-Zarkashī, *Fath al-bārī fī sharḥ al-Bukhārī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [52] TSMK, A. 403 F8 (Karatay: A 2390): Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahādur al-Zarkashī, *Fath al-bārī fī sharḥ al-Bukhārī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [53] TSMK, A. 403 F9 (Karatay: A 2391): Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahādur al-Zarkashī, *Fath al-bārī fī sharḥ al-Bukhārī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [54] TSMK, A. 403 F10 (Karatay: A 2392): Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahādur al-Zarkashī, *Fath al-bārī fī sharḥ al-Bukhārī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [55] TSMK, A. 391 (Karatay: A 2427): ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-‘Abbāsī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-sārī sharḥ al-Bukhārī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [56] TSMK, A. 257 (Karatay A 2460): Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī Kāzarūnī, *Ṣaḥīḥ-i Muslim*. SEAL: Bayezid II, hidden by illumination.
- [57] TSMK, A. 410 (Karatay: A 2485): Yaḥyā b. Sharaf b. Murī b. Ḥasan al-Nawawī, *Minḥāj min sharḥ Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [58] TSMK, A. 540 (Karatay: A 2501): ‘Izz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Riḍwān b. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Ḥanbalī, *Maṭla‘ al-nayyirayn fī al-majma‘ al-ṣaḥīḥayn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [59] TSMK, A. 260 (Karatay: A 2525): Abū Dāwud Sulaymān b. Ash‘ath al-Sijistānī, *Sunan Abī Dāwud*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [60] TSMK, A. 367 (Karatay: A 2538): Abū Ḥanīfa, *Musnad al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfa*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [61] TSMK, A. 369/1 (Karatay: A 2551): Abū ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal al-Shaybānī, *Musnad al-Imām Ibn Ḥanbal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [62] TSMK, A. 369/4 (Karatay: A 2552): Abū ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal al-Shaybānī, *Musnad al-Imām Ibn Ḥanbal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [63] TSMK, A. 369/5 (Karatay: A 2553): Abū ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal al-Shaybānī, *Musnad al-Imām Ibn Ḥanbal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [64] TSMK, A. 369/6 (Karatay: A 2554): Abū ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal al-Shaybānī, *Musnad al-Imām Ibn Ḥanbal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [65] TSMK, A. 369/9 (Karatay: A 2555): Abū ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal al-Shaybānī, *Musnad al-Imām Ibn Ḥanbal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [66] TSMK, A. 538 (Karatay: A 2612): Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Kalābādhī, *Ma‘ānī al-akhbār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [67] TSMK, A. 600 (Karatay: A 2613): Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Kalābādhī, *Fawā‘id al-akhbār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [68] TSMK, A. 509 (Karatay: A 2617): Anonymous, *Asma’ rijāl al-Bukhārī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [69] TSMK, A. 289 (Karatay: A 2682): Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn b. Mas‘ūd al-Farrā’ al-Baghawī Rukn al-Dīn Muḥyī al-Sunna, *Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [70] TSMK, A. 280 (Karatay: A 2691): Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn b. Mas‘ūd al-Farrā’ al-Baghawī Rukn al-Dīn Muḥyī al-Sunna, *Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [71] TSMK, A. 294 (Karatay: A 2692): Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn b. Mas‘ūd al-Farrā’ al-Baghawī Rukn al-Dīn Muḥyī al-Sunna, *Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna*. SEAL: Bayezid II, hidden by illumination.
- [72] TSMK, A. 427 (Karatay: A 2716): ‘Uthmān b. al-Ḥajj Muḥammad al-Harawī, *al-Ḥawāshī li-l-maṣābiḥ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [73] TSMK, A. 310 (Karatay: A 2733): Abū al-Faḍl ‘Iyāḍ b. Mūsā b. ‘Iyāḍ al-Yaḥsubī al-Sabtī, *al-Shifā’ fī ta’rīf huqūq al-Muṣṭafā*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [74] TSMK, A. 314 (Karatay: A 2740): Abū al-Faḍl ‘Iyāḍ b. Mūsā b. ‘Iyāḍ al-Yaḥsubī al-Sabtī, *al-Shifā’ fī ta’rīf huqūq al-Muṣṭafā*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [75] TSMK, A. 650 (Karatay: A 2752): Abū al-Faḍl ‘Iyāḍ b. Mūsā b. ‘Iyāḍ al-Yaḥsubī al-Sabtī, *al-Shifā’ fī ta’rīf huqūq al-Muṣṭafā*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [76] TSMK, A. 300 (Karatay: A 2822): ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ishbilī b. al-Kharrāt, *al-Jam‘ bayna al-ṣaḥīḥayn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [77] TSMK, B. 67 (Karatay: A 2827): Ḥadith collection. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [78] TSMK, A. 301/1 (Karatay: A 2833): Mubārak b. Muḥammad Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī al-Shāfi‘ī, *Jāmi‘ al-uṣūl li-aḥādith al-rasūl*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [79] TSMK, A. 302/1 (Karatay: A 2835): Mubārak b. Muḥammad Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī al-Shāfi‘ī, *Jāmi‘ al-uṣūl li-aḥādith al-rasūl*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [80] TSMK, A. 302/2 (Karatay: A 2836): Mubārak b. Muḥammad Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī al-Shāfi‘ī, *Jāmi‘ al-uṣūl li-aḥādith al-rasūl*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [81] TSMK, R. 354 (Karatay: A 2838): Mubārak b. Muḥammad Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī al-Shāfi‘ī, *Jāmi‘ al-uṣūl li-aḥādith al-rasūl*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [82] TSMK, A. 306 (Karatay: A 2851): Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Marwazī al-Astarābādī, *Mukhtaṣar jāmi' al-uṣūl*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [83] TSMK, A. 516/2 (Karatay: A 2853): Majd al-Dīn Mubārak b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. al-Athīr al-Jazarī, *Nihāyat al-naẓar fī sharḥ gharīb al-ḥadīth wa al-athar*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [84] TSMK, A. 588 (Karatay: A 2860): Muvaḥfaq al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Qudāma, *Qun'at al-arīb fī tafsīr al-gharīb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [85] TSMK, A. 443 (Karatay: A 2899): Khidr al-'Aṭfī b. Maḥmūd al-Marzifonī, *al-Anzār sharḥ mashāriq al-anwār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [86] TSMK, A. 470 (Karatay: A 2937): Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Wahb Ibn Daqīq al-'Īd, *Iḥkām al-aḥkām*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [87] TSMK, A. 496/1 (Karatay: A 2910): 'Abd al-'Azīm Ibn 'Abd al-Qawī al-Mundhirī, *Sharḥ aḥādīth al-targhib wa al-tarhib*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [88] TSMK, A. 496/2 (Karatay: A 2911): 'Abd al-'Azīm Ibn 'Abd al-Qawī al-Mundhirī, *Sharḥ aḥādīth al-targhib wa al-tarhib*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [89] TSMK, A. 595 (Karatay: A 2940): Faḍl Allāh b. Abū al-Khayr 'Alī al-mushtahir bi-Rashīd al-Dīn al-Ṭabīb, *Tawḍīḥāt fī al-ḥadīth*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [90] TSMK, A. 434/1 (Karatay: A 2950): Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ṭībī, *al-Kāshif 'an ḥaqā'iq al-sunan*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [91] TSMK, A. 434/2 (Karatay: A 2951): Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ṭībī, *al-Kāshif 'an ḥaqā'iq al-sunan*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [92] TSMK, A. 324 (Karatay: A 2963): Taqī al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Kāfī al-Subkī, *Shifā' al-saqām fī ziyārat khayr al-anām*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [93] TSMK, A. 547 (Karatay: A 2964): Sa'īd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Mas'ūd al-Kāzarūnī, *Musalsalāt al-Kāzarūnī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [94] TSMK, A. 656 (Karatay: A 2965): Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Dāmghānī, *al-Tuḥfat al-najībīyyat li-ḥaḍrat al-salṭanat al-Uwaysīyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [95] TSMK, A. 623 (Karatay: A 2977): Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Athārī Ibn al-Wā'iz al-Qayṣarī, *al-Ijtihād fī faḍl al-jihād*. DESCRIPTION: Dedicated to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [96] TSMK, A. 510/1 (Karatay: A 2986): Nūr al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Bakr b. Sulaymān al-Ḥaythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id wa manba' al-fawā'id*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [97] TSMK, A. 510/3 (Karatay: A 2987): Nūr al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Bakr b. Sulaymān al-Ḥaythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id wa manba' al-fawā'id*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [98] TSMK, A. 510/4 (Karatay: A 2988): Nūr al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Bakr b. Sulaymān al-Ḥaythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id wa manba' al-fawā'id*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [99] TSMK, A. 510/5 (Karatay: A 2989): Nūr al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Bakr b. Sulaymān al-Ḥaythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id wa manba' al-fawā'id*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [100] TSMK, A. 510/6 (Karatay: A 2990): Nūr al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Bakr b. Sulaymān al-Ḥaythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id wa manba' al-fawā'id*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [101] TSMK, A. 510/7 (Karatay: A 2991): Nūr al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Bakr b. Sulaymān al-Ḥaythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id wa manba' al-fawā'id*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [102] TSMK, A. 510/8 (Karatay: A 2992): Nūr al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Bakr b. Sulaymān al-Ḥaythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id wa manba' al-fawā'id*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [103] TSMK, A. 477 (Karatay: A 3012): Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Hidāyat al-ruwāt ilā al-maṣābiḥ wa al-mishkāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [104] TSMK, A. 596 (Karatay: A 3027): Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥasanī al-Samhūdī, *Jawāhir al-‘iqdayn fī faḍl al-sharafayn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [105] TSMK, A. 513 (Karatay: A 3069): ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Mu‘jizāt wa al-khaṣā’iṣ al-nabawīyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [106] TSMK, A. 333 (Karatay: A 3080): ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥamīdī, *al-Mashāriqāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [107] TSMK, A. 576 (Karatay: A 3081): Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘d al-Dīn Ḥafīd al-Taftāzānī, *Kitāb al-fawā’id (wa al-farā’id)*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [108] TSMK, A. 607 (Karatay: A 3103): Khidr b. Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-‘Aṭfī al-Marzifonī, *al-Jawharat al-jinānīyya fī al-masā’il al-īmānīyya*. DESCRIPTION: Dedicated to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [109] TSMK, A. 559 (Karatay: A 3166): Anonymous, *Ādāb al-Islām*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [110] TSMK, A. 578 (Karatay: A 3171): Anonymous, *Aḥwāl al-Nabī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [111] TSMK, A. 558 (Karatay: A 3176): Anonymous, *Zubdat al-jawāmi‘ al-Muḥammadiyya wa barqat al-lawāmi‘ al-Aḥmadiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [112] TSMK, R. 325 (Karatay: F 15): Anonymous, *Tuḥfat al-khāqān*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

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- [113] TSMK, A. 1218 (Karatay: A 3183): Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf al-Firūzābādī, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī uṣūl madhhab al-Shāfi‘ī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [114] TSMK, A. 1297 (Karatay: A 3313): ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a, *al-Tawḍīḥ fī ḥall ghawāmiḍ al-tanqīḥ*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [115] TSMK, A. 1352 (Karatay: A 3364): Yaḥyā b. Ilyās, *Natā’ij al-uṣūl ma‘a sharḥihi uṣūl al-natā’ij*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [116] TSMK, A. 673/2 (Karatay: A 3398): Commentary on Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī al-Ḥanafī’s *al-Jāmi‘ al-kabīr* by Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Toqādī, *al-Farā’id sharḥ nazm talkhīṣ al-jāmi‘ al-kabīr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [117] TSMK, A. 1017 (Karatay: A 3434): Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ‘Umar al-Khaṣṣāf, *Sharḥ al-Adab al-Qāḍī*. DESCRIPTION: Bayezid II’s ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [118] TSMK, A. 1032 (Karatay: A 4048): Muḥammad b. Farāmurz b. ‘Alī Mollā Khusraw al-Ṭarsūsī, *Ghurur al-aḥkām*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [119] TSMK, A. 3364 (Karatay: A 8995): Ḥamīd al-Dīn Afḍal al-Dīn, *Ḥāshiyat al-ḥāshiya ‘alā sharḥ muntahā al-su’l wa al-amal*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.

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- [120] TSMK, K. 881 (Karatay: F 33): Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī al-Ṭūsī, *Kīmīyā-i Sa‘ādat*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [121] TSMK, A. 1448 (Karatay: A 4713): Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī al-Ṭūsī, *Iḥyā al-‘ulūm al-dīn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [122] TSMK, A. 1866 (Karatay: A 4732): Abū al-Mu‘īn Maymūn b. Muḥammad b. al-Makḥūl al-Nasafī, *al-Tamhīd li-qawā’id al-tawḥīd*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [123] TSMK, A. 1743 (Karatay: A 4754): Maḥmūd b. Adham, *Ḥāshiyat Maḥmūd b. Adham ‘alā sharḥ al-‘aqā’id*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [124] TSMK, A. 1921 (Karatay: A 4785): Muḥammad b. Ashraf al-Ḥusaynī al-Samarqandī, *al-Ma'ārif fī sharḥ al-ṣaḥā'if*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [125] TSMK, A. 1302 (Karatay: A 4788): Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Rāzī, *al-Ma'ālim*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [126] TSMK, A. 1783 (Karatay: A 4790): Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Rāzī, *Lubāb al-arba'in fī uṣūl al-dīn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [127] TSMK, A. 1890 (Karatay: A 4798): Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-muḥaṣṣal*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [128] TSMK, A. 1741 (Karatay: A 4810): Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, *Ḥāshiyat Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ḥillī 'alā sharḥ tajrīd*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [129] TSMK, A. 1879 (Karatay: A 4813): Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī, *Ḥāshiyat al-Sayyid al-Sharīf 'alā al-tajrīd*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [130] TSMK, A. 1889 (Karatay: A 4825): Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī, *Ḥāshiya 'alā sharḥ tajrīd al-'aḳā'id li-Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [131] TSMK, A. 1844 (Karatay: A 4841): 'Ubayd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Farghānī al-Ibrī, *Sharḥ ṭawālī' al-anwār min maṭālī' al-anzār*. DESCRIPTION: Bayezid II's ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [132] TSMK, A. 1753 (Karatay: A 4850): Nūr Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Durūd al-Gīlānī, *Ḥāshiya 'alā maṭālī' al-anzār sharḥ ṭawālī' al-anwār*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [133] TSMK, A. 1742 (Karatay: A 4888): Anonymous, *Ḥāshiya 'alā sharḥ al-Mawāqif*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [134] TSMK, A. 1914 (Karatay: A 4896): Ismā'il Kamāl b. Bālī al-Qaramānī Qara Kamāl, *Ḥāshiya 'alā sharḥ al-Mawāqif li-Kamāl al-Qaramānī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [135] TSMK, A. 1809 (Karatay: A 4897): Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ilyās 'Ajam Sinān al-Tabrīzī, *Ḥāshiyat Sinān al-Dīn 'alā sharḥ al-mawāqif*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [136] TSMK, A. 1821 (Karatay: A 4898): Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ilyās 'Ajam Sinān al-Tabrīzī, *Ḥāshiyat Sinān al-Dīn 'alā sharḥ al-mawāqif*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [137] TSMK, A. 1823 (Karatay: A 4899): Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ilyās 'Ajam Sinān al-Tabrīzī, *Ḥāshiyat Sinān al-Dīn 'alā sharḥ al-mawāqif*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [138] TSMK, A. 1798 (Karatay: A 4901): Khayr al-Dīn Khiḍr b. Maḥmūd al-'Aṭūfī, *Ḥāshiyat al-'Aṭūfī 'alā sharḥ al-Sayyid al-Sharīf 'alā muqaddimat al-mawāqif*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [139] TSMK, A. 1789 (Karatay: A 4910): Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar al-Taftāzānī, *Maqāṣid al-kalām*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [140] TSMK, A. 1863 (Karatay: A 4928): Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Anṣārī, *Maqāmi' hāmāt al-ṣulbān wa marāṭi' rawḍāt al-īmān*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [141] TSMK, A. 1864 (no catalogue entry): Shams al-Dīn al-Samarqandī, *al-Ṣaḥā'if al-ilāhiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [142] TSMK, A. 1858 (Karatay: A 4940): 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī al-Ṭūsī, *al-Dhakhīra fī al-muḥākama fī kitābay al-Ghazālī wa Ibn al-Rushd*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [143] TSMK, A. 1735 (Karatay: A 4945): 'Abd al-Salām al-Muhtadī, *al-Risāla al-hādiya*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [144] TSMK, A. 1842 (Karatay: A 4946): Khaṭīb-zāda Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Rūmī, *Risāla fī baḥth al-ru'yā wa al-kalām*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [145] TSMK, A. 1903 (Karatay: A 4959): 'Imād al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad al-Kāshī, *Sharḥ nikāt Naṣīr al-Ḥillī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [146] TSMK, A. 1896 (Karatay: A 4993): Yamsiṭūs al-Wathanī al-Şābī, *Tarjamat baqiyyat kitāb Yamsiṭūs*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [147] TSMK, A. 2220 (no catalogue entry): Shaykh ‘Alī b. Maḥmūd, *Irshād ma’a sharḥ al-irshād*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

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- [148] TSMK, A. 2535 (Karatay: A 5019): Abū Manşūr ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Ismā’il al-Tha‘alibī, *Yawāqīt al-mawāqīt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [149] TSMK, A. 1417 (Karatay: A 5035): Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Rāghib, *al-Dhārīa ilā makārim al-sharī’a*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [150] TSMK, A. 1383 (Karatay: A 5060): ‘Alī b. Yūsuf al-Shaṭṭanūfī, *Bahjat al-asrār wa ma’dan al-anwār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [151] TSMK, A. 1510 (Karatay: A 5095): Dāwud b. Maḥmūd al-Qayşarī, *Sharḥ al-fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [152] TSMK, A. 1549 (Karatay: A 5096): Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Şiddiqī, *‘Ayn al-ḥayā fī ma’rifat al-dhāt wa al-af’āl wa al-şifāt*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [153] TSMK, A. 1425 (Karatay: A 5117): Pīr Muḥammad b. Quṭb al-Dīn b. Ḥasan al-Khawa’inī, *Zubdat al-tahqīq sharḥ al-nuṣūṣ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [154] TSMK, A. 1442 (Karatay: A 5180): Muştafa b. Ḥusām / Ḥusām-zāda, *Treatises on Sufism*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [155] TSMK, A. 1498 (Karatay: A 5181): İbrāhīm al-Ḥalabī, *Tuḥfet al-asātin li-‘ayn al-salātin*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [156] TSMK, A. 1402 (Karatay: A 5210): Mubārak al-Badrī al-Mawşilī, *Ādāb al-dārayn bi-l-‘adl*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [157] TSMK, A. 1525 (Karatay: A 5214): Unknown, *Faḍā’il al-a’māl*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [158] TSMK, H. 240 (Karatay: F 34): Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī al-Ṭūsī, *Kīmīyā-i Sa’ādat*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [159] TSMK, E.H. 1304 (Karatay: F 36): Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī al-Ṭūsī, *Kīmīyā-i Sa’ādat*. SEAL: Bayezid II, erased.
- [160] TSMK, A. 1507 (Karatay: F 43): Rukn al-Dīn Mas’ūd al-Shīrāzī al-Astarābādī, *Nuṣūṣ al-khuṣūṣ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [161] TSMK, R. 474 (Karatay: F 52): Mollā Aḥmad İlāhī, *Şhaqā’iq al-ḥaqā’iq*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [162] TSMK, A. 1473 (Karatay: F 53): Maḥmūd al-Shabistarī, *Ḥaqq al-yaqīn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [163] TSMK, A. 1465 (Karatay: F 57): Kamāl al-Dīn Khusayy b. Ḥasan al-Khwārazmī, *Kunūz al-ḥaqā’iq fī rumūz al-daqa’iq*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [164] TSMK, R. 475 (Karatay: F 65): Anonymous, *Risāla-i taşawwufiyya*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [165] TSMK, A. 1474 (Karatay: F 66): Muştafā b. Ḥusām al-Dīn, *al-Risāla al-dhawqīyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [166] TSMK, R. 472 (Karatay: F 81): Sayyid Sharīf ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī, *Risāla-i wujūdiyya*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [167] TSMK, H. 232 (Karatay: F 932): Sa’īd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fargḥānī, *Mashāriq al-darārī al-zuhr fī kashf ḥaqā’iq al-durr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[168] TSMK, R. 1058 (no catalogue entry): ‘Alī b. Abū al-Rijāl, *Ta’ziyanāma*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

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[169] TSMK, A. 2414 (Karatay: A 5237): Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar b. Maḥmūd al-Najāti al-Nisābūrī, *Sharḥ al-risāla al-qawsiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[170] TSMK, R. 1095 (Karatay: A 5248): ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Salām b. Aḥmad b. Ghānim al-Maqdisī, *Kashf al-asrār fī ḥikam al-ṭuyūr wa al-azhār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[171] TSMK, A. 2674 (Karatay: A 5257): Anonymous, *al-Irshād ilā faḍā’il al-jihād*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.

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[172] TSMK, K. 968 (Karatay: A 5351): *An’ām*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[173] TSMK, A. 519 (Karatay: A 5396): Abū al-Karam Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Salām b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, *al-Jāmi’ al-bahiy li-da’awāt al-nabī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[174] TSMK, A. 521 (Karatay: A 5399): Aḥmad b. Abī al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Rifā‘ī, *Awrād Rifā‘ī*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[175] TSMK, A. 1494 (Karatay: A 5412): Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Qoraṣī al-Būnī, *Sharḥ al-asmā’ al-ḥusnā*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[176] TSMK, A. 573 (Karatay: A 5438): Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥumām b. al-Imām al-Gharnāṭī al-‘Asqalānī, *Silāḥ al-mu’min*. DESCRIPTION: Bayezid II’s ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[177] TSMK, A. 140 (Karatay: A 5442): ‘Afif al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. As’ad b. ‘Alī al-Yāfi‘ī al-Tamīmī, *al-Durr al-naẓīm fī faḍā’il al-Qur’an al-‘aẓīm*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[178] TSMK, A. 526 (Karatay: A 5446): Muḥammad b. Ya’qūb al-Firūzābādī, *Ad’iya ma’tḥūra marwiyya ‘an al-Nabī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[179] TSMK, B. 81 (Karatay: A 5609): Anonymous, *Ad’iya ma’tḥūra muntkhaba*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[180] TSMK, R. 82 (Karatay: A 5613): Anonymous, *Ad’iya al-ayyām al-usbū’*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[181] TSMK, R. 86 (Karatay: A 5649): Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Akhbārī al-Nisābūrī al-Maqtūl, *al-Ḥirz al-yamānī al-du‘ā’ al-sayfī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[182] TSMK, R. 80 (Karatay: A 5658): Anonymous, *Du‘ānāma*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[183] TSMK, A. 141 (Karatay: A 5676): Anonymous, *al-Furqāniyya fī khawāṣṣ al-Qur’aniyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[184] TSMK, A. 525 (no catalogue entry): *Ad’iya-i mustajāb*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[185] TSMK, A. 1490 (Karatay: F 96): Mawlānā Ṣūfī Samarqandī, *Mir’āt al-salāṭīn*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[186] TSMK, A. 518 (Karatay: A 5677): Anonymous, *Risāla fī da’awāt al-Nabī wa khawāṣṣihi*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

SIYAR

[187] TSMK, R. 1528 (Karatay: F 164): Anonymous, *Tarjuma-i Siyar-i Nabī*. DESCRIPTION: Bayezid II's ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[188] TSMK, R. 1532 (Karatay: F 171): Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī, *Shawāhid al-nubuwwa li-taqwiyat ahl al-futuwwa*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

RELIGION

[189] TSMK, A. 3521 (Karatay: A 5719): *Mazāmir Dāwud bi-l-'arabiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[190] TSMK, A. 3522 (Karatay: A 5723): *Kashf al-asrār al-Tawra wa ta'ribuhā*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[191] TSMK, A. 3519 (Karatay: A 5724): *Tarjamat al-Injīl bi-l-'arabiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II, illustrated.

[192] TSMK, R. 1927 (Karatay: F 97): *Tarjuma-i Injīl-i arba'a*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[193] TSMK, A. 1929 (Karatay: A 8708): Religious compendium. SEAL: Bayezid II.

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[194] TSMK, A. 2973 (Karatay: A 5729): Muḥammad b. Faḍāl b. 'Abd al-Sātir, *Nadīm al-kirām wa nasīm al-gharām*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[195] TSMK, A. 2909/1-2-3 (Karatay: A 5766-67-68): Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Faraj 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. al-Jawzī, *al-Muntazam fi tawārikh al-mulūk wa al-umam*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[196] TSMK, A. 3047 (Karatay: A 5769): Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abī al-Surūr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Rūhī, *Tuḥfat al-zurāfā' fi akhbār al-anbiyā' wa al-khulafā'*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[197] TSMK, A. 2923/A 1 (Karatay: A 5867): Abū al-Fidā' Ismā'īl b. 'Umar b. Kathīr 'Imād al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb al-Qorashī, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[198] TSMK, A. 2923/A 8 (Karatay: A 5869): Abū al-Fidā' Ismā'īl b. 'Umar b. Kathīr 'Imād al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb al-Qorashī, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[199] TSMK, A. 2923/A 10 (Karatay: A 5870): Abū al-Fidā' Ismā'īl b. 'Umar b. Kathīr 'Imād al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb al-Qorashī, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[200] TSMK, A. 2924/3-4 (Karatay: A 5886): Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Khaldūn al-Ishbīlī, *al-Zāhirī fi al-ibar bi-akhbār al-'Arab wa al-'Ajam wa al-Barbar*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[201] TSMK, A. 2924/5-6 (Karatay: A 5888): Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Khaldūn al-Ishbīlī, *al-Zāhirī fi al-ibar bi-akhbār al-'Arab wa al-'Ajam wa al-Barbar*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[202] TSMK, A. 2924/13-14 (Karatay: A 5892): Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Khaldūn al-Ishbīlī, *al-Zāhirī fi al-ibar bi-akhbār al-'Arab wa al-'Ajam wa al-Barbar*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[203] TSMK, R. 1585 (Karatay: A 5969): Muḥammad b. al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥusayn al-Musawī al-Sharīf al-Rāḍī, *Tawārikh al-anbiyā'*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[204] TSMK, A. 3006 (Karatay: A 5986): 'Īsā b. Amīr, *Unmūdhaj al-tawārikh fi kashf aḥwāl al-anbiyā' wa al-shawāmikh*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.

[205] TSMK, A. 3037 (Karatay: A 5989): Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Malik b. Hishān, *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [206] TSMK, A. 2979 (Karatay: A 6012): ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Alī b. al-Jawzī, *‘Uyūn al-ḥikāyāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [207] TSMK, A. 2870 (Karatay: A 6126): Compendium on History. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [208] TSMK, A. 2871 (Karatay: A 6127): Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Maḥmūd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Maqdisī, *Muthīr al-gharām ilā ziyārāt al-Quds wa al-Shām*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [209] TSMK, A. 2996 (Karatay: A 6166): al-Faṭḥ b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Faṭḥ al-Bundārī, *Tarjamat al-Shāhnāma*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [210] TSMK, A. 3000 (Karatay: A 6170): Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-‘Utbī, *Kitāb al-Yamīnī yā tārikh al-‘Utbī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [211] TSMK, A. 501/5 (Karatay: A 6247): Abū ‘Umar Yūsuf b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Barr al-Namārī al-Qurṭubī, *al-Istī‘āb fī ma‘rifat al-aṣḥāb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [212] TSMK, A. 501/6 (Karatay: A 6248): Abū ‘Umar Yūsuf b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Barr al-Namārī al-Qurṭubī, *al-Istī‘āb fī ma‘rifat al-aṣḥāb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [213] TSMK, A. 2953 (Karatay: A 6270): ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr al-Sam‘ānī, *al-Muntakhab (Muḥam shuyūkh)*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [214] TSMK, A. 2968 (Karatay: A 6274): ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Alī b. al-Jawzī, *Talqīh fuhūm ahl al-athar fī ‘uyūn al-tārikh wa al-siyar*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [215] TSMK, A. 2849/2 (Karatay: A 6314): Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Tadhhīb al-tadhhīb mukhtaṣar tadhhīb al-kamāl*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [216] TSMK, A. 2849/3 (Karatay: A 6315): Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Tadhhīb al-tadhhīb mukhtaṣar tadhhīb al-kamāl*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [217] TSMK, A. 2849/4 (Karatay: A 6316): Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Tadhhīb al-tadhhīb mukhtaṣar tadhhīb al-kamāl*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [218] TSMK, A. 505 (Karatay: A 6320): Ibn al-Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Taqrīb al-tadhhīb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [219] TSMK, A. 2815 (Karatay: A 6331): Shams al-Dīn Abū al-Wajid Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Sattār al-‘Imādī al-Kardārī al-Barānīqīn, *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfa*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [220] TSMK, A. 2811 (Karatay: A 6333): Shams al-Dīn Abū al-Wajid Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Sattār al-‘Imādī al-Kardārī al-Barānīqīn, *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfa*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [221] TSMK, A. 2814 (Karatay: A 6335): Shams al-Dīn Abū al-Wajid Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Sattār al-‘Imādī al-Kardārī al-Barānīqīn, *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfa*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [222] TSMK, A. 2852 (Karatay: A 6369): Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Asmā’ al-rijāl al-mishkāt al-maṣābiḥ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [223] TSMK, A. 508 (Karatay: A 6370): Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Asmā’ al-rijāl al-mishkāt al-maṣābiḥ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [224] TSMK, A. 2501 (Karatay: A 6436): Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Āybak al-Ṣafadī, *Min al-ḥān al-sawāji’ bayn al-bādī wa al-marāji’*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [225] TSMK, A. 2828 (Karatay: A 6444): Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Abī al-Wafā’ Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Qorashī, *al-Jawāhir al-muḍī’a fī ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [226] TSMK, A. 2983 (Karatay: A 6447): Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Khaṭfāf, *al-Ṣamīṭ al-nāṭiq*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [227] TSMK, A. 2831 (Karatay: A 6455): Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Jazarī al-‘Arabī, *al-Darajāt al-‘aliyya fī ṭabaqāt al-‘ulamā’ al-Ḥanafīyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [228] TSMK, H. 1590 (Karatay: F 113): *Silsilanāma*. SEAL: Bayezid II, erased.
- [229] TSMK, A. 3040 (Karatay: F 132): Shihāb al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. Faḍl Allāh Shīrāzī Waṣṣāf al-Khaḍrā, *Tajziyat al-amṣār wa tajziyat al-a’ṣār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [230] TSMK, R. 1518 (Karatay: F 139): Rashid al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh al-Hamadhānī, *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [231] TSMK, H. 1417 (Karatay: F 155): Mīr Sayyid 'Alī b. Muẓaffar al-Ṭūsī, *Khunkārnama*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [232] TSMK, R. 1271 (Karatay: T 626): Sinoplu Şafā'ī, *Fatḥnāma-i Inabākhti wa Mūtūn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [233] TSMK, R. 1465 (Karatay: T 1011): Tājzāda, *Tarjuma-i kitāb al-mu'jam*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [234] TSMK, H. 1123 (no catalogue entry): Malik-i Āhī, *Shāhnāma-i Malik-i Āhī*. SEAL: Bayezid II, illustrated.

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- [235] TSMK, R. 1659 (Karatay: F 194): Persian translation of Zakariyya b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī's *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II, illustrated.
- [236] TSMK, A. 3349 (Karatay: A 6526): Abū Zayd Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Balkhī, *Ashkāl wa yā şuwar al-aqālīm al-sab'ā*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [237] TSMK, A. 3347 (Karatay: A 6528): Abū al-Qāsim Ibn Ḥawqāl al-Naṣībī, *Şurat al-arḍ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [238] TSMK, A. 3345 (Karatay: A 6543): Abū al-Fidā' Ismā'īl b. 'Alī b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Shāhanshāh b. Ayyūb 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī, *Taqwīm al-buldān*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

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- [240] TSMK, A. 2300 (Karatay: A 6582): Faḍl Allāh b. Abī Khayr 'Alī Rashīd al-Dīn al-Ṭabīb, *Jāmi' al-taşānīf al-rashīdiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

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- [241] TSMK, A. 3258/2 (Karatay: A 6578): *Ikhwān al-Şafā'*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [242] TSMK, A. 2128 (Karatay: A 6579): *Ikhwān al-Şafā'*. DESCRIPTION: Bayezid II's ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [243] TSMK, A. 2013 (Karatay: A 6641): Bālīnūs, *Sirr al-ṭabī'a wa al-'ilal wa al-ma'lūmāt li-Bālīnūs*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [244] TSMK, A. 2082 (Karatay: A 6642): Bālīnūs, *Sirr al-ṭabī'a wa al-'ilal wa al-ma'lūmāt li-Bālīnūs*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [245] TSMK, A. 3362 (Karatay: A 6643): Arabic translation by Ḥunayn b. Ishāq of Aristūṭālīs, *Kitāb al-burhān*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [246] TSMK, A. 3240 (Karatay: A 6644): Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. Miskawayh, *Kitāb al-ṭahāra fī al-ḥikma al-'amaliyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [247] TSMK, A. 3195 (Karatay: A 6645): Compendium on philosophy. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [248] TSMK, A. 3186 (Karatay: A 6646): Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb b. Miskawayh, *Fawz al-aṣghar*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [249] TSMK, A. 3286 (Karatay: A 6647): Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb b. Miskawayh, *Fawz al-aṣghar*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [250] TSMK, A. 3278 (Karatay: A 6649): Ibn Sīnā, *al-Ishārāt wa al-tanbīhāt*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [251] TSMK, A. 3248 (Karatay: A 6650): Ibn Sīnā, *al-Ishārāt wa al-tanbīhāt*. DESCRIPTION: Bayezid II's ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [252] TSMK, A. 3355 (Karatay: A 6652): Ibn Sīnā, *al-Ishārāt wa al-tanbīhāt*. DESCRIPTION: Bayezid II's ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [253] TSMK, A. 3264 (Karatay: A 6653): Aḥmad b. Abī al-Bakr Muḥammad al-Nakhjawānī, *Zubdat al-naqd wa lubāb al-kashf*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [254] TSMK, A. 3259 (Karatay: A 6654): Aḥmad b. Abī al-Bakr Muḥammad al-Nakhjawānī, *Zubdat al-naqd wa lubāb al-kashf*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [255] TSMK, A. 3255 (Karatay: A 6657): Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Sharḥ al-ishārāt wa al-tanbīhāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [256] TSMK, A. 3272 (Karatay: A 6658): Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Sharḥ al-ishārāt wa al-tanbīhāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [257] TSMK, A. 3285 (Karatay: A 6659): Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Sharḥ al-ishārāt wa al-tanbīhāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [258] TSMK, A. 3220 (Karatay: A 6662): Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, *Ḥawāshī ‘alā sharḥ al-ishārāt wa al-tanbīhāt*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEALS: Bayezid II, erased in opening page and removed in last page.
- [259] TSMK, A. 3261 (Karatay: A 6664): Ibn Sīnā, *Kitāb al-shifā’*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [260] TSMK, A. 3445 (Karatay: A 6666): Ibn Sīnā, *Kitāb al-shifā’*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [261] TSMK, A. 3215 (Karatay: A 6668): Ibn Sīnā, *al-Mabda’ wa al-ma’ād*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [262] TSMK, A. 3225 (Karatay: A 6669): Ibn Sīnā, *al-Mabda’ wa al-ma’ād*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [263] TSMK, A. 3247 (Karatay: A 6670): Ibn Sīnā, *al-Mabda’ wa al-ma’ād*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [264] TSMK, A. 3448 (Karatay: A 6671): Ibn Sīnā, *Kitāb al-najāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [265] TSMK, A. 3204 (Karatay: A 6672): Fārābī wa Ibn Sīnā, *Ta’līqāt ‘an Abī Naṣr al-Fārābī wa Abī ‘Alī b. Sīnā riwāyat Bahmanyār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [266] TSMK, A. 3250 (Karatay: A 6674): Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Sharḥ ‘uyūn al-ḥikma*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [267] TSMK, A. 3249 (Karatay: A 6680): Abū al-Wafā’ al-Mubashshir b. Fātik al-Qā’id, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa maḥāsīn al-kalīm*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [268] TSMK, A. 2598 (Karatay: A 6681): Abū al-Wafā’ al-Mubashshir b. Fātik al-Qā’id, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa maḥāsīn al-kalīm*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [269] TSMK, A. 3274 (Karatay: A 6683): Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [270] TSMK, A. 3222 (Karatay: A 6685): Hibat Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Malka al-Baghdādī, *Min al-Mu’tabar fī al-ḥikma*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [271] TSMK, A. 3281 (Karatay: A 6686): Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, *Kitāb al-tawḥīdāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [272] TSMK, A. 3284 (Karatay: A 6687): Sa'd b. Manşūr b. Sa'd al-Ḥasan al-Isrā'īlī, *Sharḥ al-talwīḥāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [273] TSMK, A. 3217 (Karatay: A 6688): Sa'd b. Manşūr b. Sa'd al-Ḥasan al-Isrā'īlī, *Sharḥ al-talwīḥāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [274] TSMK, A. 3252 (Karatay: A 6689): Sa'd b. Manşūr b. Sa'd al-Ḥasan al-Isrā'īlī, *Sharḥ al-talwīḥāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [275] TSMK, A. 3266 (Karatay: A 6690): Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, four philosophical works, DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [276] TSMK, A. 3251 (Karatay: A 6691): Maḥmūd b. Faḍl Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Tūdī al-Hamadānī, *Sharḥ al-lamaḥāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [277] TSMK, A. 3269 (no catalogue entry): Naşīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Sharḥ al-ishārāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [278] TSMK, A. 3271 (Karatay: A 6692): Maḥmūd b. Faḍl Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Tūdī al-Hamadānī, *Sharḥ al-lamaḥāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [279] TSMK, A. 3377 (Karatay: A 6693): Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, *al-Lamaḥāt wa ḥikmat al-ishrāq*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [280] TSMK, A. 3183 (Karatay: A 6694): Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [281] TSMK, A. 3197 (Karatay: A 6695): Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [282] TSMK, A. 3267 (Karatay: A 6696): Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [283] TSMK, A. 3229 (Karatay: A 6700): Quṭb al-Dīn b. Mas'ūd al-Shīrāzī, *Sharḥ ḥikmat al-ishrāq*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [284] TSMK, A. 3236 (Karatay: A 6701): Quṭb al-Dīn b. Mas'ūd al-Shīrāzī, *Sharḥ ḥikmat al-ishrāq*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [285] TSMK, A. 3280 (Karatay: A 6702): Quṭb al-Dīn b. Mas'ūd al-Shīrāzī, *Sharḥ ḥikmat al-ishrāq*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [286] TSMK, A. 3230 (Karatay: A 6704): Anonymous, *Sharḥ ḥikmat al-ishrāq*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [287] TSMK, A. 3208 (Karatay: A 6705): Sa'd b. Manşūr b. Kammūna al-Isrā'īlī, *Sharḥ al-talwīḥāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [288] TSMK, A. 3244 (Karatay: A 6707): Sa'd b. Manşūr b. Kammūna al-Isrā'īlī, *Sharḥ al-talwīḥāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [289] TSMK, A. 3243 (Karatay: A 6708): Anonymous, *Sharḥ al-talwīḥāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [290] TSMK, A. 3232 (Karatay: A 6709): Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, *al-Ahwāḥ al-'imādīyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [291] TSMK, A. 3182 (Karatay: A 6711): Commentary on the work of Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Rāzī, *Sharḥ al-mulakhkhaṣ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [292] TSMK, A. 3205 (Karatay: A 6712): Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Rāzī, *Sharḥ al-mulakhkhaṣ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [293] TSMK, A. 3202 (Karatay: A 6714): Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Rāzī, *al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqīyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [294] TSMK, A. 3257 (Karatay: A 6715): Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Rāzī, *al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqīyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [295] TSMK, A. 3242 (Karatay: A 6716): Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Rāzī, *al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqīyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [296] TSMK, A. 3260 (Karatay: A 6717): Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Rāzī, *al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [297] TSMK, A. 3213 (Karatay: A 6719): Quṭb al-Dīn al-Jaylī ‘Abd al-Karīm b. ‘Abd al-Nūr b. Munīr al-Ḥalabī, *Sharḥ hidāyat al-ḥikma*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [298] TSMK, A. 3279 (Karatay: A 6721): Mīrak Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mubārakshāh al-Bukhārī al-Jangī, *Sharḥ hidāyat al-ḥikma*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II, Bayezid II’s ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [299] TSMK, A. 3191 (Karatay: A 6725): Qāḍī Mīr Ḥusayn b. Mu‘īn al-Dīn al-Maybudī, *Sharḥ hidāyat al-ḥikma*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [300] TSMK, A. 3200 (Karatay: A 6727): Mawlānāzāda al-Harawī, *Sharḥ hidāyat al-ḥikma*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [301] TSMK, A. 3233 (Karatay: A 6730): Amīn al-Dīn al-Sālimī, *Sharḥ hidāyat al-ḥikma*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [302] TSMK, A. 3239 (Karatay: A 6731): Commentary on the work of Athīr al-Dīn b. ‘Umar al-Abharī, *al-Nihāya fī tawḍīḥ mushkilāt al-hidāya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [303] TSMK, A. 3424 (Karatay: A 6732): Athīr al-Dīn b. ‘Umar al-Abharī, *Kashf al-ḥaqā’iq fī taḥrīr al-daqa’iq*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [304] TSMK, A. 3496 (Karatay: A 6733): Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Ta’dīl al-mi’yār sharḥ tanzīl al-afkār*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [305] TSMK, A. 3187 (Karatay: A 6735): Mīrak Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mubārakshāh al-Bukhārī, *Sharḥ ḥikmat al-‘ayn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [306] TSMK, A. 3189 (Karatay: A 6736): Mīrak Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mubārakshāh al-Bukhārī, *Sharḥ ḥikmat al-‘ayn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [307] TSMK, A. 3216 (Karatay: A 6737): Mīrak Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mubārakshāh al-Bukhārī, *Sharḥ ḥikmat al-‘ayn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [308] TSMK, A. 3221 (Karatay: A 6738): Mīrak Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mubārakshāh al-Bukhārī, *Sharḥ ḥikmat al-‘ayn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [309] TSMK, A. 3241 (Karatay: A 6740): Mīrak Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mubārakshāh al-Bukhārī, *Sharḥ ḥikmat al-‘ayn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [310] TSMK, A. 3273 (Karatay: A 6742): Mīrak Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mubārakshāh al-Bukhārī, *Sharḥ ḥikmat al-‘ayn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [311] TSMK, A. 3253 (Karatay: A 6744): Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. ‘Alī b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Īdāḥ al-maqāṣid*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [312] TSMK, A. 3275 (Karatay: A 6745): Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. ‘Alī b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Īdāḥ al-maqāṣid*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [313] TSMK, A. 3192 (Karatay: A 6747): Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī, *Hāshiya ‘alā sharḥ Ḥikmat al-‘ayn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [314] TSMK, A. 3196 (Karatay: A 6749): Mīrza Jān Ḥabīb Allāh, *Hāshiya ‘alā Ḥikmat al-‘ayn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [315] TSMK, A. 3237 (Karatay: A 6754): Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Shahrazūrī al-Ishrāqī, *al-Shajarat al-ilāhiyya fī ‘ulūm al-ḥaqā’iq al-rabbāniyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [316] TSMK, A. 3231 (Karatay: A 6756): ‘Izz al-Dawla Sa’d b. Maṣṣūr b. Sa’id al-Isrā’īlī Ibn Kammūna, *al-Ḥikma al-jadīda*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [317] TSMK, A. 3234 (Karatay: A 6757): ‘Izz al-Dawla Sa’d b. Maṣṣūr b. Sa’id al-Isrā’īlī Ibn Kammūna, *al-Ḥikma al-jadīda*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [318] TSMK, A. 3254 (Karatay: A 6758): Jamāl al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. ‘Alī b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *al-Asrār al-khafīyya fī al-‘ulūm al-‘aqlīyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [319] TSMK, A. 2041 (Karatay: A 8714): Compendium on philosophy, SEAL: Bayezid II.

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- [320] TSMK, A. 3414 (Karatay: A 6759): ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd b. Tāj al-Sharī‘a, *Ta‘dīl al-‘ulūm*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [321] TSMK, A. 3439 (Karatay: A 6763): al-Fārābī, *Sharḥ Abī al-Naṣr al-Fārābī li-kitāb Aristūṭālīs fī al-qiyāsāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [322] TSMK, A. 3446 (Karatay: A 6768): Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī, *Muḥākamāt*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [323] TSMK, A. 3400 (Karatay: A 6769): Jamāl al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. ‘Alī b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *Muḥākamāt bayn al-shurrāḥ al-ishārāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [324] TSMK, A. 3438 (Karatay: A 6771): ‘Umar b. Sahlān al-Sāwī al-Qāḍī Zayn al-Dīn, *al-Baṣā’ir al-naṣīriyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [325] TSMK, A. 3351 (Karatay: A 6773): Mas‘ūd b. Ḥusayn al-Shirwānī al-Rūmī, *Sharḥ ādāb al-baḥṭh*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [326] TSMK, A. 3418 (Karatay: A 6777): Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ashraf al-Ḥusaynī al-Samarqandī, SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [327] TSMK, A. 3419 (Karatay: A 6863): Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī, *Sharḥ maṭālī‘ al-anwār li-l-awāmīr al-asrār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [328] TSMK, A. 3210 (Karatay: A 6780): Anonymous commentary on the work of Athīr al-Dīn b. ‘Umar al-Abharī, *al-Nihāya fī sharḥ al-hidāya*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [329] TSMK, A. 3401 (Karatay: A 6782): Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Rāzī, *al-Manṭiq al-kabīr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [330] TSMK, A. 3354 (Karatay: A 6783): al-Kātib al-Qazwīnī, *Kashf al-asrār ‘an ghawāmiḍ al-afkār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [331] TSMK, A. 3228 (Karatay: A 6784): Athīr al-Dīn b. ‘Umar al-Abharī, *Hidāya al-ḥikma*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [332] TSMK, A. 3373 (Karatay: A 6788): Ḥusam al-Dīn al-Ḥasan al-Kātī, *Sharḥ kitāb al-Isāghūjī (al-Risāla al-athīriyya)*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [333] TSMK, A. 3405 (Karatay: A 6789): Ḥusam al-Dīn al-Ḥasan al-Kātī, *Sharḥ kitāb al-Isāghūjī (al-Risāla al-athīriyya)*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [334] TSMK, A. 3428 (Karatay: A 6812): Anonymous Arabic translation of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī’s Persian work, *Asās al-iqtibās*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [335] TSMK, A. 3441 (Karatay: A 6813): Anonymous, *Asās al-iqtibās*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [336] TSMK, A. 3427 (Karatay: A 6819): Sa’d al-Dīn Mas‘ūd b. ‘Umar al-Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-shamsiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [337] TSMK, A. 3370 (Karatay: A 6821): Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī, *Tahrīr al-qawā’id al-manṭiqiyya fī sharḥ al-shamsiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [338] TSMK, A. 3436 (Karatay: A 6822): Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī, *Tahrīr al-qawā’id al-manṭiqiyya fī sharḥ al-shamsiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [339] TSMK, A. 3433 (Karatay: A 6833): Mirak Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mubārakshāh al-Bukhārī, *Sharḥ al-risāla al-shamsiyya*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [340] TSMK, A. 3372 (Karatay: A 6849): Najm al-Dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Umar al-Qazwīnī al-Kātibī, *Kitāb Jāmi‘ al-daqa’iq fi kashf al-ḥaqā’iq*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [341] TSMK, A. 3421 (Karatay: A 6850): Sirāj al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr al-Urmawī, *Maṭālī‘ al-anwār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [342] TSMK, A. 3429 (Karatay: A 6851): Sirāj al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr al-Urmawī, *Maṭālī‘ al-anwār*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Maḥmūd Pāshā. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [343] TSMK, A. 3437 (Karatay: A 6853): Sirāj al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr al-Urmawī, *Lawāmi‘ al-afkār sharḥ maṭālī‘ al-anwār*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [344] TSMK, A. 3412 (Karatay: A 6854): Sirāj al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr al-Urmawī, *Lawāmi‘ al-afkār sharḥ maṭālī‘ al-anwār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [345] TSMK, A. 3413 (no catalogue entry): Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī, *Hāshiya Sayyid ‘alā sharḥ maṭālī‘*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [346] TSMK, A. 3381 (Karatay: A 6860): Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī, *Lawāmi‘ al-afkār sharḥ maṭālī‘ al-anwār*. DESCRIPTION: Bayezid II’s ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [347] TSMK, A. 3410 (Karatay: A 6862): Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī, *Lawāmi‘ al-afkār sharḥ maṭālī‘ al-anwār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [348] TSMK, A. 3435 (Karatay: A 6864): Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī, *Lawāmi‘ al-afkār sharḥ maṭālī‘ al-anwār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [349] TSMK, A. 3366 (Karatay: A 6866): Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī, *Hāshiya ‘alā Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī ‘alā maṭālī‘ al-Urmawī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [350] TSMK, A. 3378 (Karatay: A 6873): Sirāj al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr al-Urmawī, *Kitāb Bayān (al-ḥaqq)*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [351] TSMK, A. 3440 (Karatay: A 6874): Sirāj al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr al-Urmawī, *Kitāb Bayān (al-ḥaqq)*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [352] TSMK, A. 3442 (Karatay: A 6875): Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Sharḥ Bayān al-ḥaqq*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [353] TSMK, A. 3371 (Karatay: A 6878): Burhān al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Nasafī, *Sharḥ mansha‘ al-naẓar*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [354] TSMK, A. 3425 (Karatay: A 6880): Compendium on logic, starting with a work by Shaykh Shams al-Dīn b. Abū al-Thanā Maḥmūd al-Isfahānī and followed by other authors. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [355] TSMK, A. 3358 (Karatay: A 6890): Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, *al-Ghurra fi al-mantiq*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [356] TSMK, A. 3432 (Karatay: A 6891): Anonymous Arabic translation of al-Sāwī’s Persian work, *Kitāb al-mubīn fi sharḥ al-matīn*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [357] TSMK, A. 3426 (Karatay: A 6916): Anonymous, *al-As‘ila al-mawrida ‘alā naw‘ay kitāb al-mawsūm bi-l-ma‘ālim*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [358] TSMK, A. 3444 (Karatay: F 931): Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Asās al-iqtibās*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

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- [359] TSMK, A. 2460 (Karatay: A 6927): Fārābī, *Taqwīm al-siyāsa al-mulūkiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [360] TSMK, A. 2633 (Karatay: A 6931): Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh al-Khaṭīb al-Iskāfī, *Lutf al-tadbīr (fī ḥiyāl al-mulūk fī umūr al-salṭana)*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [361] TSMK, A. 2493 (Karatay: A 6943): Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī al-Anṣārī Jamāl al-Dīn al-Waṭwāt, *Ghurār al-khaṣa’iṣ al-wāḍiḥa wa ‘urār al-naqā’iṣ al-fāḍiḥa*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [362] TSMK, A. 2459 (Karatay: A 6950): Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Walīd b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Ṭurṭūshī al-Fihri b. Abi Randaqa, *Sirāj al-mulūk wa al-khulafa’ wa minhāj al-wulāt wa al-umara’*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [363] TSMK, A. 1116 (Karatay: A 6967): Tāj al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar b. Muḥammad al-Sarakhsī al-Dimashqī, *al-Siyāsa al-mulūkiyya*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [364] TSMK, A. 2541 (Karatay: A 8297): Kamāl al-Dīn Abū Sālim Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qarashī al-‘Adwī, *al-Iqd al-farīd li-l-malik al-sa’id*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [365] TSMK, R. 395 (Karatay: F 208): Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Akhlāq-i nāṣiri*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [366] TSMK, H. 244 (Karatay: T 3077): Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd Yūknākī, *Hibat al-ḥaqā’iq*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

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- [367] TSMK, A. 3473 (Karatay: A 6991): Ibn Sinā, Treatises on mathematics. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [368] TSMK, A. 3463 (Karatay: A 6995): Translation of Apollonius of Perga’s work by Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad, *Taşaffuḥ al-makhrūtāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [369] TSMK, A. 3132 (Karatay: A 6996): Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan al-Fārisī, *Asās al-qawā’id fī uṣūl al-fawā’id*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [370] TSMK, A. 3140 (Karatay: A 6997): Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan al-Fārisī, *Asās al-qawā’id fī uṣūl al-fawā’id*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [371] TSMK, A. 3155 (Karatay: A 6998): Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan al-Fārisī, *Asās al-qawā’id fī uṣūl al-fawā’id*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [372] TSMK, A. 3142 (Karatay: A 6999): Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad al-Kāsī, *İdāḥ al-maqāṣid*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [373] TSMK, A. 3156 (Karatay: A 7000): Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad al-Kāsī, *İdāḥ al-maqāṣid*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [374] TSMK, A. 3451 (Karatay: A 7002): Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Tahrīr uṣūl al-handasa li-Uqlīdis*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [375] TSMK, A. 3452 (Karatay: A 7003): Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Tahrīr uṣūl al-handasa li-Uqlīdis*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [376] TSMK, A. 3454 (Karatay: A 7004): Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Tahrīr uṣūl al-handasa li-Uqlīdis*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [377] TSMK, A. 3453 (Karatay: A 7005): ‘Abd al-Kāfi b. ‘Abd al-Majīd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Tibrizī, Compendium on mathematics. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [378] TSMK, A. 3456 (Karatay: A 7006): Compendium on mathematics. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [379] TSMK, A. 3457 (Karatay: A 7008): Compendium on mathematics. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [380] TSMK, A. 3145 (Karatay: A 7009): ‘Izz al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍā’il ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Zanjānī, *Umdat al-ḥisāb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [381] TSMK, A. 3133 (Karatay: A 7010): Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Khaṭībī, *Mukhtaṣar al-ṣalāḥī fī al-ḥisāb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [382] TSMK, A. 3141 (Karatay: A 7011): Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Khaṭībī, *al-Sharḥ al-ṣalāḥiyya*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [383] TSMK, A. 3117 (Karatay: A 7012): Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Gharbī, *al-Mu‘jizāt al-naḥībīyya sharḥ al-risāla al-‘alā’iyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [384] TSMK, A. 3154 (Karatay: A 7013): Anonymous, *Sharḥ risāla fī ‘ilm al-ḥisāb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [385] TSMK, A. 3149 (Karatay: A 7014): Niẓām al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-A‘raj al-Nisābūrī, *al-Risāla al-shamsiyya fī al-ḥisāb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [386] TSMK, A. 3150 (Karatay: A 7015): Niẓām al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-A‘raj al-Nisābūrī, *al-Risāla al-shamsiyya fī al-ḥisāb*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Maḥmūd Pāshā. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [387] TSMK, A. 3152 (Karatay: A 7016): Niẓām al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-A‘raj al-Nisābūrī, *al-Risāla al-shamsiyya fī al-ḥisāb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [388] TSMK, A. 3153 (Karatay: A 7017): Niẓām al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-A‘raj al-Nisābūrī, *al-Risāla al-shamsiyya fī al-ḥisāb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [389] TSMK, A. 3479 (Karatay: A 7019): Jamshid b. Mas‘ūd b. Maḥmūd al-Ṭabīb, *Miftāḥ al-ḥussāb*. DESCRIPTION: Bayezid II’s ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [390] TSMK, A. 3144 (Karatay: A 7021): Anonymous, *Irshād al-ṭullāb ilā ‘ilm al-ḥisāb*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [391] TSMK, A. 3136 (Karatay: A 7024): Abū al-‘Alā’ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bihishtī al-Isfarā’īnī, *Risāla fī ‘ilm al-ḥisāb wa al-jabr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [392] TSMK, A. 3135 (Karatay: A 7033): Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Karajī al-Ḥāsib, *al-Kāfi fī al-ḥisāb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [393] TSMK, A. 3119 (Karatay: A 7037): Muḥammad ‘Aṭif b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Walī al-Dīn al-Qūyūjāqī, *Mu’assis al-fuyūḍāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [394] TSMK, A. 3118 (Karatay: F 226): Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī, *Tarjuma-i Risāla-i shamsiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

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- [395] TSMK, A. 3475 (Karatay: A 7040): Qusṭā b. Luqā al-Ba‘albakī, *Kitāb al-‘amal bi-l-kura al-falakīyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [396] TSMK, A. 3493 (Karatay: A 7044): Abū al-Ḥusayn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Umar al-Šūfī, *Šuwar al-kawākib al-thābita*. SEAL: Bayezid II, illustrated.
- [397] TSMK, A. 3509 (Karatay: A 7045): Abū al-Ḥusayn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Umar al-Šūfī, *Kitāb al-‘amal bi-l-uṣṭurlāb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [398] TSMK, A. 3505 (Karatay: A 7046): Abū al-Ḥusayn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Umar al-Šūfī, *Kitāb al-‘amal bi-l-kura al-falakīyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [399] TSMK, A. 3491 (Karatay: A 7047): Compendium starting with the work of Abū al-Ḥusayn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Umar al-Šūfī, *Kitāb al-‘amal bi-l-uṣṭurlāb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [400] TSMK, A. 3477 (Karatay: A 7050): Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-taḥfīm fī ṣinā‘at al-tanjīm*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [401] TSMK, A. 3478 (Karatay: A 7051): Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-taḥfīm fī ṣinā‘at al-tanjīm*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [402] TSMK, A. 3508 (Karatay: A 7053): ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥusayn b. ‘Aṣim, *Mukhtaṣar al-anwā’ wa al-azmina wa ma‘rifat a’yān al-kawākib*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [403] TSMK, A. 3296 (Karatay: A 7057): Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Chaghminī, *al-Mulakkhkhaş fī al-hay’a*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [404] TSMK, A. 3325 (Karatay: A 7058): Faḍl Allāh al-‘Ubaydī, *Sharḥ al-mulakkhkhaş*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [405] TSMK, A. 3308 (Karatay: A 7060): Yūsuf b. Mubārak al-Alānī, *al-Ṭurar al-mulakkhkhaş*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [406] TSMK, A. 3302 (Karatay A 7055): Compendium titled *Kitāb al-‘ajīb fī al-hay’a*, starting with Bīṭrūjī’s *Kitāb al-Murta’ish fī al-hay’a*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [407] TSMK, A. 3297 (Karatay: A 7063): Mūsā b. Muḥammad Qāḍī-zāda al-Rūmī, *Sharḥ al-mulakkhkhaş*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [408] TSMK, A. 3303 (Karatay: A 7064): Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī, *Sharḥ al-mulakkhkhaş*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [409] TSMK, A. 3298 (Karatay: A 7067): Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī, *Sharḥ al-mulakkhkhaş*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [410] TSMK, A. 3293 (Karatay: A 7068): Mūsā b. Muḥammad Qāḍī-zāda al-Rūmī, *Sharḥ al-mulakkhkhaş li-Qāḍī-zāda*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [411] TSMK, A. 3299 (Karatay: A 7074): Sinān Pāshā Yūsuf b. Khidr Bay, *Hāshiya ‘alā Sharḥ al-mulakkhkhaş li-Qāḍī-zāda*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [412] TSMK, A. 3331 (Karatay: A 7075): Sinān Pāshā Yūsuf b. Khidr Bay, *Hāshiya ‘alā Sharḥ al-mulakkhkhaş li-Qāḍī-zāda*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [413] TSMK, A. 3318 (no catalogue entry): ‘Alī Qūshjī, *Sharḥ-i zij*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [414] TSMK, A. 3294 (Karatay: A 7077): Faṭḥ Allāh b. Shukr Allāh al-Shirwānī, *Hāshiyat Faṭḥ Allāh al-Shirwānī ‘alā sharḥ al-mulakkhkhaş li-Qāḍī-zāda*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [415] TSMK, A. 3343 CI (Karatay: A 7079): al-Shaykh al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. ‘Umar al-Marrākuşī, *Jāmi‘ al-mabādi wa al-ghāyāt*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, Bayezid II’s ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [416] TSMK, A. 3317 (Karatay: A 7081): Naşīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tadhkira al-Naşīriyya*. DESCRIPTION: Bayezid II’s ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [417] TSMK, A. 3333 (Karatay: A 7082): Naşīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tadhkira al-Naşīriyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [418] TSMK, A. 3315 (Karatay: A 7084): Faḍl Allāh al-‘Ubaydī, *Bayān al-tadhkira wa tibyan al-tabşira*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [419] TSMK, A. 3322 (Karatay: A 7086): Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Nizām al-A‘raj (Nizām al-Dīn al-Nisābūrī), *Tawḍīḥ al-tadhkira*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [420] TSMK, A. 3324 (Karatay: A 7088): Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Nizām al-A‘raj (Nizām al-Dīn al-Nisābūrī), *Tawḍīḥ al-tadhkira*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [421] TSMK, A. 3316 (Karatay: A 7089): Naşīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tadhkira li-l-aḥbāb wa tabşira li-ülī-l-albāb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [422] TSMK, A. 3320 (Karatay: A 7091): Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī, *Sharḥ al-tadhkira al-naşīriyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [423] TSMK, A. 3314 (Karatay: A 7093): Faṭḥ Allāh al-Shirwānī, *Sharḥ al-tadhkira li-Faṭḥ Allāh al-Shirwānī*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [424] TSMK, A. 3338 (Karatay: A 7094): Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī, *Fa‘altu falā talum*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [425] TSMK, A. 3328 (Karatay: A 7095): Naşīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Tahrīr al-majisṭī*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, Bayezid II’s ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [426] TSMK, A. 3332 (Karatay: A 7096): Naşīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Tahrīr al-majisṭī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [427] TSMK, A. 3307 (Karatay: A 7104): Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Mas‘ūd b. Muşliḥ al-Shirāzī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Shāhiyya fī al-hay’a*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [428] TSMK, A. 3305 (Karatay: A 7106): Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Mas‘ūd b. Muşliḥ al-Shirāzī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Shāhiyya fī al-hay’a*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [429] TSMK, A. 3304 (Karatay: A 7109): Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Mas'ūd b. Muṣliḥ al-Shirāzī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Shāhiyya fī al-hay'a*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [430] TSMK, A. 3492 (Karatay: A 7114): Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. 'Alī al-Qaṣrānī, *Masā'il al-qaṣrānī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [431] TSMK, A. 3290 (Karatay: A 7116): Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī, *Faṭḥ al-faṭḥiyya*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [432] TSMK, A. 3291 (Karatay: A 7117): Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī, *Faṭḥ al-faṭḥiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [433] TSMK, A. 3289 (Karatay: 7119): Anonymous, *Risāla 'arabiyya fī 'ilm al-hay'a*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [434] TSMK, A. 3500 (Karatay: A 7120): Anonymous, *Jadwal al-āfāqī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [435] TSMK, A. 3501 (Karatay: A 7121): Muḥammad b. Kātib Sinān, *Tabyīn al-awqāt*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [436] TSMK, A. 3481 (Karatay: A 7122): Muḥammad b. Kātib Sinān, *Mūdiḥ al-awqāt fī ma'rifat al-muqanṭarāt*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [437] TSMK, A. 3495 (Karatay: A 7123): 'Abd al-Salām al-Muhtadī, *Ma'rifat ḥaqīqiyyat al-mawḍū'āt al-kawākib*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [438] TSMK, A. 3487 (Karatay: A 7124): Anonymous, *Risāla fī al-ālat al-nujūmiyya al-ghayr al-mashhūra*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [439] TSMK, R. 1713 (Karatay: A 7126): Pīr 'Alī Kūçek al-Amāsī, *Zij Kūçek*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [440] TSMK, Y.Y. 830 (Karatay: F 246): Kḥiṭābī Jaylānī, *Ṭālī' wilādat Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Murād*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [441] TSMK, A. 3494 (Karatay: A 7137): Compendium on astrology. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [442] TSMK, A. 3512 (Karatay: A 7139): *Jadwal fī ma'rifat mabādī' al-shuhūr wa al-sinīn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [443] TSMK, A. 3329 (Karatay: A 7140): Compendium containing Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Haytham (Ibn Haytham), *Ta'līq 'alā al-Majisṭī li-Baṭlamyūs*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [444] TSMK, A. 3342 (Karatay: A 7141): Compendium on astrology. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [445] TSMK, A. 3474 (Karatay: A 7143): Anonymous, *Kitāb fī al-ḥiyāl wa al-umūr al-'ajība fī 'amal ālāt al-mā'*. SEAL: Bayezid II, illustrated.
- [446] TSMK, A. 3472 (Karatay: A 7144): Abū al-'Izz Abū Bakr Ismā'il b. al-Razzāz al-Jazarī, *Kitāb ma'rifat al-ḥiyāl al-handasiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II, illustrated.
- [447] TSMK, H. 414 (Karatay: A 7146): Abū al-'Izz Abū Bakr Ismā'il b. al-Razzāz al-Jazarī, *Kitāb ma'rifat al-ḥiyāl al-handasiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II, illustrated.
- [448] TSMK, A. 3339 (Karatay: A 7149): Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Haytham (Ibn Haytham), *al-Maqāla al-sādisa min kitāb al-manāẓir*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [449] TSMK, A. 3340 (Karatay: 7151): Kamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan al-Fārisī. *Tanqīḥ al-manāẓir li-thawī al-abṣār wa al-baṣā'ir*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [450] TSMK, A. 3513 (Karatay: F 231): Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Kitāb zij al-Ilkhānī* and *Kitāb asmar u ashjar fī al-nujūm*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [451] TSMK, A. 3510 (Karatay: F 232): Nizām al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Nisābūrī, *Sharḥ zij al-Ilkhānī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [452] TSMK, R. 1705 (Karatay: F 228): Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Rāzī, *Ikhtiyārāt al-aḥkām al-'alā'iyya min al-a'lām al-samā'iyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [453] TSMK, R. 1707 (no catalogue entry): *Durr al-nujūm wa tafhīm al-fuhūm / şuwar al-burīj wa al-kawākib fī al-nujūm*. SEAL: Bayezid II, illustrated.
- [454] TSMK, A. 3148 (no catalogue entry): Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Nisābūrī, *Shamsiyya wa sharḥ al-tadhkira*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [455] TSMK, A. 3337 (Karatay: F 227): Mu'ayyad Muḥammad al-Jājarmī, *Kitāb faṣṣ al-khātam fī hay'at al-ālam*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [456] TSMK, A. 3502 (Karatay: F 230): Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Zij al-Ilkhānī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [457] TSMK, A. 3310 (Karatay: F 233): Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Mas'ūd al-Shirāzī, *Ikhtiyārāt al-Muẓaffarī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [458] TSMK, R. 1719mük [i.e., mükerrer] (Karatay: F 235): 'Alīshāh b. Muḥammad al-Khwārazmī, *Umdat al-ilkhāniyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [459] TSMK, B. 310 (Karatay: F 248): Khiṭābī al-Ḥusaynī, *Taqwīm-i pādishāhi*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [460] TSMK, H. 505 (Karatay: F 249): *Jadwal-i aḥkām-i ṭālī-i sāl*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [461] TSMK, H. 513 (Karatay: F 250): *Jadwal-i aḥkām-i ṭālī-i sāl*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [462] TSMK, R. 1709 (Karatay: F 251): *Jadwal-i aḥkām-i ṭālī-i sāl*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [463] TSMK, E.H. 1712 (Karatay: F 252): Munajjim-bāshī Salmān, *Istikhrājāt Risālasī*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [464] TSMK, A. 1960 (Karatay: F 253): Yūsuf b. 'Umar Sā'ātī, *Ṣaḥā'if-i taqwīm*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [465] TSMK, B. 311 (Karatay: F 257): *Kitāb al-taqwīm*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [466] TSMK, A. 3151 (no catalogue entry): *Sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [467] TSMK, H. 506 (no catalogue entry): *Aḥkām al-nujūm*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [468] TSMK, R. 1706 (no catalogue entry): *Miftāḥ al-nujūm*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [469] TSMK, A. 3499 (Karatay: T 1618): Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, *Sharḥ ṣafā'iḥ al-āfāqiyya*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [470] TSMK, A. 3485 (Karatay: T 3045): Muḥammad b. Kātib Sinān, *Ma'rifat san'at al-rub' al-muqanṭarāt wa al-jayb*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.

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- [471] TSMK, E.H. 1700 (Karatay: A 7158): Sargius b. Alyās al-Rūmī, *al-Filāḥa al-Rūmiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II, erased.

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- [472] TSMK, A. 1989/2-3 (Karatay: A 7160): Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Waḥshiyya, *Muntakhab al-filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [473] TSMK, A. 1989/5 (Karatay: 7162): Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Waḥshiyya, *Muntakhab al-filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [474] TSMK, A. 1989/6 (Karatay: A 7163): Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Waḥshiyya, *Muntakhab al-filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [475] TSMK, A. 1989/7 (Karatay: A 7164): Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Waḥshiyya, *Muntakhab al-filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [476] TSMK, A. 1989/8 (Karatay: A 7165): Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Waḥshiyya, *Muntakhab al-filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [477] TSMK, A. 1989 (Karatay: A 7166): Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Waḥshiyya, *Muntakhab al-filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [478] TSMK, A. 2047 (Karatay: A 7167): Abū Rayḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī, *al-Jamāhir fī ma‘rifat al-jawāhir*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [479] TSMK, A. 2127 (Karatay: A 7191): Adaptive translation of Dioscorides’s *De Materia Medica* by al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan Khurshīd al-Ṭabarī al-Nātilī, *Kitāb al-ḥashā’ish*. SEAL: Bayezid II, illustrated.
- [480] TSMK, A. 2079 (Karatay: A 7193): Anonymous compendium on works by Galen (Jālīnūs), *Tarqīb al-adwīyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [481] TSMK, A. 2131 (Karatay: A 7197): Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, *Masā’il Ḥunayn b. Ishāq fī al-ṭibb ma’a ziyādāt Khubaysh*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [482] TSMK, A. 1996 (Karatay: A 7199): Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Abī Šādiq al-Nīsābūrī, *Sharḥ masā’il Ḥunayn b. Ishāq*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [483] TSMK, A. 2038 (Karatay: A 7200): Arabic translation of Galen’s (Jālīnūs) work by Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, *Kitāb al-Karma*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [484] TSMK, A. 2098 (Karatay: A 7202): *Dhakhira fī ‘ilm al-ṭibb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [485] TSMK, A. 1975 (Karatay: A 7214): Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-tajārūb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [486] TSMK, A. 1964 (Karatay: A 7223): Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā al-Kaḥḥāl, *Tadhkira al-kaḥḥālīn*. DESCRIPTION: Bayezid II’s ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [487] TSMK, A. 2053 (Karatay: A 7224): Abū Sahl ‘Īsā b. Yaḥyā al-Masīḥī al-Jurjānī, *al-Mi’a fī al-ṣinā’a al-ṭibbiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [488] TSMK, A. 1953 (Karatay: A 7226): Commentaries on Ibn Sīnā’s books in medicine. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [489] TSMK, A. 1932 (Karatay: A 7227): Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [490] TSMK, A. 1934 (Karatay: A 7229): Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [491] TSMK, A. 1973 (Karatay: A 7230): Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [492] TSMK, A. 1935/1 (Karatay: A 7232): Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [493] TSMK, A. 1935/2 (Karatay: A 7233): Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb*. SEAL: Bayezid II, erased.
- [494] TSMK, A. 1935/3 (Karatay: A 7234): Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [495] TSMK, A. 1939/1 (Karatay: A 7238): Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [496] TSMK, A. 1939/2 (Karatay: A 7239): Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [497] TSMK, A. 1946 (Karatay: A 7250): Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb b. Ishāq b. Ghanā’im b. Yūsuf al-Sāmīrī, *Sharḥ kullīyyāt al-Qānūn li-l-Sāmīrī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [498] TSMK, A. 1978 (Karatay: A 7267): Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Āqsarā’ī, *Ḥall al-mūjaz*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [499] TSMK, A. 1972 (Karatay: A 7273): Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Chaghminī, *Qānūncha*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [500] TSMK, A. 1979 (Karatay: A 7275): Hüsayn b. Muḥammad al-Astarābādī, *Sharḥ Qānūncha*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [501] TSMK, A. 1977 (Karatay: A 7276): Hüsayn b. Muḥammad al-Astarābādī, *Sharḥ Qānūncha*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [502] TSMK, A. 2051 (Karatay: A 7277): Ibn al-Mutaṭabbib Rūḥ Allāh b. Akhī al-Mutaṭabbib, *Sharḥ kullīyyāt al-Qānūncha*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [503] TSMK, A. 1987 (Karatay: A 7278): Hüsayn al-Mutaṭabbib al-Hüsaynī al-Jilānī, *Sharḥ Qānūncha*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [504] TSMK, A. 2069 (Karatay: A 7283): Abū al-Ḥasan al-Mukhtār b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abdūn b. Sa’dūn b. Buṭlān, *Taqwīm al-ṣiḥḥa*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [505] TSMK, A. 2101 (Karatay: A 7293): Zayn al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍā’il Ismā’il b. al-Hüsayn al-Jurjānī Khwārizmshāhī, *Zubdat al-ṭibb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [506] TSMK, A. 2096 (Karatay: A 7296): Jalāl al-Dīn Abū al-Najīb ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Naṣr b. ‘Abd Allāh, *Kitāb al-İdāḥ fī asrār al-nikāḥ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [507] TSMK, A. 2072 (Karatay: A 7299): Abū al-Faḍā’il Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Faraj ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Hüsayn al-Jawzī, *Ṣayd al-khāṭir min minḥat al-fāṭir*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [508] TSMK, A. 2132 (Karatay: A 7300): Abū al-Faḍā’il Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Faraj ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Hüsayn al-Jawzī, *Ṣayd al-khāṭir min minḥat al-fāṭir*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [509] TSMK, A. 1958 (Karatay: A 7309): Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn al-Mālaqī b. al-Bayṭar, *Jāmi’ mufradāt al-adwiyya wa al-aghdīyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [510] TSMK, A. 2062 (Karatay: A 7311): Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn al-Mālaqī b. al-Bayṭar, *Jāmi’ mufradāt al-adwiyya wa al-aghdīyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [511] TSMK, A. 1982 (Karatay: A 7313): Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Tifāshī. *Rujū’ al-shaykh ilā ṣibāḥ fī al-quwwa ‘alā al-bāḥ*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [512] TSMK, A. 2085 (Karatay: A 7339): Hüsayn b. Abū Tha’lab b. al-Mubārak al-Ṭabīb, *al-Munqidh min al-halaka fī daf’ maḍarr al-samā’im al-muhlīka*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [513] TSMK, A. 2070 (Karatay: A 7347): Khidr b. ‘Alī al-Ayḍīnī al-Khaṭṭāb, *Shifā’ al-asqām wa dawā’ al-ālām*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [514] TSMK, A. 1991 (Karatay: A 7356): Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-‘Arabī, *Tadhhīb al-tahdhīb wa lāma al-ṭabīb al-arīb*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [515] TSMK, A. 1993 (Karatay: A 7357): Anonymous, *Risāla fī al-ṭibb*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [516] TSMK, A. 2010 (Karatay: A 7361): ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Munajjim b. Abī Yūsuf al-Ḥafīz, *Jawhar ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥa*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [517] TSMK, A. 1967 (Karatay: A 7362): Anonymous, *Manāfi’ al-uṣūl*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [518] TSMK, A. 2081 (Karatay: 7363): Anonymous, *Manāfi’ al-uṣūl*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [519] TSMK, A. 2141 (Karatay: A 7367): Jawzī, *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī*, DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [520] TSMK, A. 2045 (Karatay: A 7369): Aḥmad Ḥayātī b. Muḥammad al-Qurayshī, *Shajarat al-ṭibb*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [521] TSMK, A. 3447 (no catalogue entry): Compendium on works by Ibn Sīnā, *Majmū’a-i kabīr min Ibn Sīnā*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [522] TSMK, A. 2124 (Karatay: T 1769): Sharaf al-Dīn b. ‘Alī al-Ḥājj Ilyās, *Qarābādīn*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [523] TSMK, A. 2137 (Karatay: F 276): *Majmū'a*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [524] TSMK, A. 2115 (no catalogue entry): Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Aḥnaf, *Kitāb al-bayṭara*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [525] TSMK, A. 1963 (Karatay: F 271): Zayn al-Dīn Ismā'īl b. Ḥusayn al-Jurjānī, *Dhakhīra-i Khwārazmshāhī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [526] TSMK, A. 2005 (Karatay: F 273): Mas'ūd b. Ḥakīm al-Dīn al-Ḥasanī, *Dustūr al-'āmil fī waja' al-mafāṣil*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.

GHAZĀ

- [527] TSMK, A. 3468 (Karatay: T 1912): Anonymous, *Munyat al-ghuzāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

MŪSĪQĪ

- [528] TSMK, A. 2286 (Karatay: A 7423): Abū Ṭālib al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama b. 'Āṣim al-Ḍabbī, *Kitāb al-malāhī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [529] TSMK, A. 3458 (Karatay: A 7427): Anonymous, *Sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar fī al-mūsīqī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [530] TSMK, A. 3449 (Karatay: A 7428): Faṭḥ Allāh Mu'min al-Shirwānī, *Risāla fī 'ilm al-mūsīqī*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [531] TSMK, A. 3462 (Karatay: F 278): 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir, *Naqāwat al-adwār*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [532] TSMK, R. 1726 (Karatay: F 279): 'Abd al-Qādir b. Ghaybī al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Marāghī, *Maqāṣid al-alḥān*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Murad II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [533] TSMK, A. 3470 (Karatay: F 280): 'Abd al-Qādir b. Ghaybī al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Marāghī, *Sharḥ kitāb al-adwār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

TA'BĪR

- [534] TSMK, A. 3171 (Karatay: A 7434): Abū Sa'd Naṣr b. Ya'qūb al-Dīnawarī, *Kitāb al-qādirī fī al-ta'bīr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [535] TSMK, A. 3172 (Karatay: A 7437): Abū Ṭāhir Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā al-Maqdisī, *al-Mu'allam 'alā ḥurūf al-mu'jam*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [536] TSMK, A. 3173 (Karatay: A 7438): Abū Ṭāhir Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā al-Maqdisī, *al-Mu'allam 'alā ḥurūf al-mu'jam*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [537] TSMK, A. 3167 (Karatay: A 7443): 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Bisṭāmī, *Durrat al-funūn fī ru'yat qurrat al-'uyūn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [538] TSMK, A. 3159 (Karatay: A 7444): Muḥammad b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rūmī al-Iznīqī, *al-Ta'bīr al-munīf wa al-ta'wīl al-sharīf*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

JIFR, SĪMIYĀ'

- [539] TSMK, A. 3256 (Karatay: A 7467): Attributed to Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Rāzī, *al-Sirr al-maktūm fī mukhāṭaba al-nujūm*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [540] TSMK, A. 3238 (Karatay: A 7471): Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Umar al-Dimashqī al-Jawbarī, *al-Mukhtār fī kashf al-asrār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [541] TSMK, A. 1408 (Karatay: A 7479): Compendium on *sīmiyā'* and *jifr*. DESCRIPTION: Bayezid II's ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [542] TSMK, A. 3207 (Karatay: A 7484): Hunayn b. Ishāq, *Tarjamat kitāb al-firāsa*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [543] TSMK, A. 3245 (Karatay: A 7485): Anonymous Arabic translation of Polemon's work, *Kitāb Aflīmūn fī 'ilm al-firāsa*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [544] TSMK, A. 3169 (Karatay: F 287): Ḥubays b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Tiflīsī, *Kāmil al-ta'bīr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [545] TSMK, A. 1878 (Karatay: A 8702): Scientific compendium. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [546] TSMK, A. 3352 (Karatay: A 8744): Scientific compendium beginning with 'Umar al-Abharī's *al-Hidāya fī al-manṭiq*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

LUGHA

- [547] TSMK, A. 2591 (Karatay: A 7498): Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf b. Sulaymān al-Shantamarī, *Taḥṣīl 'ayn al-thahab 'an ma'dan jawhar al-adab*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [548] TSMK, A. 2280 (Karatay: A 7500): Abū al-Faṭḥ 'Uthmān b. Jinnī al-Naḥwī, *al-Muṣnif sharḥ kitāb taṣrīf*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [549] TSMK, A. 2256 (Karatay: A 7514): Abū 'Alī Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Fārisī, *al-Īdāḥ fī al-naḥw*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [550] TSMK, A. 2692 (Karatay: A 7529): Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Khālīd Jamāl al-Qarṣī, *Ṣurāḥ al-lugha*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [551] TSMK, A. 2693 (Karatay: A 7534): Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Rāzī, *Mukhtaṣar (Mukhtār) al-ṣaḥaḥ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [552] TSMK, A. 2705 (Karatay: A 7537): Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī, *al-Takmila wa al-dhayl wa al-ṣila*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [553] TSMK, A. 2753 (Karatay: A 7546): Abū Manṣūr 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Tha'ālibī, *Fiqh al-lugha wa sirr al-'arabiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [554] TSMK, A. 2788 (Karatay: A 7547): Abū Manṣūr 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Tha'ālibī, *Fiqh al-lugha wa sirr al-'arabiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [555] TSMK, A. 2778 (Karatay: A 7552 – F 311): Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Zawzanī, *Kitāb al-maṣādir*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [556] TSMK, A. 2786 (Karatay: A 7557): As'ad b. Maḥmūd b. Khalaf al-'Ijlī, *Sharḥ al-kalimāt al-mushki-la fī kitāb al-sāmī wa al-asāmī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [557] TSMK, A. 2243 (Karatay: A 7559): Maḥmūd b. 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *Muqaddimat al-adab fī lughat al-'Arab*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [558] TSMK, A. 2590 (Karatay: A 7569): Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Abharī, *Kitāb al-ḥadā'iq*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [559] TSMK, A. 2707 (Karatay: A 7578): Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Abī Bakr al-Nasafī, *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-‘azrā’*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [560] TSMK, A. 2723 (Karatay: A 7631): Shukr Allāh b. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Dhakī, *Ḥadiqat al-adab*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [561] TSMK, R. 1883 (Karatay: A 7632): Anonymous, *al-Tuḥfa fī al-adab*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [562] TSMK, A. 2148 (Karatay: A 7652): Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [563] TSMK, A. 2151 (Karatay: A 7654): Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [564] TSMK, A. 2153 (Karatay: A 7655): Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [565] TSMK, A. 2154 (Karatay: A 7656): Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [566] TSMK, A. 2163 (Karatay: A 7659): Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [567] TSMK, A. 2161 (Karatay: A 7663): Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [568] TSMK, A. 2158 (Karatay: A 7665): Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [569] TSMK, A. 2160 (Karatay: A 7666): Abū al-Baqā b. Ya‘ish. *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [570] TSMK, A. 2149 (Karatay: A 7673): Anonymous, *Sharḥ abyāt al-Mufaṣṣal*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [571] TSMK, A. 2210 (Karatay: A 7679): Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Ardabīlī, *Sharḥ al-unmūdḥaj*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [572] TSMK, A. 2204 (Karatay: A 7683): ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Zanjānī al-‘İzzī, ‘Umar al-Zamakhsharī, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Ardabīlī, *Sharḥ al-‘İzzī wa Unmūdḥaj*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [573] TSMK, A. 2732 (Karatay: F 304): Compilation by the scribe of Edirne’s law court, Sirāj b. Ṭayyib b. Aḥmad, *Jāmi‘ al-lughāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [574] TSMK, Y.Y. 690 (Karatay: T 2038): Persian-Turkish Dictionary, DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [575] TSMK, A. 2164 (Karatay: F 314): Compendium. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [576] TSMK, A. 2265 (Karatay: A 7728): Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Sakhāwī, *Tanwīr al-dayājī fī tafsīr al-aḥājī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [577] TSMK, A. 2167 (Karatay: A 7729): Ibn al-Ḥājib, *al-Kāfiya*. DESCRIPTION: Bayezid II’s ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [578] TSMK, A. 2200 (Karatay: A 7755): Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd Jalāl al-Ghujduwānī, *Sharḥ al-kāfiya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [579] TSMK, A. 2178 (Karatay: A 7756): Rāḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Astarābādī, *Sharḥ al-kāfiya li-l-Rāḍī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [580] TSMK, A. 2177 (Karatay: A 7761): Rukn al-Dīn al-Ḥasan al-Muḥammad al-Astarābādī, *al-Wāfiya sharḥ al-kāfiya al-mutawassīṭ*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [581] TSMK, A. 2205 (Karatay: A 7766): Rukn al-Dīn al-Ḥasan al-Muḥammad al-Astarābādī, *Ḥāshiya ‘alā al-sharḥ al-mutawassīṭ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [582] TSMK, A. 2217 (Karatay: A 7767): Anonymous, *Hāshiya ‘alā al-sharḥ al-mutawassīṭ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [583] TSMK, A. 2187 (Karatay: A 7769): Shams al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Khabīshī, *Sharḥ al-kāfiya li-l-Khabīshī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [584] TSMK, A. 2188 (Karatay: A 7770): Shams al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Khabīshī, *Sharḥ al-kāfiya li-l-Khabīshī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [585] TSMK, A. 2257 (Karatay: A 7772): Shihāb al-Dīn b. ‘Umar al-Hindī, *Kāfiya ma’a sharḥ Shihāb al-Dīn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [586] TSMK, A. 2191 (Karatay: A 7782): Ibn al-Ḥājib, *I’rāb al-kāfiya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [587] TSMK, A. 2284 (Karatay: A 7797): Ibn al-Ḥājib, *al-Ṣāfiya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [588] TSMK, A. 2174 (Karatay: A 7806): Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Jārbardī, *Sharḥ al-ṣāfiya li-l-Jārbardī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [589] TSMK, A. 2251 (Karatay: A 7812): Yūsuf b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Bakhshā’ish, *al-Ṣāfiya ḥāshiyat al-shāfiya*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [590] TSMK, A. 2254 (Karatay: A 7814): Ibn al-Ḥājib, *Sharḥ al-wāfiya*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [591] TSMK, A. 2203 (Karatay: A 7817): Mas’ūd b. ‘Umar al-Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-taṣrīf al-‘İzzī*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [592] TSMK, A. 2255 (Karatay: A 7844): Taqī al-Dīn Manşūr b. Falāḥ al-Yamanī, *al-Mughnī fi al-naḥw*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [593] TSMK, A. 2212 (Karatay: A 7845): Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Isfarā’inī, *Lubb al-albāb fi ‘ilm al-i’rāb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [594] TSMK, A. 2225 (Karatay: A 7848): Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Isfarā’inī, *Lubb al-albāb fi ‘ilm al-i’rāb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [595] TSMK, A. 2227 (Karatay: A 7849): Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī Nuqraqār, *Sharḥ (lubb) lubāb al-albāb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [596] TSMK, A. 2230 (Karatay: A 7851): Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī Nuqraqār, *Sharḥ (lubb) lubāb al-albāb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [597] TSMK, A. 2229 (Karatay: A 7855): Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī Nuqraqār, *Sharḥ (lubb) lubāb al-albāb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [598] TSMK, A. 2233 (Karatay: A 7858): Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī ‘Alī al-Zawzanī, *Sharḥ lubāb al-albāb li-l-Zawzanī*. DESCRIPTION: Bayezid II’s ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [599] TSMK, A. 2281 (Karatay: A 7863): ‘İzz al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm al-Zanjānī, *al-Kāfi sharḥ al-hādī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [600] TSMK, A. 2213 (Karatay: A 7873): Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad al-‘Umarī al-Mawlāwī, *Sharḥ al-mughnī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [601] TSMK, A. 2193 (Karatay: A 7972): Compendium on grammar. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [602] TSMK, A. 1636 (Karatay: A 7996): Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Abū al-Jaysh al-Andalusī al-Qisṭī, *al-‘Arūḍ al-andalusī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [603] TSMK, A. 1652 (Karatay: A 8001): Compendium on prosody and rhyme. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [604] TSMK, A. 1662 (Karatay: A 8002): Amīn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Anṣārī al-Maḥallī, *Shifā’ al-ghalīl (al-‘alīl) fi ‘ilm al-Khalīl*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [605] TSMK, A. 1734 (Karatay: A 8003): Amīn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Anṣārī al-Maḥallī, *al-Unwān fi ma’rifat al-awzān*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [606] TSMK, A. 1678 (Karatay: A 8005): Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī al-Shirwānī, *al-Shāfiya fi ma’rifat al-‘arūḍ wa al-qāfiya*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.

- [607] TSMK, A. 1691 (Karatay: A 8006): Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl al-Gūrānī, *al-Shāfiya fī al-ʿarūd wa al-qāfiya*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [608] TSMK, A. 1706 (Karatay: F 315): Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Fakhri İsfahānī, *Miʿyār al-jamālī*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Maḥmūd Pāshā. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [609] TSMK, A. 2500 (Karatay: A 8018): Abū al-Qāsim al-Rāghib (al-İsfahānī). *Majmaʿ al-balāgha*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [610] TSMK, A. 2735 (Karatay: A 8019): Jār Allāh Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās al-balāgha*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [611] TSMK, A. 1728 (Karatay: A 8022): Jār Allāh Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās al-balāgha*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [612] TSMK, A. 1625 (Karatay: A 8023): Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Yaʿqūb b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sakkākī, *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [613] TSMK, A. 1627 (Karatay: A 8025): Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Yaʿqūb b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sakkākī, *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [614] TSMK, A. 1719 (Karatay: A 8026): Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Yaʿqūb b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sakkākī, *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [615] TSMK, A. 1628 (Karatay: A 8029): Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Yaʿqūb b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sakkākī, *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [616] TSMK, A. 1665 (Karatay: A 8035): Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Yaʿqūb b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sakkākī, *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [617] TSMK, A. 1667 (Karatay: A 8038): Saʿd al-Dīn Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-miftāḥ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [618] TSMK, A. 1655 (Karatay: A 8042): Saʿd al-Dīn Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-miftāḥ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [619] TSMK, A. 1724 (Karatay: A 8046): Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qazwīnī, *Talkhiṣ al-miftāḥ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [620] TSMK, A. 1675 (Karatay: A 8063): Saʿd al-Dīn Masʿūd b. ʿUmar al-Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ talkhiṣ al-miftāḥ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [621] TSMK, A. 1674 (Karatay: A 8070): Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥiṣārī, *Kashf al-rumūz wa fath bāb al-kunūz*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [622] TSMK, A. 1653 (Karatay: A 8079): Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī, *Sharḥ al-miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [623] TSMK, A. 1673 (Karatay: A 8082): Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī, *Sharḥ al-miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [624] TSMK, A. 1656 (Karatay: A 8090): Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Shāh al-Fanārī, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā sharḥ al-miftāḥ*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [625] TSMK, A. 1647 (Karatay: A 8091): Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Shāh al-Fanārī, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā sharḥ al-miftāḥ*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [626] TSMK, A. 1660 (Karatay: A 8097): Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb al-īdāḥ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [627] TSMK, A. 1702 (Karatay: A 8105): Saʿd al-Dīn Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-muṭawwal*. DESCRIPTION: Bayezid II's ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [628] TSMK, A. 1710 (Karatay: A 8118): Mawlānā-zāda Nizām al-Dīn ʿUthmān al-Khiṭāʾī, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā al-muṭawwal li-Mawlānā-zāda al-Khiṭāʾī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [629] TSMK, A. 1729 (Karatay: A 8126): Saʿdī b. Tājī, *Ḥāshiyat Saʿdī b. Tājī ʿalā al-Sayyid al-Sharīf ʿalā al-muṭawwal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [630] TSMK, A. 1687 (Karatay: A 8132): Sa'd al-Dīn Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar wa yā 'arūs al-afrāḥ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [631] TSMK, A. 2338 (Karatay: A 8140): Dīyā' al-Dīn Fakhr al-Islām Abū al-Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jazarī b. al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-sā'ir fī adab al-kātib wa al-shā'ir*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [632] TSMK, A. 1635 (Karatay: A 8149): Aḍuḍ al-Dīn al-Ījī, *al-Fawā'id al-Ghiyāthiyya*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [633] TSMK, A. 1672 (Karatay: A 8150): Aḍuḍ al-Dīn al-Ījī, *al-Fawā'id al-Ghiyāthiyya*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [634] TSMK, A. 1705 (Karatay: A 8160): Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusayn al-Kirmāstī, *al-Muntakhab fī mukhtaṣar al-tabyīn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [635] TSMK, A. 2630 (Karatay: A 8184): Abū al-Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jazarī b. al-Athīr, *Tarassul al-wazīr al-ṣadr al-kabīr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [636] TSMK, A. 1630 (Karatay: F 320): Waḥīd Tibrīzī, *Jam'ī mukhtaṣar*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [637] TSMK, A. 2448 (Karatay: A 8200): Abū al-Ḥasan Ṭāhir b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Ishāq, *Jawharat al-sharaf*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [638] TSMK, A. 2615 (Karatay: A 8207): Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Maydānī, *Majma' al-amthāl*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [639] TSMK, A. 2325 (Karatay: A 8211): Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Ṭāhir al-Khūyī, *Farā'id al-kharā'id*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

ADAB

- [640] TSMK, H. 1554 (Karatay: T 2763): Aḥmadī, *Iskandarnāma*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [641] TSMK, H. 1555 (Karatay: T 2764): Aḥmadī, *Iskandarnāma*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [642] TSMK, K. 889 (Karatay: T 2812): Anonymous Turkish translation, *Qışsa-i 'Antar al-'Absī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [643] TSMK, K. 954 (Karatay: T 2940): Compendium. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [644] TSMK, A. 32 (Karatay: T 3087): Ayās b. Muḥammad, *Jawāhir al-aṣdāf*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [645] TSMK, H. 841 (Karatay: F 386): 'Ayyūqī, *Warqa u Gulshāh*. SEAL: Bayezid II, illustrated.
- [646] TSMK, M.R. 541 (Karatay: F 389): 'Umar Khayyām, *Rubā'yyāt 'Umar Khayyām*. SEAL: Bayezid II, erased.
- [647] TSMK, A. 2363 (Karatay: F 395): Afdal al-Dīn Badīl b. 'Alī Najjār Shirwānī, *Dōwān-i Khāqānī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [648] TSMK, H. 781 (Karatay: F 404): Nizām al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ilyās b. Yūsuf, *Khamsa-i Nizāmī*. SEAL: Bayezid II, illustrated.
- [649] TSMK, H. 754 (Karatay: F 413): Nizām al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ilyās b. Yūsuf, *Khamsa-i Nizāmī*. SEAL: Bayezid II, illustrated.
- [650] TSMK, H. 759 (Karatay: F 425): Nizām al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ilyās b. Yūsuf, *Khamsa-i Nizāmī*. SEAL: Bayezid II, illustrated.
- [651] TSMK, H. 690 (Karatay: F 474): Nizāmī Ganjawī, *Haft Paykar*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [652] TSMK, R. 880 (Karatay: F 475): Nizāmī Ganjawī, *Makhzan al-asrār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [653] TSMK, A. 1357 (Karatay: F 503): Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Mathnawī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [654] TSMK, A. 2488 (Karatay: F 502): Ismā'il Kamāl al-Dīn, *Dōwān-i Kamāl Isfahānī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [655] TSMK, R. 434 (Karatay: F 504): Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Mathnawī*. SEAL: Bayezid II, hidden by illustration.
- [656] TSMK, R. 984 (Karatay: F 579): Abū al-Maḥāmid Sayf al-Dīn Farḡhānī, *Dīwān-i Sayf Farḡhānī*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [657] TSMK, H. 392 (Karatay: F 584): Amīr Fakhr al-Sādāt Rukn al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abū al-Ḥasan, *Ash‘ār-i Ḥusaynī*. SEAL: Bayezid II, erased.
- [658] TSMK, H. 898 (Karatay: F 591): Khusraw Dahlavī, *Khamṣa-i Khusraw Dahlavī*. SEAL: Bayezid II, illustrated.
- [659] TSMK, H. 817 (Karatay: F 615): Kamāl al-Dīn Abū al-‘Aṭā Maḥmūd b. ‘Alī Murshīdī, *Humāy u humāyūn*. SEAL: Bayezid II, illustrated.
- [660] TSMK, H. 678 (Karatay: F 616): Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-‘Ārif al-Ardabilī, *Farḥādnāma*. SEAL: Bayezid II, illustrated.
- [661] TSMK, A. 3563 (Karatay: F 618): Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ‘Aṣṣār Tibrīzī, *Mihr u mushtarī*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II, illustrated.
- [662] TSMK, H. 867 (Karatay: F 626): Jahān Khātūn, *Dīwān-i Jahān Khātūn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [663] TSMK, R. 947 (Karatay: F 627): Ḥāfiẓ, *Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [664] TSMK, R. 991 (Karatay: F 659): Qāsim Anwar, *Dīwān-i Qāsim-i Anwar*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [665] TSMK, H. 884 (Karatay: F 677): Qabūlī, *Dīwān-i Qabūlī*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [666] TSMK, R. 956 (Karatay: F 682): Jāmī, *Dīwān-i Jāmī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [667] TSMK, R. 891 (Karatay: F 709): Jāmī, *Haft awrang*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [668] TSMK, H. 686 (Karatay: F 763): ‘Abd Allāh Hātifi, *Khusraw u Shīrīn*. SEAL: Bayezid II, illustrated.
- [669] TSMK, Y.Y. 777 (Karatay: F 863): Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Bukhārī, *Kalīla wa Dimna*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [670] TSMK, R. 1022 (Karatay: F 864): Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Bukhārī, *Kalīla wa Dimna*. SEAL: Bayezid II, illustrated.
- [671] TSMK, H. 796 (Karatay: F 887): Compendium on poetry. SEAL: Bayezid II, illustrated.
- [672] TSMK, R. 1048mük [i.e., mükerrer]. (Karatay: F 908): Compendium on poetry. DESCRIPTION: Bayezid II's ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [673] TSMK, R. 1986 (no catalogue entry): Compendium on poetry. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [674] TSMK, A. 2497 (Karatay: A 8185): al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Laḥmī al-‘Asqalānī al-Baysānī, *al-Durr al-naẓīm min tarassul al-Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Raḥīm*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [675] TSMK, A. 2374 (Karatay: A 8221): ‘Alam al-Hudā al-Sharīf al-Murtaẓā, *Nahj al-balāgha*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [676] TSMK, A. 2321 (Karatay: A 8230): Abū al-Faraj al-Mu‘āfā b. Zakirayyā b. Yahyā b. Ṭarrāra al-Jarīr al-Nahrawānī, *al-Jalīs al-ṣāliḥ al-kāfi wa al-anīs al-nāsiḥ al-shāfi*. DESCRIPTION: Bayezid II's ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [677] TSMK, A. 2519 (Karatay: A 8254): Nāṣir al-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Sayyid al-Muṭarrizī, *Sharḥ maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [678] TSMK, A. 2307 (Karatay: A 8263): Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar Jār Allāh al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī‘ al-abrār wa nuṣūṣ al-akhbār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [679] TSMK, A. 2565 (Karatay: A 8279): Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ẓafar al-Ṣaqalī, *Subwān al-muṭā‘ fī ‘udwān al-utbā‘*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [680] TSMK, A. 2327 (Karatay: A 8284): Compendium containing ‘Umar b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Jalīl Rashīd al-Dīn al-Waṭwāt, *Badā’i’ al-tarṣī‘āt* and *Abkār al-aḥkār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [681] TSMK, A. 2373 (Karatay: A 8290): Aḥmad b. Sulaymān b. Ḥumayd al-Kisā’ī al-Shāfi‘ī, *Rawḍat al-‘āshiq wa nuzhat al-wāmiq*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [682] TSMK, A. 2415 (Karatay: A 8291): Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-‘Arabī al-Ḥātimī al-Ṭā’ī, *Muḥāḍarat al-abrār wa musāmarat al-akhyār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [683] TSMK, A. 2393 (Karatay: A 8301): Bahā’ al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā al-Irbilī b. Fakhr, *Risālat al-Ṭayf*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [684] TSMK, A. 2358 (Karatay: A 8306): Ṣalāh al-Dīn Abū al-Ṣafā Khalīl b. Āybak al-Ṣafadī, *Min al-alḥān al-sawāji’ fi al-bādī wa al-marāji’*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [685] TSMK, A. 2480 (Karatay: A 8312): Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-‘Abbās b. Aḥmad b. Yahyā b. Abī Ḥajala al-Tilimsānī, *Sukkardān al-sulṭān al-malik al-Nāṣir*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [686] TSMK, A. 2627 (Karatay: A 8317): Burhān al-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qirātī, *Dīwān maṭla’ al-nayyirayn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [687] TSMK, A. 2336 (Karatay: A 8318): *Majmū‘a*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [688] TSMK, A. 2653 (Karatay: A 8363): Ya‘qūb b. Sikkīt, *Dīwān al-Nābigha al-Dhubyanī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [689] TSMK, A. 2571 (Karatay: A 8365): Ya‘qūb b. Sikkīt, *Dīwān al-Nābigha al-Dhubyanī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [690] TSMK, A. 2366 (Karatay: A 8369): Anonymous, *Sharḥ al-qaṣā’id al-tis‘a al-mashhūra*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [691] TSMK, A. 2533 (Karatay: A 8371): Abū al-Faṭḥ ‘Uthmān b. Jinnī al-Mawṣilī, *Asmā’ shu‘arā’ al-ḥamāsa*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [692] TSMK, A. 2534 (Karatay: A 8373): Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān-i Ḥassān b. Thābit*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [693] TSMK, A. 2613 (Karatay: A 8374): Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān-i Ḥassān b. Thābit*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [694] TSMK, A. 1568 (Karatay: A 8376): ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, *Anwār al-‘uqūl = Dīwān-i ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [695] TSMK, A. 2469 (Karatay: A 8401): Majnūn banī ‘Āmir, *Dīwān-i Majnūn banī ‘Āmir*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [696] TSMK, A. 2473 (Karatay: A 8402): Yūsuf b. Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Hādī al-Ḥanbalī, *Nuzhat al-musāmīr fi akhbār Majnūn banī ‘Āmir*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [697] TSMK, A. 2492 (Karatay: A 8403): Compendium on poetry, SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [698] TSMK, A. 2635 (Karatay: A 8404): Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Naḥḥās al-Miṣrī, *Sharḥ abyāt kitāb Sibawayh*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [699] TSMK, A. 2601 (Karatay: A 8405): Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Naḥḥās al-Miṣrī, *Sharḥ abyāt kitāb Sibawayh*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [700] TSMK, A. 2391 (Karatay: A 8406): Abū Nuwās Ḥasan b. Hānī al-Ḥikamī, *Dīwān Abī Nuwās*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [701] TSMK, A. 2370 (Karatay: A 8409): Abū Tammām Ḥabīb b. Aws al-Ṭā’ī, *Kitāb al-ḥamāsa al-kubrā*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [702] TSMK, A. 2614 (Karatay: A 8412): Abū Tammām Ḥabīb b. Aws al-Ṭā’ī, *Kitāb al-waḥshiyyāt (Dīwān al-ḥamāsa al-ṣuḡhrā)*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [703] TSMK, R. 706 (Karatay: A 8416): Aḥmad b. Muḥibb al-Ḥasan al-Marzūqī, *Sharḥ al-ḥamāsa*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II, erased.

- [704] TSMK, A. 2491 (Karatay: A 8426): al-Mutanabbī, *Muntakhab dīwān al-Mutanabbī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [705] TSMK, A. 2505 (Karatay: A 8431): ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Wāḥidī, *Sharḥ dīwān al-Mutanabbī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [706] TSMK, A. 2623 (Karatay: A 8433): ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Wāḥidī, *Sharḥ dīwān al-Mutanabbī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [707] TSMK, A. 2502 (Karatay: A 8434): ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Wāḥidī, *Sharḥ dīwān al-Mutanabbī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [708] TSMK, A. 2499 (Karatay: A 8435): Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Maghribī al-Ṣiqillī, *Kitāb al-takmila wa sharḥ al-abyāt al-mushkila min dīwān al-Mutanabbī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [709] TSMK, A. 2372 (Karatay: A 8445): Anonymous compilation of works by al-Sharīf al-Raḍī Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī, *Inshirāḥ al-ṣadr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [710] TSMK, A. 2456 (Karatay: A 8446): Aḥmad Abū Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Wāḥid al-Faqih al-Baghdādī Ṣarī‘ al-Dilā Qatīl al-Ghawāshī, *Dīwān Ṣarī‘ al-Dilā*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [711] TSMK, A. 2566 (Karatay: A 8448): Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī b. Tamīm al-Khuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb wa thamar al-albāb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [712] TSMK, A. 2569 (Karatay: A 8449): Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī b. Tamīm al-Khuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb wa thamar al-albāb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [713] TSMK, A. 2379 (Karatay: A 8454): Abū al-‘Alā’ Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ma‘arrī al-Tanūkhī, *Dīwān siqṭ al-zand*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [714] TSMK, A. 2447 (Karatay: A 8455): Abū al-‘Alā’ Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ma‘arrī al-Tanūkhī, *Dīwān siqṭ al-zand*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [715] TSMK, A. 2597 (Karatay: A 8456): Abū al-‘Alā’ Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ma‘arrī al-Tanūkhī, *Dīwān siqṭ al-zand*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [716] TSMK, A. 2434 (Karatay: A 8457): al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn al-Khwārazmī, *Dirām al-siqṭ = sharḥ siqṭ al-zand*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [717] TSMK, A. 2388 (Karatay: A 8459): Abū Manṣūr ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Faḍl al-Kātib Ṣurduddur, *Dīwān Abī Manṣūr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [718] TSMK, A. 2346 (Karatay: A 8461): *al-Majmū‘at al-gharrā’ al-laṭīfa*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [719] TSMK, A. 2404 (Karatay: A 8467): Abū al-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. Abī al-‘Abbās Aḥmad al-Ābiwardī, *al-Iraqiyyāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [720] TSMK, A. 2636 (Karatay: A 8470): Abū al-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. Abī al-‘Abbās Aḥmad al-Ābiwardī, *al-Iraqiyyāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [721] TSMK, A. 2580 (Karatay: A 8472): Abū Ya‘lā Muḥammad b. Habbārīya al-‘Abbāsī, *al-Ṣādiḥ wa al-bāghim*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [722] TSMK, A. 2553/1 (Karatay: A 8474): Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Sharḥ lāmīyat al-‘ajam (ghayth al-musajjam)*. DESCRIPTION: Bayezid II’s ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [723] TSMK, A. 2553/2 (Karatay: A 8475): Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Sharḥ lāmīyat al-‘ajam (ghayth al-musajjam)*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [724] TSMK, A. 2574 (Karatay: A 8477): Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Sharḥ lāmīyat al-‘ajam (ghayth al-musajjam)*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [725] TSMK, A. 2333 (Karatay: A 8480): Abū Rabī‘ b. Abū Muḥammad al-Sulṭān ‘Abd al-Mu‘min b. ‘Alī al-Maghribī, *Dīwān Abī Rabī‘*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [726] TSMK, A. 2285 (Karatay: A 8484): Bahā al-Dīn al-Munshī, *al-Tadhkira al-fakhriyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [727] TSMK, A. 2548 (Karatay: A 8490): Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Farah al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī al-Qurṭubī, *al-Luma' al-lu'lu'yya fī sharḥ al-qaṣīda al-fāzāziyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [728] TSMK, R. 707 (Karatay: A 8496): 'Umar Ibn al-Fāriḍ, *Dīwān 'Umar Ibn al-Fāriḍ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [729] TSMK, A. 1569 (Karatay: A 8497): 'Umar Ibn al-Fāriḍ, *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [730] TSMK, A. 3575/1 mük [i.e., mükerrer] (Karatay: A 8398): Ka'b b. Zuhayr, *Qaṣīda-i Ka'b b. Zuhayr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [731] TSMK, A. 1466 (Karatay: A 8503): 'Izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Kāshānī, *Kashf al-wujūh al-ghurr li-ma'ānī naẓm al-durr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [732] TSMK, A. 2461 (Karatay: A 8513): *Majmū'a*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [733] TSMK, A. 2315 (Karatay: A 8514): al-Qāḍī Nizām al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Dīwān al-munsha'āt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [734] TSMK, A. 2301 (Karatay: A 8516): Muḥammad b. Sayf al-Dīn Āydamir, *Min al-durr al-farīd wa bayt al-qaṣīd*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [735] TSMK, B. 129 (Karatay: A 8534): Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Būṣīrī, *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī madḥ khayr al-bariyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [736] TSMK, A. 2450 (Karatay: A 8540): Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Būṣīrī, *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī madḥ khayr al-bariyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [737] TSMK, A. 2520 (Karatay: A 8543): Jalāl al-Dīn al-Khujandī, *Sharḥ al-qaṣīda al-Burda*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [738] TSMK, H. 838 (Karatay: A 8550): Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Fayūmī, *Takhmīs al-Burda li-l-Fayūmī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [739] TSMK, A. 2288 (Karatay: A 8560): Muhaththab al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ardakhal al-Anṣārī, *Dīwān Muhaththab al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ardakhalī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [740] TSMK, A. 2634 (Karatay: A 8561): *al-Muntakhab al-mikāilī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [741] TSMK, A. 2550 (Karatay: A 8566): Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, *Dīwān Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [742] TSMK, A. 2662 (Karatay: A 8568): 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Khujandī, *Sharḥ al-qaṣīda al-ḥasnā' (fī al-'arūd wa al-qawāfī)*. DESCRIPTION: Bayezid II's ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [743] TSMK, A. 2352 (Karatay: A 8573): Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Nubāta al-Fāriqī, *Dīwān Ibn Nubāta*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [744] TSMK, A. 2332 (Karatay: A 8574): Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Abī Ḥajala al-Tilimsānī, *Dīwān al-ṣabāba*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [745] TSMK, A. 1411 (Karatay: A 8675): *Majmū'a*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [746] TSMK, A. 2441 (Karatay: A 8576): Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Abī Ḥajala al-Tilimsānī, *Dīwān al-ṣabāba*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [747] TSMK, A. 2355 (Karatay: A 8585): Abū al-Maḥāsin Taqī al-Dīn Abī Bakr b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī, *Bayāḍ al-nabāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [748] TSMK, A. 2600 (Karatay: A 8592): Abū al-Maḥāsin Taqī al-Dīn Abī Bakr b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī, *Sharḥ al-Badī'yya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [749] TSMK, A. 2648 (Karatay: A 8594): Abū al-Maḥāsin Taqī al-Dīn Abī Bakr b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī, *Sharḥ al-Badī'yya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [750] TSMK, A. 2470 (Karatay: A 8602): Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Bā'ūnī, *Rā'iq al-adab fī madḥ sayyid al-'arab*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [751] TSMK, A. 1663 (Karatay: A 8604): Anonymous, *Sharḥ abyāt al-miftāḥ al-falāḥ*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [752] TSMK, A. 2349 (Karatay: A 8629): Compendium on poetry. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [753] TSMK, R. 1604 (Karatay: A 8644): Anonymous, *Sirat 'Antar b. Shaddād*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [754] TSMK, A. 358 (Karatay: A 8650): Compendium including a work by Muḥyī al-Dīn b. Yahyā. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [755] TSMK, A. 556 (Karatay: A 8655): Compendium beginning with Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī's *Sharḥ al-aḥādīth*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [756] TSMK, A. 1329 (Karatay: 8671): Compendium beginning with Ibn al-Ḥāḍib's *Sharḥ al-aḥād 'alā mukhtaṣar al-muntahā li-Ibn al-Ḥāḍib*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [757] TSMK, A. 1282 (Karatay: A 8672): *Majmū'a*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [758] TSMK, A. 1461 (Karatay: A 8677): *Majmū'a*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [759] TSMK, A. 1707 (Karatay: A 8696): *Majmū'a*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [760] TSMK, A. 1915 (Karatay: A 8704): *Majmū'a*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [761] TSMK, A. 1928 (Karatay: A 8707): *Majmū'a*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [762] TSMK, A. 1941 (Karatay: A 8709): *Majmū'a*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [763] TSMK, A. 3214 (Karatay: A 8710): Compendium containing Muḥammad b. Mubārak Shāh's *Sharḥ hikmat al-'ayn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [764] TSMK, A. 1974 (Karatay: A 8711): Compendium on various subjects. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [765] TSMK, A. 2022 (Karatay: A 8713): Compendium on various subjects. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [766] TSMK, A. 2118 (Karatay: A 8718): Compendium on various subjects. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [767] TSMK, A. 2316 (Karatay: A 8721): Compendium on various subjects. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [768] TSMK, A. 2698 (Karatay: A 8732): Compendium containing Muḥammad b. Ḥajī Ilyās's *Tuḥfat al-hādī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [769] TSMK, A. 2737 (Karatay: A 8734): Compendium on various subjects. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [770] TSMK, A. 2775 (Karatay: A 8735 – F 313): Compendium on various subjects. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [771] TSMK, A. 3063 (Karatay: A 8737): Compendium on various subjects. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [772] TSMK, A. 3120 (Karatay: A 8738): Compendium on various subjects. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [773] TSMK, A. 3126 (Karatay: A 8739): Compendium on various subjects. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [774] TSMK, A. 3268 (Karatay: A 8742): Compendium on various subjects. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [775] TSMK, A. 3276 (Karatay: A 8743): Compendium on various subjects. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [776] TSMK, A. 3386 (Karatay: A 8746): Compendium on various subjects. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [777] TSMK, A. 3387 (Karatay: A 8747): Compendium on various subjects. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [778] TSMK, A. 3430 (Karatay: A 8749): Compendium on various subjects. DESCRIPTION: Bayezid II's ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [779] TSMK, A. 3455 (Karatay: A 8752): Compendium on various subjects. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [780] TSMK, A. 3466 (Karatay: A 8753): Compendium on various subjects. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [781] TSMK, A. 3490 (Karatay: A 8755): Compendium on various subjects. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [782] TSMK, H. 270 (Karatay: F 915): Treatise on various subjects. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [783] TSMK, H. 1166 (no catalogue entry): Anonymous, *'Antarnāma*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [784] TSMK, B. 411 (no catalogue entry): *Muraqqa'*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

APPENDED LIST

- [1] TSMK, Y.Y. 754 (Karatay: A 5): Qur'an. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [2] TSMK, K. 20 (Karatay: A 252): Qur'an. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [3] TSMK, A. 129/1-2 (Karatay: A 1720): Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Jaṣṣāṣ al-Rāzī, *Aḥkām al-Qur’an*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [4] TSMK, K. 581 (Karatay: A 1825): ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Abī Bakr Ghālib b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Muḥāribī al-Ghirmānī, *Jāmi‘ al-muḥarrar al-ṣaḥīḥ al-wajīz fī tafsīr al-Qur’an al-‘azīz*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [5] TSMK, K. 603 (Karatay: A 1865): Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Hilāl al-Ṣafadī, *Min Kashf al-asrār fī hatk al-astār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [6] TSMK, A. 105 (Karatay: A 2165): Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Aḥmad b. ‘Uzayr al-‘Uzayrī al-Sijistānī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [7] TSMK, A. 659 (Karatay: A 2196): Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Nuzhat al-naẓar fī tawdīḥ nukhbat al-fikar fī muṣṭalaḥ ahl al-athar*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [8] TSMK, A. 286 (Karatay: A 2687): Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn b. Mas‘ūd al-Farrā’ al-Baghawī Rukn al-Dīn Muḥyī al-Sunna, *Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [9] TSMK, A. 1428 (Karatay: A 2915): Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Qunawī, *Sharḥ arba‘in ḥadītha*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [10] TSMK, A. 648 (Karatay: A 2994): Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Naḥḥās al-Dimishqī al-Dimyātī, *Mashārī‘ al-ashwāq ilā maṣāri‘ al-‘ushshāq*. SEAL: Bayezid II, erased.
- [11] TSMK, A. 630 (Karatay: A 3155): ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Qādirī al-Ījī, *Nafā‘is al-akhbār wa ‘arā’is al-akhyār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [12] TSMK, A. 1344 (Karatay: A 3179): Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *Sharḥ al-waraqāt*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Maḥmūd Pāshā. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [13] TSMK, A. 1256 (Karatay: A 3185): Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *al-Mustaṣfā min ‘ilm al-uṣūl*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [14] TSMK, A. 1301 (Karatay: A 3194): Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī, *al-Ma‘ālim fī uṣūl al-fiqh*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [15] TSMK, A. 1334 (Karatay: A 3199): Muḥammad b. As‘ad al-Yamanī Badr al-Dīn al-Tustarī, *Mukhtaṣar al-maḥṣūl*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [16] TSMK, A. 1303 (Karatay: A 3203): ‘Alī b. Abī Muḥammad Sayd al-Dīn al-Āmidī, *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [17] TSMK, A. 1304 (Karatay: A 3204): ‘Alī b. Abī Muḥammad Sayd al-Dīn al-Āmidī, *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [18] TSMK, A. 1226 (Karatay: A 3207): ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Aḥmad al-Bukhārī. *Sharḥ al-taḥqīq*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [19] TSMK, A. 1232 (Karatay: A 3212): ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī, *Kāshif ‘an rumūz fī sharḥ muntahā al-su‘l wa al-amal fī ‘ilm al-uṣūl al-jadal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [20] TSMK, A. 1243 (Karatay: A 3213): ‘Uthmān b. ‘Umar al-Ḥājib, *Mukhtaṣar al-muntahā fī uṣūl al-fiqh*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [21] TSMK, A. 1310 (Karatay: A 3214): Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Mas‘ūd al-Shirāzī, *Sharḥ Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī ‘alā muntahā al-su‘l wa al-amal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [22] TSMK, A. 1331 (Karatay: A 3223): ‘Abd Raḥmān b. Aḥmad ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī, *Sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar al-su‘l wa al-amal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [23] TSMK, A. 1242 (Karatay: A 3224): ‘Abd Raḥmān b. Aḥmad ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī, *Sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar al-su‘l wa al-amal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [24] TSMK, A. 1276 (Karatay: A 3228): Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī, *Hāshiyat al-Sayyid Sharīf ‘alā ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī ‘alā mukhtaṣar muntahā al-su‘l wa al-amal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [25] TSMK, A. 1332 (Karatay: A 3229): Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī, *Hāshiyat al-Sayyid Sharīf ‘alā ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī ‘alā mukhtaṣar muntahā al-su‘l wa al-amal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [26] TSMK, A. 1267 (Karatay: A 3240): Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī, *Hāshiyat al-Sayyid Sharīf ‘alā ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī ‘alā mukhtaṣar muntahā al-su’l wa al-amal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [27] TSMK, A. 1328 (Karatay: A 3241): Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī, *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar muntahā al-su’l wa al-amal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [28] TSMK, A. 1259 (Karatay: A 3253): Anonymous, *‘Ayn al-naẓar*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [29] TSMK, A. 1306 (Karatay: A 3260): Muẓaffar al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Tha’lab b. al-Sā’atī al-Baghdādī, *Badī‘ al-niẓām (al-Jāmi‘ bayn kitābay al-bazdawī wa al-aḥkām)*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [30] TSMK, A. 1263 (Karatay: A 3265): Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Abū al-Barakāt ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī, *Manār al-anwār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [31] TSMK, A. 1266 (Karatay: A 3267): Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Abū al-Barakāt ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī, *Manār al-anwār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [32] TSMK, A. 1280 (Karatay: A 3273): Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Abū al-Barakāt ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī, *Kashf al-asrār sharḥ al-manār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [33] TSMK, A. 1337 (Karatay: A 3306): ‘Abd Raḥmān b. Aḥmad ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī, *Sharḥ ‘Aḍud al-Dīn ‘alā al-mukhtaṣar li-Ibn al-Ḥājib*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [34] TSMK, A. 1333 (Karatay: A 3307): Commentaries on Ibn al-Ḥājib’s *Muntahā*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [35] TSMK, A. 1296 (Karatay: A 3312): ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd b. Tāj al-Sharī‘a, *al-Tawḍīḥ fi ḥall ghawāmiḍ al-tanqīḥ*. DESCRIPTION: Bayezid II’s ownership record. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [36] TSMK, A. 1285 (Karatay: A 3317): Sa’d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, *al-Tabwīḥ fi kashf ḥaqā’iq tanqīḥ al-uṣūl*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [37] TSMK, A. 1293 (Karatay: A 3322): Sa’d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, *al-Tabwīḥ fi kashf ḥaqā’iq tanqīḥ al-uṣūl*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [38] TSMK, A. 1220 (Karatay: A 3397): Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Toqādī, *al-Farā’id sharḥ naẓm talkhīṣ al-jāmi‘ al-kabīr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [39] TSMK, A. 1055 (Karatay: A 3400): Abū Yūsuf Ya’qūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥabīb al-Kūfī al-Anṣārī, *Kitāb al-kharāj*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [40] TSMK, A. 1142/1 (Karatay: A 3403): Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-mabsūṭ li-l-Sarakhsī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [41] TSMK, A. 1142/2 (Karatay: A 3404): Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-mabsūṭ li-l-Sarakhsī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [42] TSMK, A. 1149 (Karatay: A 3411): Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-sīyar al-kabīr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [43] TSMK, A. 730 (Karatay: A 3416): Muḥammad b. ‘Abbād b. Malakdād al-Khilāṭī, *Talkhīṣ al-jāmi‘ al-kabīr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [44] TSMK, A. 731 (Karatay: A 3417): Muḥammad b. ‘Abbād b. Malakdād al-Khilāṭī, *Talkhīṣ al-jāmi‘ al-kabīr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [45] TSMK, A. 1065 (Karatay: A 3418): ‘Alī b. Balabān al-Fārisī, *Tuḥfat al-ḥarīṣ sharḥ al-talkhīṣ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [46] TSMK, A. 725 (Karatay: A 3422): Ḥusām al-Dīn b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd ‘Azīz al-Ṣadr al-Shahīd, *Sharḥ al-jāmi‘ al-ṣaghīr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [47] TSMK, A. 727 (no catalogue entry): Ḥusām al-Dīn b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd ‘Azīz al-Ṣadr al-Shahīd, *Sharḥ al-jāmi‘ al-ṣaghīr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [48] TSMK, A. 733/1 (Karatay: A 3427): Awḥad al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, *Sharḥ manẓūmat al-jāmi‘ al-kabīr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [49] TSMK, A. 733/2 (Karatay: A 3427): Awḥad al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, *Sharḥ manẓūmat al-jāmi' al-kabīr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [50] TSMK, A. 732 (Karatay: A 3428): Awḥad al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, *Sharḥ manẓūmat al-jāmi' al-kabīr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [51] TSMK, A. 1052 (Karatay: A 3429): Anonymous, *Jawāmi' al-fiqar fī sharḥ al-jāmi' al-ṣaghīr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [52] TSMK, 736/1 (Karatay: A 3431): Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad al-Ghujduwānī, *al-Tanwīr sharḥ talkhīṣ al-jāmi' al-kabīr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [53] TSMK, A. 736/2 (Karatay: A 3432): Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad al-Ghujduwānī, *al-Tanwīr sharḥ talkhīṣ al-jāmi' al-kabīr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [54] TSMK, A. 1033 (Karatay: A 3534): Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Raḥmān b. Ishāq al-'Imādī al-Faṭḥabādī, *Ghurur al-shurūṭ wa durar al-sumūt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [55] TSMK, A. 838 (Karatay: A 3536): Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ḥanafī, *Majma' al-fatāwā*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [56] TSMK, A. 1221 (Karatay: A 3537): Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ḥanafī, *Majma' al-fatāwā*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [57] TSMK, A. 836 (Karatay: A 3538): Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ḥanafī, *Majma' al-fatāwā*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [58] TSMK, A. 835 (Karatay: A 3539): Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ḥanafī, *Majma' al-fatāwā*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [59] TSMK, A. 837 (Karatay: 3540): Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ḥanafī, *Majma' al-fatāwā*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [60] TSMK, A. 797 (Karatay: A 3541): Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ḥanafī, *Khizānat al-fatāwā*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [61] TSMK, A. 756 (Karatay: A 3549): Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī, *al-Manẓūmāt al-nasafīyya fī al-khilāfiyyāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [62] TSMK, A. 754 (Karatay: A 3556): Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī, *al-Manẓūmāt al-nasafīyya fī al-khilāfiyyāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [63] TSMK, A. 903 (Karatay: A 3616): 'Alī b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Marghīnānī, *al-Hidāya sharḥ bidāyat al-mubtadi'*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [64] TSMK, A. 945 (Karatay: A 3661): Burhān al-Sharī'a Maḥmūd b. Ṣadr al-Sharī'a, *Wiqāyat al-riwāya fī masā'il al-hidāya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [65] TSMK, A. 948 (Karatay: A 3662): Burhān al-Sharī'a Maḥmūd b. Ṣadr al-Sharī'a, *Wiqāyat al-riwāya fī masā'il al-hidāya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [66] TSMK, A. 991 (Karatay: A 3694): Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Niksārī, *Ḥawāshīn 'alā Ṣadr al-Sharī'a*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [67] TSMK, A. 917/1A (Karatay: A 3703): Amīr Kātib b. Amīr 'Umar b. Amīr Ghāzī al-Itqānī, *Ghāyat al-bayān nādirat al-zamān*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [68] TSMK, A. 804 (Karatay: A 3766): Zāhir al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl al-Tamirtāshī, *Mīn fatāwā al-Tamirtāshī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [69] TSMK, A. 822 (Karatay: A 3837): Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ustrūshānī, *Kitāb al-fuṣūl*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [70] TSMK, A. 1024 (Karatay: A 3840): Yūsuf b. Abī Sa'īd Aḥmad al-Sijistānī, *Munyat al-muftī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [71] TSMK, A. 1025 (Karatay: A 3841): Yūsuf b. Abī Sa'īd Aḥmad al-Sijistānī, *Munyat al-muftī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [72] TSMK, A. 865 (Karatay: A 3842): Yūsuf b. Abī Sa‘īd Aḥmad al-Sijistānī, *Munyat al-muftī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [73] TSMK, A. 868 (Karatay: A 3843): Yūsuf b. Abī Sa‘īd Aḥmad al-Sijistānī, *Munyat al-muftī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [74] TSMK, A. 1191 (Karatay: 3844): Abū al-Naṣr Mas‘ūd b. Abī Bakr al-Ḥusayn al-Farāhī, *Dhāt al-‘iqdayn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [75] TSMK, A. 864 (Karatay: A 3849): Najm al-Dīn Abū al-Rajā’ Mukhtār b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Zāhidī al-Ghazminī, *Qunyat al-munya li-tatmīm al-ghunya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [76] TSMK, A. 1004/1 (Karatay: A 3951): Abū al-Rūḥ ‘Isā b. Ismā‘īl al-Āqsarāyī, *Kashf al-ḥaqā’iq sharḥ kanz al-daqa’iq*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [77] TSMK, A. 1004/2 (Karatay: A 3952): Abū al-Rūḥ ‘Isā b. Ismā‘īl al-Āqsarāyī, *Kashf al-ḥaqā’iq sharḥ kanz al-daqa’iq*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [78] TSMK, A. 1004/3 (Karatay: A 3953): Abū al-Rūḥ ‘Isā b. Ismā‘īl al-Āqsarāyī, *Kashf al-ḥaqā’iq sharḥ kanz al-daqa’iq*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [79] TSMK, A. 743 (Karatay: A 3986): Qiwām al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Kākī al-Ḥanafī, *Uyūn al-madhāhib al-arba‘a*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [80] TSMK, A. 1145 (Karatay: A 3997): Abū al-Maḥāsin Ḥusām al-Dīn b. Sharaf al-Tibrizī al-Ruhāwī, *al-Biḥār (al-zākhira)*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [81] TSMK, A. 1016 (no catalogue entry): Abū Bakr Aḥmad, *Adab al-Qāḍī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [82] TSMK, A. 1035 (Karatay: A 4014): Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Yūsuf b. Ilyās al-Dimashqī al-Kūnawī al-Safarī, *Durar al-biḥār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [83] TSMK, A. 869 (Karatay: A 4015): Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. ‘Abd ‘Azīz b. al-Malak, *Munyat al-ṣayyādīn fi ta‘līm al-iṣṭiyād wa aḥkāmihī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [84] TSMK, A. 1036 (Karatay: A 4016): Abū Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-‘Aynī, *al-Durar al-zāhira fi sharḥ al-biḥār al-zākhira*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [85] TSMK, A. 1037 (Karatay: 4017): Abū Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-‘Aynī, *al-Durar al-zāhira fi sharḥ al-biḥār al-zākhira*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [86] TSMK, A. 1112 (Karatay: A 4034): Commentary on Badr al-Dīn Qāḍī Simāwna’s *al-Tashūl fi sharḥ laṭā’if al-ishārāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [87] TSMK, A. 1071 (Karatay: A 4043): Anonymous, *al-Multaqaṭ min al-jāmi‘ al-kabīr fi al-fatāwā*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [88] TSMK, A. 1174 (Karatay: A 4296): Anonymous commentary on al-Māwardī’s work, *al-Amālī sharḥ al-ḥawī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [89] TSMK, A. 856 (Karatay: A 4397): Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *Kitāb al-wajīz*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [90] TSMK, A. 877 (Karatay: A 4468): Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qaffāl al-Shāshī, *Ḥilyat al-‘ulamā’ fi ma‘rifat madhāhib al-fuqahā’*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [91] TSMK, A. 1062 (Karatay: A 4500): ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Rāfi‘ī, *Mukhtaṣar al-muḥarrar*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [92] TSMK, A. 776 (Karatay: A 4504): Najm al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ghaffār b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Qazwīnī, *al-Ḥawī al-ṣaghīr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [93] TSMK, A. 775 (Karatay: A 4505): Najm al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ghaffār b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Qazwīnī, *al-Ḥawī al-ṣaghīr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [94] TSMK, A. 828 (Karatay: A 4625): Tāj al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Kirmānī, al-Shāṭibī, *al-Ījāz fi al-fatāwā*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [95] TSMK, A. 1082 (Karatay: A 4671): Jamāl al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. ‘Alī b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī al-‘Allāma al-Shī‘ī, *Irshād al-adhhān ilā aḥkām al-īmān*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [96] TSMK, A. 1764 (Karatay: A 4684): Abū Hanīfa al-Nu‘mān b. Thābit, *Al-Fiqh al-akbar*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [97] TSMK, A. 1777 (Karatay: A 4762): Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī, *Naẓm al-‘aqā‘id al-nasafiyya*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [98] TSMK, A. 1797 (Karatay: A 4768): Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa al-niḥal*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [99] TSMK, A. 1845 (Karatay: A 4770): Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī, *Nihāyat al-iqdām fi ‘ilm al-kalām*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [100] TSMK, A. 1880 (Karatay: A 4778): Nūr al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣābūnī al-Bukhārī, *al-Bidāya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [101] TSMK, A. 1919 (Karatay: A 4783): Muḥammad b. al-Ashraf al-Ḥusaynī al-Samarqandī, *al-Ma‘ārif fi sharḥ al-ṣaḥā‘if*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [102] TSMK, A. 1874 (Karatay: A 4792): Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Khaṭīb al-Rāzī, *Nihāyat al-‘uqūl fi dirāyat al-uṣūl*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [103] TSMK, A. 1884 (Karatay: A 4796): Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Khaṭīb al-Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal [afkār al-mutaqaddimīn]*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [104] TSMK, A. 1768 (Karatay: A 4797): Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Khaṭīb al-Rāzī, *Talkhīṣ al-muḥaṣṣal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [105] TSMK, A. 1754 (Karatay: A 4806): Abū Ja‘far Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Tajrīd al-‘aqā‘id*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [106] TSMK, A. 1862 (Karatay: A 4817): ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Qūshī, *Sharḥ tajrīd al-‘aqā‘id li ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Qūshī [Qūshjī]*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [107] TSMK, A. 1761 (Karatay: A 4826): Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb-zāda, *Ḥāshiyat al-ḥāshiya ‘alā al-tajrīd*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [108] TSMK, A. 1747 (Karatay: A 4827): Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ṣāmsūnī, *Ḥāshiyat al-Ṣāmsūnī ‘alā ḥāshiyat al-Sayyid al-Sharīf ‘alā Tajrīd al-‘aqā‘id li Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [109] TSMK, A. 1780 (Karatay: A 4828): Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ṣāmsūnī, *Ḥāshiyat al-Ṣāmsūnī ‘alā ḥāshiyat al-Sayyid al-Sharīf ‘alā Tajrīd al-‘aqā‘id li Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [110] TSMK, A. 1772 (Karatay: A 4831): Shihāb al-Dīn Abī al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Qarāfī al-Bahnasī, *al-Ajwiba al-fākhira ‘an al-as‘ila al-fājira*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [111] TSMK, A. 1831 (Karatay: A 4836): ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar Muḥammad Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Bayḍāwī, *Ṭawālī‘ al-anwār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [112] TSMK, A. 1857 (Karatay: A 4839): ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Farghānī al-‘Ibrī, *Sharḥ ṭawālī‘ al-anwār min maṭālī‘ al-anzār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [113] TSMK, A. 1905 (Karatay: A 4840): ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Farghānī al-‘Ibrī, *Sharḥ ṭawālī‘ al-anwār min maṭālī‘ al-anzār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [114] TSMK, A. 1745 (Karatay: A 4843): Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Ḥalabī, *Ḥāshiyat al-Ḥalabī ‘alā sharḥ al-ṭawālī li-l-‘Ibrī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [115] TSMK, A. 1840 (Karatay: A 4857): ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar Muḥammad Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Bayḍāwī, *Nihāyat al-afkār sharḥ Ṭawālī‘ al-anwār*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [116] TSMK, A. 1835 (Karatay: A 4858): Anonymous, *Nihāyat al-afkār sharḥ ṭawālī‘ al-anwār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [117] TSMK, A. 1751 (Karatay: A 4861): Anonymous, *al-Taqrīb al-sultānī sharḥ (muqaddimāt) al-burhānī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [118] TSMK, A. 1930 (Karatay: A 4865): Faḍl Allāh b. Abū al-Khayr ‘Alī Rashīd al-Dīn al-Ṭabīb, *Kitāb al-as’ila wa al-ajwiba al-rashīdiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [119] TSMK, A. 1801 (Karatay: A 4876): Abridgement of Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ijī’s work, *Jawāhir al-kalām [Mukhtaṣar al-Mawāqif]*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [120] TSMK, A. 1818 (Karatay: A 4887): Anonymous, *Hāshiya ‘alā sharḥ al-Mawāqif*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [121] TSMK, A. 1800 (Karatay: A 4893): Ḥasan Çelebī, *Hāshiya ‘alā sharḥ al-mawāqif li al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [122] TSMK, A. 1832 (Karatay: A 4902): Khayr al-Dīn Khidr b. Maḥmūd al-‘Aṭūfī, *Hāshiyat al-‘Aṭūfī ‘alā sharḥ al-Sayyid al-Sharīf ‘alā muqaddimat al-mawāqif*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [123] TSMK, A. 1839 (Karatay: 4905): Anonymous, *Hāshiya ‘alā sharḥ al-mawāqif fi baḥth al-‘illa wa al-ma’lūl*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [124] TSMK, A. 1904 (Karatay: 4911): Sa’d al-Dīn Mas’ūd b. ‘Umar al-Taftāzānī, *Maqāṣid al-kalām*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [125] TSMK, A. 1827 (Karatay: A 4916): Sa’d al-Dīn Mas’ūd b. ‘Umar al-Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ maqāṣid al-kalām*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [126] TSMK, A. 1861 (Karatay: A 4947): Khaṭīb-zāda Muhyī’ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Rūmī, *Risāla fi baḥth al-ru’yā wa al-kalām*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [127] TSMK, A. 1808 (Karatay: A 4989): Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Burullusī, *al-Anwār al-qudsiyya fi al-maqāṣid al-rabbāniyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [128] TSMK, A. 1781 (Karatay: A 4990): Muḥammad b. ‘Iwāḍ b. Khidr, *Hāshiyat ‘alā sharḥ al-durar*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [129] TSMK, A. 1390 (Karatay: A 5023): Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Qushayrī, *Risālat al-Qushayrī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [130] TSMK, A. 1506 (Karatay: A 5090): Muhyī al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-‘Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [131] TSMK, A. 1453 (Karatay: A 5114): Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Farḥ al-Anṣārī al-Qurṭubī Ibn Ṭalla’, *al-Tadhkira bi-aḥwāl al-mawtā wa umūr al-ākhirā*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [132] TSMK, A. 1572 (Karatay: A 5119): Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. Muḥammad al-Fanārī, *Miṣbāḥ al-uns bayn al-ma’qūl wa al-mashhūd fi sharḥ miṭāḥ al-ghayb al-jam’ wa al-wujūd*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [133] TSMK, A. 1535 (Karatay: A 5157): Zayn al-Dīn Abū al-Faraj ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Rajab al-Ḥanbalī, *Laṭā’if al-ma’arīf*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [134] TSMK, K. 967 (Karatay: A 5352): *al-An’ām*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [135] TSMK, A. 1429 (Karatay: A 5410): Muhyī al-Dīn Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Qurashī al-Būnī, *Shams al-ma’arīf wa laṭā’if al-‘awārīf*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [136] TSMK, A. 1451 (Karatay: A 5413): ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Biṣṭāmī, *Rashḥ azwāq al-ḥikma al-rabbāniyya fi sharḥ awfāq al-lum’a al-nūrāniyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [137] TSMK, A. 617 (Karatay: A 5445): Anonymous, *al-Udda al-kāmila ‘inda al-shidda al-shāmila*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [138] TSMK, A. 3524 (Karatay: A 5722): Anonymous, *Tarjamat al-Tawra bi-l-‘arabiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [139] TSMK, R. 1563 (Karatay: A 5772): Abū al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Karam Athīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm ‘Izz al-Dīn b. Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [140] TSMK, A. 2924 / 7-8 (Karatay: A 5889): Abū Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Khaldūn al-Ishbīlī, *al-Zāhirī fī al-‘ibar bi-akhbār al-‘Arab wa al-‘Ajam wa al-Barbar*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [141] TSMK, A. 2924/9-10 (Karatay: A 5890): Abū Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Khaldūn al-Ishbīlī, *al-Zāhirī fī al-‘ibar bi-akhbār al-‘Arab wa al-‘Ajam wa al-Barbar*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [142] TSMK, A. 2924/11-12 (Karatay: A 5891): Abū Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Khaldūn al-Ishbīlī, *al-Zāhirī fī al-‘ibar bi-akhbār al-‘Arab wa al-‘Ajam wa al-Barbar*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [143] TSMK, A. 3049 (Karatay: A 6182): Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Arabshāh Shihāb al-Dīn al-Dimashqī, *‘Ajā’ib al-maqdūr fī nawā’ib Ṭīmūr*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [144] TSMK, A. 3258/1 (Karatay: A 6574): *Ikhwān al-ṣafā’*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [145] TSMK, A. 3262 (Karatay: A 6663): Ibn Sīnā, *Kitāb al-shifā’*. SEAL: Bayezid II, erased.
- [146] TSMK, K. 877 (Karatay: A 6770): Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī, *Muḥakamāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [147] TSMK, A. 1887 (Karatay: A 6772): Mas‘ūd b. Ḥusayn al-Shirwānī al-Rūmī, *Sharḥ ādāb al-baḥth*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [148] TSMK, A. 3143 (Karatay: A 7018): Ghiyāth al-Dīn Jamshīd b. Mas‘ūd b. Maḥmūd al-Ṭabīb al-Kāshī, *Miftāḥ al-ḥussāb fī al-ḥisāb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [149] TSMK, A. 3344 (Karatay: A 7076): Qāḍī-zāda Mūsāb. Muḥammad al-Rūmī and Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī, *Sharḥ al-mulakhkhaṣ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [150] TSMK, A. 3336 (Karatay: A 7101): Maḥmūd b. Mas‘ūd Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, *Nihāyat al-idrāk fī dirāyat al-aflāk*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [151] TSMK, A. 1992 (Karatay: A 7152): *Majmū‘a*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [152] TSMK, A. 1965 (Karatay: A 7168): Shihāb al-Dīn Abu al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Tifāshī, *Azhār al-afkār fī jawāhir al-ahjār*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [153] TSMK, A. 2530 (Karatay: A 7185): Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Damīrī, *Ḥayat al-ḥayawān*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [154] TSMK, A. 2043 (Karatay: A 7192): Arabic translation of Galen’s (Jālīnūs) *Jawāmi‘ ḥilat al-bur*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [155] TSMK, A. 2083 (Karatay: A 7194): Arabic translation of Galen’s (Jālīnūs) work by Ḥunayn b. Ishāq, *Kitāb Jālīnūs fī Quwa al-adwiya al-mufrada*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [156] TSMK, A. 2146 (Karatay: A 7198): Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Abī Šādiq al-Nīsābūrī, *Sharḥ masā’il Ḥunayn b. Ishāq*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [157] TSMK, A. 2057 (Karatay: A 7203): Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī, *al-Fākhir*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [158] TSMK, A. 2125/A2 (Karatay: A 7204): Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī, *al-Ḥāwī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [159] TSMK, A. 2125/A3 (Karatay: A 7205): Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī, *al-Ḥāwī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [160] TSMK, A. 2125/A4 (Karatay: A 7206): Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī, *al-Ḥāwī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [161] TSMK, A. 2125/A5 (Karatay: A 7207): Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī, *al-Ḥāwī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [162] TSMK, A. 2125/B10 (Karatay: A 7209): Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī, *al-Ḥāwī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [163] TSMK, A. 2125/B11 (Karatay: A 7210): Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī, *al-Ḥāwī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [164] TSMK, A. 1949 (Karatay: A 7213): Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī, *al-Ḥāwī*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [165] TSMK, A. 2109 (Karatay: A 7215): Abū Ya‘qūb Ishāq b. Sulāymān al-Ṭabīb al-Isrā‘īlī al-Qayrawānī, *Kitāb al-Ḥummayāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [166] TSMK, A. 2091 (Karatay: A 7219): Abū al-Manṣūr al-Ḥasan b. Nūḥ al-Qumrī, *Kitāb al-Tanwīr fī al-iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṭibbiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [167] TSMK, A. 2002 (Karatay: A 7257): ‘Alī b. Abī al-Ḥāzim b. al-Nafis al-Qurashī, *Mūjaz al-Qānūn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [168] TSMK, A. 2018 (Karatay: A 7263): ‘Alī b. Abī al-Ḥāzim b. al-Nafis al-Qurashī, *Mūjaz al-Qānūn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [169] TSMK, A. 2080 (Karatay: A 7269): Ṭabīb Luṭf Allāh al-Miṣrī, *al-Taṣrīḥ fī sharḥ al-Talwīḥ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [170] TSMK, A. 1981 (Karatay: A 7271): Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Chaghminī, *Qānūncha*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [171] TSMK, A. 1971 (Karatay: A 7272): Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Chaghminī, *Qānūncha*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [172] TSMK, A. 1990 (Karatay: A 7225): Abū al-Qāsim Khalaf b. al-‘Abbās al-Zahrāwī, *al-Taṣrīf li-man ‘ajiza ‘an al-ta’līf*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [173] TSMK, A. 2019 (Karatay: A 7261): ‘Alī b. Abī al-Ḥāzim b. al-Nafis al-Qurashī, *Mūjaz al-Qānūn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [174] TSMK, A. 2000 (Karatay: A 7279): Muḥammad b. Luṭf Allāh, *Sharḥ Tashrīḥ al-Qānūn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [175] TSMK, A. 2052 (Karatay: A 7289): Abū ‘Alī Yaḥyā b. ‘Īsā b. Jazla, *Minhāj al-bayān fī mā yasta‘miluhu al-insān*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [176] TSMK, A. 2026 (Karatay: A 7291): Abū al-Ḥasan Sa‘īd b. Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, *al-Mughnī fī (tadbīr al-amrāq)*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [177] TSMK, A. 2144 (Karatay: A 7295): Abū Naṣr As‘ad b. Ilyās b. al-Maṭrān, *al-Malakāt al-Nāṣiriyya fī al-tadābir al-ṣiḥḥiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [178] TSMK, A. 2136 (Karatay: A 7297): Abū al-Makārim Hibat Allāh b. Zayn al-Dīn b. Jumay‘ al-Isrā‘īlī, *Maqālāt ibn Jumay‘*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [179] TSMK, A. 2074 (Karatay: A 7301): Abū Sahl Bishr b. Ya‘qūb b. Ishāq, *al-Kunnas Abī Sahl*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [180] TSMK, A. 2006 (Karatay: A 7305): Nafis b. ‘Awād al-Kirmānī, *Sharḥ al-asbāb wa al-‘alāmāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [181] TSMK, A. 2035 (Karatay: A 7318): Abū al-Munā b. Abī Naṣr b. Ḥaffāz b. Kūhīn b. al-‘Aṭṭār al-Isrā‘īlī, *Minhāj al-Dukkān*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [182] TSMK, A. 2143 (Karatay: A 7322): Abū Muḥammad al-Muzaḥḥar b. Naṣr b. Sattār al-Warrāq, *al-Wuṣṣā ilā al-ḥabīb li-yughtanā bihi ‘an jahd al-ṭabīb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [183] TSMK, A. 2042 (Karatay: A 7326): Anonymous, *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-Taṣrīḥ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [184] TSMK, A. 2105 (Karatay: A 7329): Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Abū Naṣr al-Khujandī, *Mukhtaṣar fī ṣinā‘at al-ṭibb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [185] TSMK, A. 2049 (Karatay: A 7335): Yūsuf b. Ismā‘īl b. Ilyās al-Khoiyī, *Mā lā yasa‘u al-ṭabīb jahlahu*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [186] TSMK, A. 2120 (Karatay: A 7337): Yūsuf b. Ismā'il b. Ilyās al-Khoyī [al-Kutubī], *al-Farq bayn al-amrāḍ al-mushtabiha*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [187] TSMK, A. 2004 (Karatay: A 7338): Anonymous, *Wasf al-aṭ'ima al-mu'tāda*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [188] TSMK, A. 2058 (Karatay: A 7342): Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Abū Naṣr al-Khujandī Najīb al-Dīn Sulṭān Khudābanda, *Tarwīḥ al-arwāḥ min 'ilal al-ashbāḥ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [189] TSMK, A. 2142 (Karatay: A 7350): Khidr b. 'Alī al-Aydīnī (Ḥacı Pāşā). *Ikhtiyārāt al-Shifā'*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [190] TSMK, A. 2086 (Karatay: A 7353): Nafis b. 'Iwāz al-Kirmānī, *Sharḥ asbāb wa-al-'alāmāt*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [191] TSMK, A. 1954 (Karatay: A 7364): Anonymous, *al-Is'ād wa al-imdād*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II, erased.
- [192] TSMK, A. 2024 (Karatay: A 7406): Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Aḥnaf, *Kitāb al-bayṭara*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [193] TSMK, A. 2651 (Karatay: A 7412): Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. Ismā'il b. Khusrawshāh al-Āqsarā'ī al-Ḥanafī, (*Nihāyat*) *al-sū'l wa al-umniyya fī ta'līm a'māl al-furūsiyya*. SEAL: Bayezid II, illustrated.
- [194] TSMK, A. 3465 (Karatay: A 7424): Anonymous, *Kashf al-ḥumūm wa al-kurab fī sharḥ ḥālāt al-ṭarab*. SEAL: Bayezid II, illustrated.
- [195] TSMK, A. 3160 (Karatay: A 7445): Muḥammad b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rūmī al-Iznīqī, *al-Ta'bīr al-munif wa al-ta'wīl al-sharīf*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [196] TSMK, A. 1603 (Karatay: A 7477): Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Zanātī, *Faṭḥ al-aqfāl fī 'ilm al-ashkāl*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [197] TSMK, A. 2696/1 (Karatay: A 7579): Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Mukarram b. 'Alī b. Manẓūr al-Khazrajī, *Lisān al-'arab*. SEAL: Bayezid II, erased.
- [198] TSMK, A. 2696/2 (Karatay: A 7580): Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Mukarram b. 'Alī b. Manẓūr al-Khazrajī, *Lisān al-'arab*. SEAL: Bayezid II, erased.
- [199] TSMK, A. 1722 (Karatay: A 8028): Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Ya'qūb b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sakkākī, *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [200] TSMK, A. 1666 (Karatay: A 8037): Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar al-Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-miftāḥ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [201] TSMK, A. 1715 (Karatay: A 8056): Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qazwīnī, *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [202] TSMK, A. 1713 (Karatay: A 8093): Baldir-zāde Muḥammad al-Brūsawī, *Ḥāshiya 'alā sharḥ al-Miftāḥ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [203] TSMK, A. 1696 (Karatay: A 8103): Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar al-Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-muṭawwal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [204] TSMK, A. 1712 (Karatay: A 8107): Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar al-Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-muṭawwal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [205] TSMK, A. 1688 (Karatay: A 8113): Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī, *Ḥāshiya 'alā al-muṭawwal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [206] TSMK, A. 1725 (Karatay: A 8116): Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī, *Ḥāshiya 'alā al-muṭawwal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [207] TSMK, A. 1679 (Karatay: A 8117): Mawlānā-zāda Nizām al-Dīn 'Uthmān al-Khiṭā'ī, *Ḥāshiya al-Khiṭā'ī 'alā sharḥ al-muṭawwal*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [208] TSMK, A. 1701 (Karatay: A 8159): Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusayn al-Kirmāstī, *al-Tibyān fī sharḥ al-Tabyīn*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [209] TSMK, A. 2351 (Karatay: A 8183): Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abi Naṣr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī, *Tashīl al-sabīl ilā ta‘allum al-tarsīl*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [210] TSMK, A. 2314 (Karatay: A 8224): ‘Alam al-Hudā al-Sharīf al-Murtazā, *Nahj al-balāgha*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [211] TSMK, A. 2337 (Karatay: A 8231): *Majmū‘a*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [212] TSMK, A. 2298 (Karatay: A 8334 / F 75): *Majmū‘a*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [213] TSMK, A. 2312 (Karatay: A 8366): Anonymous, *Sharḥ al-qaṣā’id al-sab‘ al-mu‘allaqa*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [214] TSMK, A. 1234 (Karatay: A 8669): *Majmū‘a*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [215] TSMK, A. 1708 (Karatay: A 8697): *Majmū‘a*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II, no seal.
- [216] TSMK, A. 1926 (Karatay: A 8706): *Majmū‘a*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [217] TSMK, B. 399 (Karatay: A 8762): *Majmū‘a*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [218] TSMK, R. 861 (Karatay: F 460): Nizām al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ilyās b. Yūsuf, *Khamṣa-i Nizāmī*. Dated 740 (misdated in Karatay as 990). SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [219] TSMK, A. 1355 (Karatay: F 506): Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī, *Mathnawī*. SEAL: Bayezid II, erased.
- [220] TSMK, H. 1530 (Karatay: T 2785): Uzun Firdevsī, *Süleymānnāme*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [221] TSMK, A. 1363 (no catalogue entry): Abū Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Yahyā b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb rawḍat al-‘ulamā’*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [222] TSMK, A. 1606 (no catalogue entry): Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ Bukhārī, *Risāla al-quḍsiyya wa ma‘ābu faḍl al-khiṭāb*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [223] TSMK, A. 1649 (no catalogue entry): Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī, *Ḥāshiya sharḥ al-miftāḥ*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [224] TSMK, A. 1779 (no catalogue entry): *Sharḥ al-‘aqā’id*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [225] TSMK, A. 2028 (no catalogue entry): Abū Naṣr Hibat Allāh b. Yahyā, *Mukhtaṣar al-Falāḥa*. SEAL: Bayezid II.
- [226] TSMK, A. 3464 (no catalogue entry): *Majmū‘atun fihā Kitāb al-handasa wa al-hay’a*. SEAL: Bayezid II.

APPENDIX II

PRELIMINARY LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS STAMPED WITH BAYEZID II'S SEAL AND TRANSFERRED FROM THE TOPKAPI PALACE INNER TREASURY TO OTHER LIBRARY COLLECTIONS

ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANİYE LIBRARY (AYASOFYA COLLECTION)

- [1] Ayasofya 284: Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh al-Nasafī, *Madārik al-tanzīl wa-ḥaqīqat al-ta’wīl*. Ca. 1430, *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Could have been copied in Bursa or Edirne. Not illuminated, chestnut-colored leather binding, circular medallion on one side of the binding and round medallion on the other side, the paper label with the book’s name pasted on the binding’s flap. 284 folios, 27 lines. 275 × 180, 195 × 122 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II and Mahmud I’s endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [2] Ayasofya 512: Jamāl al-Dīn Yūnus b. Yahyā al-Hāshimī, *Kitāb al-arba’in fi irshād al-sā’ilīn*. 13th century, *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Ḥāmid b. Muḥammad. Not illuminated. 144 folios, 13 lines. 198 × 160 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 2a, 144b.
- [3] Ayasofya 981: ‘Aḍuḍ al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Ghaffār, *Sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar Muntahā fi al-uṣūl al-fiqh*. 1460–70, Bursa, *ta’līq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Notes on fol. 1a identify the owner of the book as Bayezid II and the copyist as Mollā Khusrāw. The title on fol. 1b is illuminated in a naïve style. There is a small circular gold-dusted medallion with guilloche borders in the middle of the light chestnut-colored leather binding with envelope flap. The inner cover is undecorated leather. 151 folios, 23 lines. 218 × 150 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, Selim I’s treasury seal, Mahmud I’s endowment seal and his waqf inspector’s seal, fol. 1a.
- [4] Ayasofya 995: Anonymous, *Ḥāll al-Manār / Sharḥ al-Manār*. Ca. 1470, *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II on fol. 1a. 89 folios, 13 lines. 176 × 126, 107 × 60 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 89b. Mahmud I’s endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [5] Ayasofya 1118: Niksārī Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Ḥāshīya ‘alā Sharḥ al-Wiqāya li-Ṣadr al-Sharī’a*. *Ta’līq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Not illuminated. 211 folios, 17 lines. 225 × 142, 147 × 80 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 211b.
- [6] Ayasofya 1762: Compendium.
 - (1) fols. 1a–107b: Sanā’ī, *Ḥadīqat al-ḥaqīqa wa-sharī’at al-ṭarīqa / Fakhrnāma*. Safar 791 (January–February 1389), *nasta’līq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Mas’ūd b. Manṣūr b. Aḥmad al-Mutaṭayyib, produced in “*madīnat Shīrāz*.”
 - (2) fols. 108b–109b: Persian text with unidentified title.

- (3) fols. 110b–139a: Afdal al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī al-Shirwānī, *Tuḥfat al-‘Irāqayn*. Rabi‘ I 791 (March–April 1389), *nasta‘liq*, Persian.
DESCRIPTION: Copyist Mas‘ūd b. Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad al-Mutaṭṭayyib. Dedication to Baysunghur on fol. 1a. Illuminated in naïve style. Produced in Shiraz in late Muzaffarid/early Timurid period. 139 folios, 29 lines. 269 × 199, 189 × 130 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II and Timurid Mirza Baysunghur’s seal, fol. 139b.
- [7] Ayasofya 1913: Sayyid Aḥmad b. Abī al-Mawāhib ‘Aṭā’ Allāh Qirimī, *Gulzār-i damsāz dar sharḥ-i Gulshan-i rāz*. Ramadan 877 (January–February 1473), *nasta‘liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Original copy, not illuminated. 23 lines. 246 × 148, 156 × 80 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 177b.
- [8] Ayasofya 1914: Compendium.
(1) fols. 1a–33a: Ṣā’īn al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Turka, *Sharḥ al-Lama’āt*. *Nasta‘liq*, Persian.
(2) fols. 34a–49b: Ṣā’īn al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Turka al-Iṣfahānī, *Risāla fī bayān al-marātib al-thalātha fī al-taṣawwuf*. DESCRIPTION: Undated and without copyist’s name.
(3) fols. 50b–52a: Sayyid Ḥusaynī, *Qalandarnāma*. Ca. 1465, *nasta‘liq*, Persian.
DESCRIPTION: Undated and without copyist’s name. Illuminated titles in each section. Ottoman period. 52 folios, 15 lines. 169 × 100, 108 × 50 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 33b.
- [9] Ayasofya 2031: Yār ‘Alī al-Iṣfahānī, *Lamaḥāt fī sharḥ al-Lamā’āt*. 15 Sha‘ban 877 (15 January 1473), *nasta‘liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copyist ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-Sulṭānī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khwārazmī, produced in “*dār al-salām Shīrāz*,” dedication on opening page: *ba-rasm-i khizāna-i al-Sulṭān Amīr Abū al-Ma‘ālī? Sulṭān Khalīl*. Must have been prepared for Khalīl, the son of Uzun Hasan, the Aq Qoyunlu governor of Shiraz. Illuminated opening page and title, large medallions on the chestnut-colored leather binding, paper-covered inner covers, probably not the original binding. 120 folios, 15 lines. 206 × 124, 133 × 62 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 120b.
- [10] Ayasofya 2180: Rashid al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh al-Hamadhānī, *As‘ila wa-ajwiba wa-ta‘liqāt*. 20 Jumada I 716 (10 August 1316), *naskh*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Naẓẓām ‘Alī b. Maḥmūd b. Maḥfūz. 331 folios, 21 lines. 319 × 238 mm. Not illuminated, plain decorated leather binding. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 2a, 346b and Mahmud I’s endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [11] Ayasofya 2266: ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī, *Risāla al-wujūd*. Ca. 1470, *nasta‘liq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II, illuminated opening page. 39 folios, 6 lines. 177 × 108, 97 × 45 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 39b.
- [12] Ayasofya 2271: Anonymous, *Risāla fī daf‘ al-shubha* (on various debated subjects in *kalām* books). Ca. 1485, *nasta‘liq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Not illuminated, dedication to Bayezid II. 19 folios, 11 lines. 180 × 127, 105 × 70 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 19a.
- [13] Ayasofya 2276: Khaṭīb-zāda Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Risāla fī kalām Allāh wa-ru’yatih*. Ca. 1485–90, *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Illuminated title on fol. 1b, dedication to Bayezid II on fol. 2b. 93 folios, 17 lines. 210 × 120, 130 × 70 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 93b and Mahmud I’s endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [14] Ayasofya 2350: Compendium of treatises: *Majmū‘a min rasā’il ḥawāshī mawālī al-Rūm fī baḥth al-jīha*.
(1) fols. 2a–7a: Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Kastallī, *Risāla fī baḥth al-jīha*.
(2) fols. 7b–12b: Khaṭīb-zāda, *Risāla fī ḥawāshī Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-‘ayn “fī ḥuṣūl al-munqasim fī jamī‘ al-jihāt fī mā yunqasim.”*
(3) fols. 12a–18b: Sinān Pāshā, *Risāla fī tawjīh al-ishkāl fī khawāṣṣ ḥikma al-‘ayn*.
(4) fols. 19a–27b: Khwāja-zāda, *Risāla fī i’tirāḍ ‘alā dalīl ithbāt wujūdiyyat al-Bārī*.

- (5) fols. 28a–34a: Qāḍī al-ʿaskar al-Manṣūr, *Risāla fī ḥall shubhat al-jīha*.
- (6) fols. 34b–35b: Mawlānā Afḍal-zāda, *Risāla fī jawāb al-ishkāl ʿalā baḥṭh al-jīha*.
- (7) fols. 36a–40b: Mawlānā ʿArab, *Risāla fī ḥall al-ishkāl ʿan al-awwal wa-al-thānī*.
- (8) fols. 41a–44b: Mawlānā Ḥasan, *Risāla lā maḥīṣa ʿan al-ishkāl wa-in uthbita wujūd al-markaz*.
- (9) fols. 45a–47b: Mawlānā Qāḍī-zāda, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā Sharḥ Hikmat al-ʿayn fī baḥṭh al-jīha*.
- (10) fols. 48a–52a: Mollā ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, *Risāla fī baḥṭh al-jīha*.
- (11) fols. 52b–54a: Mollā Bahā al-Dīn, *Risāla yumkin dafʿ al-ishkāl bi-lamʿi jāriyān al-dalīl fī al-markaz*.
- (12) fols. 54b–62a: Mawlānā Nishānji, *Risāla fī shubha fī mā ustudilla bihī ʿalā wujūd al-jīha*. *Naskh*, Arabic.

DESCRIPTION: Not illuminated. 62 folios, 11 lines. 178 × 123, 100 × 60 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 61b.

- [15] Ayasofya 2382: Ibn Sīnā, *al-Ishārāt wa-al-tanbīhāt*. 12 Rabiʿ I 867 (5 December 1462), *taʿlīq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist ʿAlī Faṭḥ Allāh al-Madanī al-Iṣfahānī, dedication to Mehmed II on the illuminated opening page. Round medallion on the original chestnut-colored leather binding, circular medallion on the inner cover. 180 folios, 11 lines. 234 × 145, 120 × 80 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 180b.
- [16] Ayasofya 2415: Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Aghāz wa-anjām*. 883 (1478–79), *taʿlīq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. The binding covered with red velvet of Mehmed II's period, leather inner covers with medallion ornamented with flowers in the *Bābā Naqqāsh* style. 50 folios, 12 lines. 178 × 110 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 1a.
- [17] Ayasofya 2448: Ibn al-Haytham, *al-Manāẓir*. 879 (1474–75). *Nastaʿlīq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Not illuminated, dedication to Mehmed II. 680 folios, 23 lines. 250 × 140, 145 × 65 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 680b.
- [18] Ayasofya 2480: Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Asās al-iqtibās*. End of Dhu'l-Hijja 869 (August 1465), *nastaʿlīq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Illuminated opening page, period of Mehmed II. 266 folios, 21 lines. 260 × 180, 160 × 85 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 266b.
- [19] Ayasofya 2567: Compendium.
 - (1) fols. 1a–27a: Ḥusam al-Dīn al-Kātī, *Sharḥ al-Īsāghūjī*.
 - (2) fols. 28a–54a: Mollā Fanārī, *Sharḥ al-Īsāghūjī*.
 - (3) fols. 55a–81a: Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Risāla fī taḥqīqāt maʿnā al-taṣawwur wa-al-taṣdīq wa-al-kullī wa-al-juzʿī*.
 - (4) fols. 81b–87a: Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Laṭāʾif al-asrār*.
 - (5) fols. 88a–94a: Anonymous, *Fawāʾid manqūl min matn gharīb fī taḥqīq maʿnā al-māhiyya wa-al-ḥaqīqa*. Ca. 1470, *naskh*, Arabic.

DESCRIPTION: Illuminated opening page, dedication to Mehmed II. 94 folios, 12–15 lines. 255 × 160, 140 × 75 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 94b.
- [20] Ayasofya 2595: Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Tarjama-i kitāb-i ṣuwar al-kawākib*. Dhu'l-Qaʿda 647 (February–March 1250), *taʿlīq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Could be the writing of the translator. Fol. 97b reads: *Ṣāhib-i kitāb Aḥmad b. Shaykh Uways*, 805 [1402] *dār al-salām Baghdād* (“the owner of the book, [the Jalayirid Sultan] Aḥmad son of Shaykh Uways” [d. 1410]). 97 folios, 25 lines. 308 × 202; 234 × 140 mm. Not original binding, not illuminated or illustrated. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 97b.

- [21] Ayasofya 2596: Baṭlamyūs (Ptolemy), *Kitāb šūrat al-aqālīm bi-al-‘Arabiyya tarjamat kitāb Baṭlamyūs bi-al-‘Arabiyya fi tafṣīl al-aqālīm al-ma‘rūf bi-‘ilm al-jughrāfiyā*. 15th century?, *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Not illuminated, incomplete at the end. 75 folios, 27 lines. 395 × 280, 260 × 195 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 1a.
- [22] Ayasofya 2610: Baṭlamyūs, *Tarjamat Jughrāfiyā Baṭlamyūs*. 15th century?, *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Not illuminated, translated for Mehmed II. 129 folios, 28 lines. 390 × 275, 290 × 150 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 1a.
- [23] Ayasofya 2639: ‘Alī Qūshjī, *Risāla fi al-hay’a*. Ca. 1480, *ta’liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Illuminated opening page in Ottoman style. 84 folios, 11 lines. 140 × 98, 77 × 50 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 2a, 84b. Mahmud I’s endowment seal, Selim I’s treasury seal, fols. 1a, 2a.
- [24] Ayasofya 2640: Compendium.
- (1) fols. 1–24b: ‘Alī Qūshjī, *Risāla fi al-hay’a*. End of Dhu’l-Hijja 862 (October 1458), *naskh*, Persian.
 - (2) fols. 25a–72b: ‘Alī Qūshjī, *Risāla fi ‘ilm al-ḥisāb*. Safar 861 (December 1456–January 1457), *naskh*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copyist ‘Aṭā’ Allāh.
 - (3) fols. 74a–115a: Qāḍī-zāda al-Rūmī, *Sharḥ Ashkāl al-ta’sīs fi al-handasa*. Ca. 1458, *naskh*, Arabic.
- DESCRIPTION: Not illuminated. 115 folios, 21 lines. 175 × 133, 135 × 84 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 115a.
- [25] Ayasofya 2643: ‘Alī Qūshjī, *Sharḥ al-Tuhfa al-shāhiyya fi al-hay’a*. Ca. 1460, *nasta’liq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Not illuminated. 64 folios, 15 lines. 174 × 125, 110 × 70 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 64a.
- [26] Ayasofya 2656: Compendium.
- (1) fols. 1a–14b: Qāḍī-zāda al-Rūmī, *Ḥāshiya li-sharḥ (Qāḍī-zāda) al-Rūmī li-kitāb al-Chaghmīnī fi ‘ilm al-hay’a*. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Bayezid II.
 - (2) fols. 15a–86b: *Ḥāshiya ‘alā sharḥ Qāḍī-zāda ‘alā al-Mulakhkhaṣ. Ta’liq*, Arabic.
- DESCRIPTION: Not illuminated. 86 folios, 17 lines. 161 × 111, 117 × 52 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 86b.
- [27] Ayasofya 2697: Mīrīm Chalabī, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, *Sharḥ-i Zīj-i Ulugh Beg*. 12 Rajab 904 (23 February 1499), *nasta’liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Original copy, not illuminated. 264 folios, 19 lines. 228 × 140, 155 × 72 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 264a.
- [28] Ayasofya 2733: Compendium.
- (1) fols. 1b–70a: ‘Alī Qūshjī, *Risāla fathīyya fi ‘ilm al-hay’a*. 878 (1473–74), *ta’liq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II during the battle of Otluqbali, original copy.
 - (2) fols. 71a–168b: ‘Alī Qūshjī, *Risāla Muḥammadiyya fi ‘ilm al-ḥisāb*. Undated, *ta’liq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Original copy.
 - (3) fols. 170b–224b: ‘Alī Qūshjī, *Risāla al-ḥisāb?*. Middle of Ramadan 877 (January–February 1473), *ta’liq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Original copy.
- DESCRIPTION: 224 folios, 11 lines. 176 × 123, 90 × 55 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 224b.
- [29] Ayasofya 2755: Compendium. *Naskh* and *ta’liq*, Arabic.
- (1) fols. 1a–61a: Quṣṭā bin Lūqā al-Ba‘albakkī, translated from Greek, *Īrun fi al-ḥiyāl / Īrun fi raf’i al-ashyā al-thaqīla*.
 - (2) fols. 61b–80: *Kitāb al-dawā’ir al-mutaḥarriqa min dhātihā al-šūrat al-ūlā*. Classified as a separate book within the Süleymaniye Library catalogue, but it could be a part of *Kitāb al-ḥiyāl*.

- (3) fols. 81b–83a: Mürişîs al-Ḥakīm, *Şināʿat al-arāghîn al-būqī*.
- (4) fols. 84b–89a: Mürişîs al-Ḥakīm, *Şināʿat al-arāghîn al-zamrîyya*.
- (5) fols. 89b–91a: Mürişîs al-Ḥakīm, *Şināʿat al-juljul*.
- (6) fols. 91b–146: Fîlun al-Barîṭî, *Kitâb al-Fîlun fî al-ḥîyal al-rûḥâniyya wa-makhâniq al-mâʿ*.
DESCRIPTION: Not illuminated, could be dated to the period of Mehmed II on the basis of ornamentation on its leather binding, ca. 1470. 146 folios. 17 lines. 308 × 191, 192 × 85 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a–b.
- [30] Ayasofya 2756: al-Mâzandarânî, *Risâla-i Falakiyya. Dîwânî*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Not illuminated, the binding covered with green velvet, plain leather inner covers, the binding could be dated to 1470 in Ottoman period. 139 folios, 11 lines. 250 × 160 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II and Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [31] Ayasofya 2765: Anonymous, *Adʿîyyat al-ayyâm al-sabʿa*. Safar 682 (May 1283), *naskh*, *thuluth*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Yâqût al-Mustaʿşimî. Colophon on fol. 18a written later in *riqāʿ*: *al-muftaqir ilâ rahmat rabbih Yâqût al-Mustaʿşimî fî Şafar sana*. Illuminated opening page on fol. 1a. Gold-dusted *riqāʿ* script identifies the calligrapher as Mubâraکشâh b. Quṭb on fol. 1a. Could be dated to 1340s on the basis of illumination and writing style, produced in Tabriz or Baghdad during the Ilkhanid period. 18 folios, several lines. 313 × 248, 197 × 140 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II and Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [32] Ayasofya 2775: Anonymous, *Sharḥ al-asmâʿ al-ḥusnâ*. Ca. 1430, *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Yâqût b. ʿAbd Allâh. Cannot be Yâqût's writing on the basis of writing style and colophon. Can be dated to the Timurid period on the basis of illumination style in the headpiece, probably produced in Herat. 40 folios, 7 lines. 223 × 170, 137 × 95 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II and Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [33] Ayasofya 2819: Compendium. *Naskh*, Arabic.
- (1) fols. 7b–11b: *Akhlâq Aflâtûn Kalâm Buzurgmîhr*.
- (2) fols. 12a–21a: *Awşâ baʿḍ al-ḥukamâʾ ibnahû faqâla ...*
- (3) fols. 22b–67a: *al-Şahîfa al-kâmila min duʿâʾ ʿAlî b. Abû Ṭâlib*.
DESCRIPTION: 67 folios, 15 lines. 250 × 173, 170 × 100 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 67b. Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [34] Ayasofya 2840: al-Mawşilî, *Âdâb al-mulûk*. 681 (1282–83), *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Not illuminated. 243 folios, 17 lines. 257 × 178 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 243b. Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [35] Ayasofya 2990: Shukr Allâh b. Aḥmad, *Bahjat al-tawârikh*. Ca. 1480, *naskh*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Illuminated title in Ottoman style. 301 folios, 15 lines. 178 × 133, 114 × 77 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 301b.
- [36] Ayasofya 3019: Compendium in history.
- (1) fols. 1a–64b: Saʿîd Shams al-Dîn Yazdî, *Târîkh-i Âl-i Saljûq*. 2 Rabiʿ I 752 (27 June 1351), *taʿlîq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Sânâq al-Harawî, opening page on fol. 1a, illuminated title on fol. 1b.
- (2) fols. 65a–135a: Nâşir al-Dîn Munshî, *Târîkh-i Salâṭîn-i Armanistân*. Rabiʿ I 752 (April–May 1351), *taʿlîq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Sânâq al-Harawî, opening page on fol. 65a, illuminated title on 65b.
- (3) fols. 136a–241b: al-Kâshânî, *Târîkh Ghiyâth al-Dîn Ūljâytû Sulṭân Muḥammad*. Rabiʿ I 752 (April–May 1351), *taʿlîq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Sânâq al-Harawî, opening page on fol. 136a, illuminated title on 136b.

- (4) fols. 242a–246b: Persian prose in *naskh* script praising Sultan Ūljāyṭū and “*Sulṭāniyya*.”
DESCRIPTION: No illumination on this part.
DESCRIPTION: Probably produced in Tabriz or Baghdad in the late Ilkhanid/early Jalayirid period as shown by its modest illumination style, expression of “taken out of the room” on the first folio, not the original binding. 24 folios, 25 lines. 240 × 140, 165 × 170 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, Mahmud I’s endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [37] Ayasofya 3032: Ṭursun Beg, *Tārīḥ-i Abū al-Faṭḥ*. Ca. 1490, *naskh*, Turkish. DESCRIPTION: Can be dated to the 1490s on the basis of its illuminated title and leather binding style. 180 folios, 13 lines. 175 × 115, 110 × 70 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 180b.
- [38] Ayasofya 3287: Ḥusām al-Dīn Asadī al-Ṭūsī, *Garshāsbnāma*. 905 (1499–1500), *nasta’liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Sulṭān Aḥmad al-Haravī, dedication to Bayezid II on the illuminated opening page on fols. 1b–2a, illuminated title on fol. 2b, original black leather binding with engraved medallion and corner piece, dark red leather inner cover with engraved medallion and corner piece. 306 folios, 15 lines. 292 × 170, 175 × 80 mm.
- [39] Ayasofya 3335: ‘Ārifī, *Farḥādnāma-i ‘Ārifī*. Ca. 1480, *nasta’liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Illustrated original copy in TSMK H. 678. Not illuminated, dark red leather outer covers with medallion and corner pieces with flower motifs, chestnut-colored leather inner covers with engraved medallion and corner pieces, must have been copied in Istanbul on the basis of the original binding and the type of the paper. 13 folios, 17 lines. 245 × 158, 163 × 76 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 137b. Selim I’s treasury seal and Mahmud I’s endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [40] Ayasofya 3510: ‘Abd al-Salām b. ‘Alī b. Ḥasan al-Abarqūhī, *Nihāyat al-mas’ūl fī dirāyat*. Rabi‘ I 905 (September 1499), *nasta’liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Muḥammad al-Badakhshī al-Ḥusaynī. Dedication to Bayezid II. 259 folios, 19 lines. 303 × 203, 202 × 127 mm.
- [41] Ayasofya 3587: Compendium.
(1) fols. 1a–56b: Mu‘īn b. Maḥmūd Kirmānī, *Tarjuma-i taqwīm al-abdān*. 5 Safar 863 (12 December 1458), *ta’liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Original copy, produced in “*madīnat al-Edirne*.”
(2) fols. 57a–107a: Ibn Jazla, *Taqwīm al-abdān*. 28 Safar 659 (1 February 1261), *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Manṣūr b. Yūsuf b. Hibat Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Thābit al-Mutaṭabbib, produced in “*madīnat al-Kūfa*,” dedication to Mehmed II on the illuminated opening page on fol. 1a. 107 folios. 338 × 213, 255 × 190 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 107b. Mahmud I’s endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [42] Ayasofya 3596: Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh al-Hamadhānī (d. 1318), *Tansūqnāma-i ilkhānī*. 20 Sha‘ban 713 (10 December 1313), *naskh*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd, translated from Chinese to Persian probably in Tabriz. The book includes drawings of human organs in black and red colors. Renovated original opening page with Mahmud I’s seal on its center on fol. 1b, illuminated title on fol. 1b; the later binding was probably made in Istanbul in the nineteenth century. 264 folios, 15 lines. 342 × 264, 223 × 164 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 262b.
- [43] Ayasofya 3620: Ismā‘īl al-Jurjānī, *Ṭibb al-Khwārazmshāhī*. *Nasta’liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Illuminated opening page, period of Mehmed II, ca. 1470. 439 folios, 45 lines. 355 × 230, 252 × 130 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 43b.
- [44] Ayasofya 3626: Compendium.
(1) fols. 1a–65a: Ibn Buṭlān, *Da‘wat al-aṭibba*. End of Ramadan 876 (29 February 1472), *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Shahāb al-Dīn al-Qudsī.

- (2) fols. 66a–119a: Abū Ḥusayn ‘Alī b. Hibat Allāh b. Īzdī, *Sharḥ Daʿwat al-aṭibba*. End of Shawwal 876 (9 April 1472), *naskh*, Arabic.
- DESCRIPTION: Copyist Shahāb al-Dīn al-Qudsī, dedication to Mehmed II. Dark chestnut-colored binding with envelope flap, large medallions and corner pieces ornamented in the *Bābā Naqqāsh* style on the outer covers; dark red leather inner covers ornamented with engraved medallion. 119 folios, 11 lines. 206 × 136, 124 × 69 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, Selim I's circular seal, Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [45] Ayasofya 3740: Abū Zayd [Aḥmad] al-Balkhī, *Maṣāliḥ al-abdān wa-al-anfus fi al-ṭibb*. Ca. 1475–80, *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Ḥamd Allāh al-Mushtahir bā Ibn al-Shaykh (d. 1520) (renowned Qurʾan calligrapher and calligraphy master of Bayezid II in Amasya). Designed as a *jung*. Binding covered with Italian red patterned velvet, red leather inner covers with engraved medallion ornamented with vegetal scrolls (*rūmī* motifs). Dedication to Mehmed II on the illuminated opening page on fol. 1a. Illuminated title on fol. 1b. 140 folios, 15 lines. 282 × 152, 200 × 92 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fol. 1a, 1b. Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [46] Ayasofya 3839: Tāhir b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Ishāq, *Kitāb jawharat al-sharaffi al-khiṭāba wa-al-shifā’*. Muharram 886 (March 1481), *dīwānī*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Muḥammad al-Munshī al-Sultānī, produced in “*Qusṭantīniyya al-maḥmiyya*,” illuminated opening page and title, a rare copy on the basis of the master hands at its illuminations and calligraphy. 145 folios, 9 lines. 384 × 252, 266 × 143 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 141b.
- [47] Ayasofya 3857: Compendium/*jung*. Jumada I–Jumada II 816 (July–September 1413). Produced for Iskandar Sultān in “*Madīnat Shīrāz*,” calligrapher Maḥmūd ‘Alī al-Murshidī, *naskh*, Persian.
- (1) fols. 1b–26a: Yūsuf al-Ganjawī, *Makhzan al-asrār*.
 - (2) fols. 26b–82a: Yūsuf al-Ganjawī, *Khusraw u Shīrīn*.
 - (3) fols. 82b–126a: Yūsuf al-Ganjawī, *Laylā u Majnūn*.
 - (4) fols. 126b–172a: Yūsuf al-Ganjawī, *Haft paykar*.
 - (5) fols. 172b–240a: Yūsuf al-Ganjawī, *Sharafnāma-yi Iskandarī*.
 - (6) fols. 240b–273a: Yūsuf al-Ganjawī, *Iqbāl-nāma-yi Iskandarī*.
 - (7) fols. 273b–306a: ‘Aṭṭār, *Asrār-nāma*.
 - (8) fols. 306b–319a: ‘Aṭṭār, *Ilāh-nāma*.
 - (9) fols. 319b–362a: ‘Aṭṭār, *Manṭiq al-ṭayr*.
 - (10) fols. 362b–367a: ‘Aṭṭār, *Bulbul-nāma*.
 - (11) fols. 367b–382a: Khusraw al-Dihlawī, *Maṭla‘ al-anwār*. Jumada I 816, in the city of Shiraz.
 - (12) fols. 382b–394a: Khusraw al-Dihlawī, *Majnūn u Laylā*. Jumada II 816.
 - (13) fols. 394b–411a: Khwāju al-Kirmānī, *Rawḍat al-anwār*. Jumada II 816.
 - (14) fols. 411b–456a: Khwāju al-Kirmānī, *Humāy u Humāyūn*.
 - (15) fols. 456b–479a: Khwāju al-Kirmānī, *Nawrūz u Gul*.
 - (16) fols. 479b–497a: Khwāju al-Kirmānī, *Kamāl-nāma*. Jumada I 816.
 - (17) fols. 497b–510a: Jalāl Ṭabīb, *Gul u Nawrūz*.
 - (18) fols. 510b–516a: Awḥadī, *Dahnāma*.
 - (19) fols. 516b–522a: Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn, *Ikhtiyārāt-i Mathnawī*.
 - (20) fols. 522b–528a: Firdawsī, *Ikhtiyārāt-i Shāhnāma*.
 - (21) fols. 528b–530a: ‘Irāqī, *Tawḥīd u na‘āt u manqibāt*.
 - (22) fols. 530b–535a: ‘Irāqī, *Tarjī‘āt*.
 - (23) fols. 535a–537a: Iṣfahānī, *Tarjī‘(band)*.
 - (24) fols. 537a–538a: Khwāju al-Kirmānī, *Tarjī‘*.

- (25) fols. 538a–546a: *Min ash'ār-i Farid al-Dīn al-'Aṭṭār*.
- (26) fols. 546b–554a: *Ghazaliyyāt-i Mawlānā Rūmī*.
- (27) fols. 554b–570a: *Ṭayyibāt-i Shaykh Sa'dī*.
- (28) fols. 570b–580a: *Ghazaliyyāt-i Mawlānā Humā al-Dīn*.
- (29) fols. 580b–588a: *Ghazaliyyāt-i Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn al-'Irāqī*.
- (30) fols. 588b–618a: *Ghazaliyyāt-i Shaykh Awḥadī*.
- (31) fols. 618b–630a: *Ghazaliyyāt-i 'Imād al-Dīn Kirmānī*.
- (32) fols. 630b–634a: *Ghazaliyyāt-i Khwājū al-Kirmānī*.
- (33) fols. 634b–652a: *Ghazaliyyāt-i Mawlānā Salmān*.
- (34) fols. 652b–668a: *Ghazaliyyāt-i Ḥāfiẓ*.
- (35) fols. 668b–691a: *Ghazaliyyāt-i Niẓāmī al-Kūhistānī*.
- (36) fols. 691b–708a: *Ghazaliyyāt-i Sayyid Jalāl 'Aḍud*.
- (37) fols. 708b–724a: *Ghazaliyyāt-i Khusraw al-Dihlawī*.
- (38) fols. 724b–737a: *Ghazaliyyāt-i Khusraw al-Dihlawī*.
- (39) fols. 737b–743a: *Ghazaliyyāt-i Shaykh Kamāl al-Khwājandī*.
- (40) fols. 743b–746a: *Ghazaliyyāt-i Mawlānā Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Bukhārī*.
- (41) fols. 747b–750a: *Muqatta'āt-i Ibn Yamīn*.
- (42) fols. 750b–752b: *al-Rubā'iyāt*.

DESCRIPTION: Each part well illuminated in a naïve style. 752 folios, 25 lines. 255 × 169, 168 × 115 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.

- [48] Ayasofya 3877: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*. *Naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Not illuminated, inner ornamentations of leather binding from ca. 1470 during the period of Mehmed II. 80 folios, 17 lines. 255 × 175 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fol. 80b. Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [49] Ayasofya 3881: Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh b. Sahl, *Sharḥ Dīwān Abū Miḥjan al-Thaqafi*. End of the 13th century [?], *thuluth*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: 20 folios, 12 lines. 350 × 234, 270 × 220 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 20b.
- [50] Ayasofya 3881 {repeated}:
 - (1) fols. 1a–17b: Abī Miḥjan al-Thaqafi, *Dīwān shi'r Abī Miḥjan al-Thaqafi*. Shawwal 681 (January 1283), *naskh*, *thuluth*, *riqā'*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī.
 - (2) fols. 18a–31a: Quṭayba b. Aws, *Dīwān shi'r al-Ḥādīra*. 684 (1285–86), *naskh*, *thuluth*, *riqā'*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī.
 - (3) fols. 32a–37a: Several couplets and prayers.

DESCRIPTION: Not illuminated. The colophon identifies the copyist as Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī, but the writing style indicates the copyist as a student of Yāqūt in the 14th century; non-original binding; illuminated opening page on fol. 18a; erased record on fol. 18a indicates that the book was prepared for the Mamluk governor Minkalī Boghā's treasury. Another colophon on fol. 31a refers to the copyist as Muḥammad b. Ḥaddād al-Ḥusaynī ?22 [the year erased]. 37 folios, several lines. 337 × 262, 279 × 224 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 32a, 37a.
- [51] Ayasofya 3930: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Arrakanī, *Dīwān al-Arrakanī*. 13th century, *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Abū Bakr b. Zakī. Not illuminated. 80 folios, 15 lines. 327 × 225 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 80b.
- [52] Ayasofya 3936: Compendium.
 - (1) fols. 1a–19a: Quṭayba b. Aws (poet), Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās (reporter), *Dīwān shi'r al-Ḥādīra*. Ramadan 829 (July–August 1426). DESCRIPTION: Copyist Muḥammad b. Ḥusām (al-mashhūr bi-) Shams al-Dīn al-Sultānī, produced in "*balḍat-i Harāt*."

- (2) fols. 18a–32a: Shanfarā al-Azdī, *Lāmiyyat al-‘Arab*. 829 (1425–26). DESCRIPTION: Copyist Muḥammad b. Ḥusām (al-mashhūr bi-) Shams al-Dīn al-Sultānī, produced in “*bal-dat-i Harāt*.”
- (3) fols. 32b–42a: Laqīṭ b. Ya‘mūr al-Iyādī, *Dīwān shi‘r Laqīṭ*. Dhu’l-Qa‘da 829 (September–October 1426), *thuluth* and *naskh*, Arabic.

DESCRIPTION: Copyist Muḥammad b. Ḥusām (al-mashhūr bi-) Shams al-Dīn al-Sultānī (master copyist of 1420s in the painting atelier of Herat under the patronage of the Timurid Prince Baysunghur), produced in “*dār al-sultāniyya Harāt*,” non-original binding. 43 folios, several lines. 308 × 249, 222 × 168 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 43b.

[53] Ayasofya 3945: *Jung-i Dawāwīn*. Ca. 1460, *nasta‘liq*, Persian.

- (1) fols. 1–18: al-Khāqānī, *Qaṣā‘id*.
- (2) fols. 19–38: al-Anwarī, *Dīwān*.
- (3) fols. 39–58: Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā‘īl, *Dīwān*.
- (4) fols. 59–77: Ṣāḥib al-Dīn Ṭāḥir, *Dīwān*.
- (5) fols. 78–97: al-Jabalī, *Dīwān*.
- (6) fols. 97–115: Ibn al-Ākhsikātī, *Ikhtiyārāt*.
- (7) fols. 116–35: Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār, *Ghazaliyyāt*.
- (8) fols. 136–55: Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn, *Ghazaliyyāt*.
- (9) fols. 156–86: Sa‘dī Shīrāzī, *Būstān*.
- (10) fols. 186–96: Sa‘dī Shīrāzī, *Qaṣā‘id*.
- (11) fols. 196–98: Sa‘dī Shīrāzī, *Marāthī*.
- (12) fols. 198–200: Sa‘dī Shīrāzī, *Tarjī‘āt*.
- (13) fols. 200–216: Sa‘dī Shīrāzī, *Tatīmma-i ṭayyibāt*.
- (14) fols. 215–26: Sa‘dī Shīrāzī, *Badāyi‘*.
- (15) fols. 227–32: Sa‘dī Shīrāzī, *Khawātim*.
- (16) fols. 232–54: Sa‘dī Shīrāzī, *Ghazaliyyāt*.
- (17) fols. 255–63: Sa‘dī Shīrāzī, *Ṣāḥibiyya*.
- (18) fols. 264–65: Sa‘dī Shīrāzī, *Muqaṭṭa‘āt*.
- (19) fols. 265–67: Sa‘dī Shīrāzī, *Rubā‘iyyāt*.
- (20) fols. 268–69: Sa‘dī Shīrāzī, *Mufradāt*.
- (21) fols. 270–89: Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Irāqī, *Muntakhab-i Dīwān*.
- (22) fols. 290–309: Kamāl al-Dīn Iṣfahānī, *Ghazaliyyāt*.
- (23) fols. 310–52: Jalāl al-Dīn Salmān al-Sawājī, *Dīwān*.
- (24) fols. 353–56: Jalāl al-Dīn Salmān al-Sawājī, *Marāthī*.
- (25) fols. 356–65: Jalāl al-Dīn Salmān al-Sawājī, *Muqaṭṭa‘āt*.
- (26) fols. 366–97: Jalāl al-Dīn Salmān al-Sawājī, *Ghazaliyyāt*.
- (27) fols. 398–400: Jalāl al-Dīn Salmān al-Sawājī, *Rubā‘iyyāt*.
- (28) fols. 400–438: Ḥāfiẓ-i Shīrāzī, *Dīwān*.
- (29) fols. 439–460: Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn al-Yazdī, *Dīwān*.
- (30) fols. 461–504: Khwājū Kamāl al-Dīn, *Dīwān*.
- (31) fols. 504–11: Sa‘d al-Dīn Nizārī, *Dīwān*.
- (32) fols. 511–71: al-Khujandī, *Muntakhab al-Dīwān*.
- (33) fols. 572–605: al-Bukhārī, *Dīwān*.
- (34) fols. 606–24: Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī, *Dīwān*.
- (35) fols. 625–48: Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī, *Dīwān*.

DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II, illuminated opening page. 48 folios, 34 lines. 280 × 190, 198 × 118 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.

- [54] Ayasofya 3946: Jung: *Intikhāb-i dawāwīn*. 879 (1474–75), *nasta'liq*, Persian.

- (1) fols. 1b–52a: *Dīwān-i Khusraw Dihlawī*.
- (2) fols. 52b–56a: *Dīwān-i Sayyid Qāsim*.
- (3) fols. 56b–63a: *Dīwān-i Sa'dī Shīrāzī*.
- (4) fols. 65b–93a: *Intikhāb-i Mawlānā Ḥāfiẓ*.
- (5) fols. 94a–128a: *Intikhāb-i Dīwān-i Shaykh Kamāl Khujandī*.
- (6) fols. 129b–133a: *Intikhāb-i Ḥasan Dihlawī*.
- (7) fols. 134b–162a: *Intikhāb-i Mawlānā Kātībī*.
- (8) fols. 162b–171a: *Intikhāb-i Mūr Shāhī*.
- (9) fols. 172b–178a: *Intikhāb-i Mawlānā Jāmī*.
- (10) fols. 179b–186a: *Intikhāb-i Dīwān Ḥāfiẓ Sa'd*.
- (11) fols. 186b–190a: *Intikhāb-i Dīwān-i Ashraf*.
- (12) fols. 191b–195a: *Intikhāb-i Bisāṭī*.

DESCRIPTION: Copyist 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Sulṭānī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khwārazmī, produced in "Shīrāz" during the Aq Qoyunlu period, illuminated first pages in each part, a rare copy on the basis of master hands at its illuminations and calligraphy, unoriginal binding. 195 folios, 12 lines. 305 × 193, 188 × 115 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 195b.

- [55] Ayasofya 3981: 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī, *Tarjuma-i arba'īn al-ḥadīth wa-dīwān-i Nawā'ī*. 889 (1484), *nasta'liq*, Chagatai. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Sulṭān 'Alī al-Mashhadī (renowned calligrapher of the Timurid period), produced in "dār al-salṭana Harāt." Illuminated title, binding with envelope flap, large medallions with flower and *rūmī* motifs on outer covers of the chestnut-colored binding. Could have been rebound in the 1500s in Istanbul. Several lines. 257 × 175 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II and Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.

- [56] Ayasofya 4012: Adīb Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd b. Yuknakī, *Atabat al-ḥaqā'iq*. Middle of Jumada II 848 (September–October 1444), *dīwānī*, Qāshghar Turkish in Uyghur and Arabic letters. DESCRIPTION: Copyist 'Abd Allāh b. Zayn al-Ābidīn b. Sulṭān-bakht al-Jurjānī al-Ḥusaynī, produced in Samarqand during the Timurid period, not illuminated, new binding. 62 folios, 6 lines. 185 × 105, 85 × 79 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 61b. Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.

- [57] Ayasofya 4092: Compendium.

- (1) fols. 1a–82a: Idrīs b. Ḥusam al-Dīn al-Bidlīsī, *Sharḥ Qaṣīda-i khamriyya*. 909 (1503–4), *naskh*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Produced in "Ṣūfiya al-Rūm." 11 lines. 172 × 125, 109 × 68 mm.
- (2) fols. 84a–148b: Āq Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥamza, *Risāla li-Āq Shams al-Dīn / al-Risāla al-nūriyya*. *Naskh*, Arabic.

DESCRIPTION: Not illuminated. 148 folios, 13 lines. 172 × 125, 124 × 85 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II.

- [58] Ayasofya 4172: Nūr al-Dīn b. 'Alī al-Hāshimī, *Takhmīs Kawākib al-durriyya al-Būsīrī*. 848 (1444–45), *thuluth* and *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: A rare copy. Dedication to Sulṭān 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm Sulṭān b. Shāhrukh (Timurid governor of Shiraz) in the colophon on fol. 50a, well-illuminated cartouches in a naïve style on fols. 1b–2a. Medallion and corner pieces ornamented with *khatāyī* flowers on the outer covers of the leather binding, engraved medallion on the inner covers. 50 folios, 7 lines. 263 × 173 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fol. 50b. Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.

- [59] Ayasofya 4213: Ibn al-Muqaffa' (his name within the book: al-Ḥakīm al-Faylasūf al-Hindī Ra'īs al-Barāhima li-Daylam al-Hind), *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. Shawwal 880 (January 1476), *naskh*, Arabic.

DESCRIPTION: Copyist Ḥusayn b. Dāwud, not illuminated. 146 folios, 19 lines. 290 × 175, 175 × 77 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fol. 146a. Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.

- [60] Ayasofya 4306: *Akḥbār wa-ash'ār wa-ādāb wa-ḥikam wa-nawādir wa-fīqar wa-waṣāyā muntakhaba*. 677 (1279). Ten folios signed by Yāqūt b. 'Abdallah al-Musta'īmī. SEAL: Bayezid II, Mahmud I's endowment seal, and the seal of his waqf inspector.

- [61] Ayasofya 4824: Compendium. *Naskh*, Arabic and Persian.

- (1) fols. 1–19: 'Ayn al-quḍāt al-Ḥamadānī, *Rāznāma*.
- (2) fols. 20–28: Maṭla'ī, *Kāghidhnāma*.
- (3) fols. 29–63: Anonymous, *Jawharat al-naḥs siyāsāt al-ra'īs*.
- (4) fols. 65–137: al-Tha'labī, *Khāṣṣat al-alḥāl*. 523 (1128–29). DESCRIPTION: Copyist Muḥammad b. 'Umar.
- (5) fols. 138–89: Anonymous, *Risāla-i amthāl*.
- (6) fols. 189–93: Anonymous, *Dar naḥy u ithbāt-i 'ilm-i nujūm*.

DESCRIPTION: 193 folios, several lines. 237 × 157 mm. Dedication to Shams al-Dīn b. 'Umar al-Qāḍī al-Ḥamadānī with *thuluth* script in opening page on fols. 1b–2a. Not illuminated. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 2a, 192a. Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 2a.

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- [62] Süleymaniye 177: Mollā Khusraw Muḥammad b. Farāmurz, *Hāshiya 'alā al-Bayḍāwī / Hāshiyat tafsīr al-Qāḍī / Hawāshī tafsīr al-Qāḍī*. Ca. 1470, *nasta'liq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II. Illuminated copy. 151 folios, 27 lines. 265 × 170, 194 × 108 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 1a.
- [63] Süleymaniye 354: Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar al-Taftāzānī, *al-Talwīḥ ilā kashfḥaqā'iq al-tanqīḥ*. 29 Sha'ban 876 (10 February 1472), *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Not illuminated. Period of Mehmed II. 379 folios, 29 lines. 300 × 170 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 379a, 379b.
- [64] Süleymaniye 1009: Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad al-Firūzābādī, *Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ wa-al-qāmūs al-wasīṭ*. 860 (1455), *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Miṣrī, produced in "*madīnat Bursa*." Medallion in a naïve style on fol. 1b, dedication to Mehmed II with *thuluth* script in illuminated opening page on fol. 2a. Original leather binding, chestnut-colored outer covers ornamented with medallions and corner pieces, inner covers with engraved medallions. 609 folios, 29 lines. 342 × 207, 250 × 160 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fol. 1a. Süleyman I's circular seal, fol. 1b.
- [65] Süleymaniye 1025: Majd al-Dīn Mubārak Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharā'ib al-ḥadīth*. Ca. 1465, *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II in the well-illuminated opening page on fols. 1b–2a. The black leather outer covers ornamented with medallions and corner pieces, the dark red inner covers ornamented with engraved stellate medallions and corner pieces. 368 folios, 27 lines. 355 × 250, 248 × 169 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II and Süleyman I, fols. 1a, 2b, 368a.

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- [66] Fatih 756: Aḥmad Pāshā Walī al-Dīn, *Ighṭinām al-furṣa li-qirā'at al-ḥadīth bi-buruṣa*. Ca. 1490, *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Dedication in *jālī thuluth* script to Bayezid II. Not illuminated.

33 folios, 17 lines. 215 × 144, 167 × 106 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 33a. Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.

- [67] Fatih 2561: Shaykh Wafā, *al-Awrād Shaykh Wafā*. Ca. 1480, *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Illuminated title, original leather binding. 277 folios, 7 lines. 263 × 181, 220 × 136 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 277b.
- [68] Fatih 3178: Anonymous, *Mujmal al-ḥikma*. 645 (1247–48), *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Muḥammad b. Muḥammad. Not illuminated. 13 folios, 19 lines. 312 × 236 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 134b.
- [69] Fatih 3611: Anonymous, *al-Ḥāṣil fī 'ilāj al-mafāṣil*. 643 (1245–46). DESCRIPTION: Not illuminated. 114 folios, 13 lines. 219 × 121, 158 × 72 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 114b.
- [70] Fatih 3639: Ḥalīmī Amāsyawī, *Gulshan-i zibā*. End of Shawwal 866 (July 1462), *naskh*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Sharaf al-Dīn b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥājj Ilyās (Şābūnjuoghlu) (*al-mutaṭabbib fī dār al-shifā'-yi Amāsiyya*). Dedication to Mehmed II on fols. 2b–3a. Not illuminated. 259 folios, 15 lines. 265 × 173, 196 × 111 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 258b. Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [71] Fatih 3645: Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī, *Nuzhat al-mulūk*. 4 Jumada I 862 (19 April 1458), *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Colophon on fols. 68b–69a. Copyist, illuminator, and bookbinder is Shahāb al-Dīn al-Qudṣī. Illuminated in a naïve style, a round medallion with the *Bābā Naqqāsh* flowers on the dark chestnut-colored outer covers, inner covers covered with dark red plain leather. 117 folios, 15 lines. 314 × 215, 191 × 128 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 116a.
- [72] Fatih 3646: Akhawayn-i Bukhārī, *Hidāyat al-muta'allimīn fī al-ṭibb*. 505 (1111–12), *naskh*, Persian. Incomplete at the beginning. Chapter titles in *jālī kūfī* script on the background illuminated with *rūmī* motifs. Not illuminated. 277 folios, 23 lines. 256 × 185, 203 × 140 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 275b, 276b.
- [73] Fatih 3678: Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, *Intikhāb-i Mantīq al-ṭayr*. 898 (1492–93), *nasta'liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Muḥammad al-Badakhshānī, produced in "*Qusṭanṭīniyya*." Dedication to Bayezid II on fol. 2a. 32 folios, 11 lines. 240 × 168, 144 × 68 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II and endowment seal of Mahmud I, fol. 1a.
- [74] Fatih 3682: Compendium. Ca. 1420.
- (1) fols. 1–206: Marzūbān b. Rustam, *Marzūbānnāma*. *Naskh*, Persian.
 - (2) fols. 208–444: Baydabā, *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. *Naskh*, Persian.
 - (3) fols. 445–580: Shams al-Dīn al-Daqā'i, *Sindubādnāma*. *Naskh*, Persian.
- DESCRIPTION: Incomplete at the end, produced in Timurid Shiraz. Illuminated opening page on fol. 1a and 1b with a naïve style. The book contains 27 illustrations. Probably produced in the 1420s in Shiraz during the reign of Timurid Mīrza Ibrāhīm Sulṭān on the basis of its illumination and illustration styles. Praying for Ibrāhīm Sulṭān on fol. 205. Non-original binding. 580 folios, 16 lines. 215 × 140 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 579b. Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [75] Fatih 3784: Awḥad al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Anwarī, *Dīwān-i Anwarī*. Shawwal 708 (March–April 1309), *nasta'liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiẓ. Illuminated opening page on fols. 1b–2a. Prepared for Mas'ūd b. Abū Bakr Sa'dan's treasury according to the record in *thuluth* script within the illuminated medallion on fol. 2b. Illuminated title. A large engraved medallion with *rūmī* motifs in the middle of the outer front cover of the leather binding, large *khaṭṭāyī* and rose-like motifs around the medallion. *Rūmī* ornamentation on the inner covers. The binding in particular has artistic value for the period concerned. Can be dated to the Ilkhanid period on the basis of its binding and illumination style. Anwarī (d. 1169?)

- is a renowned Persian poet, who praised the great Seljuq Sultan Sanjar (d. 1157) in his eulogies. He lived in Merv and Balkh (in today's Turkmenistan). 214 folios, 27 lines. 321 × 217 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 2a, 214b. Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 2a.
- [76] Fatih 3844: Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī, *Dīwān-i 'Irāqī*. End of Rajab 857 (August 1453), *nasta'liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Produced in Edirne. Illuminated title on fol. 1b. A circular medallion on the chestnut-colored outer cover of the original leather binding, triangular medallion and corner pieces ornamented with palmette motifs on the envelope flap, a small rectangular medallion on the light chestnut-colored leather inner covers, a round medallion on the envelope flap, the paper label with the book's name on the binding flap. Ex libris of Bayezid II and "Persian taken out of the room" written on the first folio. 129 folios, 17 lines. 227 × 145, 152 × 90 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 129b. Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [77] Fatih 3899: Shaykh Wafā, *Ash'ār Shaykh Wafā*. Ca. 1495, *ta'liq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Illuminated title, original leather binding. 105 folios, 13 lines. 235 × 155, 157 × 80 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 105a.
- [78] Fatih 4080: Compendium.
 (1) fols. 1–227b: *Makhzan al-abrār*.
 (2) fols. 128a–131b: Ma'nawī, *Dar tārikh-i fath-i Aghribuz gūyad*. 874 (1469–70), *naskh* and *ta'liq*, Persian and Arabic.
 DESCRIPTION: Prepared for Mehmed II's treasury according to the record on the illuminated opening page. 131 folios, 13 lines. 225 × 142, 145 × 86 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 131b. Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [79] Fatih 4130: Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tabrizī 'Aṭṭārī, *Mihr u Mushtarī*. Dhu'l-Hijja 894 (October–November 1489), *nasta'liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Produced in "*dār al-mulk-i Shīrāz*," illustrated and illuminated copy. Light chestnut-colored outer covers, leather binding with envelope flap, engraved gold-dusted medallion and corner pieces ornamented with embossed motifs on the outer covers. A rare copy from the painting atelier of Shiraz during the Aq Qo-yunlu period. 221 folios, 12 lines. 180 × 103, 106 × 59 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 221a.
- [80] Fatih 4171: Zakarriyyā b. Muḥammad b. al-Qazwīnī, *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*. Last day of Rabi' I 825 (February 1422), *nasta'liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Illuminated in a naïve style, illustrated, probably produced in Shiraz during the period of Timurid Mīrza Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, the illustrations on fols. 1b–2a and in the colophon on fol. 280a from master hands, non-original binding. 280 folios, 17 lines. 230 × 146, 150 × 87 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II and Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.

ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANİYE LIBRARY (TURHAN VALİDE SULTAN COLLECTION)

- [81] Turhan Valide 42: Shahāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Siwāsī, *Tafsīr li-Shaykh Shahāb al-Dīn ('Uyūn al-tafāsīr)*. 7 Rabi' I 886 (6 May 1481), *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Aḥmad b. Akhī Tūdī. Dedication to Bayezid II in the illuminated opening page on fol. 1a. 331 folios, 29 lines. 295 × 188, 204 × 118 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 1a.
- [82] Turhan Valide 44: Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī b. Mas'ūd al-Farrā al-Baghawī wa-'Abd Allāh b. Ibn Hīmar al-Dimashqī al-Asadī, *Ma'ālim al-tanzīl*. Middle of Rajab 867 (22 March–21 April 1463), *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Illuminated title in a naïve style on fol. 1b. Illuminated headpiece in a naïve style and dedication to Maḥmūd Pāshā within the medallion on fol. 755a.

- Light chestnut-colored leather outer cover ornamented with medallion and corner pieces, original binding. 756 folios, 25 lines. 358 × 257, 246 × 155 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 1a.
- [83] Turhan Valide 48: Ibn al-Athīr, *Jāmi' al-uṣūl fī aḥādīth al-uṣūl*. End of Muharram 870 (September 1465), *ta'liq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Produced in Edirne. Illuminated headpiece. Dedication to Mehmed II. Illuminated title on fol. 1b. Binding with envelope flap, outer covers covered with striped fabric, inner covers covered with paper. 567 folios, 41 lines. 468 × 270, 312 × 172 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 1a.
- [84] Turhan Valide 81: Ḥasan b. Busir al-Āmidī, *al-Aḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*. 14 Rabi' II 871 (23 September 1466), *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Dāwud b. Mawlānā Ibrāhīm b. Khwāja Dāwud al-Jamralqī al-Iṣfahānī. Dedication to Mehmed II in the illuminated opening page on fol. 1a. 588 folios, 19 lines. 253 × 169, 174 × 95 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II and Turhan Valide Sultan's endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [85] Turhan Valide 91: Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Fanārī, *Fuṣūl al-badāyi' fī uṣūl al-sharā'ī*. Dhu'l-Qa'da 870 (June–July 1466), *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Ibrāhīm, produced in Iznik according to the colophon, not illuminated. 25 lines. 272 × 182, 189 × 115 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 35b.
- [86] Turhan Valide 116: Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Abī Sahl al-Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-Siyar al-kabīr*. 14 Dhu'l-Qa'da 866 (10 August 1462), *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Dāwud b. Mawlānā Ibrāhīm b. Khwāja Dāwud al-Iṣfahānī al-Mulaqqab bi-al-Majdī. Produced "*bi-al-madrasat al-latī banāhā al-Sultān al-Marḥūm al-Maghfir al-Sultān al-Murād ṭayyab Allāh tharāhu.... min Edirne*" (in the madrasa of the late Sultan Murad II in Edirne). Dedication to Mehmed II in the illuminated opening page on fol. 1a. Binding with envelope flap, outer covers covered with checkered fabric, inner covers from paper, the paper label of the book pasted on the binding flap. 375 folios, 25 lines. 345 × 255, 235 × 172 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 75b.
- [87] Turhan Valide 118: Muṣṭafā b. Mawlānā Ḥusām, *al-Tashrīḥ* (second volume). End of Sha'ban 893 (August 1488), *ta'liq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Original copy according to the text on fol. 257a. 257 folios, 25 lines. 239 × 166, 150 × 94 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 256b.
- [88] Turhan Valide 127: Majd al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl 'Abd Allāh b. Maḥmūd al-Mawṣilī, *al-Ikhtiyār li-ṭālī' al-mukhtār*. Jumada I 809 (November–December 1403), *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Shahāb al-Dīn Muḥammad Mūsā. Illuminated headpiece on fols. 1b–2a. Light chestnut-colored leather original binding with envelope flap, large engraved medallion and corner pieces ornamented with flowers on the outer covers, engraved stellated medallion and corner pieces on the chestnut-colored leather inner covers. The name of the book on the headpiece in *thuluth* script reads as follows: *Kitāb al-ikhtiyār wa-huwa sharḥ al-Mukhtār fī fiqh al-ḥanafīyya*. Probably prepared in Baghdad during the Jalayirid period, or Cairo or Damascus during the Mamluk period as deduced from the master hands at the binding and illuminations. 336 folios, 23 lines. 269 × 178, 122 × 190 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1b, 33b.
- [89] Turhan Valide 196: 'Alī Qūshjī, *Sharḥ Tajrīd*. Rajab 896 (May–June 1491), *ta'liq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist al-Malik al-Walī Ibn al-Mubārak al-Maḍ'ū bi-'Alī ?. Illuminated title in Ottoman style on fol. 1b. 335 folios, 23 lines. 216 × 124, 139 × 69 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 335b.
- [90] Turhan Valide 210: Suhrawardī, *al-Mashārī'i wa-al-muṭārahāt*. 10 Šafar 871 (21 September 1466), *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Shams al-Dīn al-Qudṣī. Dedication to Mehmed II in the illuminated opening page on fol. 1a. Medallion and corner pieces ornamented with flowers in the *Bābā Naqqāsh* style on the outer covers of the dark chestnut-colored leather binding. Envelope flap ornamented with flowers in the *Bābā Naqqāsh* style. An engraved medallion

- ornamented with *rūmī* motifs on the dark red leather inner covers. 347 folios, 23 lines. 285 × 178, 170 × 98 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 348b, 347b.
- [91] Turhan Valide 238: Anonymous, *Sīrat ‘Antar b. Shaddād*. Ca. 1470, *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II on the opening page illuminated in a naïve style. At the top of the opening page is the expression *al-jild al-thānī min qiṣṣat ‘Antar fī al-tawārīkh*. 828 folios, 21 lines. 358 × 260, 240 × 172 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 828b.
- [92] Turhan Valide 265: Ibn Sīnā, *Qānūn fī al-ṭibb*. Ca. 1470, *ta‘līq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II in the illuminated opening page on fols. 1b–2a. 607 folios, 27 lines. 343 × 230, 188 × 133 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II and endowment seal of Turhan Valide Sultan, fol. 1a.
- [93] Turhan Valide 272: Ibn Nubāta, Abū al-Qāsim Yaḥyā b. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Nubātiyya, *Dīwān al-Khuṭab*. 14 Rabi‘ I? 661 (26 January? 1263), *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Maḥmūd ‘Alī b. Yūsuf al-Ṭarī. Illuminated headpiece on fols. 2b–3a, illuminations of a master hand. A large round medallion on the outer cover of the original dark chestnut-colored leather binding, a rare copy probably prepared in Mesopotamia. 189 folios, 15 lines. 255 × 190, 155 × 117 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fol. 2a. Turhan Valide’s endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [94] Turhan Valide 285: Compendium. 883 (1478–79), *ta‘līq*, Arabic.
 (1) fols. 1b–238a: Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh Qirīmī, *al-Muṭawwal fī ḥawāshī al-Sharḥ al-Muṭawwal*.
 (2) fols. 239b–301: Unidentified title, registered as “supercommentary on *Muṭawwal*” without any author’s name in the catalogue.
 DESCRIPTION: Copyist ‘Ibād Allāh Ḥusayn. Illuminated opening page from the time of Mehmed II on fol. 1a. 301 folios, 27 lines. 267 × 175, 165 × 110 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 301b. Another seal of Bayezid II with knot motif, fol. 1a.
- [95] Turhan Valide 290: Sa‘d al-Dīn Mas‘ūd b. ‘Umar al-Taftāzānī, *Mukhtaṣar sharḥ al-Talkhīs al-Miftāḥ*. Middle of Muharram 878 (15 June 1473), *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Salām Samsūnī. Not illuminated. A large medallion and corner pieces ornamented with flowers in the *Bābā Naqqāsh* style of Mehmed II’s rule on the outer cover of the light chestnut-colored leather binding. Dark red inner covers ornamented with engraved medallion and corner pieces. 148 folios, 21 lines. 224 × 130, 133 × 65 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fol. 1a. Turhan Valide’s endowment, fol. 3a.
- [96] Turhan Valide 304: Muḥḥir al-Dīn al-Fārisī, *al-Mukammal fī al-sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal li-Zamakhsharī*. 867 (1462–63), *ta‘līq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II on the illuminated opening page. 521 folios, 21 lines. 267 × 157, 185 × 83 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 1a.

ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANİYE LIBRARY (ŞEHZADE MEHMED COLLECTION)

- [97] Şehzade Mehmed 10: Shams al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, *al-Kawākib al-darārī fī sharḥ al-Bukhārī* (first volume). 14th century (?), *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Prince Mehmed’s (son of Süleyman I) waqf as mentioned in the last page. Probably produced during the Mamluk period. 283 folios, 27 lines. 278 × 184, 185 × 125 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 283b. Prince Mehmed’s circular seal, fol. 283b.
- [98] Şehzade Mehmed 15: Compendium.
 (1) fols. 1b: Ḥadīth and prayers. 2a: *al-Abyāt al-nāfi‘*. 3b: from Fīrūzābādī.

- (2) fols. 4b–258b: Rāḍī al-Dīn Ḥasan, *Mashāriqī al-anwār al-Nabawiyya fī shiḥaḥ al-akhbār al-Muṣṭafawīyya*. End of Dhu'l-Hijja 803 (August 1401), *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad.
- (3) fols. 259b–260a: *Mukhtaṣar al-Nabī*.
- (4) fols. 260b–261a: 'Alā' al-Dīn Turkistānī, *'Adad al-kabīr min al-dhunūb*. *Naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Not illuminated. 261 folios, 22 lines. 256 × 173, 138 × 82 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fol. 1a, 259a. Prince Mehmed's circular seal, fol. 5a.
- [99] Şehzade Mehmed 19: Mollā Khusraw Muḥammad b. Farāmurz, *Ḥāshiya 'alā al-Talwīḥ*. 1390–1400?, *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Probably produced in Bursa. Illuminated title in a naïve style on fol. 2b. Prepared for Bayezid I according to the record in the illuminated opening page on fol. 1a. Original dark chestnut-colored leather binding, a large medallion ornamented with knot motifs and large roses in the middle of the outer covers, a medallion ornamented with knot motifs in the middle of the dark red leather inner covers. The opening page indicates that the book was prepared for Bayezid I (r. 1389–1402), but considering Molla Khusraw's date of death (d. 1480) it seems unlikely that he could have written the book during the period of Bayezid I. Thus, the names of the sultans on the opening page could be wrong. On the other hand, the binding and illumination of the manuscript reflects the Ottoman style in ca. 1400. Thus, the manuscript is a rare copy with a dedication to Bayezid I. 182 folios, 19 lines. 252 × 170, 165 × 85 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 1a, 18b.
- [100] Şehzade Mehmed 25: Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī, *Ḥawāshī al-Sayyid al-Sharīf 'alā Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Ibn Ḥājib* (Jurjānī's supercommentary on 'Aḍuḍ al-Dīn al-Ījī's commentary on *al-Mukhtaṣar*). *Ta'liq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Not illuminated. 59 folios, 17 lines. 182 × 115, 120 × 63 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 59b. Note about Prince Mehmed's waqf and his seal, fol. 59b.
- [101] Şehzade Mehmed 26: 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-taḥqīq (Sharḥ Ākhsikātī)*. Sha'ban 855 (August–September 1451), *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Muṣliḥ al-Dīn b. Majd al-Dīn b. Shahāb al-Dīn. Not illuminated, probably from the Ottoman period. 263 folios, 23 lines. 274 × 187, 220 × 125 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 263b.
- [102] Şehzade Mehmed 28: 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Bukhārī, *Kashf al-asrār wa-ḥadiqat al-abrār*. Ca. 1470, *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II in the illuminated opening page on fol. 1a. 540 folios, 39 lines. 348 × 234, 242 × 142 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 540a.
- [103] Şehzade Mehmed 55: 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī, *Ḥāshiyat al-Sayyid al-Sharīf 'alā Sharḥ Shams al-Dīn al-Isfahānī li-Tajrīd fī 'ilm kalām*. 12 Rabi' II 871 (21 September 1466), *ta'liq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Illuminated title in the Ottoman style on fol. 1b. 257 folios, 27 lines. 221 × 130, 152 × 70 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 257a. Prince Mehmed's circular seal, fol. 1b.
- [104] Şehzade Mehmed 58: Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad Işfahānī, *Tashdīd al-qawā'id fī sharḥ al-Tajrīd al-'aqā'id*. Safar 875 (July–August 1470), *naskh* with Arabic diacritics, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Aḥmad b. Işḥāq. Dedication to Mehmed II in the illuminated opening page on fol. 1a. 310 folios, 21 lines. 254 × 156, 156 × 81 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 310b. Prince Mehmed's seal, fols. 1a, 2a.
- [105] Şehzade Mehmed 67: Naşīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt li-Ibn Sīnā*. 22 Muharram 872 (23 August 1467), *ta'liq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II in the illuminated opening page on fols. 1b–2a. 398 folios, 21 lines. 252 × 155, 170 × 90 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II and Prince Mehmed's seal, fol. 1a.
- [106] Şehzade Mehmed 68: Naşīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*. Middle of Dhu'l-Qa'da 870 (June–July 1466), *ta'liq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Not illuminated, period of Mehmed II. 347 folios, 17 lines. 328 × 231, 215 × 133 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 1a.

- [107] Şehzade Mehmed 78: Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Rāzī, *Lawāmi' al-asrār fī sharḥ Maṭālī' al-anwār*. Ca. 1470, *ta'liq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Illuminated title during the Ottoman period on fol. 1b. 120 folios, 21 lines. 263 × 173, 183 × 84 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, Prince Mehmed, and Süleyman I, fol. 1a.
- [108] Şehzade Mehmed 86: Mawlānā-zāda al-Ḥitāyī, *Hawāshī 'alā Mukhtaṣar al-Muṭawwal*. Ca. 1460, *ta'liq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Prepared for Mehmed II according to the record in the illuminated opening page on fols. 1b–2a. Illuminated title on fol. 2b. Original leather binding and illuminations from the master hands of the period of Mehmed II. 91 folios, 15 lines. 187 × 104, 112 × 54 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 91b.
- [109] Şehzade Mehmed 88: Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar al-Taftāzānī, *al-Muṭawwal 'alā al-Miftāḥ*. 10 Dhu'l-Qa'da 868 (15 July 1464), *ta'liq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Prepared for Mehmed II according to the record in the well-illuminated opening page on fols. 1b–2a. Black leather binding with envelope flap, a round medallion and large corner pieces ornamented with flower motifs in the *Bābā Naqqāsh* style on the outer cover. Inner covers covered with plain chestnut-colored leather in the 20th century. 321 folios, 22 lines. 263 × 164, 282 × 83 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II and Prince Mehmed, fols. 1a, 320b.
- [110] Şehzade Mehmed 101: Compendium.
- (1) fols. 2a–26b: al-Birkawī, *al-Maqṣūd*.
 - (2) fols. 28a–50b: al-Zanjānī, *al-'Izzī*. Middle of Safar 871 (September–October 1466).
 - (3) fols. 51b–102a: Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Mas'ūd, *Marāḥ al-ṣarf* (opening page), *Marāḥ al-arwāḥ* (text). End of Dhu'l-Hijja 872 (July 1468).
- DESCRIPTION: Illuminated opening page on fol. 1a. Illuminated title in the Ottoman style on fol. 1b. 103 folios, 11 lines. 250 × 150, 168 × 82 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II and Prince Mehmed, fol. 1a.

ISTANBUL, KÖPRÜLÜ LIBRARY (KÖPRÜLÜ FAZIL AHMED PAŞA COLLECTION)

- [111] Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 960: Compendium.
- (1) fols. 1b–48a: Ibn Jazla, *Taqwīm al-abdān*. *Naskh*, Arabic.
 - (2) fols. 49a–90b: Abū al-Ḥasan al-Mukhtār b. 'Abdūn b. Sa'dūn Ibn Buṭlān, *Taqwīm al-ṣiḥḥa*. Ca. 1470, *naskh*, Arabic.
- DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II on the illuminated opening page. 90 folios, 40 lines. 330 × 225, 255 × 135 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II and Fazıl Ahmad Pasha, fol. 2a.
- [112] Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 985: Compendium of medical treatises, copied in Tabriz by Najm al-Dīn al-Karkhīnī, on 10 Sha'ban 787 (16 September 1385), *nasta'liq*. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 1a.

ISTANBUL, NURUOSMANİYE LIBRARY

- [113] Nuruosmaniye 3571: Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb*. Ca. 1470, *nasta'liq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Prepared for Mehmed II according to the well-illuminated opening page in the *Bābā Naqqāsh* style. The binding is from the master hands of Mehmed II's period. 68 folios, 27 lines. 370 × 219, 245 × 135 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 6b.
- [114] Nuruosmaniye 3644: 'Abd al-Qādir b. Ghaybī al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Marāghī, *Jāmi' al-alḥān*. 3 Safar 818 (14 April 1415), *ta'liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Original copy, not illuminated, can be dated to the

Ottoman or Timurid period. 118 folios, 31 lines. 279 × 179, 180 × 117 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 118a.

- [115] Nuruosmaniye 3645: ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Ghaybī al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Marāghī, *Jāmi‘ al-alḥān*. Ca. 1435, *ta‘līq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Praise for Timurid sultan Shāhrukh Bahādur Khān (r. 1407–49) on fol. 2a. Fol. 1b illuminated in a naïve style. Can be dated to ca. 1435 in the Timurid period. 245 folios, 17 lines. 264 × 163, 165 × 95 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fol. 245a. Osman III’s endowment seal, fol. 1a.

ISTANBUL, MİLLET LIBRARY (FEYZULLAH EFENDİ COLLECTION)

- [116] Feyzullah 1983: Abū Sa‘īd Ḥasan b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṣayrafī, *Sharḥ abyāt Kitāb Sibawayh*. Ca. 1460, *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Prepared for Mehmed II according to the well-illuminated opening page. Original dark red leather binding with envelope flap. Medallion and corner pieces ornamented with flowers in the *Bābā Naqqāsh* style on the outer covers. Engraved medallions and corner pieces ornamented with *rūmī* motifs on the dark red leather inner covers. 552 folios, 45 lines. 350 × 210 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 552b.

ISTANBUL, BAYEZİD LIBRARY (VELİYÜDDİN EFENDİ COLLECTION)

- [117] Veliyüddin Efendi 3140: Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Ismā‘īl al-Ṭarāblusī, *Kifāyat al-mutaḥaffīz*. Early 14th century?, *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist ‘Umar b. Aḥmad. Illuminated opening page on fol. 1a. Original dark chestnut-colored leather binding. A motif made with tooling in the middle of the outer covers. Plain chestnut-colored leather cover of the inner covers must be recent. 82 folios, 9 lines. 155 × 100 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 79b.

ISTANBUL, ISTANBUL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

- [118] İstanbul Üniversitesi F.1407: Firdawsī, *Shāhnāma*. Jumada I 895 (April–May 1490), *nasta‘līq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Ḥusayn al-Mashhūr Gilūya. Produced in Shiraz during the Aq Qoyunlu period. Illustrated and illuminated copy, original binding. 548 folios, 23 lines. 358 × 227, 219 × 100 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 584a. Probably the Aq Qoyunlu Prince Alvand Beg’s (d. 1504) large round seal, fol. 2a.
- [119] İstanbul Üniversitesi F.1412: Sa‘dī, *Kullīyyāt*. Rabi‘ II 846 (August–September 1442), *nasta‘līq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Illustrated and illuminated copy, probably produced in Yazd during the Timurid period. 421 folios, 19 lines. 210 × 143, 141 × 89 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 2b.
- [120] İstanbul Üniversitesi F.1418: *Majmū‘at-i nujūm*. *Nasta‘līq*, Persian.
- (1) fols. 2b–108b: ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī Shāh al-Bukhārī, *Aḥkām al-‘a‘wām*.
 - (2) fols. 2b–108b: Shāh Mardin b. Abī al-Khayr Rāzī, *Rawḍat al-munajjimīn*.
 - (3) fols. 109b–194b: ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Sharīf al-Bakrī, *Burhān al-kifāya*.
 - (4) fols. 109b–245b: Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Zīj-i ilkhānī*.
 - (5) fols. 203b–210b: Anonymous, *Fī ‘ilm al-bayṭara wa-kitāb al-bāzat*.
- DESCRIPTION: Date of the copy 17 Dhu’l-Hijja 813 (12 April 1411) on fol. 180b, 10 Safar 814 (3 June 1411) on fol. 210b. A rare copy illustrated and illuminated at master hands. Prepared for Iskandar

Sultan b. 'Umar Shaykh (d. 1414), Timur's grandson and governor of Shiraz. Non-original binding, Sultan Abdülhamid II's tughra on the chestnut-colored leather binding. Some illuminated and illustrated parts of the compendium are in the London British Library Add. 27261, London Wellcome Library P. 474, Lisbon Gulbenkian Museum P. 161. Thus, the book must have been more than 700 pages long. 245 folios, 28 lines in the middle and 72 lines on the margin. 270 × 174 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II and Yıldız Palace's crescent-shaped seal with the inscription *Mābayn-i humāyūn*, fol. 2a.

KONYA MEVLANA MUSEUM

- [121] Mevlana Müzesi 119: Mollā Jāmī, *Dīwān*. 20 Ramadan 865 (29 June 1461), *nasta'liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copyist 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Sirāj al-Dīn. Probably produced in Herat during the Timurid period on the basis of its opening page on fol. 1a and illumination style on fol. 2b. 192 folios. 172 × 111 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 192b. First page refers to the sultan (without giving his name) as the owner of the book (Sa'īd Ḥamdān Chalabī Waqf).
- [122] Mevlana Müzesi 143: Compendium. Ca. 1500, *naskh*, Persian.
- (1) fols. 6a–18a: Qāsim al-Anwar, *Na't*.
 - (2) fols. 21b–41a: Molla Jāmī, commentary on the first couplet of Mawlānā's *Mathnawī*.
- DESCRIPTION: Copyist is probably Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh. Illuminated opening page on fol. 2a, illuminated title on fol. 2b, a symmetrical *thuluth* script (*Bayezid khān b. Sultān Mehmed*) on fol. 1b. 41 folios. 176 × 109, 102 × 59 mm. SEALS: No seal of Bayezid II, but prepared for Bayezid II according to the preamble on fols. 2b–5b. A seal with the inscription *al-Sultān Sulaymān* on the front side.

ISTANBUL, TURKISH AND ISLAMIC ARTS MUSEUM

- [123] Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 30: Qur'an. 1457–58, *muḥaqqaq* for Arabic text and *naskh* for the Persian translation. DESCRIPTION: A rare illuminated copy, illuminations must be from the *Bābā Naqqāsh* atelier in Edirne. Some illuminated pages of the book in the Lisbon Gulbenkian Museum and Dublin Chester Beatty Library. Brought to the Istanbul Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum from the Ayasofya Library in 1914. 636 folios, 7 lines. 360 × 267 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 636b. Mahmud I's seal, fol. 1a.
- [124] Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 448: Qur'an. Ca. 1470, gilded *thuluth*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: A rare copy with an illuminated headpiece during the period of Mehmed II. Original black leather binding. Other page of the illuminated headpiece in the Lisbon Gulbenkian Museum. Brought to the Istanbul Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum from the Ayasofya Library in 1914. 334 folios, 11 lines. 406 × 275 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fol. 334b. Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [125] Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 450: Qur'an. 3 Ramadan 713 (22 December 1313), *thuluth* and *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Shahzī b. Muḥammad. Illuminator Ayduktī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Badrī and 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Rassām al-As'ar. Prepared for the treasury of Mamluk Sultān al-Naṣr Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn. Engraved gilded medallion and corner pieces on the chestnut-colored leather binding, probably from the 15th-century Ottoman period. Brought to the

Istanbul Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum from Selim II's tomb at the Ayasofya. 305 folios, 11 lines. 340 × 240 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1b–2a, 304a.

- [126] Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 457: Qur'an. 10th century?, *Kūfī*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Can be dated to the Abbasid period. Illuminated copy. Chestnut-colored leather binding with envelope flap probably from the Mamluk period. Brought to the Istanbul Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum from the Ayasofya Library in 1914. 439 folios, 15 lines. 225 × 320 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 437b. Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [127] Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 458: Qur'an. 10th century?, *Kūfī*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Can be dated to the Abbasid period. Illuminations and binding probably from the 15th-century Mamluk period. Brought to the Istanbul Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum from the Ayasofya Library in 1914. 382 folios, 16 lines. 208 × 295 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 382a. Mahmud I, fol. 1a.
- [128] Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 486: Qur'an. Shawwal 718 (November–December 1318), *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Aḥmad b. al-Suhrawardī. From the Ilkhanid period. Illuminated copy. *Fālnāma* on fols. 278b–279b dated as 857 (1453). Light chestnut-colored leather binding probably from the late 15th-century Ottoman period. Endowed to a mosque (no mosque name provided) in 917 (1511–12) according to the record on fol. 2a. Brought to the Istanbul Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum from the Ayasofya Library in 1914. 279 folios, 13 lines. 356 × 275 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 278b. Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [129] Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 509: Qur'an. Ca. 1480, *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Illuminated copy, probably prepared in Shiraz during the Aq Qoyunlu period, original leather binding. Brought to the Istanbul Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum from Murad I's tomb in Bursa in 1913. 524 folios, 9 lines. 260 × 170 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 524b.
- [130] Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 533: Qur'an. 1480–90, *rayḥānī*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to the Mamluk sultan Qaytbay on the illuminated opening page. Illuminations from the Mamluk period. The binding was probably made in the Ottoman palace in the late 15th or early 16th century. Brought to the Istanbul Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum from the Üsküdar Atik Valide Mosque in 1916. 463 folios, 9 lines. 567 × 395 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fol. 437a. Ahmed III's endowment seal, fol. 463b.
- [131] Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 553: 29th chapter of the Qur'an and a part of the 30th chapter. 10th century?, *Kūfī*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Can be dated to the Abbasid period. Illuminated copy. Dark chestnut-colored leather binding from the late 15th-century Ottoman period. Brought to the Istanbul Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum from the Ayasofya Library in 1914. 47 folios, 6 lines. 210 × 130 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 1a.
- [132] Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 1820: Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar al-Taftāzānī, *al-Maqāṣid*. 881 (1477), *nasta'liq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Junayd al-Toqādī, produced in Amasya during Prince Bayezid II's stay in Amasya. Plainly illuminated copy. Leather binding with envelope flap from a master hand, plant and monkey figures on the outer front, engraved medallions and corner pieces on the inner covers. Brought to the Istanbul Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum from the Edirne Selimiye Mosque Library. 515 folios, 25 lines. 265 × 175 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 515b. Selim II's endowment record.
- [133] Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 1923: Ḥāfiz, *Dīwān*. 15th century?, *nasta'liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Illuminated copy. 150 folios, 16 lines. 260 × 170 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 1a.
- [134] Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 1982: Khusraw Dihlawī, *Dīwān*. 834 (1430–31), *nasta'liq*, Persian. Produced in Shiraz during the Timurid period for Sultan Ibrāhīm. Illuminated copy, non-original binding. 342 folios, 16 lines. 270 × 175 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 1a.

- [135] Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 1987: Kâtibî, *Dîwân*. 860 (1455–56), *nasta'liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copyist 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khwārazmī. Probably produced in Baghdad during the Qara Qoyunlu period. Dedication to the Qara Qoyunlu Prince Pîr Budaq in the illuminated opening page on fol. 1a. Illuminated headpiece on fols. 1b–2a. Medallions and corner pieces on the outer covers of the black leather binding with envelope flap. Engraved medallions and corner pieces on the chestnut-colored leather inner covers. 131 folios. 13 lines. 210 × 125 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II and endowment seal of Mahmud I, fol. 1a. Selim I's circular seal, fol. 131b.
- [136] Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 1992: Farîd al-Dîn 'Aṭṭâr, *Khamsa*. Ca. 1440, *nasta'liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Produced in Herat for the Timurid sultan Shāhrukh. A rare illuminated copy. 405 folios, 25 lines. 360 × 260 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 1a.
- [137] Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 1999: Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsî al-Ghazālî, *Kitāb-i Kîmyā-yi sa'adat*. 2 Safar 781 (19 May 1379), *nasta'liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copyist 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azîz b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kâtib al-Muthahhib al-Shîrāzî. Produced in "*bilād-i Shîrwān*" for Shîrwānshāh Hūshang. Illuminated copy. Original binding with envelope flap, medallions and corner pieces ornamented with flowers on the chestnut-colored leather inner and outer covers. 401 folios, 21 lines. 295 × 210 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, and Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [138] Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 2015: Compendium.
- (1) fols. 1b–22a: Suyūṭî's text on *ḥadīth*. Ca. 1480. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to the Mamluk sultan Qaytbay on the illuminated opening page.
 - (2) fols. 23a–35b: *Ṣad kalimāt 'Alî*. Ca. 1460, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Yūsuf Shāh al-Harawî. Copied directly from Ya'qūb's handwriting in *thuluth*, *naskh*, *muḥaqqaq*. Probably copied in Herat during the Timurid period.
 - (3) fols. 37a–69a: *Risāla*. 408 (1017), *thuluth* and *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist 'Alî b. Hilāl al-Bawwāb. Probably copied in Baghdad.
- DESCRIPTION: Brought to the Istanbul Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum from the Ayasofya Library. The record on the front page identifies the owner of the book as Abū Bakr b. Rustam al-Shirwānî (Ra'īs al-kuttāb, d. 1723). 69 folios, several lines. 250 × 170 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 23a, 35b. No seal of Mahmud I but includes the Ayasofya Library waqf inspector's seal and record.
- [139] Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 2046: Sultān Aḥmad Jalāyir, *Dîwân*. 10 Sha'ban 809 (20 January 1407), 5 Ramadan 809 (13 February 1407), *nasta'liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copyist 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Alî. Copied in Baghdad. Illustrated copy. Medallion and corner pieces ornamented with flowers on the chestnut-colored leather outer covers of the original binding with envelope flap. Engraved medallion and corner pieces on the light chestnut-colored leather inner covers. A rare copy produced during the life of the sultan. 35 folios, 15 lines, 34 lines at the margin. 275 × 182 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 235b. Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.
- [140] Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi 2050: Kamāl Khwujandî, *Dîwân*. 861 (1456–57), *nasta'liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Fakhr al-Dîn Aḥmad. Illuminated copy, prepared in Shiraz or Baghdad during the Qara Qoyunlu period. 241 folios, 15 lines. 230 × 130 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, and Mahmud I's endowment seal, fol. 1a.

ISTANBUL, MILITARY MUSEUM

- [141] İstanbul Askeri Müze 901-70: Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī, *Kitāb Abullūniūs fī al-makhrūtāt fī ‘ilm al-handasa*. Ca. 1500, *nasta‘līq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Ḥasan Tawfiqī, produced in the Ottoman period. 236 folios, 20 lines. 250 × 150 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, Mahmud I's endowment seal, and the Muhandiskhāna-i Barr-i Humāyūn's seal with Selim III's tughra, fol. 1a.
- [142] İstanbul Askeri Müze 901-82: Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-qānūn fī ‘ilm al-nujūm*. 532 (1137–38), *naskh* and *thuluth*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist ‘Uthmān b. Abū Ṭāhir. Not illuminated. Original chestnut-colored leather binding, a round medallion made by tooling on the middle of the outer cover. Paper label of the book on the front outer cover of the binding. 394 folios, 29 lines. 265 × 403 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, Ahmed III's circular seal, and the Mukhandiskhāna-i Barr-i Humāyūn's seal with Selim III's tughra, fol. 1a.

ISTANBUL, KUBBEALTI ACADEMY COLLECTION

- [143] Ayverdi XIV/1: Anonymous, four treatises in *‘ilm al-akhlāq*. Ca. 1500, *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Muḥammad b. Sa‘dī, a student of Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh. Produced during the Ottoman period. Not illuminated, non-original binding. 28 folios, 7 lines. 170 × 114 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 27b.

BURSA, İNEBEY LIBRARY

- [144] Haraçcı 978: Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī, *Dīwān-i Amīr Khusraw*. Dhu'l-Hijja 822 (December 1419–January 1420), *nasta‘līq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Probably produced in Shiraz during the Timurid period. Illuminated title in a naïve style on fol. 1b. Original dark chestnut-colored leather binding, the statements of the prophets on the inner and outer covers. Medallions and corner pieces made with tooling on the outer covers, engraved medallions and corner pieces on the inner covers. 161 folios, 19 lines. 223 × 150 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 161b.
- [145] Orhan C. 1196: Aḥmad Dā‘ī, *Dīwān*. 816 (1413–14), *nasta‘līq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Original copy. Illuminated opening page on fol. 1a, illuminated title on fol. 1b. Original chestnut-colored leather binding ornamented with a plain medallion with envelope flap. Probably produced in Bursa. 58 folios, 11 lines. 183 × 97 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II's ownership record on fol. 1a.

BURSA, TURKISH AND ISLAMIC ARTS MUSEUM

- [146] Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, 11: Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Zij-i ilkhānī*. Ca. 1485, *nasta‘līq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Produced during the Ottoman period. Original light chestnut-colored leather binding with envelope flap. Medallions and corner pieces ornamented with roses on the outer covers. Erased ornamentation on the black leather inner covers. Illuminated opening page on fol. 3a, illuminated title on fol. 3b. 147 folios, 21 lines. 265 × 175 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, fols. 3a, 147b. Bayezid II's ownership record on the front page and the ex-libris of his son, “*ṣāḥib Sulṭān Selīm b. Bayezid*,” on fol. 1b.

ÇORUM, PUBLIC LIBRARY

- [147] İl Halk Kütüphanesi, 1955: Nizārī, Naʿīm al-Dīn b. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Quhistānī, *Dīwān*. 9 Muharram 865 (25 October 1460), *nastaʿlīq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copyist, illuminator, and bookbinder is Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. Muḥammad according to the colophon. Probably produced in Herat during the Timurid period or in Baghdad during the Qara Qoyunlu period. Illuminated title, non-original binding. 251 folios, 21 lines. 257 × 160 mm. SEALS: No seal of Bayezid II, but this rare copy is mentioned in ʿAtufi's inventory. Probably the seal impressions were removed during the rebinding.

MANISA, MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY

- [148] Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Hk. 183: Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (194–256/810–70), *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ* (commentaries and supercommentaries on the *Kutub sitta*). Ca. 1485–90 during the Ottoman period, *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Not illuminated. The binding with envelope flap covered with paper. Prepared for Bayezid II according to the record in *thuluth* script with black ink within the gilded medallion on fol. 1a. 582 folios, 25 lines. 340 × 255, 240 × 162 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II's almond-shaped seal and Süleyman I's circular seal, fols. 1a, 582b.
- [149] Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Hk. 355: Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿUthmān al-Gūrānī (813–93/1410–88), *al-ʿAbqarī fī ḥawāshī al-Jābirī*. Ca. 1480 during the Ottoman period, *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Erased dedication to a sultan within the circular medallion on fol. 1a. Medallions and corner pieces on the outer covers of the original binding, *jalī thuluth* script on the wide borders, engraved round medallions and corner pieces on the dark red leather inner covers, scripts on the wide borders of the inner covers. 281 folios, 25 lines. 260 × 170, 162 × 93 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 1a.
- [150] Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Hk. 509: ʿAlī b. Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-Marghinānī, *Hidāya fī sharḥ Bidāyat al-mubtadī*. Dhu'l-Qa'da 818 (January 1416), *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Probably produced in Bursa. Illuminated title on fol. 1b. Plain round medallion made by tooling on the leather binding. 275 folios, 31 lines. 320 × 220–200, 205 × 135 mm. SEALS: Süleyman I, fol. 1a. Bayezid II's almond-shaped seal and Süleyman I's circular seal in the colophon.
- [151] Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Hk. 772: Fakhr al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿUthmān b. ʿAlī al-Zaylāī (d. 743/1342), *Tabyīn al-ḥaqq fī sharḥ Kanz al-daqaʿiq*. Ramadan 889 (September–October 1484), *naskh* with Arabic diacritics, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Ṭanāḥī (Ṭanāḥ is a town in the Nile Delta in Egypt). Circular medallion ornamented with *khaṭāyī* flowers and corner pieces ornamented with *rūmī* motifs on the outer covers of the chestnut-colored leather binding. *Thuluth* script: “for the treasury of the Qāḍī al-quḍāt Muḥibb al-Dīn b. Maḥmūd..? al-Ḥanafī” (the Hanafi judge of Cairo during the reign of Qaytbay) within the medallion on the illuminated opening page. Probably produced in Cairo during the Mamluk period. 578 folios, 29 lines. 320 × 220, 230 × 140 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II's almond-shaped seal and Süleyman I's circular seal, fols. 1a, 578b.
- [152] Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Hk. 787: Qāḍī Khān Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Maṣṣūr al-ʿUzjandī (d. 592/1196), *Fatāwā Qāḍī Khān*. Ca. 1450, *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Produced in Bursa or Edirne. Illuminated opening page in a naïve style with the name of the book on fol. 1a.

Illuminated title in a naïve style on fol. 1b. 523 folios, 27 lines. 300 × 179, 227 × 116 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II's almond-shaped seal, fol. 1a.

- [153] Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Hk. 805: Tāhir b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Rashīd al-Bukhārī, *Khulāṣat al-fatāwā*. 20 Dhu'l-Qa'da 760 (13 October 1359), *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Produced in Egypt. Non-original chestnut-colored leather binding from the late fifteenth century, engraved medallion on the outer covers, illuminated opening page in the Mamluk style on fol. 1a. 404 folios, 27 lines. 256 × 180, 200 × 134 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II's almond-shaped seal and Süleyman I's circular seal, fols. 1a, 404a.
- [154] Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Hk. 837: Sayyid Sharīf A'li b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Jurjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*. 899 (1493), *ta'liq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Illuminated title with different color tones in a naïve style. An engraved medallion with a cloud motif and corner pieces on the outer covers of the leather binding. Plain dark red leather inner covers. Ottoman period. 315 folios, 25 lines. 242 × 162, 170 × 100 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II's almond-shaped seal, fol. 315b. Mehmed II's tughra in black ink, fol. 1a.
- [155] Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Hk. 842: Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar al-Taftāzānī (712–93/1312–90), *Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid al-ṭālibīn*. 853 (1449–50), *ta'liq*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Produced in Bursa or Edirne during the Ottoman period. Chestnut-colored leather binding with envelope flap. Cross-shaped medallion ornamented with small flowers on the outer covers. Illuminated title in a naïve style. 327 folios, 25 lines. 272 × 182, 186 × 92 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II's almond-shaped seal and Süleyman I's circular seal, fols. 3a, 327b. Probaby 'Atufi's notes, fol. 3a.

DALLAS, KEIR COLLECTION

- [156] Keir Collection, PT.01: Yūsuf b. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Jāmi', *Farā'id al-Ghiyāthiyya*. Rabi' I 881 (July 1476), *dīwānī*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Sayyid Muḥammad Ibn Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Munshī al-Muḥsinī. Probably produced in Tabriz or Shiraz during the Aq Qoyunlu period. Dedication to Mehmed II in the illuminated opening page on fol. 1a. Medallions and corner pieces made by tooling on the outer covers of the original chestnut-colored leather binding, engraved medallions and corner pieces on the dark red leather inner covers. 209 folios, 11 lines. 313 × 195 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 209b.

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE

- [157] Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arab 3365: 'Abd al-Qādir al-Kāshī, *Rawḍat al-nāẓir wa-nuṣḥat al-khāṭir*. 10 Dhu'l-Hijja 793 (8 November 1391), *nasta'liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Faṭḥ Allāh 'Ubayd Allāh Sa'dī Bitikchī Qazwīnī. Produced in Baghdad probably during the Jalayirid period. 198 folios, 15 lines. 190 × 150 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II and the ownership record of Abū Bakr b. Rustam Shīrwānī (chief scribe, d. 1723), fols. 3a, 198b.
- [158] Bibliothèque nationale de France, P.162A: Ṭabarī, *Tarjuma-i tārikh-i Ṭabarī*. 842 (1439), *naskh*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Translator al-Bal'amī, copyist Tāhir b. Muḥammad Beg al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Sivāsī. 258 folios, 21 lines. 335 × 225 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 258b.
- [159] Bibliothèque nationale de France, P.191: Bayḍāwī, *Niẓām al-tawārīkh*. Ca. 1330, *nasta'liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Produced in Tabriz during the Ilkhanid period. Illustrated copy. 46 folios, 14 lines. 275 × 185 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II. fols. 1a, 46b.

- [160] Bibliothèque nationale de France, P.205: Aṭā-Malik al-Juwaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*. 4 Dhu'l-Hijja 689 (8 December 1290), *nasta'liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copied by Rashīd al-Khwāfi; probably produced in Baghdad during the Ilkhanid period. A rare illustrated copy. 175 folios, 27 lines. 330 × 255 mm. SEALS: Bayezid II, Timurid sultan Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (d. 1507), and chief scribe Abū Bakr b. Rustam Shīrwānī's (d. 1723) ownership records, fol. 1a.
- [161] Bibliothèque nationale de France, P.591: Nizāmī, *Khusraw u Shirin*. 3 Dhu'l-Hijja 870 (17 July 1466), *nasta'liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Probably produced in Shiraz during the Qara Qoyunlu period. Illuminated copy. 160 folios, 34 lines. 260 × 190 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 160b.
- [162] Bibliothèque nationale de France, P.816: Several authors, Compendium. Dhu'l-Hijja 811 (April 1409). DESCRIPTION: Well-illuminated in Shiraz style of the Timurid period. 523 folios, several lines. 265 × 175 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 1a.
- [163] Bibliothèque nationale de France, P.1314: Rāwandī, *Rāhat al-ṣudūr wa-āyat al-surūr*. Ca. 1280, *naskh*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Probably produced in Konya. Large medallions on the dark chestnut-colored leather binding with envelope flap. 179 folios, 19 lines. 310 × 245 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 179b.
- [164] Bibliothèque nationale de France, P.1332: Ḥasan Nizāmī Nisābūrī, *Tāj al-ma'shar*. Ca. 1360, *naskh*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Probably produced in Shiraz. Illuminated copy. 308 folios, 21 lines. 290 × 225 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 308b.
- [165] Bibliothèque nationale de France, P.1473: Several authors, compendium. Ca. 1475, *nasta'liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Probably produced in Herat during the Timurid period. Illuminated chapter titles. 257 folios, 15 and 8 lines. 175 × 135 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 2a, 257b.

GENOA, BRUSCHETTINI COLLECTION

- [166] Bruschettini Collection: Sa'dī Shīrāzī, *Būstān*. 903 (1497), *nasta'liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Muḥammad Badakhshānī al-Sulṭānī, produced during the Ottoman period. SEAL: Bayezid II, at the beginning and the end of the manuscript.

GOTHA, LANDESBIBLIOTHEK GOTHA COLLECTION

- [167] Landesbibliothek Gotha, Ms. Orient. P.48: Firdawsī, *Intikhāb-i Shāhnāma*. Ca. 1460, *nasta'liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Dedication to Mehmed II in the illuminated opening page on fol. 1a. 91 folios, 15 lines. 250 × 140 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 1a.

DUBLIN, CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY

- [168] Chester Beatty, T.401: Hidāyat, *Dīwān-i Hidāyat*. Ca. 1475, *nasta'liq*, Chagatai Turkish. DESCRIPTION: Produced during the Aq Qoyunlu period. Illuminated headpiece on fols. 1b–2a, and illuminated title on fol. 2b. Dedication to the Aq Qoyunlu sultan Khalīl (d. 1478) on the opening page. Engraved medallions and corner pieces on the dark chestnut-colored leather outer covers, adorable medallions and corner pieces ornamented with embossed leather on the light chestnut-colored inner covers. Calligraphy, illuminations, and illustrations from the master

hands. 73 folios, 11 lines. 173 × 123 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 71b. Mahmud I's endowment seal, and probably an Aq Qoyunlu prince's round seal, fol. 1a.

- [169] Chester Beatty, A.3007: *Iṣṭakhrī, Ṣuwar al-aqālīm (masālik al-mamālik)*. 13th century?, *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: A copy with colored maps. 205 folios. 335 × 245 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 205b.

WASHINGTON, DC, FREER GALLERY OF ART

- [170] Freer Gallery of Art, Purchase F1932.32-37: Sulṭān Aḥmad Jalāyir, *Dīwān*. Ramadan 805? (March–April 1402?), *nasta'liq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: A rare illustrated copy illuminated in a naïve style. Produced in ca. 1410. Probably produced in Tabriz or Baghdad during the Jalayirid period. Original dark chestnut-colored leather binding. 337 folios, several lines. 292 × 203 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 337b.

NEW YORK, PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

- [171] Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.500: Ibn Bakhtīshū', *Manāfi'-i al-ḥayawān*. Ca. 1298–1300, *naskh* and *kūft*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Translated into Persian by 'Abd al-Hādī Muḥammad al-Marāghī. Erased colophon. Probably produced in 1298–1300 in Maragheh in northwestern Iran. Ilkhanid period. A rare copy with one hundred miniatures, translated from Arabic to Persian upon the request of the Ilkhanid ruler Ghazan Khan (r. 1295–1304). The binding was probably renewed in the Ottoman palace during the period of Bayezid II. 86 folios, 15 lines. 355 × 280 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 2a, 84b.

LONDON, THE BRITISH LIBRARY

- [172] British Library, Add.18866: Muḥammad b. 'Isā b. Ismā'īl al-Ḥanafī al-Aqṣarā'ī, *Nihāyat al-su'l wa-al-umniyya fī ta'līm a'māl al-furūsiyya*. 10 Muharram 773 (25 July 1371), *naskh*, Arabic. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Aḥmad al-Miṣrī. Eighteen miniatures in the Mamluk style. Produced in northern or western Mesopotamia. The binding was probably renewed in Istanbul in the fifteenth century. SEAL: Bayezid II, opening page and fol. 292a.
- [173] British Library, Or.2780: Jung-Compendium.
- (1) fols. 1–40: Ḥusām al-Dīn Asadī al-Ṭūsī, *Garshāsbnāma*.
 - (2) fols. 41–132: Aḥmad Tabrizī, *Shahinshāhnāma*. Rabi' I 800 (November–December 1397), *naskh* resembling *ta'liq*. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Muḥammad b. Sa'īd b. Sa'd al-Ḥāfiẓ.
 - (3) fols. 134–87: Anonymous, *Bāhnāma*.
 - (4) fols. 188–243: Anonymous, *Kūshnāma*. Safar 800 (October–November 1397).
- DESCRIPTION: Copyist Muḥammad b. Sa'īd b. Sa'd al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Qārī'. Illuminated copy, illuminated chapter titles. Non-original binding. Probably produced in Shiraz during the early years of the Timurid prince Iskandar's (d. 1414) governorship in Shiraz on the basis of the illuminations and illustrations of the master hands. A part of the book is in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (MSS.P. 114). 243 folios, 23 lines. 254 × 165 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fols. 1a, 243b.

- [174] British Library, Or.7742: Muḥammad ‘Aṣṣār, *Tarjuma-i Turkī-yi Mihr u Mushtarī*. 892 (1486–87), *naskh?*, *ta’līq?*, Turkish. DESCRIPTION: Translated from Persian to Turkish by Ibrāhīm Amāsyawī. 238 folios. 190 × 130 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II, fol. 237b.

FLORENCE, VILLA I TATTI

- [175] Villa I Tatti: Several authors, Timurid anthology. Ramadan–Shawwal 830 (July–August 1427), *nasta’līq*, Persian. DESCRIPTION: Copyist Muḥammad b. Ḥusām al-Mushtahir Shams al-Dīn Sulṭānī. Probably produced in the Herat atelier under the patronage of the Timurid prince Baysunghur (d. 1430). A rare illuminated and illustrated copy. 235 × 163 mm. SEAL: Bayezid II and probably ‘Atufi’s note on the first page.

LONDON, SOTHEBY’S

- [176] Sotheby’s Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures, London: 22 October, 1993, No. 168: Amīr Ḥusaynī, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*. 829 (1425). DESCRIPTION: Copied in Abarkuh during the Timurid period. SEAL: Bayezid II, on the last page.

APPENDIX III WITH PLATES FROM MANUSCRIPTS AT THE TOPKAPI PALACE MUSEUM LIBRARY

SOME BOOKS BEARING THE SEAL OF BAYEZID II AND/OR DEDICATIONS TO HIM:
A COMPARISON OF TITLES INSCRIBED BY HIS LIBRARIAN AND CORRESPONDING
ENTRIES IN THE LIBRARY INVENTORY

TSMK, AHMED III COLLECTION

[1] *A. 59 (Karatay: A 2107): Missing from MS Török F. 59.

There is no title in the hand of ‘Atufi above the opening page, nor on the flyleaf of this manuscript, which interprets the first sura of the Qur’an (*al-Fātiḥa*). The abbreviated title on the renewed sticky label of the binding is *Kitābu al-rawḍati al-fā’iḥati*. The longer title in the frontispiece (fol. 1a), written in a monumental cursive script in gold, *Kitābu al-rawḍati al-fā’iḥati fī tafsīri al-fātiḥati*, matches verbatim the entry in ‘Atufi’s inventory (26 {7}). Because the intact volume lacks seal impressions of Bayezid II and a title assigned by ‘Atufi, it may be a later copy of the same work that is listed in the inventory. The frontispiece gives the author’s name as Husain b. Maya al-Maghribi al-Maliki. On fol. 30a–b is a lengthy dedication to Bayezid II, dated 911 (1505–6), where the author repeats his own name and identifies himself as the “keeper of the book treasury of the lofty noble [royal] residence” (*khādiman bihi khizānata kutubi al-maqarri al-ashrafi al-‘ālī*). This suggests that he was perhaps appointed as the successor of ‘Atufi, who had left the post of court librarian by 1504 (Ramadan 909), or he may have been one of the library scribes. *Waqf* seal of Ahmed III on fol. 1a.

[2] *A. 156 (Karatay: A 1676): Missing from MS Török F. 59.

The title on fol. 1b is *Kitābu al-tibyāni fī tajwīdi al-Qur’āni*. It is dated the beginning of Dhu’l Qa’dah 912 (March 1507). The same title appears on the renewed sticky label of the binding. Dedicated to Bayezid II on fol. 5a, with his seal on fols. 1a, 102b. *Waqf* seal of Ahmed III on fol. 1a.

[3] *A. 301/1 (Karatay: A 2833): Missing from MS Török F. 59.

The title above the flyleaf is *Al-Juz’u al-awwalu* [*al-thānī*, crossed out] *min Kitābu jāmi’i al-uṣūli min al-aḥādīthi al-nabīyyati -‘alayhi al-ṣalawātu wa-al-salāmu*. No sticky label on the binding. This first volume of a two-volume Arabic work on the principles of hadith by Ibn al-Athir (d. 1210) was copied by Ghiyath al-Din ‘Ali b. Ahmad on 10 Rabi’ II, 912 (August 30, 1506). Bayezid II’s seal is stamped only in this first volume of the set (fols. 6a, 418b); the second volume A. 301/2 (Karatay: A 2834) copied in the same year lacks his seal. The first volume also has Ahmed III’s almond-shaped seal bearing his accession date 1115 (1703) on fol. 2a, and his round *waqf* seal on fol. 6a.

[4] *A. 558 (Karatay: A 3176): Included in MS Török F. 59 [55 {10–11}, *Kitābu zubdati al-jawāmi’i al-muḥammadiyyati wa-barqati al-lawāmi’i al-aḥmadiyyati fī al-jihādi bi-al-aḥādīthi*]. PLATE 1 [1–3]

The same title appears above fol. 1a and on the authentic rectangular sticky label of the binding, except that it ends with *fi al-ahādīthi*. This work on hadith related to the subject of jihad is dedicated to Mehmed II in gold letters on fol. 13b. Bayezid II's seal on fols. 1a, 291b. Ahmed III's *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[5] *A. 607 (Karatay: A 3103): Missing from MS Török F. 59.

No title is assigned by 'Atufi on the flyleaf or opening page; the original binding lacks a sticky label. An Arabic commentary concerning hadith on the subject of belief by the former palace librarian Hayreddin Hızır b. Mahmud 'Atufi, titled *Kitābu al-jawharati al-jināniyyati fi al-masā'ili al-imāniyyati fi sharhi al-hadithi al-muta'alliqi bi-al-imāni*, dated end of Dhu'l Qa'dah 916 (February 1511) on fol. 50a. The author was a Friday preacher when he presented this work to the sultan as an offering to the imperial treasury (*fi khidmāti khizānati uthmāniyyati khāqāniyyati Sultān Bāyezīd khāniyyati islāmiyyati*). No seal of Bayezid II but dedicated to him on fols. 2a, 93b–94a. Ahmed III's *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[6] *A. 1017 (Karatay: A 3434): Missing from MS Török F. 59.

Two titles above fol. 1a: *Sharhu ādābi al-fārisiyyati / Kitābu sharhi Kitāb ādābi al-fārisiyyati fi al-fiqhi*. No sticky label remains on the original binding. An Arabic commentary on Abu Bakr Ahmad b. 'Umar al-Khashshaf's (d. 874) work on Hanafi jurisprudence by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Maza (d. 1141). The flyleaf has an ex libris: *min kutubi Sultān Bāyezīd*. Copied by Abu 'Ali b. Khalil on 17 Ramadan 870 (May 3, 1466). Bayezid II's seals on fols. 1a, 235b. Ahmed III's almond-shaped seal bearing his accession date 1115 (1703) on fol. 2a.

[7] *A. 1116 (Karatay: A 6967): Included in MS Török F. 59 [198 {7}, *Kitābu al-siyāsati al-mulūkiyyati*]. PLATE 2 [1–2]

The same title appears above fol. 1a and on the slightly damaged authentic rectangular sticky label of the binding. An Arabic work on ethics and politics by Taj al-Din Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar b. Muhammad al-Sarakhsi al-Dimashqi (d. 1242). Dedicated to Bayezid II in the illuminated roundel of the opening page. Copied in 895 (1490) and stamped with Bayezid II's seal on fols. 1a, 87a. Ahmed III's *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[8] *A. 1490 (Karatay: F 96): Missing from MS Török F. 59.

The title on fol. 1a is *Sharhu al-Asmā'i al-husnā' al-mawsūmu bi-Mir'āti al-salāṭini bi-al-fārisiyyati*. No sticky label on the binding. A Persian commentary on the Beautiful Names of God, dedicated in 909 (1503–4) to *Sultān Bāyezīd* on fols. 2b–3a. An autograph manuscript in the hand of its author, Mawlana al-Sufi al-Samarqandi, who asks for alms to be sent annually to Mecca where he was "residing at the madrasa of the Mamluk Sultan" (*sākīn fi madrasa Sultān al-Miṣr*), probably the madrasa of Qa'itbay, dated 1479. Bayezid II's seal on fols. 1a, 116a. Ahmed III's *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[9] *A. 1498 (Karatay: A 5181): Missing from MS Török F. 59.

The opening pages where the title assigned by 'Atufi would have appeared are missing, as is the sticky label of the original binding. The title on the frontispiece (fol. 1a) is *Tuhfatu al-asāṭini li-'ayni al-salāṭini*. An Arabic work on Sufism written by Ibrahim b. Shaykh al-Islam Sharaf al-Din Musa al-Halabi, dedicated to Bayezid II in the beginning of Dhu'l Hijja 906 (June 1501) in Istanbul. It was "made by order of the sultan's treasury" (*bi-rasm khizānati al-malik ... al-Sultān Bāyezīd*). Bayezid II's seal on fol. 194a. The *waqf* seal of Ahmed III's on fol. 1a.

[10] *A. 1672 (Karatay: A 8150): Included in MS Török F. 59 [277 {6, 8}, *Kitābu al-fawā'id al-ghiyāthiyyati fi al-ma'ānī*, 2 copies]. PLATE 3 [1–2]

The same title appears above the flyleaf and on fol. 1a. No sticky label remains on the original binding. An Arabic treatise on rhetoric by 'Adud al-Din al-Iji (d. 1355) named after the Ilkhanid vizier Ghiyas

al-Din. It is dedicated to Mehmed II in the illuminated almond-shaped medallion on fol. 1a, which begins by praising the author. Copied according to the colophon (fol. 37b) by Ahmad b. 'Ali al-Maragha'i on 14 Rabi' II, 873 (November 1, 1468). Bayezid II's seal on fols. 1a, 37b. Ahmed III's *waqf* seal on fol. 1b, and probably his erased round seal on fol. 1a.

[10a] *A. 1635 (Karatay: A 8149): Included in MS Török F. 59 [277 {6–7}, *Kitābu al-fawā'id al-ghiyāthiyyati fī al-ma'ānī wa-Kitābu sharḥi al-Fawā'id al-ghiyāthiyyati fī al-ma'ānī fī mujalladin wāḥidin*].

This third copy of the work listed above [10] is bound together with a commentary on the same work. The title above the flyleaf repeats verbatim the inventory's entry, except for its end, *fī mujallad*. No title appears on the opening page (fol. 1a); the renewed sticky label on the original binding reads *Kitābu al-fawā'id al-ghiyāthiyyati*. The first treatise is dedicated on fol. 73a to Mehmed II at the end of Safar 867 (November 1462). The dedication medallion of the second treatise (fol. 26a) states it was made by order of Mehmed II's treasury (*bi-rasm khizānati al-sultān*). Its colophon on fol. 132a gives the date 28 Rabi' I, 867 (December 21, 1462). Both were copied by Muhammad b. al-Murad, known as Ibn Mevlana Hüsām. Bayezid II's seal on fols. 1a, 132b. Ahmed III's *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[11] *A. 1798 (Karatay: A 4910): Missing from MS Török F. 59.

The flyleaf title is *Hāshiyatu 'Atūfī 'alā Sharḥi al-Sayyid al-Sharīf 'alā al-Mawāqifi al-Ījī*. The same title on the damaged sticky label of the binding is partly legible. The former palace librarian Hayreddin Hızır b. Mahmud 'Atufi's gloss on al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjani's commentary on al-Ījī's work on theology, dated Muharram 913 (June 1507) on fol. 57a. The words, *Odadan çıkan 'arabī*, written on the flyleaf indicate the transfer of this Arabic volume from the Privy Chamber to the Inner Treasury. Though dedicated to him, there is no seal of Bayezid II. Ahmed III's *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[12] *A. 1890 (Karatay: A 4798): Missing from MS Török F. 59.

The flyleaf title is *Kitābu talkhīṣi muḥaṣṣali li-mawlānā Naṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī ṣāḥibi al-matni al-tajridi min 'ilmi al-kalāmi*. A shorter version of the title appears on the renewed yet damaged sticky label of the binding, omitting "*min 'ilmi al-kalāmi*." Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's (d. 1274) abbreviation of Fakhr al-Din al-Razi's (d. 1209) Arabic treatise on theology and philosophy. No seal of Bayezid II, but made in order to be read by him (*bi-rasm muṭāla'a al-sultān*) according to the dedication on fol. 1a. Yet it was originally written for Mehmed II. The words *Odadan çıkan 'arabī* on the flyleaf record this Arabic volume's transfer from the Privy Chamber to the Inner Treasury. Ahmed III's *waqf* seal on fol. 1b.

[13] *A. 1896 (Karatay: A 4993): Included in MS Török F. 59 [311 {12–14}, *Tarjumatu al-baqiyyati min Kitābi Yamistūs al-wathanī fī madhāhibi al-awwalīna min 'abadati al-aṣnāmi* (on the margin: *fī al-umūri al-'ajibati*), 2 copies]. PLATE 4 [1–3]

The same title is repeated verbatim above fol. 1a, except for the marginal annotation. An abbreviated label written under it reads *Kitābu al-baqiyyati*. The flyleaf title is: *Tarjumatu al-baqiyyati min Kitābi Yamistūs*. The title on the binding's renewed sticky label reads *Kitābu baqiyyati min Kitābi Yamistūs al-wathanī*. An anthology comprising the translations from Greek into Arabic of the remains of George Gemistos Plethon's (d. ca. 1450–54) controversial neo-pagan work, *Nomoi* (Laws), his *Compendium Zoroastreorum et Platoniorum dogmatum*, and his edition of the *Chaldean Oracles*. Bayezid II's seals on fols. 1a, 108b. Ahmed III's *waqf* seal on fol. 1a. A second copy listed in the inventory with a variant title seems to be lost: *Tarjamatu Kitābi Yamistūs al-wathanī tarjamatan thāniyatan fī madhāhibi 'abadati al-aṣnāmi* (311 {14}).

[14] *A. 1932 (Karatay: A 7227): Uncertain whether included in MS Török F. 59 [156 {15–18}, *Qānūnu fī al-ṭibbi*, six copies listed].

No title is written in the opening page. The flyleaf and sticky label are missing. A copy of Ibn Sina's medical treatise datable to the second half of the fifteenth century. Bayezid II's seal on fols. 1a, 504a. Ahmed III's *waqf* seal on fol. 1a. On fol. 504a is the round seal of the physician "Maḥmūd al-Ṭabīb bin Meḥmed al-Ḥasīb."

[15] *A. 1960 (Karatay: F 253): Missing from MS Török F. 59.

A Persian almanac, whose title on fol. 1a is *Şahā'if fi al-taqwīm*. Dated 915 (1510) and written by Yusuf b. 'Umar al-Sa'ati, the timekeeper of Mehmed II's "New Mosque" in Istanbul. Ordered by the treasury (*li-rasm khizānati*) of Bayezid II and dedicated to him on fol. 1a, but it lacks Bayezid II's seal. Ahmed III's *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[16] *A. 1982 (Karatay: A 7313): Missing from MS Török F. 59.

No title above the opening page; the abbreviated title on the flyleaf is *Rujū'i al-shaykhi fi al-ṭibbi*. The title on the authentic rectangular sticky label of the binding reads: *Kitābu rujū'i al-shaykhi ilā ṣibāhi fi al-ṭibbi*. This is another copy of one of the works that was bound together with another book in a single volume according to 'Atufi's inventory (160 {14–15}): *Kitābu jāwami'i al-ladhdhāti fi al-ṭibbi al-bāhī wa-Kitābu rujū'i al-shaykhi ilā ṣibāhi fi al-ṭibbi al-bāhī fi mujalladin wāhidin*. The Arabic treatise on sexology by Shihab al-Din Abu al-'Abbas Ahmad b. Yusuf al-Tifashi (d. 1253) is classified under medical sciences. The words *Odadan çıkan* on the flyleaf indicate its transfer from the Privy Chamber to the Inner Treasury. Copied for Sultan Bayezid II, who is praised in a poem on fol. 229a, but it lacks his seal. Ahmed III's *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[17] *A. 1991 (Karatay: A 7356): Missing from MS Török F. 59.

The title on the renewed sticky label of the binding is *Kitābu tadhhibi al-tadhhibi*, followed by the number of lines per page. A work on medicine by a contemporary physician, Muhammad b. Mansur al-'Arabi. Written for and dedicated to Sultan Bayezid II on fol. 2a, but it lacks his seal. Ahmed III's *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[18] *A. 2005 (Karatay: F 273): Included in MS Török F. 59 [167 {5–6}, *Risālatun fi waja'i al-mafāṣili wa-ghayrihā fi al-ṭibbi*]. PLATE 5 [1–2]

The perfectly matching title assigned by 'Atufi above fol. 1a is the modification of a previous title, to which he added *Risālatun* in the beginning and *fi al-ṭibbi* at the end. The latter phrase was crossed out by a subsequent librarian and under it was added *bi-al-fārisiyyati* with the word *ṣahḥ* next to it (meaning "correct"). The renewed sticky label of the original Italian red velvet binding cover uses the latter version: *Fī waja'i al-mafāṣili wa-ghayrihā bi-al-fārisiyyati*. A Persian medical treatise on the treatment of joint pains by the physician Mas'ud b. Hakim al-Din al-Tabib al-Hasani, dedicated to Sultan Mehmed II, who is known to have suffered from gout (fols. 1a–4a). The illuminated roundel on fol. 1a indicates that it was made "by order of the sultan's treasury" (*bi-rasm khizānati al-sultān*). The colophon on fol. 141a gives the date 14 Safar 881 (June 8, 1476). Bayezid II's seals on fols. 1a, 141b. Ahmed III's *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[19] *A. 2045 (Karatay: A 7369): Missing from MS Török F. 59.

The title on fol. 1a is *Shajarati al-ṭibbi*. No sticky label on the binding. An Arabic medical treatise written at the beginning of Jumada II 917 (August 1511) in Edirne in the hand of the author, Ahmad al-Hayati al-Tabib b. Muhammad al-Qurayshi, who was a head physician in Damascus (*ra'īs al-ṭibbi bi-Dimashq*). The dedication on fol. 1a states that it was made "by order of the sultan's imperial treasury" (*li-rasm al-khizānati al-'āmirati al-sultāniyyati al-khāqāniyyati*). Also dedicated to Bayezid II on fol. 1b, with his seal on fols. 1a, 43a. Ahmed III's *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[20] *A. 2051 (Karatay: A 7277): Missing from MS Török F. 59.

The title on fol. 1a is *Sharḥu Kullīyyāti al-Qānūncha bi-al-‘arabīyyati fī al-ṭibbi*. The abbreviated title on the renewed sticky label of the original binding is *Kitābu sharḥi Kullīyyāti Qānūncha*, which is followed by the number of lines per page. An Arabic commentary on the abbreviation of Ibn Sina’s medical treatise (*Qānūn*) by al-Chaghmini (Jaghmini, d. 1344), completed on 15 Jumada I, 915 (August 31, 1509) by a physician who identifies himself as *al-mutaṭabbib ibn al-mutaṭabbib Rūḥ Allāh b. Akhī al-mutaṭabbib*. He must be the son of the Ottoman physician Akhi Çelebi (d. 1524) who, in turn, was the son of the Tabrizi physician Kamal al-Din. A dedicatory poem praising Bayezid II is written on fols. 3b–4a. Bayezid II’s seal on fols. 1a, 242b. Ahmed III’s *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[21] *A. 2124 (Karatay: T 1769): Included in MS Török F. 59 [168 {1–3}], *Kitābu qarābādīni bi-al-turkiyyati fī al-ṭibbi wa-Mukhtaṣaru Jālīnūs fī al-amrādi wa-al-adwiyati fī al-ṭibbi fī mujalladin wāḥidin*.

The same title referring to two treatises is repeated verbatim on fol. 1a, except for the end mentioning their being bound in one volume, *fī mujalladin wāḥidin*. The binding’s sticky label is missing. A Turkish translation prepared in 858 (1454) through the mediation of the personal physician of Prince Bayezid in Amasya during his father Mehmed II’s reign. It was Tabib Sharaf al-Din b. ‘Ali b. al-Hajj İlyas al-‘Amasi (Şerefeddin Sabuncuoğlu) who translated into Turkish the Persian pharmacological handbook, or antidotarium, by Zayn al-Din Isma‘il b. Hasan al-Jurjani (d. 1137), titled *Dhakhīrah-i Khwārazmshāhī* (also known as *Qarābādīn-i Khwārazmshāh*). Two manuscript copies of the Persian version with Bayezid II’s seal exist: SK, Ayasofya 3620, ca. 1470; and TSMK, A. 1963 (Karatay F 271). The translator explains that he added to the original thirty-one chapters two extra chapters and a medical dictionary (fol. 2a). Copied by Mehmed b. ‘Ali b. Muzaffar in 881 (1476–77), with a dedication to Prince Bayezid b. Sultan Mehmed on fol. 2a. Bayezid II’s seal on fol. 1a, 187b. Ahmed III’s *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[22] *A. 2414 (Karatay: A 5237): Included in MS Török F. 59 [196 {15}], *Sharḥu Qawsnāmah-i kamālī al-millati wa-al-dīni*. PLATE 6 [1–2]

The same title appears on the slightly damaged authentic rectangular sticky label of the binding and above fol. 1a. A different title under it is erased: *Qawsnāmah-i Kamāl Ismā‘il*. This is a commentary on Kamal al-Din Isma‘il b. ‘Abbas Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Razzaq al-Isfahani’s (d. 1180) *al-Risālat al-Qawsiyya*, by Abu ‘Abdallah Mahmud b. ‘Umar b. Mahmud al-Najati al-Nishaburi. Bayezid II’s seal on fols. 1a, 120b. Ahmed III’s *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.¹

[23] *A. 2460 (Karatay: A 6927): Included in MS Török F. 59 [198 {8}], *Taqwīmu al-siyāsati al-mulūkiyyati*. PLATE 7

The same title is repeated verbatim above fol. 1a, but no sticky label remains on the original binding. The longer description under the title assigned by ‘Atufi was seemingly written earlier in a magnificent gold *thuluth* script. It summarizes the contents of this book on ethics and politics compiled by Abu Nasr al-Farabi (d. 950), which contains the wise sayings of Plato and other philosophers. The volume was copied by the accomplished calligrapher Shams al-Din Ahmad al-Qudsi on 19 Muharram 886 (March 20, 1481). The crimson velvet outer covers of the binding, whose inner covers are decorated with vegetal scrolls, are unique features of Mehmed II’s books. However, probably caught between the reigns of two sultans while being bound, this volume is dedicated neither to Mehmed II, who passed away shortly thereafter on May 3, 1481, nor to his successor Bayezid II. The seals of Bayezid II are stamped on fols. 1a and 182b, with Ahmed III’s *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.²

[24] *A. 2493 (Karatay: A 6943): Missing from MS Török F. 59.

The title on fol. 1a is *Kitābu ghurari al-khaṣā‘īsi al-wāḍiḥati wa-‘urari al-naqā‘īsi al-fāḍiḥati*. No sticky label on the binding. The dedication to Bayezid II on fol. 1a indicates that it was made by order of his

treasury (*bi-rasm al-khizānati*). An Arabic work on ethics and politics by Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. Yahya b. ‘Ali al-Ansari Jamal al-Din Watwat (d. 1318) copied, according to the chronogram on fol. 71b, by Muhammad b. al-Shaykh Ibrahim al-Halabi in 917 (1511). No seal of Bayezid II. Ahmed III’s *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[25] *A. 2698 (Karatay: A 8732): Included in MS Török F. 59 [296 {3–8}], *Kitābu tuhfati al-hādīyati al-mutarjamu bi-al-turkiyyati wa-al-rūmiyyati wa-al-afranjiyyati wa-ghayrihā fi lughati al-fursi wa-Kitābu Īsāghūjī ‘alā al-lughati al-‘arabiyyati al-mutarjamu bi-al-yūnāniyyati fi al-mantiqi wa-Risālatu al-amthilati al-muṭṭari[da]ti al-mutarjamati bi-al-fārisiyyati wa-ghayrihā wa-Risālatun fi al-‘ulūmi al-ḥikmiyyati wa-Risālatun fi taṣḥīhi asāmī al-ḥukamā’i al-yūnāniyyati wa-Risālatun fi iṣṭilāḥātī ‘ulamā’i al-hay’ati ‘alā al-lughati al-yūnāniyyati fi mujalladin wāḥidin*].

There is no title matching that of ‘Atufi on the opening page, nor on the flyleaf, and no sticky label exists on the renewed binding. Listed in the inventory under the section on lexicons, the abbreviated title of this compendium above fol. 1a is *Tuhfat al-hādīya* (Gift of the Rod), with which the volume begins. Written by Muhammad b. Hajji Ilyas (d. before 1460), this piece is a lexicon comprising the translation of Persian verbs into Turkish, Greek, Latin (“Frankish”), and other languages. It is followed by several multilingual lexicons and manuals: on Porphyry’s *Isagoge* (“Introduction” to Aristotle’s “Categories”) in Arabic translated into Greek; on regular examples of conjugation translated into Persian and other languages; on philosophical sciences; on the correction of the names of Greek philosophers; and on the terminology in Greek used by astronomy scholars. Bayezid II’s seal on fols. 1a, 91b. Ahmed III’s *waqf* seal on fol. 1b.

[26.1–5] *Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardī’s (d. 1191) Treatises on Philosophy and Their Commentaries, Copied for or during the Reign of Sultan Mehmed II*

[26.1] *A. 3183 (Karatay: A 6694): Included in MS Török F. 59 [355 {12–14, 15–16}], *Ḥikmatu al-ishrāqi li-l-Suhrawardī fi al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyati*, 3 copies].

The same title appears above the flyleaf; no sticky label on the original binding. The right side of the double-page illuminated frontispiece states it was ordered to be read (*bi-rasm muṭāla’a*) by Sultan Mehmed II, while the left page identifies the author as al-Suhrawardī. Bayezid II’s seal on the flyleaf and fol. 247b. Ahmed III’s *waqf* seal on fol. 1b.

*A. 3267 (Karatay: A 6696): This second copy at the palace library has the word *Matnu* added to the beginning of the same title, above the opening page (fol. 1a). The abbreviated title on the renewed sticky label of the replaced binding is *Kitāb ḥikmat al-ishrāq*. According to the illuminated dedication on fol. 1a, it was prepared by order of Mehmed II’s treasury (*bi-rasm khizānati*). The colophon (fol. 158a) gives the name of the calligrapher Sayyid Muhammad al-Munshi al-Sultani, and the date 882 (1477–78). Bayezid II’s seal on fols. 1a, 158b. Ahmed III’s *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[26.2] *A. 3236 (Karatay: A 6701): Included in MS Török F. 59 [355 {8–9}, 356 {2–3}], *Sharḥu Ḥikmatī al-ishrāqi li-l-Quṭb al-‘Allāma al-Shīrāzī fi al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyati*, 2 copies].

The same title is repeated verbatim on fol. 1a. The renewed sticky label on the original binding, covered by crimson velvet and a patterned Bursa brocade doublure, is *Sharḥu Ḥikmatī al-ishrāqi li-l-‘Allāma al-Shīrāzī* (d. 1310). Under the title on the opening page is an elaborate eulogy of the commentator Qutb al-Din Shirazi. The colophon on fol. 672b gives the completion date as Shawwal 885 (December 1480). Bayezid II’s seal on fol. 1a, 672b. Ahmed III’s *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

*A. 3280 (Karatay: A 6702): ‘Atufi’s inventory lists six additional copies with a variant title: *Sharḥu Hikmatī al-ishrāqī li-l-‘Allāma al-Shīrāzī fī al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyati*, 354 {2–7}, 363 {3–4}. One of them is this manuscript copied during Mehmed II’s reign, where the same title is repeated verbatim on fol. 1a. Under it the author of the commentary is eulogized in *naskh* script in red ink, followed by a black ink ex libris of Bayezid II: *min kitāb Sulṭān Bāyezīd*. The colophon states it was copied in the beginning of Dhu’l Hijja 867 (July 1463) by Mehmed b. Mehmed Beg el-İzniki, known as Katibi (fol. 313a). Bayezid II’s seal on fol. 1a, 313b.

[26.3] *A. 3217 (Karatay: A 6688): Included in MS Török F. 59 [357 {12–14}, *Kitābu al-talwīḥātī wa-Kitābu lawāḥiqī al-talwīḥātī wa-Kitābu al-lamaḥātī wa-Rasā’ilu ukhrā kulluhā li-l-Suhrawardī fī al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyati (fī mujalladin wāḥidin)*].

A compendium containing eight treatises on philosophy by al-Suhrawardi. The same title appears above fol. 1a, except for the end mentioning its binding in a single volume, *fī mujalladin wāḥidin*. Those missing words are in fact an interlinear addition in the inventory. The renewed sticky label on the binding is abbreviated as *Kitābu al-talwīḥātī wa-al-lawāḥiqī al-talwīḥātī wa-al-lamaḥātī wa-Rasā’ilu ukhrā kulluhā li-l-Suhrawardī fī al-ḥikmatī*. The colophon on fol. 169b gives the date 865 (1460–61). Bayezid II’s seal on fols. 1a, 243b. Ahmed III’s *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[26.4] *A. 3266 (Karatay: A 6690): Included in MS Török F. 59 [358 {4–6}, *Kitābu al-talwīḥātī wa-Kitābu al-muqāwamātī wa-Kitābu al-lamaḥātī wa-Kitābu ḥikmatī al-ishrāqī kulluhā li-l-Suhrawardī al-maqtūlī fī al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyati fī mujalladin wāḥidin*].

A compendium containing four treatises by al-Suhrawardi. The same title is repeated verbatim above fol. 1a, except for the end, which mentions its binding in a single volume, *fī mujalladin wāḥidin*. Three red ink lines under this title list the four abbreviated titles and ask God’s mercy for their author, the executed philosopher-shaykh (*al-shaykh al-faylasuf Shihāb al-Dīn al-maqtūl*). The abbreviated title on the renewed sticky label of the original leather binding, typical of Mehmed II’s books with its patterned green velvet outer covers, is *Kitāb al-talwīḥāt*. The colophon on fol. 145b is dated end of Jumada II, 882 (October 1477). Bayezid II’s seal on fols. 1a, 145b. Ahmed III’s *waqf* seal on fol. 2a.

[26.5] *A. 3377 (Karatay: A 6693) Included in MS Török F. 59 [353 {15–19}, *Kitābu al-mashārī’i wa-al-muṭāraḥātī li-l-Suhrawardī fī al-manṭiqī wa-al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyati*, 3 copies]. PLATE 8 [1–3]

The same title appears above fol. 1a. The abbreviated title on the renewed sticky label of the binding is *Kitābu al-mashārī’i al-muṭāraḥātī*, followed by the number of lines per page. (A similar abbreviated title in MS Török F. 59, 341 {14} reads: *Kitābu al-mashārī’i wa-al-muṭāraḥātī*.) This multi-text volume contains al-Suhrawardi’s treatise on philosophy titled *al-Muṭāraḥāt*, his *Hikmat al-ishrāq*, and Qutb al-Din Mas‘ud al-Shirazi’s commentary on the latter work. The illuminated roundel on the opening page eulogizes al-Suhrawardi. According to the elaborate colophon in cursive gold letters on fol. 352b, the manuscript copied by Hızır b. Şahin was prepared by order of Sultan Mehmed II’s imperial treasury (*li-rasm al-khizānati al-sulṭāniyyati*) in mid-Rabī’ I, 865 (December 1460). Bayezid II’s seal on fols. 1a, 352b. Ahmed III’s *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

*SK, Turhan Valide 210: This is one of the two other copies listed in the inventory. Its title above the opening page (fol. 1a) repeats verbatim ‘Atufi’s entry. The dedication panels of the illuminated frontispiece on the opening page state that it was made to be read (*li-rasm muṭāla’a*) by Sultan Mehmed II, while the central roundel gives an abbreviated title (*Kitābu al-mashārī’i al-muṭāraḥātī*) and the author’s name. No sticky label remains on the original binding. The colophon gives the calligrapher’s name as Shams al-Din al-Qudsi, and the date 10 Safar 871 (September

21, 1466). Bayezid II's seal on fols. 1a, 348b. The queen Valide Turhan Sultan's round *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[27] *A. 3291 (Karatay: A 7117): Included in MS Török F. 59 [328 {10}, *Fathu al-fathıyyati fî sharhi al-Fathıyyati fî al-hay'ati*].

The title above the opening page (fol. 1a) repeats verbatim the title in the inventory; no sticky label on the binding. An elaborate dedication to Bayezid II wishes the continuation of his sultanate and caliphate on fols. 2b–3a. Identified by Karatay as *Fathu al-fathıyyati*, a commentary on 'Ali al-Qushji's (d. 1474) astronomical treatise titled *al-Risālatu al-fathıyyati fî 'ilm al-hay'ati* dedicated to Mehmed II upon his defeat of the Aqqoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan in 878 (1473). Karatay misattributes this commentary to Muslihuddin Lari (d. 1571), but this is too late to be dedicated to Bayezid II. Therefore, the manuscript listed in 'Atufi's inventory must be an earlier commentary. Indeed, it was copied by Turali b. Rahman on Friday, 14 Shaban 890 (August 26, 1485) according to the colophon on fol. 200a. I believe it must be the commentary titled *Fathu al-fathıyyati*, which was dedicated to Bayezid II by Ghulam (Gulam or Köle) Sinan (d. 1506), a student of 'Ali al-Qushji's in Istanbul. This identification is based on my comparison of the identical dedicatory pages of the Topkapı manuscript with that of Gulam Sinan's manuscript bound in a compendium (SK, Fatih 5396), which is also dated 890 (1485) but has no seal impression of Bayezid II. The Topkapı manuscript has Bayezid II's seal on fols. 1a and 200b, with Ahmed III's *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.³

Another manuscript of the same work, attributable to Ghulam Sinan, is at the palace library (A. 3290; Karatay: A 7116), but it has no title assigned by 'Atufi above its opening page (fol. 1a) and lacks Bayezid II's seal. Nevertheless, it includes the same dedication to him (fol. 2a). The title on its flyleaf is *Sharhu al-fathıyyati*, and the renewed sticky label of its binding reads *Kitābu Sharhu al-fathıyyati*.

[28] *A. 3317 (Karatay: A 7081): Included in MS Török F. 59 [326 {12}, *Kitābu al-tadhkirati fî 'ilmi al-hay'ati*]. PLATE 9 [1–3]

The same title appears above fol. 1a and on the binding's partly torn authentic rectangular sticky label. The title on a second sticky label, added by a later librarian without removing the damaged original, no longer corresponds to that of 'Atufi's inventory: it reads *Kitābu al-tadhkirati* and specifies the number of lines per page. The title in a gold *naskh* script on the opening page is followed by a eulogy of Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (d. 1274), the author of this Arabic treatise on astronomy. Two lines in black ink under it comprise a glowing dedication to Sultan Mehmed II, wishing for the perpetuation of the star of his caliphate. Bayezid II's seal is on fols. 1a, 60a, with his ex libris on the flyleaf: *Şāhibahu al-Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥemmed Khān khallada mulkahu*. Ahmed III's *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[29] *A. 3328 (Karatay: A 7095): Included in MS Török F. 59 [330 {9–10, 13–14}, *Kitābu taḥrīr-i Majisī li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūṣī fî al-hay'ati*, 2 copies]. PLATE 10

The same title appears above fol. 1a, where an earlier title has been modified by the addition of *li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūṣī fî al-hay'ati* in a different hand. Under the title is Bayezid II's ex libris: *min kutubi al-Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥemmed Khān khallada mulkahu*. No sticky label remains on the binding. This Arabic commentary by Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (d. 1274) on Ptolemy's astronomy treatise, the *Almagest*, has Bayezid II's seal on fols. 1a, 127b. Ahmed III's *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

*A. 3332 (Karatay: A 7096) is another copy of this manuscript at the palace library that was transcribed in 692 (1293). Stamped with Bayezid II's seal and the *waqf* seal of Ahmed III, fol. 1a features two previous ownership annotations dated 841 (1437–38) and 785 (1383–84). The abbreviated title assigned by 'Atufi above this opening page reads: *Kitābu taḥrīr-i Majisī fî al-hay'ati*. That title comes closer to a variant entry in the inventory (331 {1}): *Taḥrīr-i Majisī fî*

‘ilmi al-hay’ati. Therefore, this manuscript does not seem to be the second copy of the one listed above [29]. A later librarian has added the word *sharḥ* (commentary) after the first word of the title. The binding’s renewed sticky label in majuscule *thuluth* script includes this added word, but omits the discipline assigned by ‘Atufi: *Kitābu sharḥi taḥrīri Majisṭi*, followed by lines per page.

[30] *A. 3355 (Karatay: A 6652): Included in MS Török F. 59 [363 {10–12}, *Kitābu al-ishārāti li-Ibn Sīnā’ wa-risālatun fī al-ḥikmiyyāti wa-Kitābu al-jumānati al-ilāhiyyati bi-al-‘arabiyyati al-manẓūmati fī al-ḥikmiyyāti al-falsafiyyati fī mujalladin wāḥidin*]. PLATE 11 [1–2]

The same title, except for *fī mujalladin wāḥidin*, appears above fol. 1a. No flap or sticky label on the binding. A volume containing Ibn Sina’s Arabic treatise on philosophy titled *al-Ishārāt wa-al-tanbihāt*. A note on the flyleaf provides an abbreviated title and identifies the owner of the book: *Kitābu al-ishārāti wa-al-jumānati al-ilāhiyyati ṣāhibahū al-Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥammed Khān khallada mulka-hu*. Bayezid II’s seal on fols. 1a, 212b. Ahmed III’s *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[31] *A. 3381 (Karatay: A 6860): Probably the same as *Sharḥu al-Maṭālī’i li-l-Quṭb al-Rāzī fī al-manṭiqi* [MS Török F. 59, 341 {7}; 342 {6–7}, 2 copies].

The title above the flyleaf is *Kitābu sharḥi Maṭālī’i li-Quṭb*. Under it is the ex libris: *Ṣāhibahu Sultān Bāyezīd*. The crossed-out, partly legible title above fol. 1a presumably assigned by ‘Atufi reads ... *Sharḥu al-Maṭālī’i fī al-manṭiqi*. The renewed sticky label of the binding is also only partly legible: *Sharḥu al-Maṭālī’*, followed by the number of lines per page. This work has been identified as the *Lawāmi’u al-asrāri sharḥi Maṭālī’i al-anwāri*, an Arabic commentary on Siraj al-Din Mahmud b. Abi Bakr al-Urmawī’s (d. 1283) book on logic by Qutb al-Din Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Tahtani (d. 1364). Bayezid II’s seal on fols. 1a, 120b. Ahmed III’s *waqf* seal on fol. 2a.

[32] *A. 3428 (Karatay: A 6812): Included in MS Török F. 59 [342 {15–17}, *Asāsu al-iqtibāsi bi-al-fārisiyyati li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fī al-manṭiqi*, 3 copies]. PLATE 12 [1–4]

The partly crossed-out flyleaf title is the same as that of the inventory: *Asāsu al-iqtibāsi* [crossed out later: *bi-al-fārisiyyati*] *li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fī al-manṭiqi*. The short title on the renewed sticky label of the binding is *Kitābu asāsi al-iqtibāsi*, followed by the number of lines per page. An abbreviated title on fol. 1a differs from that of the inventory: *Asāsu al-iqtibāsi li-l-Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī*. A longer description written under it with the author’s name and the erroneous date 897 (1491–92) is crossed out. A translation of al-Tusi’s Persian work on logic into Arabic, dedicated to Sultan Mehmed II on fol. 2a. The completion date given on fol. 164b is the end of Safar 869 (October 1464). Bayezid II’s seal on fols. 1a, 168b. Ahmed III’s *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

*A. 3441 (Karatay: A 6813): This is the second copy in the palace collection, also made for Mehmed II. The opening page gives the same title as the inventory: *Asāsu al-iqtibāsi* [crossed out later: *bi-al-fārisiyyati*] *li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fī al-manṭiqi*. There is no sticky label on the binding. The colophon on fol. 179a gives the date Sunday, 21 Muharram 869 (September 23, 1464). Bayezid II’s seal on fols. 1a, 179b. Ahmed III’s *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

*SK, Ayasofya 2480: This is the third copy of the same work, dated Dhu’l Hijja 869 (July–August 1465). The title on the flyleaf, which perfectly matches that of the inventory, reads: *Kitābu asāsi al-iqtibāsi bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-manṭiqi*. The dedication panels of the illuminated frontispiece on fol. 1a state it was made to be read (*bi-rasm muṭāla’a*) by Sultan Mehmed II, while the central roundel gives the abbreviated title *Kitābu asāsi al-iqtibāsi* and the author’s name. Bayezid II’s seal on fols. 1a, 266b. Mahmud I’s *waqf* seal and that of his endowment inspector on fol. 1a.⁴

[33] *A. 3432 (Karatay: A 6891): Included in MS Török F. 59 [342 {18–19}, *Kitābu al-mubīni fī sharḥi al-matīni fī al-mantiqi*].

The same title appears above fol. 1a. No sticky label on the binding. A translation from Persian into Arabic, accompanied by a commentary, of the book on logic by Abu al-Mafahir al-Qadi al-Sawi. On fol. 2b it is dedicated to Mehmed II, who ordered the translation. The author praises the sultan's appreciation of books, philosophy, and the "ancient sciences." Bayezid II's seal on fols. 1a, 263b. Ahmed III's *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[34] *A. 3437 (Karatay: A 6853): Included in MS Török F. 59 [340 {4–5}, *Lawāmi'u al-afkārī fī sharḥi Maṭāli'i al-anwārī fī al-mantiqi wa-al-ḥikmatī al-islāmiyyati*]. PLATE 13 [1–3]

The same title appears above fol. 1a. Under it is written a variant title in a different hand, *Sharḥu Maṭāli'i gharībi al-musammāi bi-Lawāmi'u al-afkārī*. The abbreviated title on the renewed sticky label of the binding comes close to that of the inventory: *Lawāmi'u al-afkārī fī sharḥi Maṭāli'i al-anwārī*, followed by the number of lines per page. An Arabic commentary on Mahmud b. Abu Bakr al-'Urmawī's (d. 1198) work on logic copied by Yusuf b. Husayn al-Sivasi. The colophon on fol. 463b explains it was made to be read (*li-muṭāla'a*) by Sultan Mehmed II. Stamped with Bayezid II's seal on fols. 1b, 463b. Ahmed III's *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[35] *A. 3474 (Karatay: A 7143): Included in MS Török F. 59 [310 {12–13}, *Kitābun fī al-ḥiyālī wa-al-umūri al-'ajībatī fī 'amali ālāti al-mā'i*]. PLATE 14 [1–2]

The same title appears above fol. 1a of this anonymous manuscript with missing beginning and ending pages, which has been attributed to the Banu Musa brothers of ninth-century Baghdad. This manuscript copy, which probably dates to the fourteenth century, has an abbreviated title on the renewed sticky label of its damaged binding: *Kitābun al-ḥiyālī 'amali ālāti al-mā'i*. The Arabic treatise on hydraulic automata (pneumatics) is illustrated with mechanical devices featuring figural images of animals and even a naked man wearing a toga, whose faces have been deliberately effaced. Bayezid II's seal on fols. 1a, 85b. Ahmed III's *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[36] *A. 3479 (Karatay: A 7019): Included in MS Török F. 59 [334 {10}, *Kitābu miftāḥi al-ḥisābi fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābi*].

The same title appears above fol. 1a, except for the end, which classifies the work "in the science of arithmetic" (*fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābi*). The ex libris under the title misidentifies the subject as geometry: *Ṣāḥibahu al-Sultān Bāyezīd bin Meḥmed Khān -khāllada mulkahu- kitāb fī al-handasa*. The binding flap and sticky label are lost. A copy of the Timurid mathematician Jamshid al-Kashī's treatise on arithmetic in Arabic, dated 12 Jumada II, 833 (March 8, 1430) on fol. 173a. The work is dedicated to the Timurid ruler Ulugh Beg on fol. 3a. Bayezid II's seal on fols. 1a, 220b. Ahmed III's *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[37] *A. 3487 (Karatay: A 7124): Included in MS Török F. 59 [323 {17}, *Risālatun fī al-ālāti al-nujūmiyyati al-ghayri al-mashhūrati*]. PLATE 15 [1–2]

The same title appears above fol. 1a. The renewed sticky label of the binding adds the word *Kitābu* to the title's beginning. An Arabic work on astronomical instruments, dedicated to Sultan Bayezid II on fol. 4a by an unnamed astronomer. Bayezid II's seal on fols. 1a, 136b. Ahmed III's *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[38] *A. 3495 (Karatay: A 7123): Missing from MS Török F. 59.

The title above fol. 1a is *Kitābu fī ma'rifati ḥaqīqiyyati mawḍu'āti al-kawākibi al-thābita wa-al-sayyārati li-khawāja İliyā al-yahūdī bi-al-nujūmi*. The same title is repeated verbatim on the authentic rectangular sticky label of the binding's flap. The flyleaf identifies the author as Iliya, the Jew (*Khawāja İliyā al-yahūdī*). It was translated from Hebrew to Arabic in Istanbul in 908 (1502–3) by 'Abd al-Salam, a convert to Islam: *Kitābu fī ma'rifati ḥaqīqiyya al-mawḍu'āti li-'Abd al-Salām al-muhtadī*. A work on

astrology dedicated to Sultan Bayezid II on fol. 1b. On fol. 88a the translator identifies himself as the convert ‘*Abd al-Salām al-muhtadī* and says he made the translation at the sultan’s suggestion (*bi-talqīn al-Sultān*). It has been established that the author Iliya (Ilyas ibn Ibrahim al-Yahudi) was known as ‘Abd al-Salam al-Muhtadi after his conversion to Islam. No seal of Bayezid II; Ahmed III’s *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[39] *A. 3563 (Karatay: F 618): Included in MS Török F. 59 [249 {16–17}, 250 {1}, 251 {7}, *Kitāb-i ishqnāmah al-mashhūru bi-Mihr u Mushtarī*, 3 copies]. PLATE 16 [1–3]

The front matter is missing; therefore, the title assigned by ‘Atufi is lost. The rhyming Persian couplet inside two cartouches embossed on the original leather binding ends with the title *Mihr u Mushtarī*. On fol. 1a, an illuminated roundel with a dedication to Bayezid II specifies that it was made by order of the sultan’s treasury (*bi-rasm khizānati al-sultān*). This illustrated manuscript is a literary work in Persian by Muhammed Assar (d. 1382), of which several copies are mentioned in ‘Atufi’s inventory without referring to its illustrations. Copied on Sunday 28 Ramadan 887 (November 10, 1482) by the illuminator Na‘im al-Din al-Katib b. Sadr al-Din *al-mudhahhib*. Bayezid II’s seal on fols. 1a, 191b. A round seal on fol. 1a has been erased.

*SK, Fatih 4130: Another illustrated copy of this work produced in the Aqqoyunlu workshop in Dhu’l Hijja of 894 (October–November 1498). Because it lacks opening pages, Bayezid II’s seal is stamped only on fol. 221a.⁵

TSMK, BAĞDAT COLLECTION

[40] *B. 411: (Karatay: uncatalogued): Included in MS Török F. 59 [257 {9}, *Safīnatun fihā khuṭūṭun naḥṣatun wa-Rasā’ilu fī mujalladin a‘ẓama*]. PLATE 17 [1–2]

The same title appears verbatim in the sixth line above fol. 1a. A diagonal phrase in Turkish along the left side of the page, which reads “let it be recorded under divans” (*devāvīnde derc oluna*), is attributable to ‘Atufi. The monumental Timurid calligraphy album compiled during Shahrukh’s (d. 1447) reign contains primarily Arabic texts spanning the years 1267 to 1434, with only few texts in Persian. But Atufi’s inventory lists it under Persian divans presumably because of its Timurid provenance. A slanted line in the lower right corner gives the number of folios: ‘*aded-i evrāk* 169. In lines 2 to 5 another librarian has added a description of the contents of this “largish album” (*kebīrce muraḥḩa*) giving the number of folios as 170. Lines 7 to 9 added by yet another librarian in Turkish also mention the 170 folios of this “large album” (*sefine-i kebīr*). The words, *Odadan çıkan ‘arabī*, written in the first line, record this Arabic volume’s transfer from the Privy Chamber to the Inner Treasury. No sticky label remains on the binding. Bayezid II’s seal on fol. 1a and the last page; fol. 1a also bears Selim I’s round Inner Treasury seal and the oval sovereignty seal of Mustafa III.

TSMK, REVAN COLLECTION

[41] *R. 354 (Karatay: A 2838): Included in MS Török F. 59 [34 {9–10}, the second volume of a two-volume set, *Mukhtaṣaru Jāmi‘i al-uṣūli fī al-ḥadīthi fī mujalladayni*]. PLATE 18 [1–3]

The same title appears above the flyleaf and on the partly damaged authentic rectangular sticky label of the binding, except for the reference at the end mentioning “two volumes” (*fī mujalladayni*). Instead,

the words “second volume” were added at the beginning: *al-Mujalladu al-thānī min Mukhtaṣaru Jāmi’i al-uṣūli fī al-ḥadīthi*. Under the title assigned by ‘Atufi, a variant (probably earlier) title is written in a monumental cursive script. Copied in 724 (1324) by Zayd b. Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Majid b. Zayd al-Ba‘albaki al-Shafi’i. Bayezid II’s seal on fols. 1a, 251a. Ahmed III’s almond-shaped seal dated 1115 (1703) on fol. 2a, and the *waqf* seal of Mustafa III on fol. 1a.⁶

[42] *R. 880 (Karatay: F 475): Included in MS Török F. 59 [234 {10}, {14}, *Kitābu makhzani al-asrāri li-l-Nizāmī*, two copies]. PLATE 19

The same title appears above fol. 1a. A long variant title, which is probably earlier, written in red ink below eulogizes the author, “Shaykh Nizami.” No sticky label on the binding. A later librarian added a note beneath the central round seal, specifying the number of lines per page. Nizami’s (d. 1209) literary work in Persian, copied by Riyazi in the year 885 (1480–81). Bayezid II’s seal on fols. 1a, 77b. The *waqf* seal of Osman III on fol. 1a.

[43] *R. 1271 (1) (Karatay: T 626): Included in MS Török F. 59 [266 {12}, *Fath-i Eyne-Bakhti wa-Mothon bi-al-turkiyyati al-manzūmati fī al-tawārikhī*]. PLATE 20 [1–3]

The same title appears above fol. 1a and on the authentic rectangular sticky label of the binding. A later librarian added on the same page, under the round *waqf* seal of Mahmud I, a variant title specifying the number of lines per page. The words *Odadan çıkan türki* above the flyleaf indicate the transfer of this Turkish volume from the Privy Chamber to the Inner Treasury. Written by Safa’i of Sinop, this versified chronicle recounts Bayezid II’s conquest of İnebahtı (Lepanto, 905/1499) and Modon (Methoni, 906/1500). Stamped with Bayezid II’s seal on fols. 1a, 131b.

[44] *R. 1465 (Karatay: T 1011): Included in MS Török F. 59 [185 {5}, *Tarjamatu Kitābi al-mu’jami bi-al-turkiyyati li-Tāj-zādah -raḥimahu Allāhu ta’ālā fī al-tawārikhī*]. PLATE 21 [1–4]

The same title appears above fol. 1a and on the partly damaged authentic rectangular sticky label of the binding. According to the illuminated dedication roundel on fol. 1a, the manuscript was produced by Bayezid II’s imperial order (*bi-emr-i hümāyūn*). The shorter title above the flyleaf (also numbered fol. 1), omits the name of Tacizade and the pious phrase showing that he had died: *Tarjuma-i Tārikh-i mu’jam bi-al-turkiyya*. The variant title written under it in a monumental cursive script mentions Tacizade, but again without referring to his death: *Mukhtaṣar Tārikh-i Waṣṣāf-i Turkī, tarjuma-i Tāj-zāda*. These alternate flyleaf titles apparently predate the two-line title on fol. 1a, because an erased earlier title detectable under the latter, at the end of the first line, features the name *Waṣṣāf*. This correction explains why Karatay’s catalogue identified the work as an abridged translation of Fadl Allah al-Qazwini’s (d. 1329) history of ancient Persian kings into Turkish, rather than a book by Wassaf. Qazwini’s history in Persian is known to have been translated into Turkish by Sarıca Kemal (Kemal-i Zerd, d. after 1489). The attribution to Tacizade in this volume may be erroneous unless he too translated the same Persian text, a point that requires further research. Bayezid II’s seal on fols. 1a, 132a. Mahmud I’s *waqf* seal on fol. 1a.

[45] *R. 1706 (Karatay: uncatalogued): Included in MS Török F. 59 [313 {14}, *Kitābu miftāḥi al-nujūmi bi-al-fārisiyyati*].

The same title appears above fol. 1a and on the partly torn, authentic rectangular sticky label of the binding. A Persian treatise on astrology/astronomy, dedicated to Sultan Bayezid II on fol. 2b, and written by Hamza b. ‘Abd al-Karim. Under four letters that have been interpreted by a twentieth-century reader as the completion date in *abjad* letters (on fol. 178b), the modern number 910 (1504–5), or alternatively the Arabic number 915 (1509–10), has been penciled in. But if this is indeed an *abjad* date (ṣ/ẓ/n/h), it would correspond to 945 (1530–31). Written sketchily in a different hand, the *abjad* date

must be erroneous, as it is inconsistent with Bayezid II's seals on fols. 1a, 178b and the dedication to him. The sovereignty seal of Abdülhamid I on fol. 1a.

[46] *R. 1726 (Karatay: F 279): Included in MS Török F. 59 [335 {17}, 336 {7–8}, *Maqāsidu al-alḥāni li-‘Abd al-Qādir al-Marāghī fi al-mūsīqī*, 2 copies]. PLATE 22 [1–3]

The same title appears verbatim above fol. 1a, where it is modified by addition and deletion, as well as on the partly damaged authentic rectangular sticky label of the binding. The abbreviated title assigned by a later librarian on fol. 2a reads: *Maqāsid-i alḥān bi-ḥaṭṭ-i ta’līq*, followed by the number of lines per page. This Persian treatise on music theory by ‘Abd al-Qadir b. Ghaybi al-Hafiz al-Maraghi was copied in 1435, a year before his death. It bears a dedication to Sultan Murad II, who had donated a village of Edirne as a fief in 1421 to the author's youngest son, ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, an affiliate of the sultan's court. The manuscript, stylistically affiliated with Timurid Herat, is believed to have been sent to Murad II by ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Maraghi, who had dispatched an earlier version of the same work, also dedicated to Murad II, in 1423 after entrusting his son to this sultan's court. According to the illuminated, almond-shaped dedication medallion of the double-page frontispiece on fol. 2a, the manuscript was made by order of the sultan's treasury (*bi-rasm khizānati al-sultān*). The name of the copyist, Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Ilyas, who completed the manuscript on 14 Jumada II, 838 (January 15, 1435), is given on fol. 71a. Bayezid II's seal on fols. 2a, 78b. The *waqf* seal of Osman III on fol. 2b. The second copy listed in ‘Atufi's inventory may have been the earlier copy of the same work sent to Murad II in 1423 or another version.⁷

TSMK, HAZİNE COLLECTION

[47] *H. 884 (Karatay: F 677): Included in MS Török F. 59 [246 {19}, *Dīwān-i Qabūli*]. PLATE 23 [1–3]

The same title appears above fol. 1a and on the partly damaged authentic rectangular sticky label of the binding. A poem and a couplet in Persian are written on fol. 1a and the facing back side of the flyleaf, respectively. The words *Odadan çıkan fārisi* inscribed above the front side of the flyleaf records the transfer of this Persian volume from the Privy Chamber to the Inner Treasury. A divan that includes poems on Mehmed II's conquest of Wallachia (Boğdan, 1476) and that is dedicated to him on fol. 6a. A small round seal on fol. 1a has been erased. Bayezid II's seals on fols. 1a, 107b.

[48] *H. 1123 (Karatay: uncatalogued): Included in MS Török F. 59 [249 {19}], *Naẓmu Qiṣṣah-i Sultān Bāyezīd Khān -khallada Allāhu ta’ālā khilāfatahu*]; see figs. 12a–d in Necipoğlu's essay in this volume. The same title appears verbatim in the authentic rectangular sticky label of the binding. A close variant is written above fol. 1a, which omits the pious phrase at the end: *Kitābu naẓmi Qiṣṣah-i Sultān Bāyezīd*. The original title assigned by the author, whose penname was formerly thought to be *Ummī*, is inscribed in the illuminated heading of fol. 1b: *Shāhnāmāh az guftār-i Malik-i Āhī* (A “Shāhnāmāh” Recounted by Malik-i Ahi). The almond-shaped seal of Ahmed III, dated 1115 (1703), is impressed on fol. 3a, whose first line clearly spells the author's penname as *Āhī*. This illustrated versified history in Persian covers the early years of Bayezid II's reign from 1481 up to 1485. The colophon refers to the author's given name as *Malik-i Maḥmūd*, and is signed by the scribe-cum-painter Darwish Mahmud bin ‘Abdullah Naqqash (fols. 98a–b). Dedicated to Bayezid II on fol. 13b and stamped with his seal on fols. 1a, 98b.

[49] *H. 1417 (Karatay: F 155): Included in MS Török F. 59 [251 {5–6}, *Naẓm-i tawārīkh-i Sultān Meḥammed Khān bin Murād Khān -khullidat khilāfatuhum* [sic]- *wa-ghayruhū bi-al-fārisīyyatī*].

A nearly identical title appears in the second of two lines, written on fol. 2a above one of the paired frontispiece medallions, where the grammatically erroneous phrase in the inventory after the sultan's name is omitted. The first line gives the title, *Tārīkh-i Āl-i 'Osmān*. The second line, matching 'Atufi's entry, reads: *Naẓm-i tawārīkh-i Sulṭān Meḥmed Khān bin Murād Khān wa-ghayruhū bi-al-fārisīyyati*. A versified history in Persian dedicated in Dhu'l Hijja 878 (April–May 1474) to Sultan Mehmed II by the author Mir Sayyid 'Ali b. Muzaffar-i Ma'ali (or Mu'ali). The paired medallions of the frontispiece (fols. 1b–2a) provide the original title, *Khunkar-nāmah*, and explain that the manuscript was prepared by order of Mehmed II's treasury (*bi-rasm khizānati sulṭān*). Bayezid II's seal on fols. 1a, 183b.

TSMK, YENİ YAZMALAR COLLECTION

[50] *Y.Y. 830 (Karatay: F 246): Included in MS Török F. 59 [319 {6–7} and 321 {9–11}], *Kitābu ṭālī'i wilādati Sulṭān Meḥmed bin Sulṭān Murād -ṭāba tharāhumā wa-ja'ala al-jannata mathwāhumā- min qibali al-nujūmi*, 2 copies]. PLATE 24 [1–3]

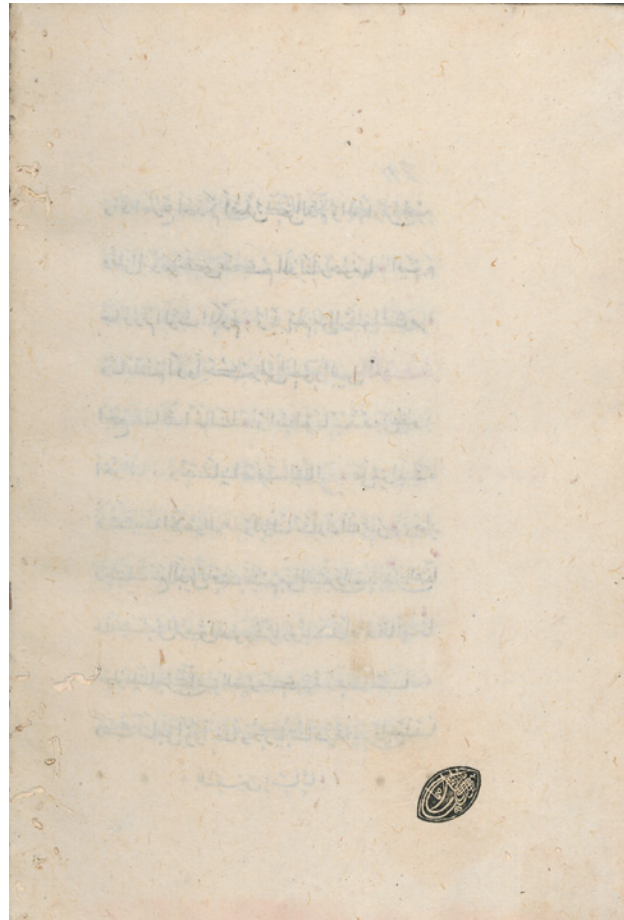
The same title appears in lines 2 to 4 above fol. 1a. A variant title in a monumental cursive script in line 1, probably written earlier by a different person, reads: *Tālī'-i mawlūd-i khudāwandigār*. No sticky label on the binding. A horoscope of Sultan Mehmed II in Persian, based on the rising sign (ascendant) at the time of his birth, prepared by the Iranian binder-cum-calligrapher Ghiyath al-Din Mujallid al-Isfahani in Istanbul in 886 (1481) according to the colophon on fol. 264a. Dedicated to Mehmed II on fols. 5a–6a. Bayezid II's seal on fols. 1a, 264b. The *waqf* seal of Mahmud I and a small round seal on fol. 1a.⁸

NOTES

1. Another copy of this work is listed in MS Török F. 59 (196 {17}) with a variant title: *Sharḥu Risālati al-kamālī al-qawsīyyati*.
2. A variant title in MS Török F. 59 (197 {11}) must refer to a different copy: *Kitābu taqwīmi al-siyāsati al-mulūkiyyati fī umūri al-salṭanaṭi*.
3. I am pleased to report that my attribution to Ghulam Sinan was independently made in the essay by Jamil Ragep et al., which was submitted to the present volume after the completion of my essay and appendix; they cite Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu et al., *Osmanlı Astronomi Literatürü Tarihi*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1997), 1:68 (no. 35).
4. 'Atufi's inventory lists a variant title 342 {14} with *Kitābu* added to the beginning, and several other versions without the author's name.
5. The inventory also cites a fourth copy with an abbreviated title, *Kitāb-i Mihr u Mushtarī*, 251 {14}.
6. The inventory also lists a single-volume version titled *Mukhtaṣaru Jāmi'i al-uṣūli fī al-ḥadīthi fī mujalladin wāhidin* (34 {8–9}).
7. For extant manuscripts of this work, see Recep Uslu, *Merâgî'den Sultan II. Murad'a Müziğin Maksatları: Makāsidi'l-Elhân* (Ankara, 2015), 20–23. Other works on music by al-Maraghi are also listed in the library inventory. One of these is his commentary in Persian on the Arabic treatise of 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Yūsuf b. Fākhir al-Urmawī (d. 1294). The inventory lists two copies of that commentary: *Sharḥu Kitābi al-adwāri bi-al-fārisīyyati li-'Abd al-Qādir fī al-mūsīqī* (335 {19}, 336 {1}); the other copy of the same work is listed within a compendium as *Sharḥu Kitābi al-adwāri bi-al-fārisīyyati li-'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāghī fī al-mūsīqī wa-Kitābu fawā'id-i 'ashrat li-'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāghī fī al-mūsīqī fī mujalladin wāhidin* (336 {1–3}). One of the copies can be identified as TSMK, A. 3470 (Karatay, F 280). Its title on top of fol. 1a reads: *Sharḥu Kitābi al-adwāri bi-al-fārisīyyati li-'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāghī fī al-mūsīqī*. Bayezid II's seal is stamped on fols. 1a, 42b.
8. The unidentified small round seal has been read by Garo Kürkman as "al-Sayyid Aḥmad Muḥsin [1] 204?"



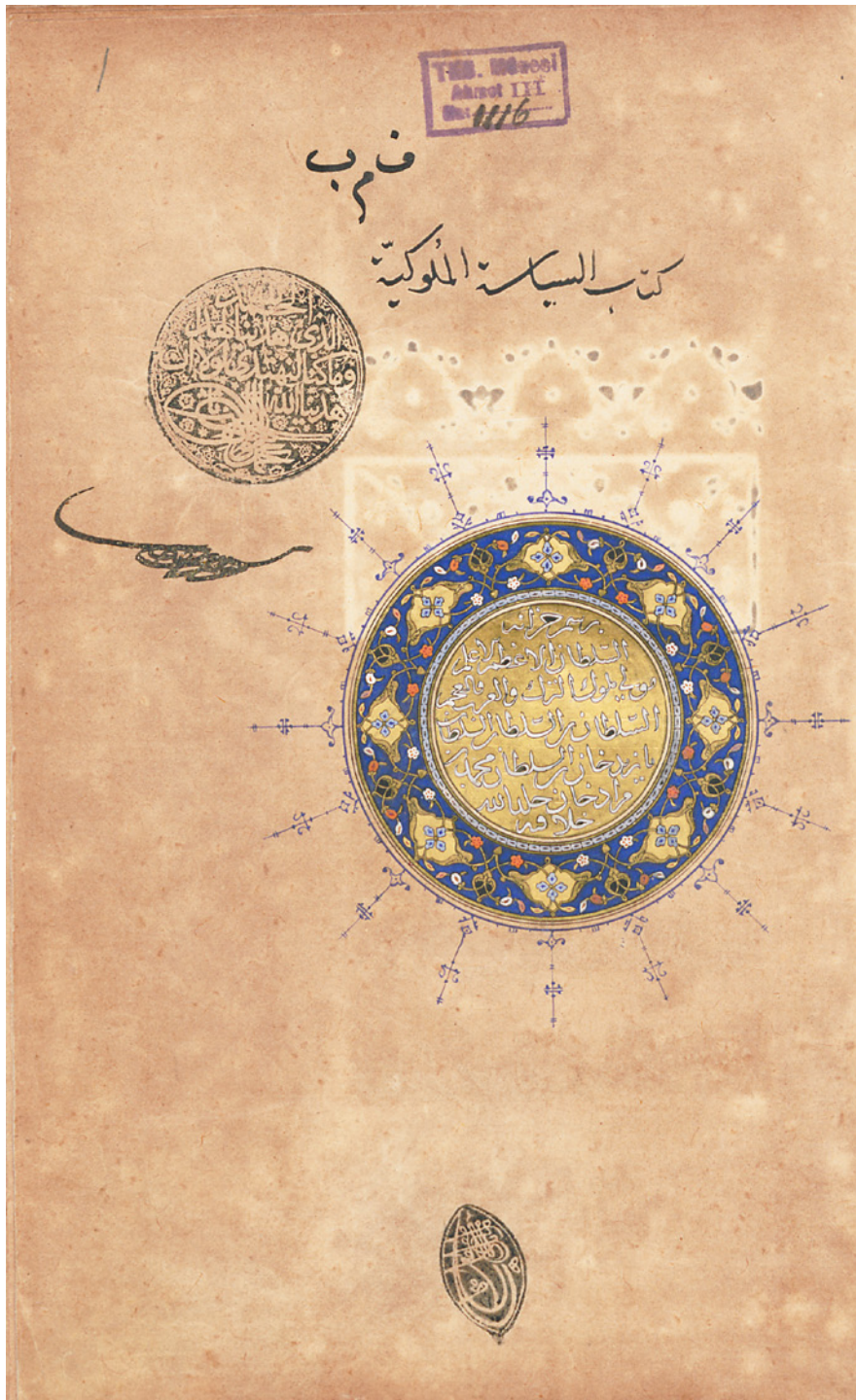
Pl. 1 [1] App. 4: TSMK, A. 558, fol. 1a, opening page with title above, the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II and the round *waqf* seal of Ahmed III. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Pl. 1 [2] App. 4: TSMK, A. 558, fol. 291b, final page with the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Pl. 1 [3] App. 4: TSMK, A. 558, binding with authentic rectangular sticky label. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

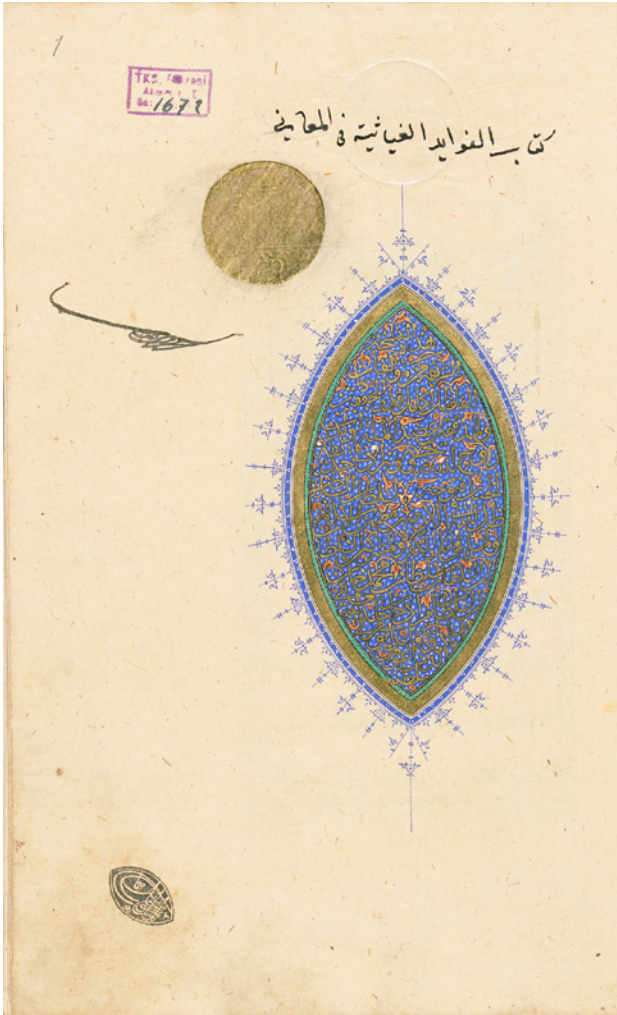


Pl. 2 [1] App. 7: TSMK, A. 1116, fol. 1a, opening page with title above, illuminated roundel with dedication to Bayezid II, his almond-shaped seal, and the round *waqf* seal of Ahmed III. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

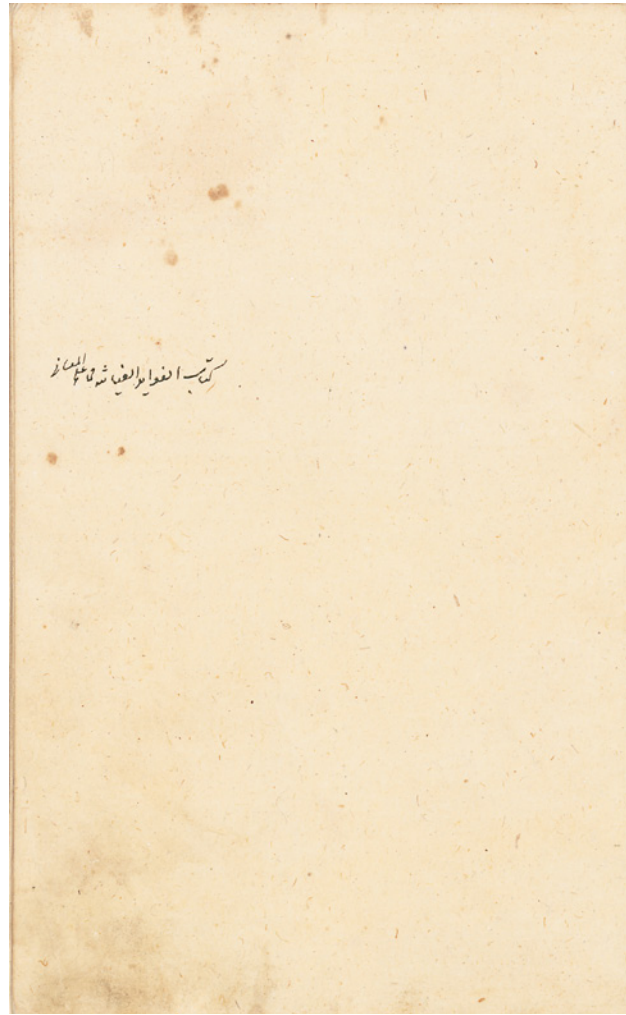
Pl. 2 [2] App. 7: TSMK, A. 1116, binding with authentic rectangular sticky label. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Pl. 2 [2] App. 7: TSMK, A. 1116, binding with authentic rectangular sticky label. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



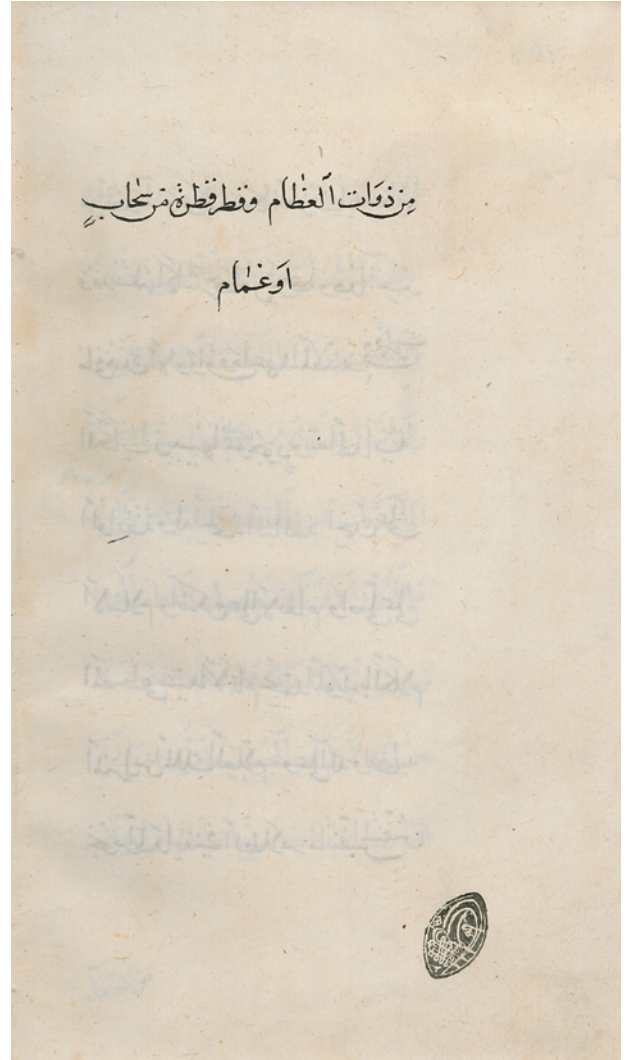
Pl. 3 [1] App. 10: TSMK, A. 1672, fol. 1a, opening page with title above, almond-shaped illuminated medallion praising the author with dedication to Mehmed II, the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II, and an erased round *waqf* seal, probably of Ahmed III. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Pl. 3 [2] App. 10: TSMK, A. 1672, flyleaf with title. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Pl. 4 [1] App. 13: TSMK, A. 1896, fol. 1a, opening page with title above and an abbreviated title below, the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II, and round *waqf* seal of Ahmed III. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Pl. 4 [2] App. 13: TSMK, A. 1896, fol. 198b, final page with almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Pl. 4 [3] App. 13: TSMK, A. 1896, fol. 1a, binding with renewed sticky label. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Pl. 5 [1] App. 24: TSMK, A. 2500, fol. 1a, opening page with modified title above, illuminated roundel with dedication to Mehmed II, the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II, and round *waqf* seal of Ahmed III. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



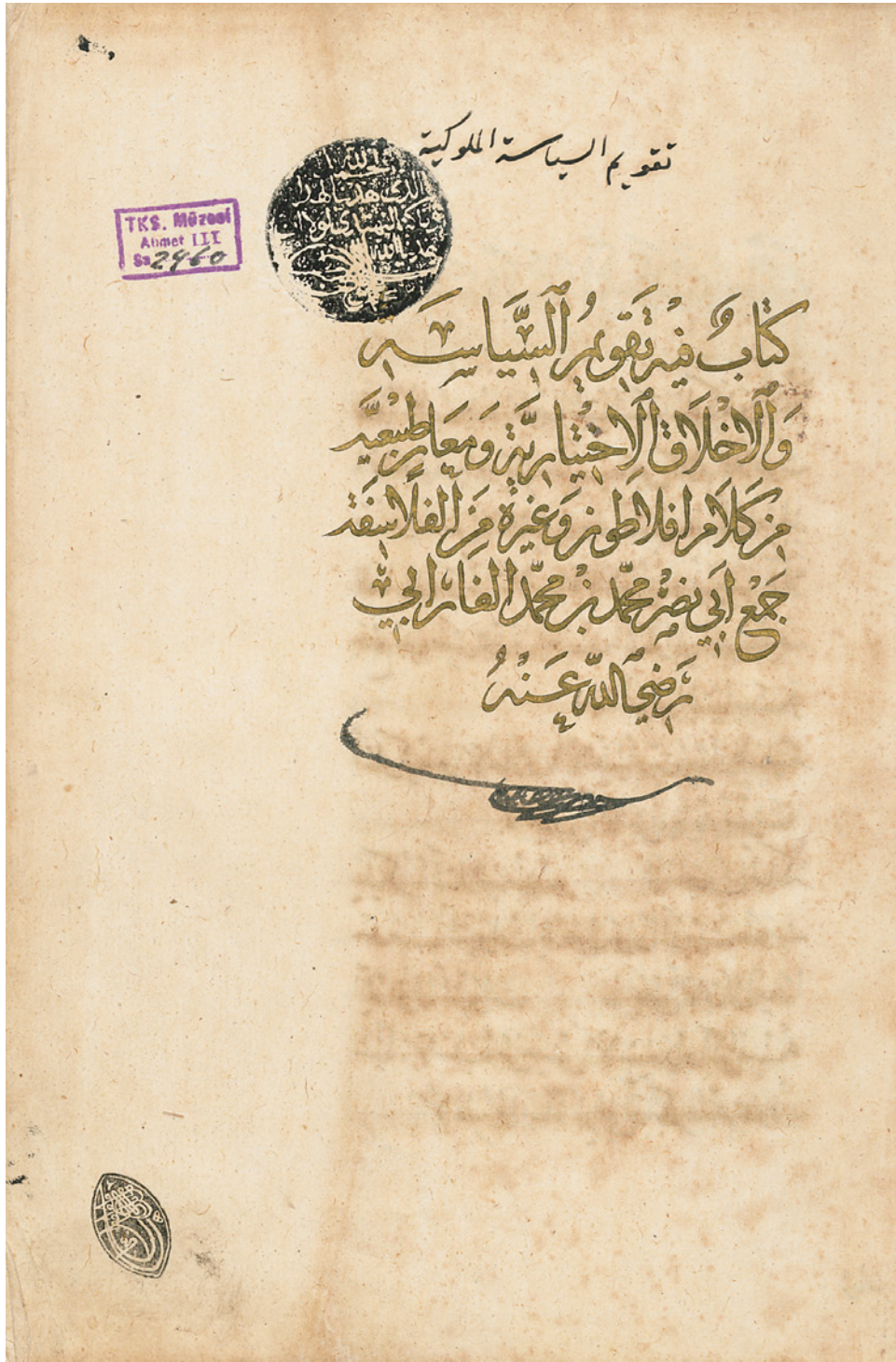
Pl. 5 [2] App. 24: TSMK, A. 2500, binding with renewed sticky label. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Pl. 6 [1] App. 22: TSMK, A. 2414, fol. 1a, opening page with title above and a different, erased title below, the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II, and round *waqf* seal of Ahmed III. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



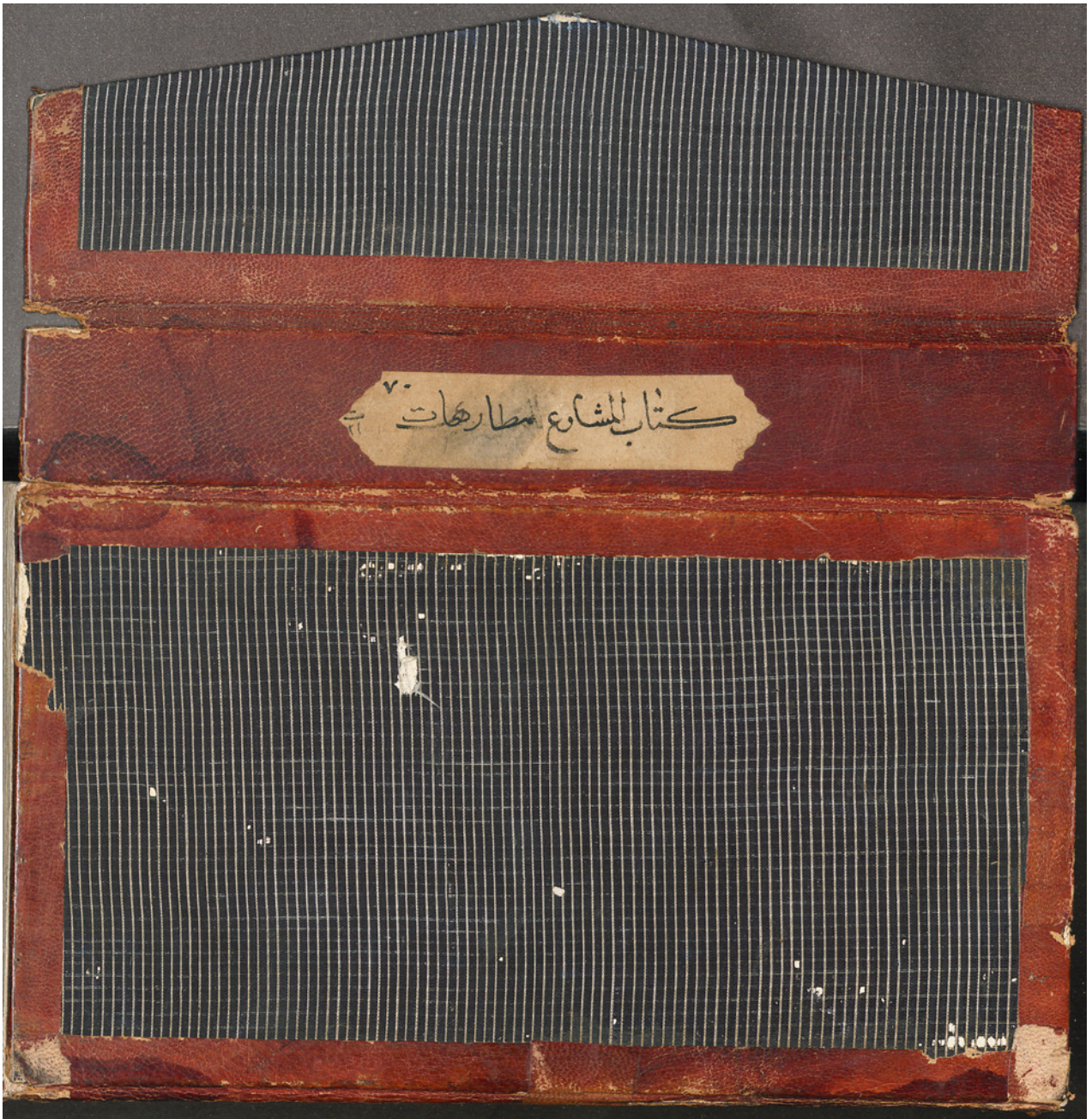
Pl. 6 [2] App. 22: TSMK, A. 2414, binding with authentic rectangular sticky label. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Pl. 7 App. 24: TSMK, A. 2460, fol. 1a, opening page with title above, a longer description of content below in a gold monumental cursive script, the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II, and round *waqf* seal of Ahmed III. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



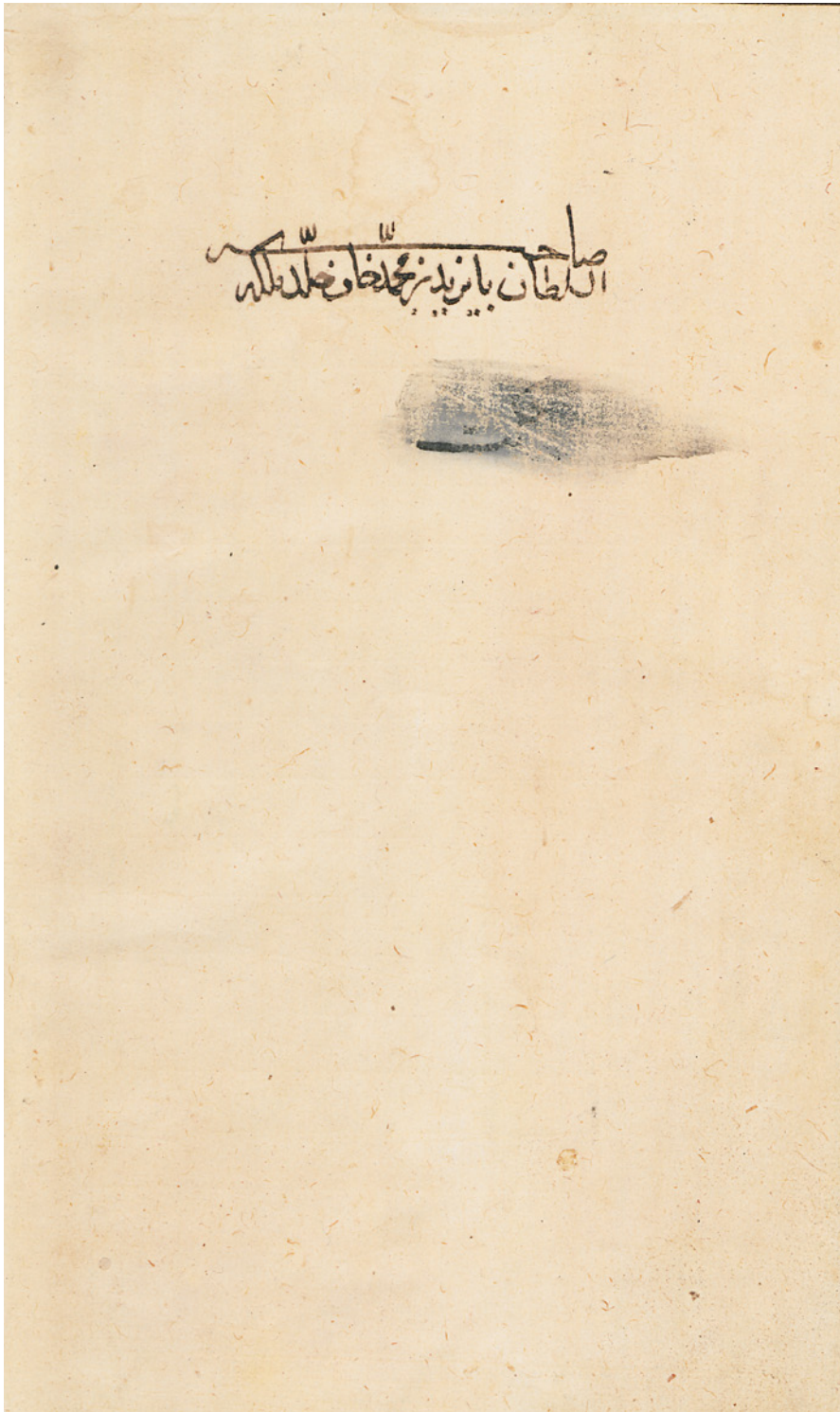
Pl. 8 [1] App. 26 [5]: TSMK, A. 3377, fol. 1a, opening page with title above and under it, an illuminated roundel identifying the title and author, stamped with the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II and the round *waqf* seal of Ahmed III. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Pl. 8 [3] App. 26 [5]: TSMK, A. 3377, binding with renewed sticky label. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Pl. 9 [1] App. 28: TSMK, A. 3317, fol. 1a, opening page with title followed by a eulogy of the author and a dedication to Mehmed II, stamped with the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II, and the round *waqf* seal of Ahmed III. The facing flyleaf has Bayezid II's ex libris. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)





Pl. 9 [2] App. 28: TSMK, A. 3317, binding with renewed sticky label. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



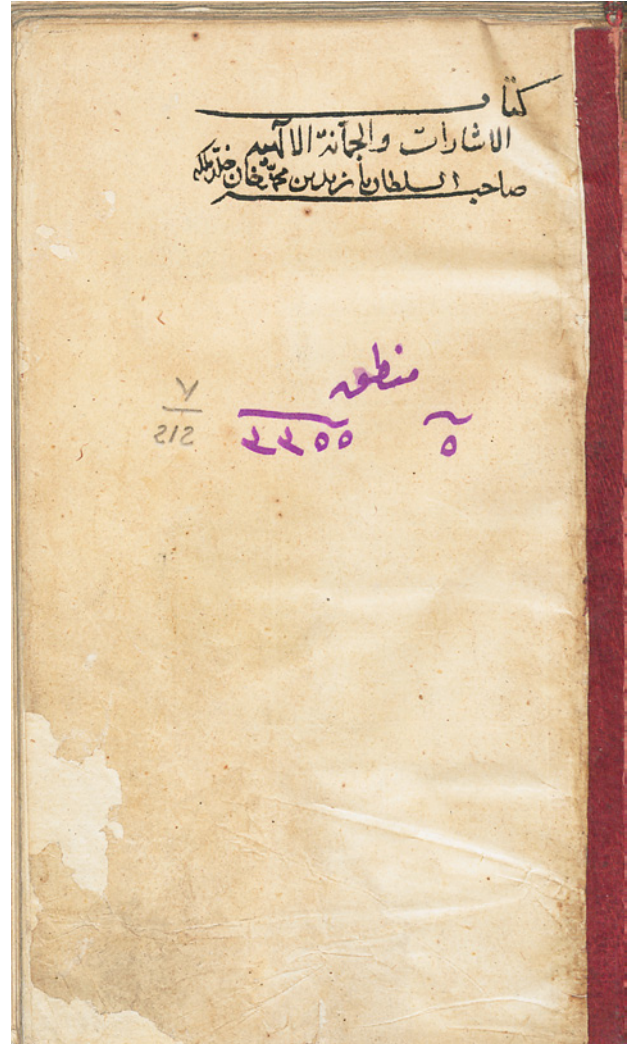
Pl. 9 [3] App. 28: TSMK, A. 3317, same binding preserving the authentic rectangular sticky label. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Pl. 10 App. 29: TSMK, A. 3328, fol. 1a, opening page with modified title above followed by Bayezid II's ex libris, his almond-shaped seal, and the round *waqf* seal of Ahmed III. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



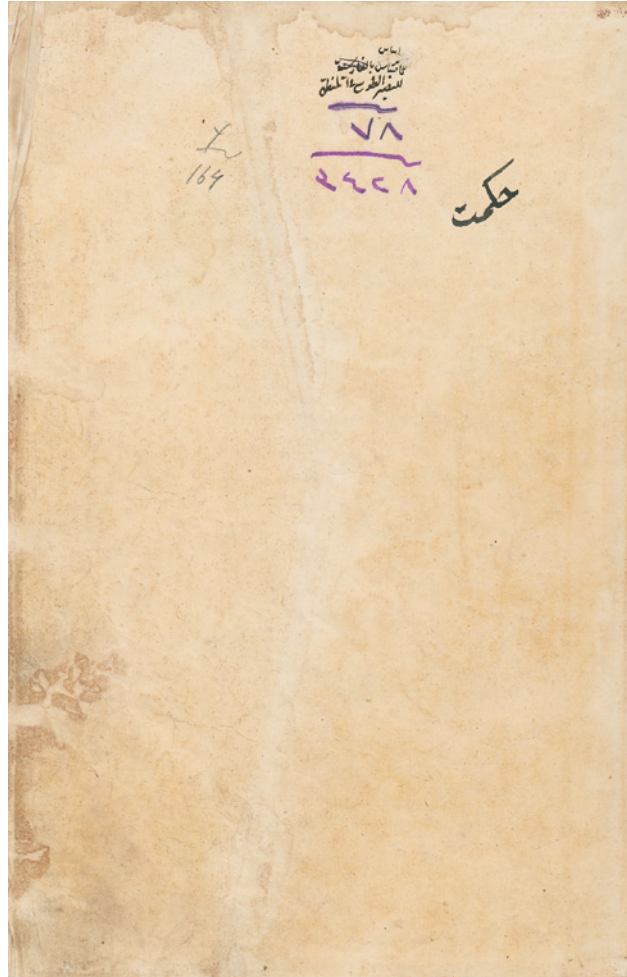
Pl. 11 [1] App. 30: TSMK, A. 3355, fol. 1a, opening page with title above, the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II, and the round *waqf* seal of Ahmed III. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



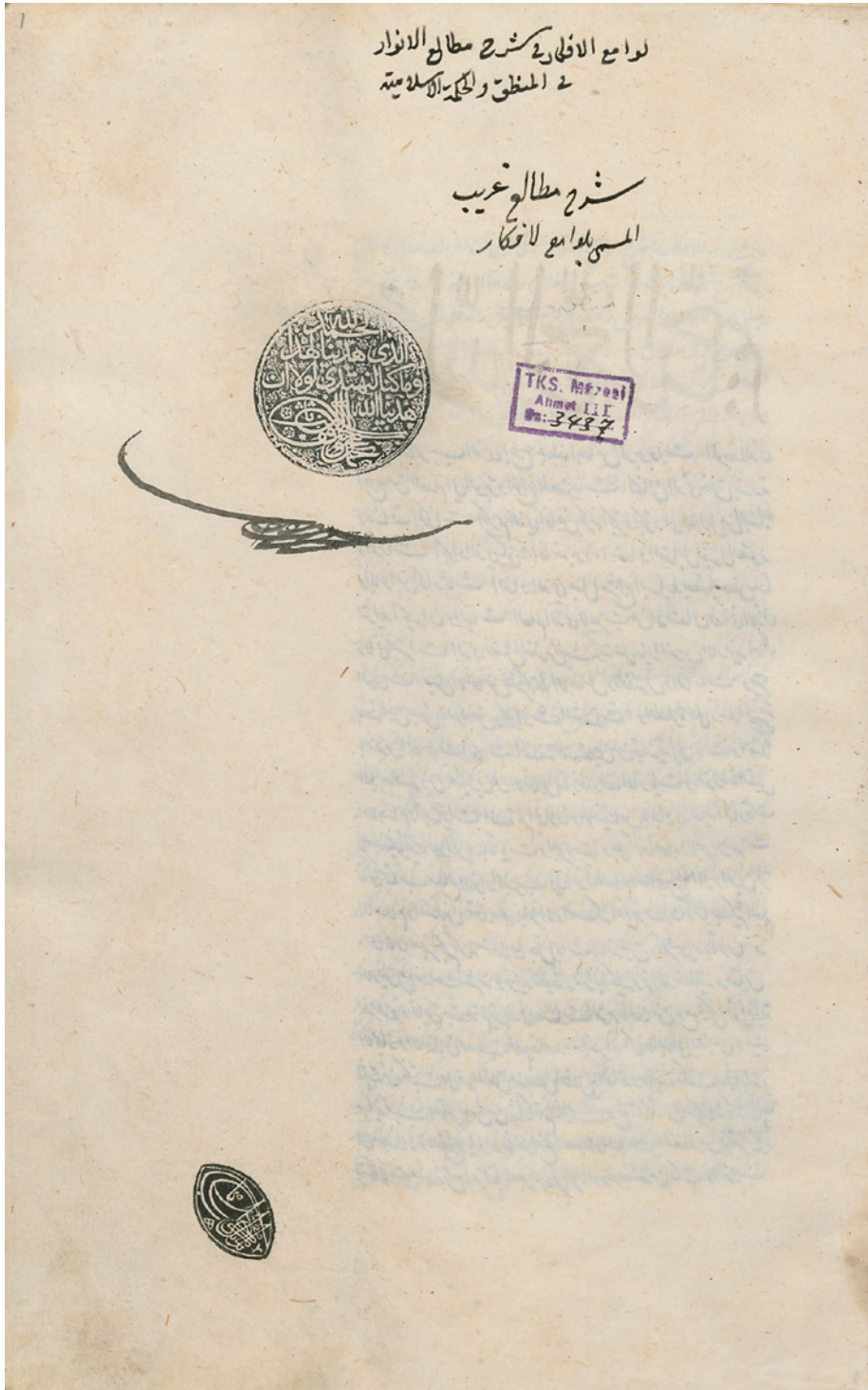
Pl. 11 [2] App. 30: TSMK, A. 3355, flyleaf with abbreviated book title and ex libris of Bayezid II. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



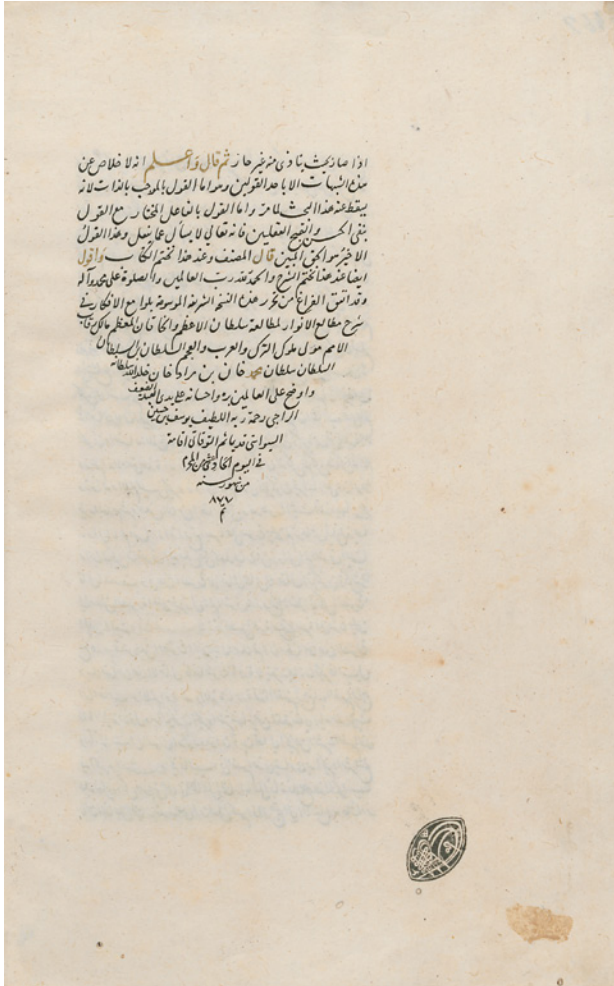
Pl. 12 [1] App. 32: TSMK, A. 3428, fol. 1a, opening page with abbreviated title above, a crossed-out longer description below with the author's name and an incorrect date, the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II, and the round *waqf* seal of Ahmed III. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Pl. 12 [2] App. 32: TSMK, A. 3428, flyleaf with full title partly crossed out. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



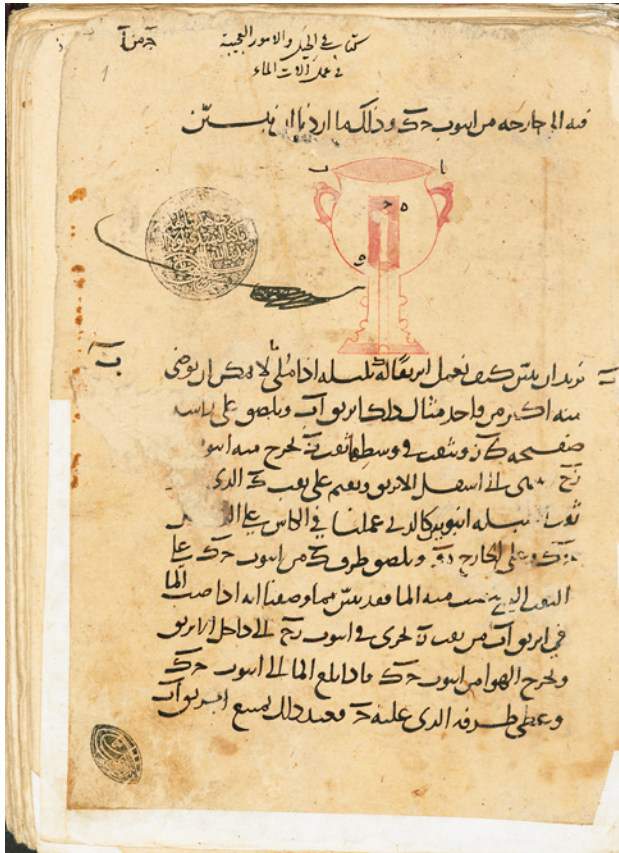
Pl. 13 [1] App. 34: TSMK, A. 3437, fol. 1a, opening page with title above and a variant title below in a different hand, the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II, and the round *waqf* seal of Ahmed III. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Pl. 13 [2] App. 34: TSMK, A. 3437, fol. 463b, final page with almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II; the colophon explains that it was made to be read by Mehmed II. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Pl. 13 [3] App. 34: TSMK, A. 3437, binding with renewed sticky label. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



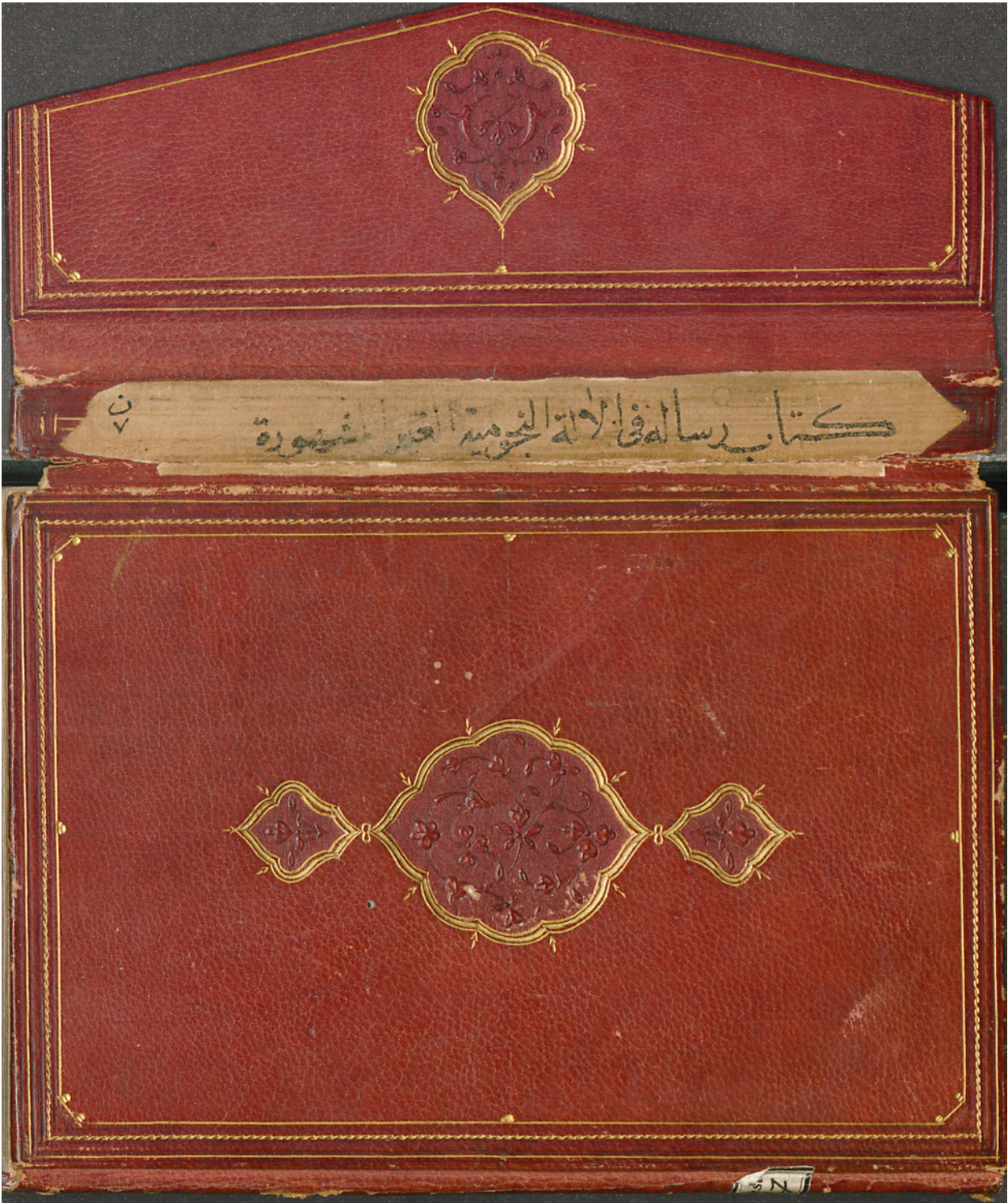
Pl. 14 [1] App. 35: TSMK, A. 3474, fol. 1a, opening page with title above (the front matter is missing), the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II, and the round *waqf* seal of Ahmed III. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



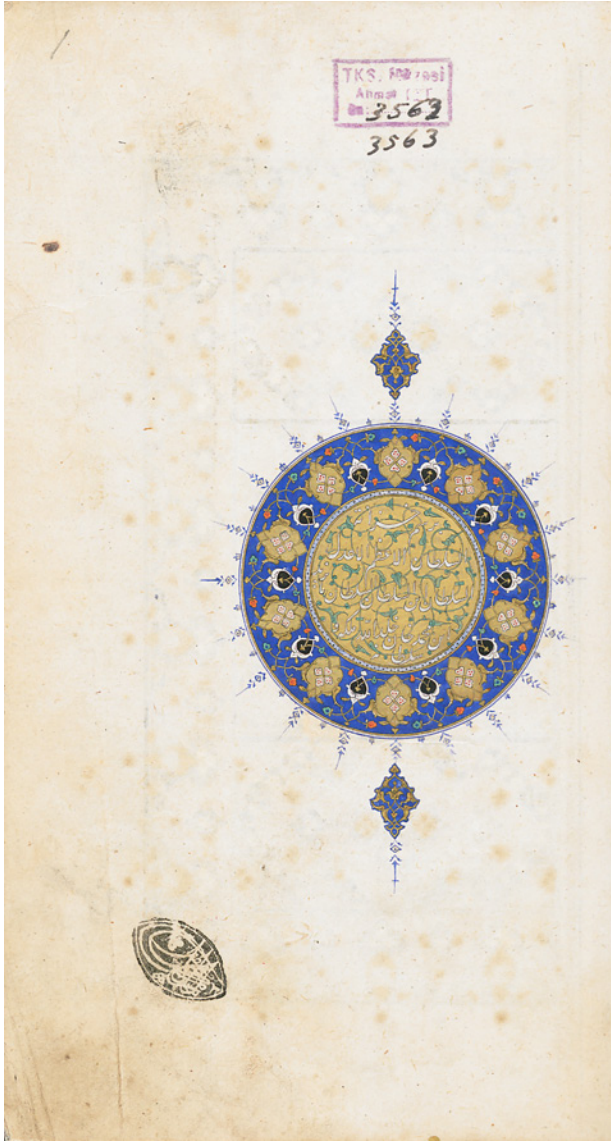
Pl. 14 [2] App. 35: TSMK, A. 3474, damaged binding with renewed sticky label. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



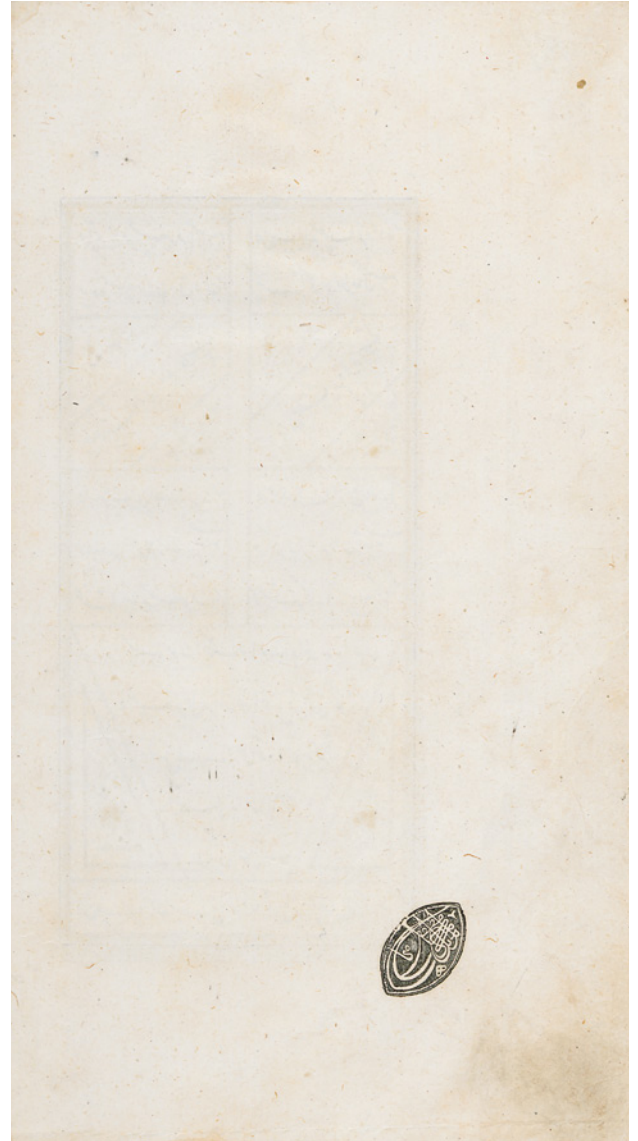
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Pl. 15 [2] App. 37: TSMK, A. 3487, binding with renewed sticky label. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



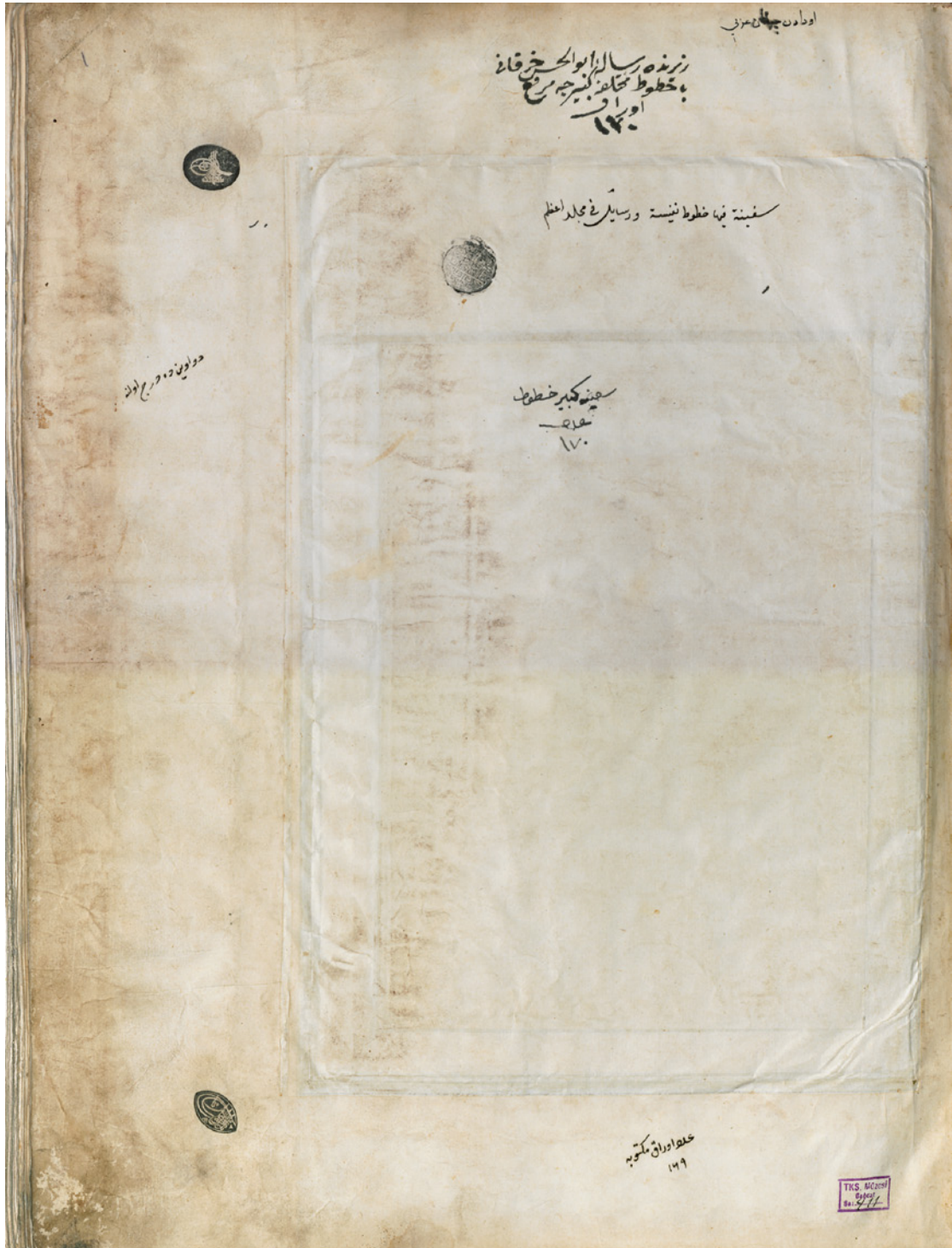
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Pl. 16 [2] App. 39: TSMK, A. 3563, fol. 191b, final page with almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Pl. 16 [3] App. 39: TSMK, A. 3563, binding with Persian couplet alluding to the book title embossed in two cartouches. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Pl. 17 [1] App. 40: TSMK, B. 411, fol. 1a, opening page with title and annotations, the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II, Selim I's round Inner Treasury seal, and the oval sovereignty seal of Mustafa III. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



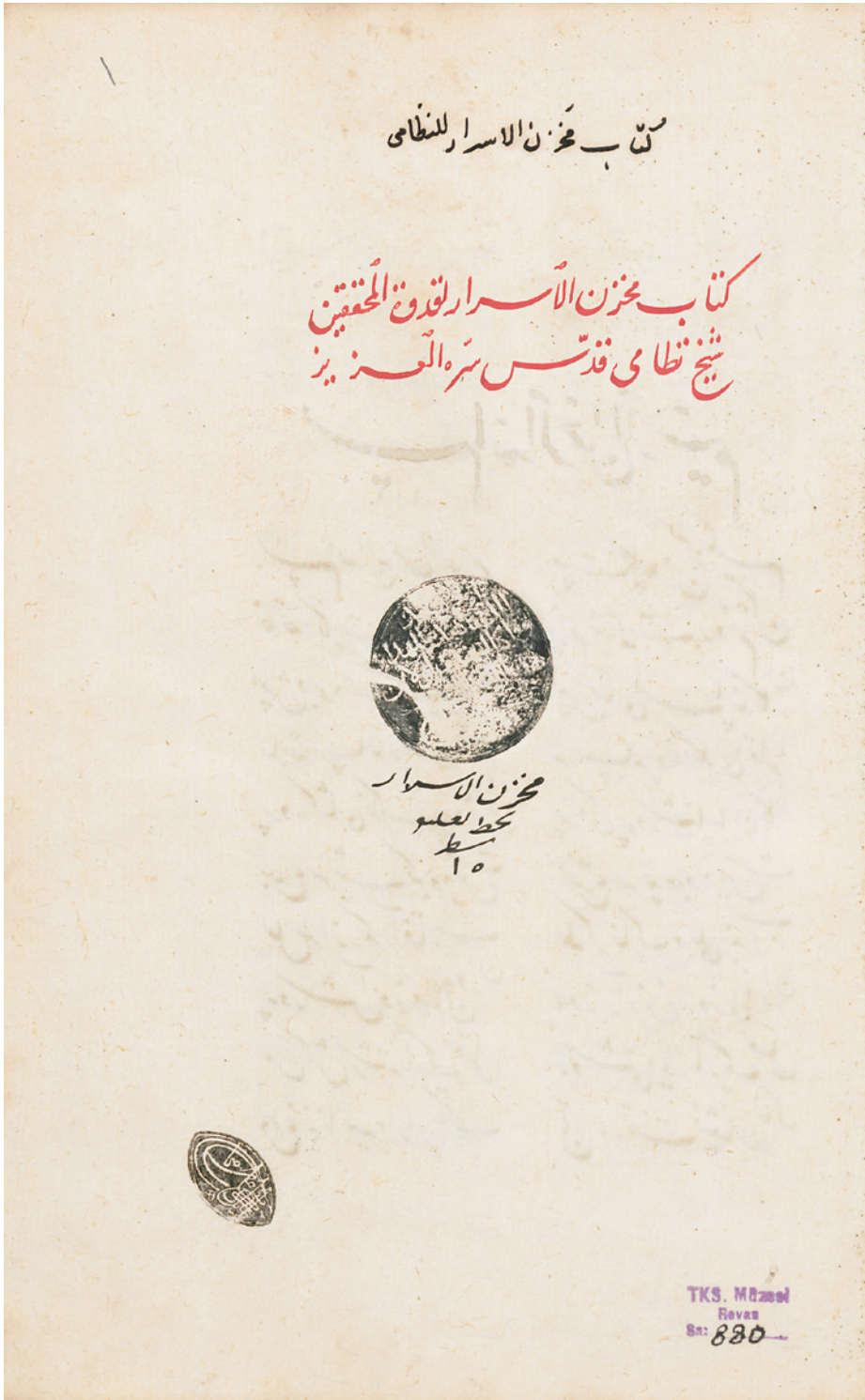
Pl. 17 [2] App. 40: TSMK, B. 411, final page with almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II and Mustafa III's oval sovereignty seal.
(Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



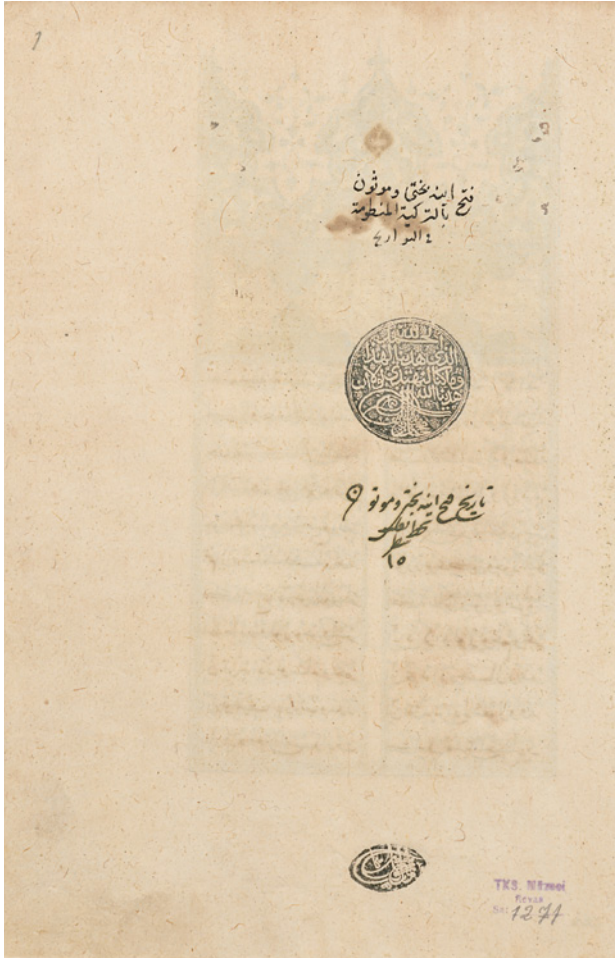
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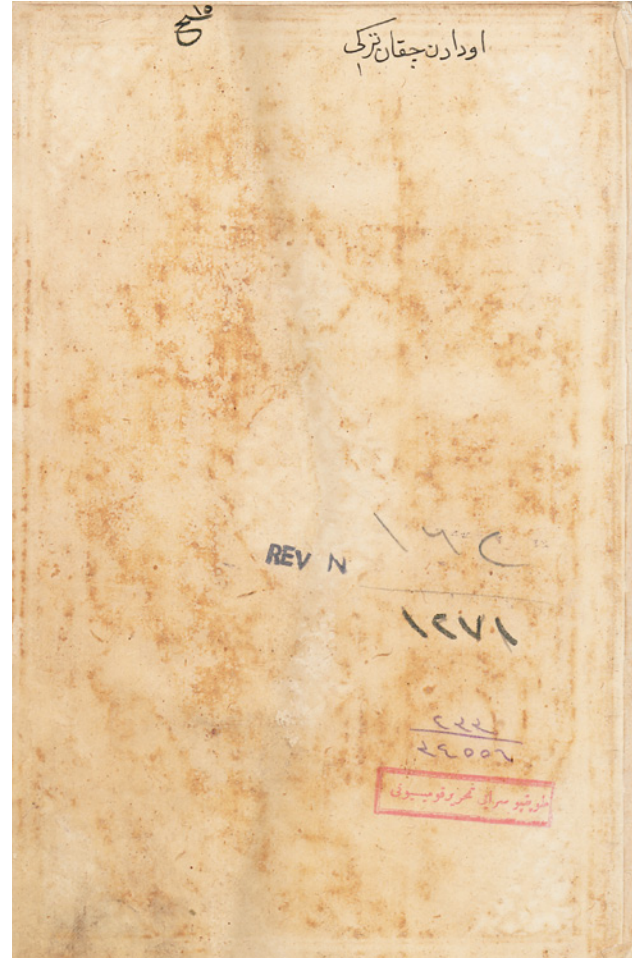
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Pl. 19 App. 42: TSMK, R. 880, fol. 1a, opening page with title above, a long variant (probably earlier) title below in red ink glorifying the author, the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II, and the round *waqf* seal of Osman III. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Pl. 20 [1] App. 43: TSMK, R. 1271, fol. 1a, opening page with title above, the almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II, and the round *waqf* seal of Mahmud I accompanied by a variant title added at the same time. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Pl. 20 [2] App. 43: TSMK, R. 1271, flyleaf with a note indicating the volume's transfer from the Privy Chamber to the Inner Treasury. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



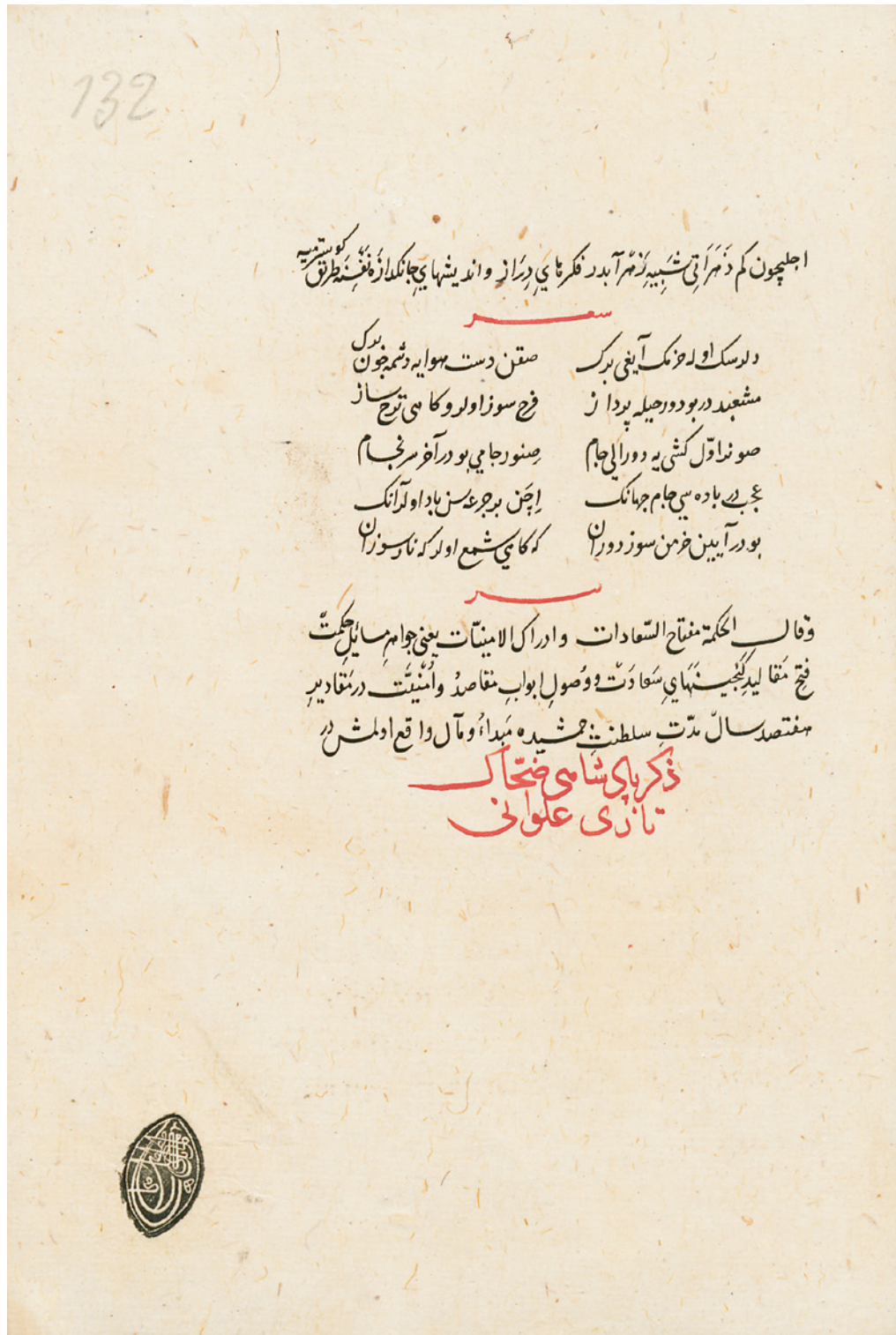
Pl. 20 [3] App. 43: TSMK, R. 1271, binding with authentic rectangular sticky label. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



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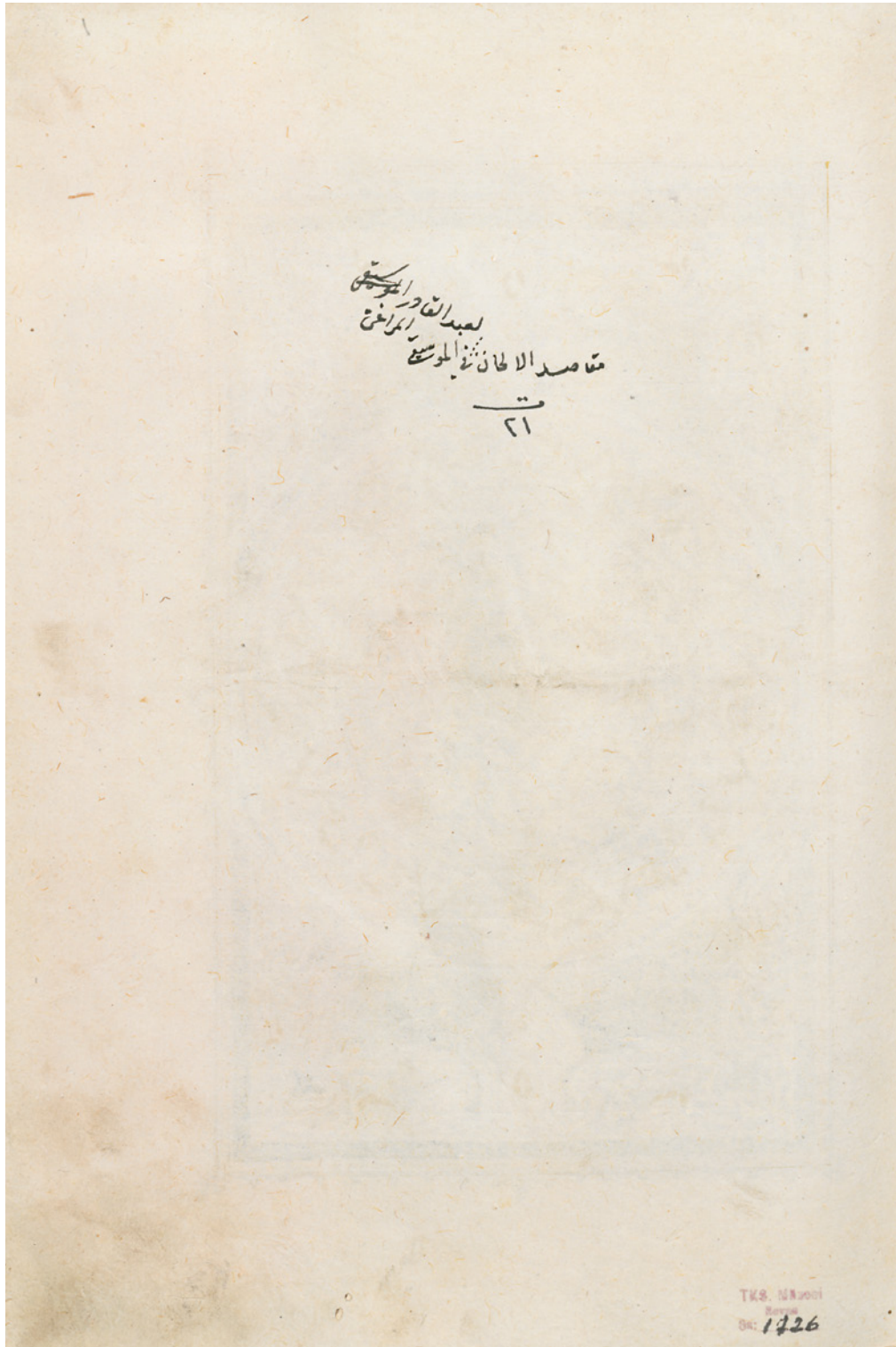
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Pl. 21 [3] App. 44: TSMK, R. 1465, fol. 132a, final page with almond-shaped seal of Bayezid II. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Pl. 21 [4] App. 44: TSMK, R. 1465, binding with authentic rectangular sticky label. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



Pl. 22 [1] App. 46: TSMK, R. 1726, fol. 1a, opening page with modified title. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

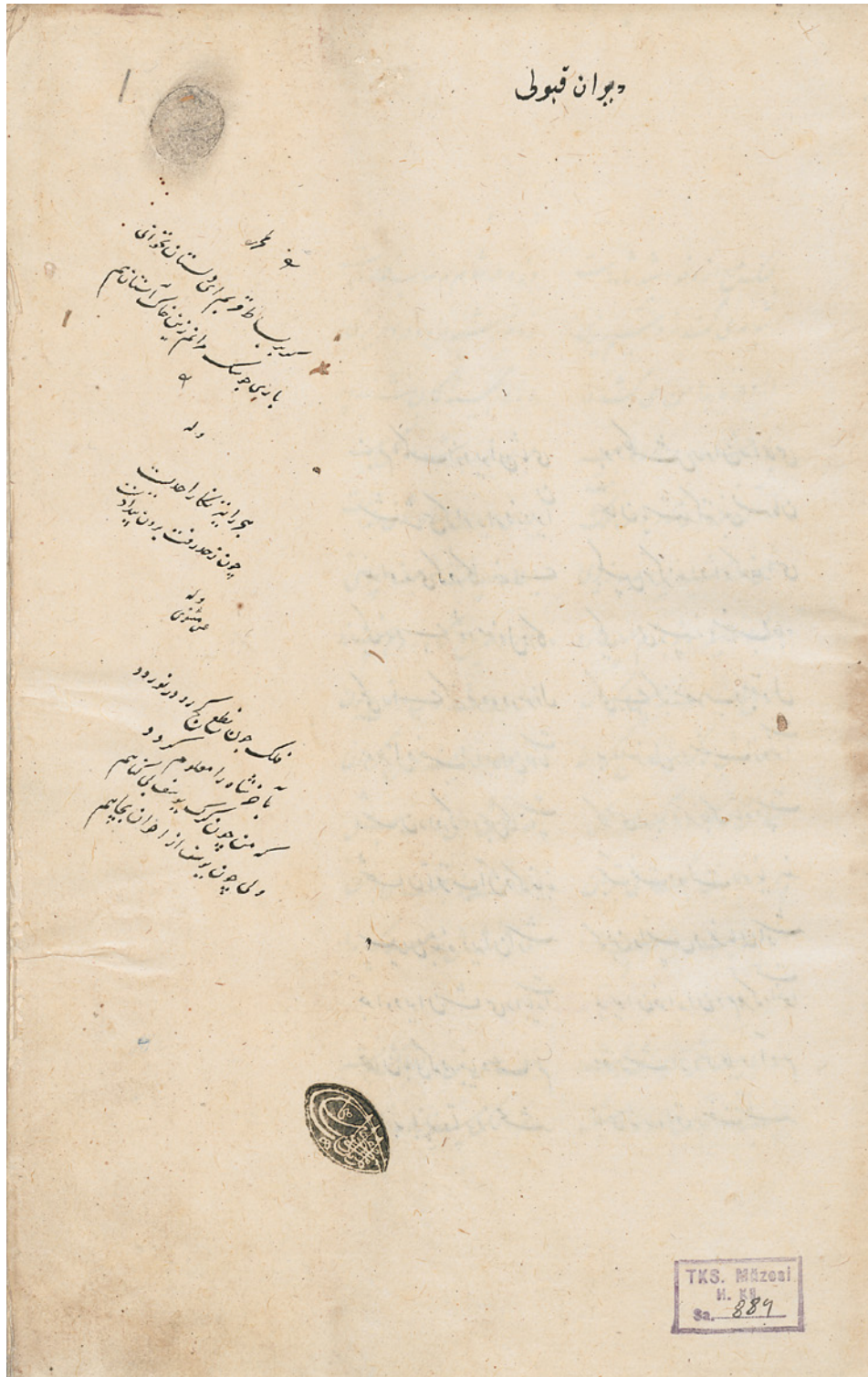


Pl. 22 [2] App. 46: TSMK, R. 1726, binding with authentic rectangular sticky label. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

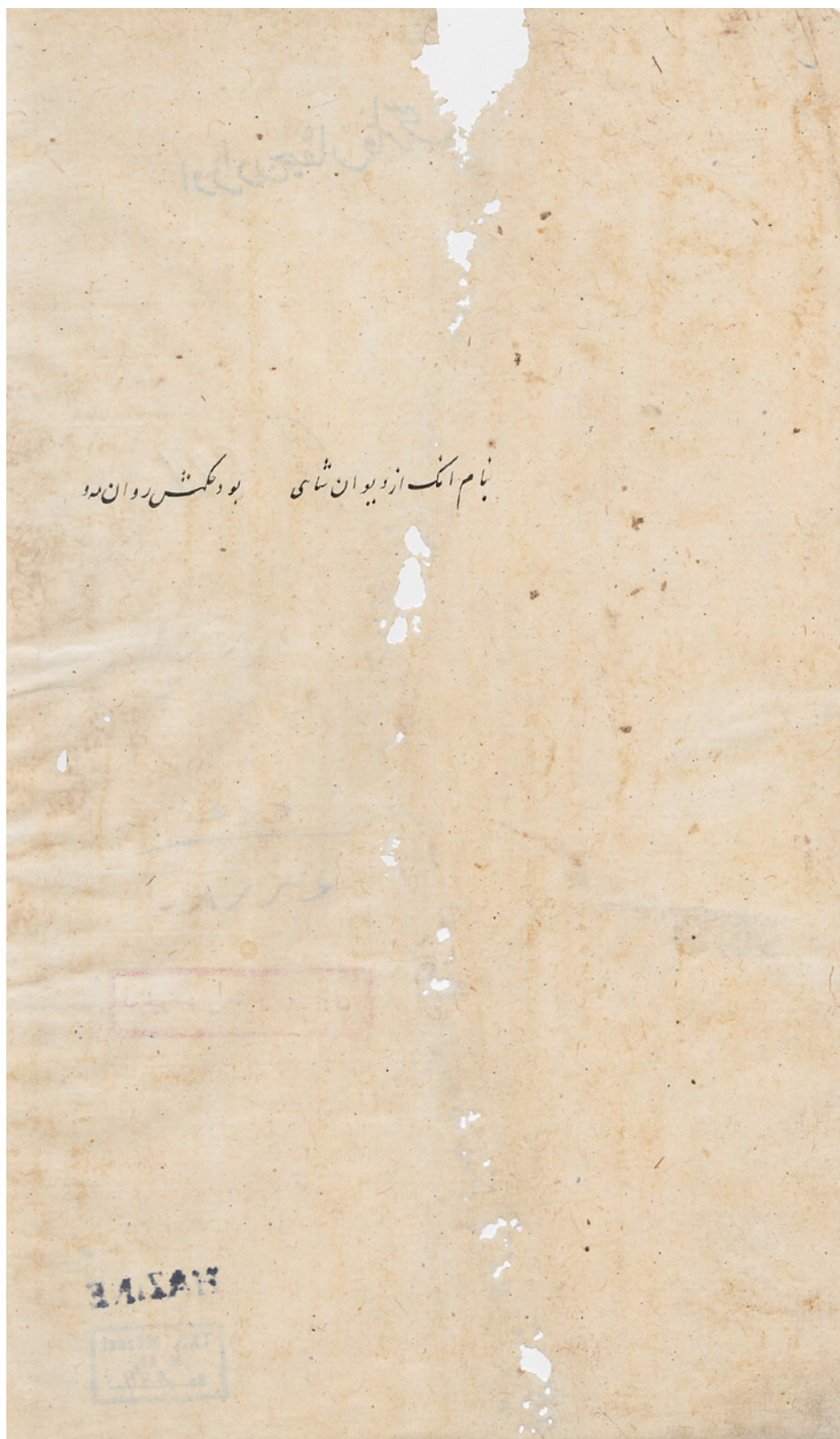


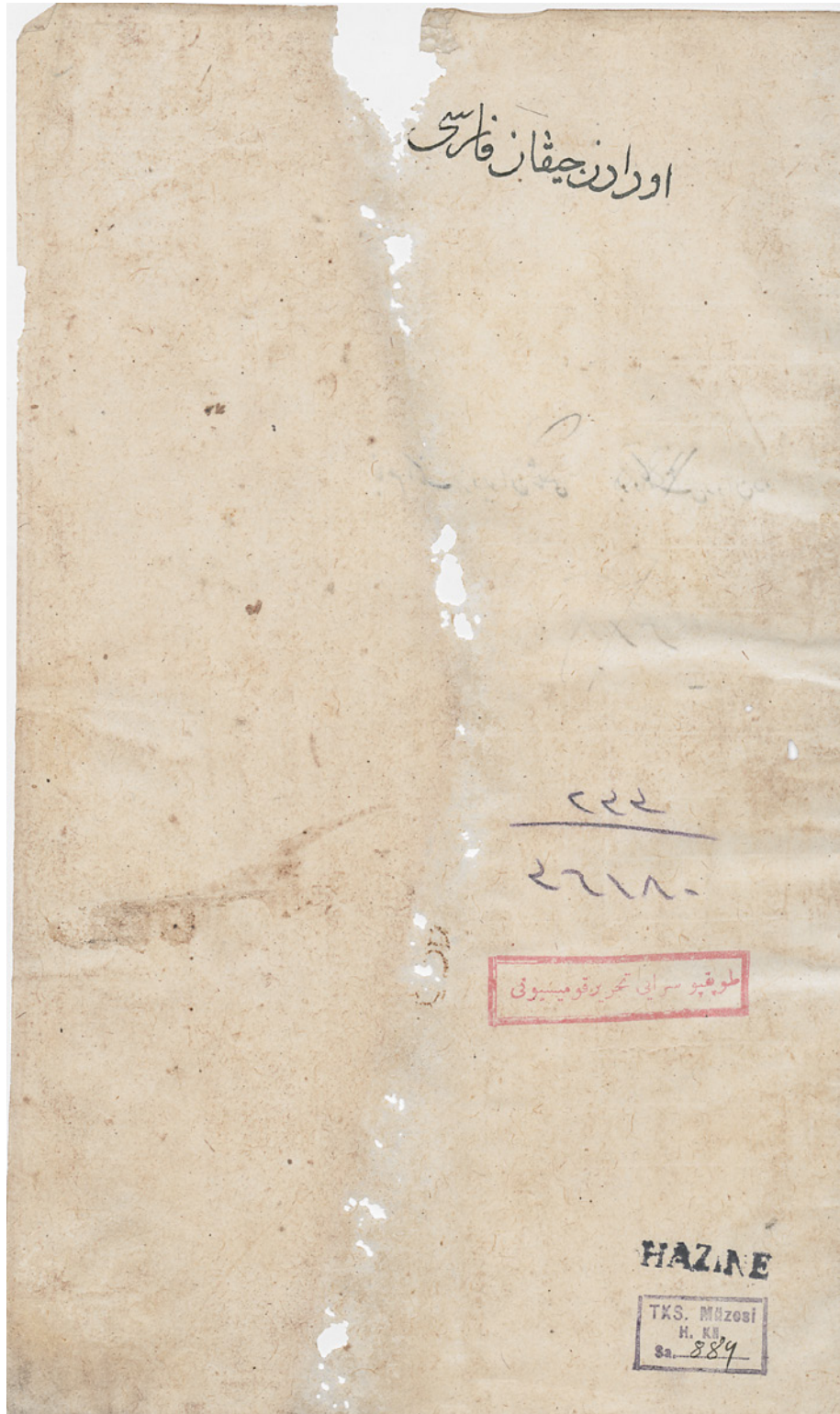
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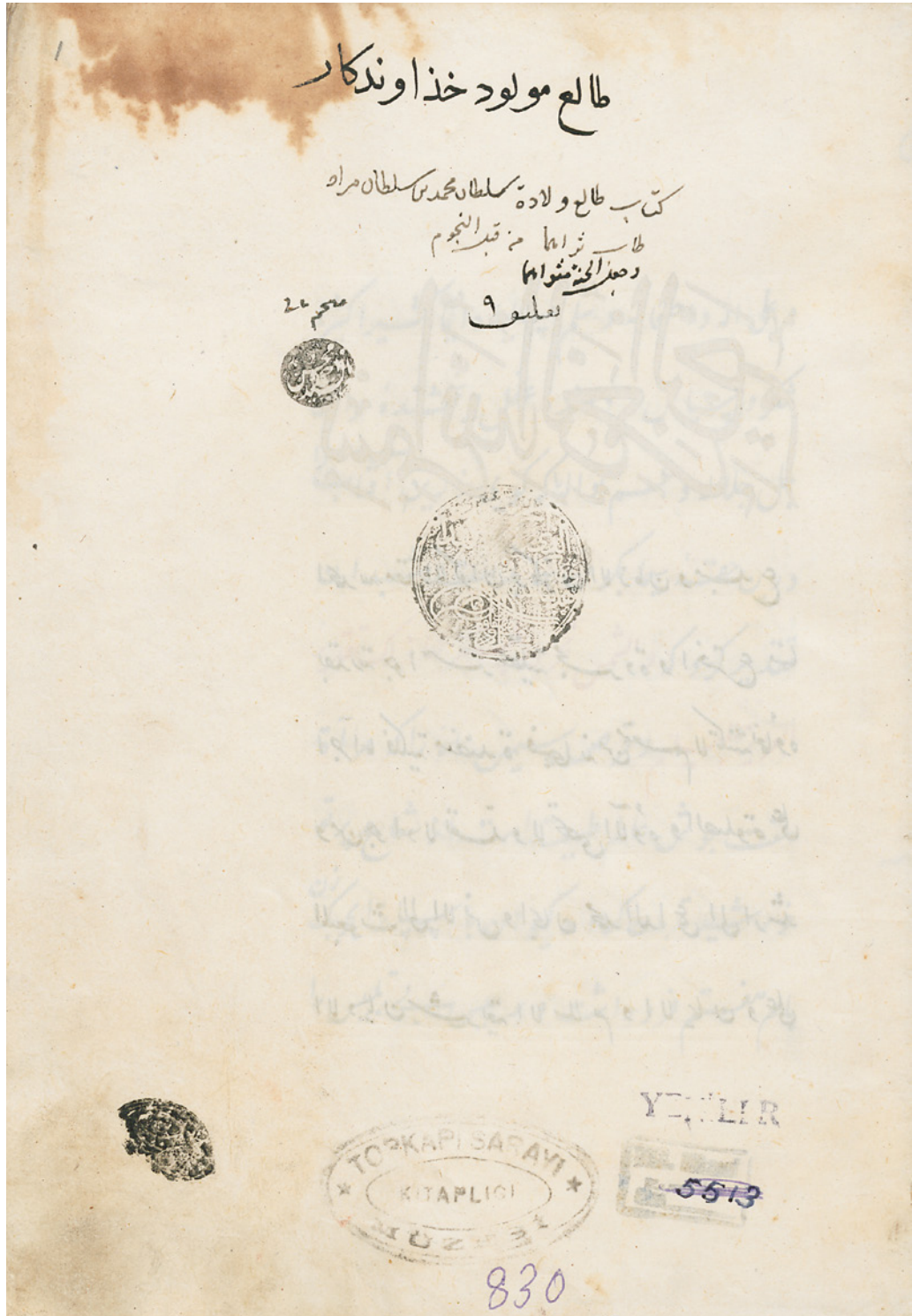




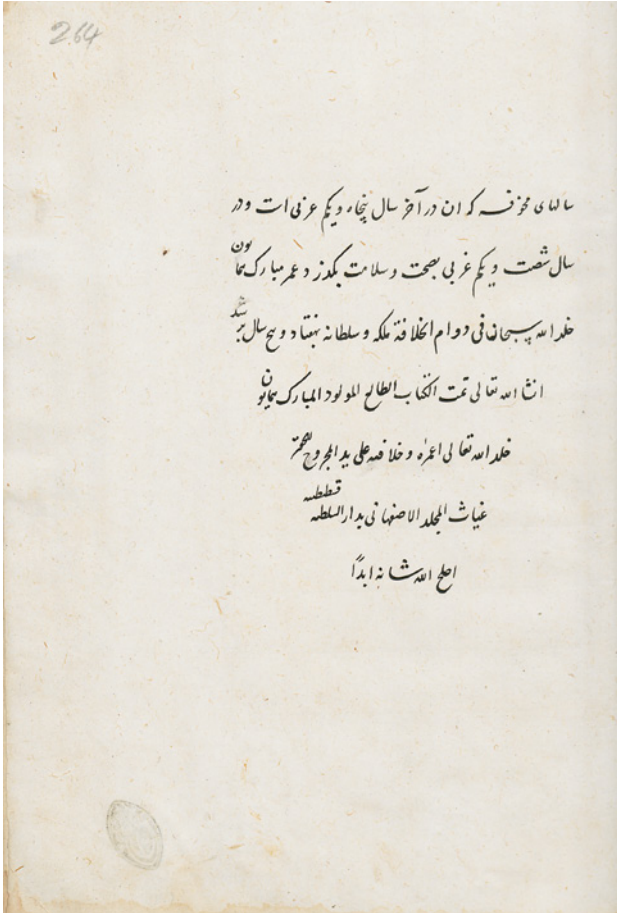
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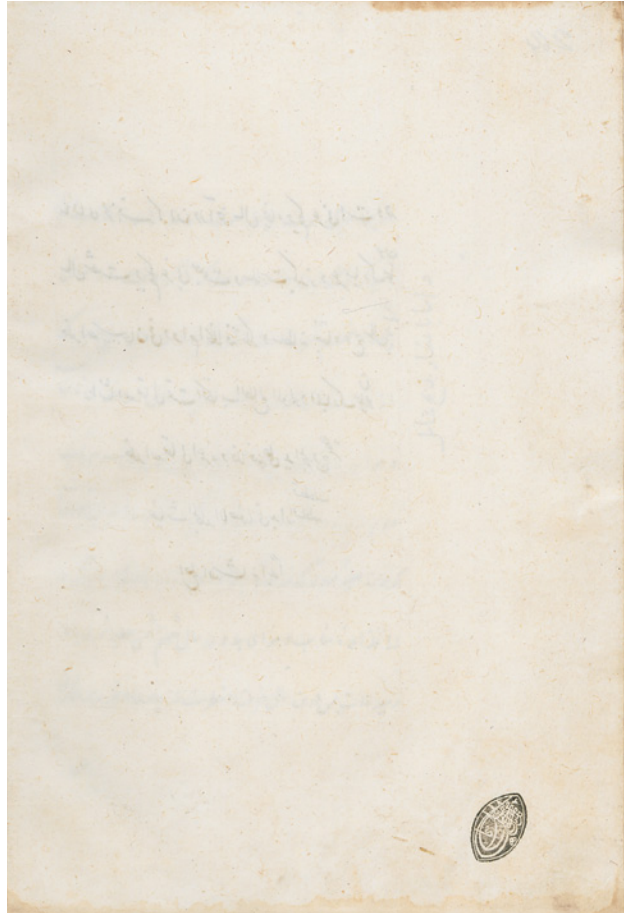
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Pl. 24 [2] App: 50: TSMK, Y.Y. 830, fol. 264a, colophon with name of the calligrapher. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)



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APPENDIX IV

TRANSLATION OF 'ATUFI'S OTTOMAN TURKISH PREFACE TO THE PALACE LIBRARY INVENTORY

THE RULE OF THE REGISTER AND ITS EXCEPTIONS

One rule is: that for each of the books, whether it belongs to one or more disciplines, its repository must be one; in the register each of these [books] is included under [only] one section. **An exception:** But sometimes in a book there are two aspects; with regard to one aspect it is included under one discipline, and regarding the other aspect it is included under another discipline, such as *Bidāyat al-hidāya* (Primer for the Guidance), which deals both with questions on Sufism and problems related to the science of jurisprudence. Therefore, in a book like this sometimes one aspect is considered and it is included under one discipline; but sometimes, because it is intended for both disciplines, and given the probability that it might be requested [by a potential reader] from each of those disciplines, some of its copies are included under one discipline and others are included under the other discipline. For example, *Bidāyat al-hidāya*, which is associated with His Highness Imam Ghazali: some of its copies have been included under the science of Sufism and some of its copies have been included under the science of jurisprudence.

Another rule is this: that if there are multiple books in a volume, it is with regard to the book which is more esteemed and whose probability of being requested is higher, or else is rare, that the bound volume is included with books under the aforesaid book's discipline. **An exception:** But sometimes it happens that among the multiple books in the volume there are equally esteemed works in terms of demand and rarity as the aforesaid book. When it is like this, then, making a selection is preferable. However, if by chance there is another volume containing the very same multiple books, it is allowable

that this volume be included with books under the discipline of the other book rather than the discipline of the aforesaid book, provided that the other book is equally esteemed and might be the reason for requesting the volume. In other words, some copies should be included under the former [discipline], and other copies under the latter.

Yet another rule is this: that each title of a book that exists in the register according to a particular manner is exactly the same as the particular manner in which it exists on the binding flap and also on the front page. For example, if the phrase *Kitāb al-iḥyā'* (Book of the Revival) is written on a book, it is written exactly the same way also in the register. If *Kitāb iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (Book of Revival of the Religious Sciences [by al-Ghazali]) occurs in the book, it is written exactly the same way in the register as well. If *Iḥyā' al-'ulūm* (Revival of the Sciences) occurs in the book, without the word *Kitāb*, it is written in the register too in exactly the same way. If in the book *Iḥyā'* occurs without the word *Kitāb* and without the word *'ulūm*, it is written in the register too in exactly the same way, except in rare cases or by mistake. **An exception:** But if the book extends over multiple volumes, the writing in the register necessarily differs from the writing on the book. For example, if *Kitāb al-hidāya fī mujalladayn* (Book of the Guidance in Two Volumes) is written in the register, the writing on each volume's front page is such that each of these differs from the one in the register. For example, in the first volume is written *al-Mujallad al-awwal min kitāb al-hidāya* (The First of the Two Volume[s] of the Book of the Guidance). In the second volume is written *al-Mujallad al-thānī min kitāb al-hidāya* (The

Second of the Volume[s] of the Book of the Guidance) with the letters *lam* and *alif* (*al-*), which is for contextual determination because in the register the word *mujallad* (volume) is written; even though it is an indefinite noun, because of the phrase *fī mujalladayn* (in two volumes), the *lam* of the definite article signifies the aforementioned definite noun. If the noun is indefinite, the *lam* of definiteness occurring in the phrase *fī mujalladin* refers to that aforementioned [particular] indefinite noun. However, if the word *mujallad* is not written as a definite noun but rather as an indefinite noun in both the register and also in the book, as in *Mujallad min kitāb al-hidāya* (Volume from Book of the Guidance), this means that it is a single volume and its other related volumes do not exist. **An exception:** But sometimes it happens that rarely the word *mujallad* is written as a definite noun in both the register and also in the book. For example, as in *al-Mujallad al-thānī* (The Second of the Volume[s]), and also as in *al-Mujallad al-akhir min al-hidāya* (The Last of the Volume[s] of the Guidance). In these cases, the other related volumes have not been found.

And one other rule is this: that books in Arabic verse in all disciplines are to be included under Arabic divans, and books in Persian verse in all disciplines are to be included under Persian divans, and books in Turkish verse in all disciplines are to be included under Turkish divans; [these] are not included under prose [books]. **An exception:** But sometimes it happens that a versified book is highly esteemed among books belonging to its discipline, as though it is fundamental to its discipline. Then, books like this are included under prose books in corresponding disciplines, such as *Qaṣīda-i Shāṭibī* in the science of recitation. And let it be known that commentaries on qasidas and commentaries on books in verse are included under compositions in verse when their main intention is [to be] a book in verse. And when its commentary is a versified book, it is included under books in verse: “And each

one hath a goal toward which he turneth,” Qur’an 2:148. And also let it be known that sometimes some of the copies of a book in rhyme are included under books in rhyme, and some copies are included under books in their own discipline, like *Nathri* [so in original] *al-La‘ālī*, most copies of which have been included under books in rhyme, and some copies of which have been included under books on advice because of the possibility of its being requested among books of advice. But such cases are extremely few and rare.

And one other rule is: that when each heading written on the front page or binding flap of a book was written in the register, above its beginning a linear mark (*butta*) has been placed in red ink, and at its end a triple zero is also written in red ink. But if a book extends over two volumes, what is written in the register differs from the writing in the book, yet it is not different in meaning. For example, in the register *Kitāb al-hidāya fī mujalladayn* (Book of the Guidance in two volumes) is written; at its beginning a red linear mark and at its end red zeros are placed. But the first volume of the book has *al-Mujallad al-awwal min kitāb al-hidāya* (The First Volume of Book of the Guidance), and in its second volume is written *al-Mujallad al-thānī* (The Second Volume), and so forth when there are yet more (multiple) volumes. **End of the Rules of the Register.**

The Rule of the Repository is that section headings enumerated in the register’s table of contents are written on top of each repository in exactly the same way. And for deluxe books in each section one place is assigned, and for non-deluxe books another place is assigned. On top of these [places] it is to be written whether they are a “deluxe depository” or “non-deluxe depository,” so that when the contents of each repository are taken outside under the sun, they do not mix with one another. Islamic books are to be treated respectfully in accordance with religious decorum.

APPENDIX V

TRANSLATION OF 'ATUFI'S ARABIC PREFACE TO THE PALACE LIBRARY INVENTORY

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST COMPASSIONATE, THE MOST MERCIFUL

Praise be to God, who maintains order among mankind through the justice of rulers • and directs the affair from above the heavens to underneath the earths¹ •

The One who made knowledge a pillar for religion • and [made] writing a pillar for knowledge and certitude. •

And blessings be upon him who combined the knowledge of those who went before and those who came later •—both the content of the earliest scrolls [of scripture] and the books of the [later] Messengers—:²

Muhammad, the Seal of all Prophets • and the paragon of all [God's] friends and [His] elect. •

And [blessings be] upon those who are the stars of Islam • from among his noble family and Companions. •

Now to the matter at hand:

The most knowledgeable Sultan • and the greatest Khan •

Just [ruler] of the time • and Mahdi of the age •

Sword of the two seas • and Lord of the two lands •

Chief of the Caesars • and bastion of the Khosroes •

Vanquisher of revolters • and subduer of transgressors •

Uprooter of heretics • and repeller of rebels •

Helper of virtuous paths • and queller of false ways •

Benefactor to the learned • and protector to the upright •

Paragon amongst those possessing sanctified souls • and supreme amongst those ruling over dominions of [divine] intimacy •

Sun of beauty • and sky of majesty •

Pole to the orbits of intellectual attainments • and zenith to the skies of practical virtues •

Sultan of all sultans • and *qibla* of all khaqans:

Sultan Bayezid Khan son of Mehemmed Khan son of Murad Khan son of Sultan Mehemmed Khan son of Yıldırım [Thunderbolt] Bayezid Khan son of Ghazi [Holy Warrior] Murad Khan son of Orhan son of Osman Khan—may God the Most High be pleased with them • and may God the Most High be gracious towards them. •

When he resolved to attend to the books of the religious sciences, he commanded one of his slaves to determine the titles of the books in his imperial treasury and to classify every book according to its particular discipline, writing [this information] on the front pages and the bindings, and [he commanded me] to write these in the [present] register in a way that corresponds to the titles and descriptions that are [written] on the front pages and the bindings—without altering [these] in any way [*that is to say, any semantic way, not any literal way. For on rare occasions the text in one differs from the text in the other without changing the understood meaning. As for such differences, they concern either substitution, or addition and subtraction, or pre-position and*]

post-position].³ Therefore, this lowly slave [*and he is the author of this register, not its transcriber*]⁴ promptly embarked upon obeying [the sultan's] noble command • and finished what was commanded—by the help of God, the Great and the Exalted • in the year 908.

NOTES

Author's note: The dots shown here correspond to the triple-dot marks on the original manuscript.

1. Cf. Q 32:5 and 65:12.
2. This bifurcation of revealed scriptures likely reflects a Prophetic hadith that attributes certain “scrolls” or “leaves” (presumably meaning minor writings) to ancient Prophets

(such as Seth, Enoch, and Abraham) while positing “books” for Moses, David, Jesus, and Muhammad. See Muḥammad Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Iḥsān fī taqrīb Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Ḥibbān, tartīb ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Fārisī*, ed. Shu‘ayb al-Arna’ūt (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risālah, 1988), 2:77 (no. 361). Several commentators map this division of revealed writings to the pair “*al-zubur wa-l-kitāb al-munīr*” that appears in Q. 3:184 and 35:25, and to the similar juxtaposition of *kalimāt* and *kutub* in Q. 66:12. See, e.g., al-Zamakhsharī’s discussion of these verses in his commentary, *al-Kashshāf ‘an ḥaqā’iq ghawāmiḍ al-tanzīl*.

3. This annotation appears as a superscript and continues in the margin.
4. The superscripted phrase is found beneath the phrase “lowly servant,” in what seems to be the same handwriting (though in a smaller size), presumably representing a later explanatory gloss.

Treasures of Knowledge

An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library
(1502/3–1503/4)

VOLUME II

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Treasures of Knowledge

An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)

VOLUME II: TRANSLITERATION AND FACSIMILE
“REGISTER OF BOOKS” (*KITĀB AL-KUTUB*), MS TÖRÖK F. 59

Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára Keleti Gyűjtemény
(Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

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VOLUME VOLUME II: TRANSLITERATION AND FACSIMILE
REGISTER OF BOOKS (*KITĀB AL-KUTUB*), MS TÖRÖK F. 59

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(Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

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PRINCIPLES OBSERVED IN TRANSLITERATING MS TÖRÖK F. 59

In the following, “text” refers to the manuscript that contains the library inventory; “transliterated text” refers to its transliteration.

The IJMES transliteration system for Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish was used, except where differences are noted below. Text in red has been bolded.

The orthography of the text is not replicated when it differs from standard Arabic orthography, e.g., medial *hamza*, written nearly consistently with either the letter *yā*’ (*sāyil* for *sā’il*) or *wāw* (*aswila* for *as’ila*), has been transliterated with a *hamza* without noting each occurrence. Likewise, dots under a *yā*’ for an *alifmaqṣūra* (e.g., ‘*alā*, fol. 11, l. 7), also a consistent orthographic habit, are not noted. The cataloguer most often vocalizes *tarjuma*, but it has been transliterated throughout as *tarjama*.

The *shadda* indicating assimilation of the *lām* of the definite article (*ad-dīn*, transliterated as *al-dīn*) is ignored, as is—here differing from the IJMES transliteration system—the *hamzat al-waṣl* of the definite article, so that *al-* is transliterated in full unless the *alif* is omitted in the text (*li-llāh*, *li-l-Rāzī*, but *wa-al-kutub*). Vowel lengthening in pronominal suffixes is not added in transliteration, thus *bi-khaṭṭihi*. Except for in the title Ḥujjat al-Islām, the *tā’ marbūṭa* is not vocalized without a case ending in proper names or epithets (‘*Allāma*).

Case endings (*i’rāb*) have been indicated throughout the transliteration, since they are (mostly) marked as such on the manuscript itself. Where case endings are not indicated in the text, they are added in the transliteration. When a case ending or a word is vocalized incorrectly in the text, it is corrected in the transliterated text. The standard convention of Arabists, according to which book titles are transliterated without inflection, has not been followed in the transliterated text.

Brackets in the transliteration indicate a marginal or other addition to the text noting an omission or containing an explanation by the scribe—these are not always referenced in a footnote to the transliterated text. Brackets have also been used to note when words completing the line in the text were added above the word(s) at the end of the line, rather than continuing on to the following line.

In the text there are words in red ink; these have been rendered in black bold characters. There are also red or black signs that mark the beginning and end of inventory entries as well as subsections. The “butta” signs above the beginning of each entry have been indicated by ~. When the “butta” is used to mark the beginning of different texts in multi-text compendiums, it is indicated by ~. The “butta” indicates a new entry and therefore the word following has been capitalized; only indefinite entries (e.g., *risālatun fī*) have not been capitalized. The triple dots at the end of entries and subsections have been reproduced with .

The scribe ‘Atufi indicates a title on loan to a reader with a marginal phrase in the text that begins with *maṭlab* and might be followed by the book title. These are given in brackets and italics (bolded if the phrase was in red ink) in the transliterated text.

Occasionally ‘Atufi will write a Persian title with Arabic conventions; if it is clear that the title is meant to be in Persian (e.g., when a *hamza* indicates an *ezāfe* or the proper name is missing the Arabic definite article), Persian transliteration has most often been used. The Persian *gāf* is always transcribed in the text with a *kāf* (very rarely with three dots to distinguish it) but it has been transliterated as a *g*.

Proper names and titles (e.g., Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn) are capitalized in transliteration and presented without case endings. Qur'ān, Tawrāt, and Injīl are also capitalized. When a proper name has been given in its adjectival form (e.g., al-islāmiyya; al-iskandariyya), these have not been capitalized. Only the first word of the book title is capitalized in transliteration; when defined, *Kitāb*, *Risāla*, *Mukhtaṣar*, *Matn*, and *Sharḥ* have been understood as the first element of the book title.

Ottoman Turkish books have been transliterated according to the Ottoman Turkish transliteration system unless the book title is in Arabic; the most common Turkish names and titles of individuals are generally written according to Ottoman spelling even if the manuscript has an Arabic transcription (e.g., Bāyezīd; Meḥammed; Çelebi).

Although the text in the beginning provides a catchword, these have not been transliterated.

TRANSLITERATION

[1]

[1–7 are blank]

{8} ~ Tārīkhu khurūji al-daftari min al-musawwadati

{9} ilā hādhā al-bayāḍi

{10} qad tamma asmā'u jamī'i al-kutubi

{11} tārīkhuhu jalla kitābu al-kutubi [*ay daftaru al-kutubi*]¹

{12} ~jīm ~lām ~kāf ~tā' ~alif ~bā' ~alif ~lām ~kāf ~tā' ~bā'²

{12a} ~ 909

{13} ~ Ākharu

{14} qultu li-itmāmihi [*muta'alliḡan bi-nāẓiri*] man [*maḡūlu qultu*] ghadā [*bi-ma'nā sāra*] nāẓiran

{15} inna li-tārīkhihi daftaran kābiran [*ay 'aẓīman*]

{16} ~dāl ~fā' ~tā' ~rā' ~alif ~kāf ~alif ~bā' ~rā' ~alif

{17} 909

[18 is blank]

{19} [~ *Ansha'ahu wa-ḡarrarahu al-ḡaḡīru*

{20} *mu'allīfu hādhā al-daftari al-khaḡīri*]

[The manuscript is missing several beginning pages from the table of contents (*fihris*)]³

[2]

{1} ~ Tafṡīlu kutubi al-fīḡhi wa-kutubi manāḡibi al-a'immati •

{2} •

{3} ~ Tafṡīlu kutubi al-taṡawwufi wa- ~ kutubi

{4} • al-naṡā'ihī wa-al-mawā'izī wa- ~ kutubi manāḡibi •

{5} • al-maṡḡayikhi wa-al-awliyā'i -quddisa sirruhum- •

1 This bracketed phrase and the others on this right-hand page were inserted above or below the line in the same hand. A note will be given henceforth only if the insertion is in a different hand.

2 This is a line of *abjad*—letters used for numerals—adding up to 909 (1503-4), the date when a clean copy of the manuscript was created, as confirmed in the following line.

3 For the reconstruction of six section titles (*Tafṡīl*) in these missing pages, see Gülru Necipoğlu's essay in volume one.

- {6} • wa- ≈ kutubi ‘ilmi al-akhlāqī •
 {7} •
 {8} ≈ Tafşīlu al-kutubi al-ṭibbiyyati wa-mā yata‘allaqu
 {9} • bi-al-ṭibbi bi-jihatin min al-jihāti ka-kutubi •
 {10} • al-shumūmi wa-kutubi al-falāḥati •
 {11} •
 {12} ≈ Tafşīlu kutubi al-siyari wa-al-tawārīkhi wa- ≈ kutubi
 {13} ādābi al-ḥarbi wa- ≈ kutubi umūri al-riyāsati wa-al-salṭanati
 {14} wa-al-siyāsati wa- ≈ kutubi al-furūsiyyati wa-al-bayṭarati ya‘nī faras-
 {15} • nāmah wa- ≈ kutubi bāznāmah wa- ≈ kutubi sag- •
 {16} • nāmah wa- ≈ kutubi ‘ajā’ibi •
 {17} • al-makhlūqāti wa- ≈ kutubi •
 {18} • şuwari al-aqālīmi •
 {19} •

[3]

- {1} ≈ Tafşīlu al-dawāwīni al-‘arabiyyati wa-al-kutubi
 {2} al-manẓūmati bi-al-‘arabiyyati wa-kutubi al-khuṭabi wa-al-kutubi
 {3} al-musajja‘ati wa-kutubi al-amthāli wa-kutubi al-tarassuli wa-al-inshā’i
 {4} • wa-al-siyāqati wa-al-arqāmi wa-kutubi •
 {5} • ‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi wa-‘ilmi al-qawāfi •
 {6} • wa-al-shi‘ri wa-al-mu‘ammā •
 {7} •
 {8} ≈ Tafşīlu al-dawāwīni al-fārisiyyati
 {9} • wa- ≈ al-kutubi al-manẓūmati bi-al-fārisiyyati •
 {10} •
 {11} ≈ Tafşīlu al-dawāwīni al-turkiyyati wa- ≈ al-mughūliyyati
 {12} • wa- ≈ al-kutubi al-manẓūmati bi-al-turkiyyati wa-al-mughūliyyati •
 {13} •
 {14} ≈ Tafşīlu kutubi ‘ilmi al-ma‘ānī •
 [15 is blank]

{16} ≈ Tafşīlu kutubi ‘ilmi al-şarfi wa-al-naḥwi •

[17 is blank]

{18} ≈ Tafşīlu kutubi al-lughati

{19} • al-‘arabiyyati wa-al-fārisiyyati wa-ghayrihimā •

[4]

{1} ≈ Tafşīlu kutubi ‘ilmi al-ta‘biri wa- ≈ kutubi

{2} ‘ilmi al-firāsati wa- ≈ kutubi ‘ilmi al-kīmiyā’i wa- ≈ kutubi ‘ilmi

{3} al-aḥjāri wa- ≈ kutubi al-ramli wa- ≈ kutubi al-fāli wa- ≈ kutubi

{4} • ‘ilmi al-nayrinjāti wa- ≈ kutubi al-ṭilismāti⁴ •

{5} • wa- ≈ kutubi al-sīmiyā’i wa- ≈ kutubi al-‘azā’imi •

{6} • wa- ≈ kutubi ‘ilmi al-jafri wa- ≈ kutubi •

{7} • al-şinā‘ati al-‘ajībati •

{8} • wa- ≈ kutubi al-ḥiyali •

{9} • wa- ≈ kutubi al-siḥri •

{10} •

{11} ≈ Tafşīlu kutubi ‘ilmi al-nujūmi

{12} • wa- ≈ kutubi ‘ilmi al-hay’ati wa- ≈ kutubi ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi •

{13} • wa- ≈ kutubi ‘ilmi al-handasati wa- ≈ kutubi •

{14} • ‘ilmi al-mūsīqī wa- ≈ kutubi •

{15} • al-lahwi ka-al-shaṭranji •

{16} •

{17} ≈ Tafşīlu kutubi al-ḥikmati al-islāmiyyati

{18} • wa- ≈ kutubi ‘ilmi al-jadali wa- ≈ kutubi •

{19} • al-mantiqi wa- ≈ kutubi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •

{20} •

[5]

[1, 2 are blank]

4 For *nayrinjāt*, ‘Atufi has covered his bases here with both a *fathḥa* and a *kasra* under the *nūn*, *nayranj* and *nīranj* (< P *nayrang*) being correct Arabic transcriptions, but the *kasra* under the *rā*, which he has throughout, would seem to be incorrect; for *ṭilismāt* (*ṭilasmāt*), he is not completely consistent and most of the time does not provide vocalization.

{3} ≈ Tafşılı al-kutubi al-mutarjamati •

{4} • min al-Tawriyati [Tawrāti]⁵ wa-al-Zabūri wa-al-Injili •

[5–11 are blank]

{12} ~ • Qānūnu al-daftari wa-shawādhduhu •

{13} ≈ Bir kânūn bu ki kitāblardan her cümle ki bir fenn ya daḥī ziyāde

{14} ola ki anuñ maḥzeni bir ola defterde ol cümle bir tafşilde

{15} derc olunur ≈ [*min el-şevāzz*] lākin gāh olur ki bir kitābda iki cihet olur

{16} bir cihetine nazar bir fennde ve bir cihetine nazar fenn-i āḥarda derc olunur

{17} bidāyet el-hidāye gibi ki anda hem mesāyil-i taşavvuf vardır hem mesāyil-i

{18} ‘ilm-i fikh vardır pes bunuñ gibi kitābuñ gāh olur dāyim

{19} bir ciheti gözlenür bir fennde derc olunur gāh olur ki her bir

[6]

{1} cihetile maqşūd olduğına binā’en her bir fennde istenmek ihtimāli eclinden

{2} ba’zı nüshā bir fennde ve ba’zı āḥar ol bir āḥar fennde derc olunur

{3} meşelā bidāyet el-hidāye gibi ki İmām-ı Ġazālī ḥazretine mensūbdur ba’zı

{4} nüshası ‘ilm-i taşavvufda ve ba’zı nüshası ‘ilm-i fikhda derc olındı

{5} ≈ bir qānūn daḥī budur ki bir cildde müte’addid kitāblar olsa her

{6} kankı kitāb ki ziyāde mu’teberdür ve maṭlūb olunmasına ihtimāl

{7} ziyādedür yāḥūd qalil el-vücūd kitābdur aña nazar idip

{8} ol mücelled ol kitāb-i mezkūruñ fenninüñ kitābları cümle-

{9} sinde derc olunur ≈ [*min el-şevāzz*] lākin gāh olur ki ol cildde

{10} olan müte’addid kitāblaruñ mezkūr kitābdan ġayrısı daḥī ol

{11} kitāb-i mezkūr gibi maṭlūbiyyetde ve kılet-i vücūdda mu’teber olur

{12} pes bunuñ gibi olıcaḳ ihtiyār müreccihdür ittifaḳ bir cild daḥī

{13} olsa ki ol müte’addid kitāblar bi-‘aynihā anda daḥī olsa

{14} cāyız ki ol kitāb-i mezkūruñ ġayri olan ki ol

{15} daḥī anuñ gibi mu’teber ola aña nazar idip ol kitāb sebebiyle

{16} istene diyü ihtimāl virildüğü ecilden anuñ fenninüñ

{17} kitābları cümlesinde derc olına ya’nī ba’zı nüshā anda ve

5 Here, *al-Tawrāt* is written with a dagger *alif* followed by a *yā’* and *tā’ marbūṭa*.

{18} ba‘zı nüsha bunda derc olına ≈ bir kânûn daḥî budur ki

{19} her ism-i kitâb ki defterde bir üslûb-ı ḥâşş üzerine vâkı‘

[7]

{1} olmuşdur kitābuñ maḳlebinde daḥî zāhrında bi-‘ayniḥî ol

{2} üslûb-ı ḥâşş üzerine vâkı‘ olandur meşelâ bir kitâbda kitâb

{3} el-iḥyâ‘i ‘ibâreti yazılsa defterde daḥî bi-‘ayniḥî eyle yazılır

{4} eger kitâbda kitābu iḥyâ‘i ‘ulûmi el-dîn vâkı‘ olsa defterde

{5} daḥî bi-‘ayniḥî eyle yazılır eger kitâbda kitābu iḥyâ‘i el-‘ulûm vâkı‘

{6} olsa defterde daḥî bi-‘ayniḥî eyle yazılır eger kitâbda iḥyâ‘i

{7} el-‘ulûm vâkı‘ olsa lafzı kitâbsuz defterde daḥî bi-‘ayniḥî

{8} eyle yazılır eger kitâbda iḥyâ‘i vâkı‘ olsa lafz-i kitâbsuz ve

{9} lafz-ı ‘ulûmsuz defterde daḥî bi-‘ayniḥî eyle yazılır illâ meger ki

{10} nedret ile ve yâḥûd sehvale ola ≈ [*min el-şevāzz*] lâkin kitābuñ cildi

{11} müte‘addid olsa ḥaṭṭ-ı defter ḥaṭṭ-ı kitâba zārūrî muḡâyir olur

{12} meşelâ defterde kitābu el-hidāye fî mücelledeyn yazılsa her mücelledüñ

{13} zāhrında bir ḥaṭṭ olur ki her biri ol ḥaṭṭuñ defterdeki

{14} ḥaṭṭa muḡâyirdür meşelâ cild-i evvelde el-mücelledü el-evvelü min kitābi

{15} el-hidāyeti yazılır cild-i s̱ānide el-mücelledü el-s̱ānī min kitābi el-hidāyeti

{16} yazılır elif lām ile ki ‘ahd-i ḥārici içündür zīrâ defterde

{17} lafz-ı mücelled mezkûrdur nehire olduğu ḥâlde fî mücelledeyni

{18} lafzınüñ zımnında lām-ı ta‘rīf ol münker-i mekzûr olana

{19} işāretdür ≈ ammâ mücelled lafzı defterde daḥî ve zāhr-ı kitâbda

[8]

{1} mu‘arref yazılmasa münekker yazılsa meşelâ mücelledün min kitābi el-hidāyeti

{2} yazılsa bu bir mücelleddür ḡayr-i mücelledât-i mürtebiṭa yokdur demek

{3} olur ≈ [*min el-şevāzz*] lâkin gāḥ olur ki nedret ile lafz-i mücelled mu‘arref

{4} yazılır defterde daḥî ve hem kitâbda meşelâ el-mücelled el-s̱ānī gibi

{5} daḥî el-mücelled el-aḥîr min el-hidāye gibi bunuñ gibinüñ daḥî ḡayr

{6} mücelledât-i mürtebiṭası bulunmamışdur niteki münekker olduğu vaḳt

- {7} eyleydi ≈ bir kânûn dahî budur ki kütüb-i manzûme-i ‘arabiyye
 {8} her fennden devāvîn-i ‘arabiyyede derc oluna ve kütüb-i manzûme-i
 {9} fârisiyye her fennden devāvîn-i fârisiyyede derc oluna ve kütüb-i
 {10} manzûme-i türkiyye her fennden devāvîn-i türkiyyede derc oluna
 {11} menşürâtda derc olunmaz ≈ [*min el-şevāzz*] lākin gāh olur kitāb-i manzûm
 {12} fenninüñ kitābları arasında gāyet mu‘teber olur ke-ennehu rûkn-i fenndür
 {13} pes bunıñ gibi kitāb kütüb-i menşûre fenninde derc olur kaşide-i
 {14} Şâıbî gibi ‘ilm-i kıra’atda ≈ ve dahî ma‘lûm ola ki şurûh-i kasāyid
 {15} ve şurûh-ı kütüb-i manzûme şol cihetile ki maḳşûd-i aḣlî kitāb-i
 {16} manzûmdur manzûmâtda derc olunur ve dahî şol
 {17} cihetile ki şerḥ kendü kitāb-i menşûrdur kütüb-i menşûrede derc
 {18} olur ve li-küllin vichetün hüve müvellihâ ≈ ve dahî ma‘lûm
 {19} ola ki gāh olur ki bir kitāb-i müsecce‘üñ ba‘zı nüḣhası

[9]

- {1} müsecce‘âtda derc olunur ba‘zı nüḣhası kendü fenninüñ
 {2} kitāblarında derc olunur neṣir el-le‘ālî gibi ekserî müsecce‘âtda
 {3} derc olındı ve ba‘zı nüḣhası kütüb-i neṣāyiḣde derc olındı
 {4} kütüb-i neṣāyiḣ arasında istenmek ihtimālî olduğıyçün lākin bu vechile
 {5} olmaḳ gāyetde azdur nādirdür ≈ bir kânûn dahî budur ki
 {6} her ḣattı ki zahr-i kitābda yāḣūd maḳlebde yazılmışdur defterde
 {7} yazılacak evvelinüñ fevḳına midād-i aḣmer ile butte yazıldı ve āḣırına
 {8} hem midād-i aḣmer ile üç sıfır vaz‘ olunur lākin bir kitāb iki
 {9} mücelledde olsa defterde yazılan kitābda yazılana şüret-i ḣattıda
 {10} muḣāyir olur ma’nide muḣāyir olmaz meṣelâ defterde kitāb el-hidāye
 {11} fî mücelledeyn yazılır evvelinde butte-i aḣmer ve āḣırında [*şıfr-i aḣmer konulur ammâ
 kitābuñ evvel-i mücelledinde el-mücelled el-evvel min kitāb el-hidāye yazılır saḣḣ*] ve ikinci
 mücelledinde
 {12} el-mücelled el-şānî yazılır ve kezālik izā kaşura el-mücelledât ≈ ≈ Temmet el-ḳavānîn
 {13} el-defteriyye. **Ḳanûn-i maḣzen-i kütüb**
 {14} oldur ki her maḣzenüñ üzerinde defterde fihrist olan
 {15} tefāṣıl bi-‘ayniḣ yazılır ve dahî her tafşilde olan kitāblaruñ

- {16} nefāyisi için bir mekân ve ğayr-i nefāyisi için bir mekân-ı âhar
 {17} ta'yîn olunur üzerinde nefāyis maḥzeni idügi ya ğayr-i nefāyis
 {18} maḥzeni idügi yazıla tā ki her maḥzende olan güneşe çıkarıldukda
 {19} birbirine karışmaya kütüb-i İslāmiyyenüñ ri'āyeti dīn ri'āyatine rāci'dür
 [10 is blank]

[11]

{1-3} **BI-SMI ALLĀHI AL-RAḤMĀNI AL-RAḤĪMI**

- {4} al-ḥamdu li-llāhi alladhī 'ammara nizāma al-anāmi bi-'adli al-salāṭini •
 {5} wa-dabbara al-amra min fawqī al-samāwāti⁶ ilā taḥti al-araḍina •
 {6} wa-ja'ala al-'ilma 'imādan li-l-dīni • wa-al-kitāba 'imādan li-l-'ilmi wa-al-yaqīni
 {7} • wa-al-ṣalātu 'alā man jama'a 'ulūma al-awwalīna wa-al-ākhirīna •
 {8} mimmā fi al-ṣuḥufi al-ülā wa-kutubi al-mursalīna **Muḥammadin** khātami
 {9} kāffati al-anbiyā'i • wa-qidwati 'āmmati al-awliyā'i wa-al-aṣfiyā'i
 {10} • wa-'alā alladhīna hum nujūmu al-islāmi • min ālihi wa-aṣḥābihī
 {11} al-kirāmi • wa-**ba'du** fa-inna al-sultāna al-a'lama •
 {12} wa-al-khāna al-a'zama • 'adliyya al-zamāni • wa-mahdiyya al-dawrāni
 {13} ṣamṣāma al-baḥrayni • wa-qamqāma al-barrayni • sayyida al-qayāṣirati
 {14} wa-sanada al-akāsirati • qāṭi'a al-ṭughāti • wa-qāmi'a al-bughāti
 {15} qālī'a al-mulḥidīna • wa-dāfi'a al-mutamarridīna • nāṣira al-sharā'i'i al-fāḍilati
 {16} wa-qāhira al-mashārī'i al-bāṭilati • 'awna al-'ulamā'i • wa-ṣawna
 {17} al-ṣulahā'i • qidwata aṣḥābi al-nufūsi al-qudsiyyati • wa-'umdata
 {18} arbābi al-riyāsati al-unsuyyati • shamsa al-jamāli • wa-samā'a
 {19} al-jalāli • quṭba dawā'iri al-kamālāti al-'ilmiyyati • wa-awja

[12]

- {1} samāwāti al-manāqibi al-'amaliyyati • sultāna al-salāṭini • wa-qiblata
 {2} al-khawāqīni **Sultān Bāyezīd Khān** bin Meḥammed Khān bin Murād Khān
 {3} Ibn al-Sultān Meḥammed Khān bin Yıldırım Bāyezīd Khān Ibn al-Ghāzī
 {4} Murād Khān bin Orḥān bin 'Osmān Khān -raḍiya Allāhu ta'ālā

6 The text has a dagger *alif*.

- {5} ‘anhum • wa-aḥsana Allāhu ta‘ālā ilayhim- • lammā ihtamma bi-ri‘āyati
- {6} kutubi ‘ulūmi al-dīni amara ‘abdan min ‘abidihi bi-ta‘ayyuni asmā’i kutubi khizānatihī
- {7} al-‘āmirati wa-bi-tamyīzi kulli kitābin bi-khuṣūṣiyyati fannihi katban ‘alā zuhūrihā
- {8} wa-‘alā julūdihā wa-bi-katbihā fi al-daftari katban yuwāfiqū limā fi al-zuhūri
- {9} wa-al-julūdi min al-asmā’i wa-al-awṣāfi min ghayri taghyīrin bi-wajhin min
- {10} al-wujūhi [*ay min al-wujūhi al-ma’nawīyyati lā al-khaṭṭiyyati fa-inna al-khaṭṭa fi aḥadihā qad yughāyiru al-khaṭṭa fi al-ākhirī ‘alā al-nadrati wa-lā yughāyiru fi al-ma’nā al-munfahimi wa-al-mughāyāratu al-khaṭṭiyyatu immā bi-al-badaliyyati wa-immā bi-al-zīyādati wa-al-nuqṣāni wa-immā bi-al-taqdīmi wa-al-ta’khīri minhu*] fa-bādara al-‘abdu al-ḥaqīru [*wa-huwa mu’allifu al-daftari lā kātibuhu*] ilā imtithālī amrihi al-‘ālī •
- {11} fa-atamma al-ma’mūra bihi bi-tawfiqi Allāhi al-kabīri al-muta‘ālī • fi tārikhi sanata thamānin wa-tis‘a-mī’atin [908/1502-3]
- {12} **Tafṣīlu al-maṣāḥifi al-‘azīzati**
- {13} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭi Yāqūt • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭi Yāqūt •
- {14} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭi Arghūn • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭi Arghūn •
- {15} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭi Ibn al-Shaykh • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭi Ibn al-Shaykh •
- {16} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭi Ibn al-Shaykh • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭi Afṣahī •
- {17} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun mutarjamun bi-al-fārisiyyati bi-khaṭṭi al-Sayrāfi •
- {18} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭi ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṣayr[ā]fi •
- {19} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-samarqandī bi-khaṭṭi dhahabin fi ẓarfin

[13]

- {1} munaqqashin min khashabi muqaffalin qufluhu wa-miftāḥuhu min al-fidḍati •
- {2} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭin kūfiyyin • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭin kūfiyyin •
- {3} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭin kūfiyyin • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭin kūfiyyin •
- {4} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭin kūfiyyin • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭin kūfiyyin •
- {5} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭin kūfiyyin • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭin kūfiyyin •
- {6} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-samarqandī • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-samarqandī •
- {7} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-samarqandī • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-samarqandī •
- {8} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-samarqandī • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-samarqandī •

{9} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-samarqandī • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-samarqandī •

{10} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-dimashqī • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-dimashqī fi ākhirihi fālu al-Qur‘āni •

{11} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭi Yūsuf Shāh al-Harawī • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭi al-Ḥalāwī al-Hamadānī •

{12} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun maktūbun bi-midādi dhahabin • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun maktūbun bi-midādi dhahabin bi-khaṭṭi al-Murshidī •

{13} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭi al-Murshidī • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-dimashqī •

{14} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun mutarjamun bi-al-turkiyyati • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun kabīru al-ḥajmi •

{15} ≈ Ajzā‘u kalāmi Allāhi thalāthūna mujalladan • ≈ Ajzā‘u kalāmi Allāhi thalāthūna mujalladan •

{16} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun kabīru al-ḥajmi • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun kabīru al-ḥajmi •

{17} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-ḥamā‘ili fi ghilāfin aswada fihi ‘ilāqatun

{18} nusijat fiḥā sūratu al-ikhlāṣi • ≈ Muṣḥafun

{19} ‘azīzun kabīru al-ḥajmi bi-khaṭṭi Muḥammad bin Sulṭān Shāh al-Hirawī •

[14]

{1} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun kabīru al-ḥajmi • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun kabīru al-ḥajmi • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-dimashqī •

{2} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun muḥashshan bi-al-tafsīri al-‘arabī • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun kabīru al-ḥajmi •

{3} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭi al-Walī • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun mutarjamun bi-al-fārisiyyati⁷ wa-bi-al-‘arabiyyati •

{4} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭi al-Murshidī • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun mutarjamun bi-al-fārisiyyati •

{5} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun qara’a fihi al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī -raḥmatu Allāhi ‘alayhi- •

{6} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭi ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṣayrafī •

{7} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun marmūzun fihi ilā al-qirā’ati muṣaḥḥaḥun ‘alā qit‘ati rub‘i al-dimashqī •

{8} ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun ghayru mu’jamin mufassarun bi-al-‘arabiyyati • ≈ Muṣḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭin nafisin •

⁷ When vocalized, as here, the manuscript consistently has a *sukūn* above the *rā’* (*fārsiyya*), which is not the standard Arabic transcription. We have chosen to transliterate it as if it were Arabic throughout.

{9} ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭin nafisin • ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-samarqandī bi-khaṭṭi al-Şayrafī •

{10} ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun bi-midādi dhahabin ‘alā qit‘ati al-samarqandī bi-khaṭṭi Ibn Abī Bakr •

{11} ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati rub‘i al-samarqandī bi-khaṭṭi Muşṭafā bin Kamāl •

{12} ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati rub‘i al-samarqandī • ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-dimashqī •

{13} ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati nişfi al-dimashqī • ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati nişfi al-dimashqī •

{14} ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-dimashqī • ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭi Aḥmad bin Yahyā •

{15} ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun şaghīru al-ḥajmi murabba‘un ṭuluḥu miqdāru al-ibhāmi •

{16} ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-ḥamā‘ili murabba‘un ṭuluḥu miqdāru al-ibhāmi •

{17} ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭi Ibn al-Mu‘adhdhin • ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā miqdāri qit‘ati al-dimashqī •

{18} ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati rub‘i al-dimashqī • ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati nişfi al-dimashqī •

{19} ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati nişfi al-dimashqī • ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati tamāmi al-dimashqī •

[15]

{1} ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati tamāmi al-samarqandī • ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-samarqandī •

{2} ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘atin hiya aşgharu min rub‘i al-dimashqī •

{3} ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati nişfi al-samarqandī • ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun bi-ghayri al-nuqaṭi wa-al-i‘rābi •

{4} ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati nişfi al-samarqandī • ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-samarqandī •

{5} ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-samarqandī • ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-samarqandī •

{6} ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭin nafisin fī ākhirihī fālu al-Qur‘āni •

{7} ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭi Faḍl Allāh • ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-dimashqī •

{8} ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-ḥamā‘ili • ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-ḥamā‘ili •

{9} ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun ‘alā qit‘ati al-ḥamā‘ili fī ākhirihī fālu al-Qur‘āni •

{10} ≈ Muşḥafun ‘azīzun bi-khaṭṭin nafisin kutiba li-tilāwati al-Sultān -‘azza naşruhu- •

- {11} ≈ Muşhafun ‘azîzun bi-khaṭṭi Aḥmad al-Miṣrî marmûzun fihi ilâ al-qirâ’ati •
- {12} ≈ Muşhafun ‘azîzun ‘alâ qit’ati tamâmi al-dimashqî • ≈ Muşhafun ‘azîzun bi-khaṭṭin nafisin ‘alâ qit’ati rub’i al-dimashqî •
- {13} ≈ Muşhafun ‘azîzun bi-khaṭṭin nafisin ‘alâ qit’ati nişfi al-samarqandî • ≈ Muşhafun ‘azîzun bi-khaṭṭin nafisin ‘alâ qit’ati rub’i al-dimashqî •
- {14} ≈ Muşhafun ‘azîzun fi awâ’ili suṭûrihi şan’atu al-muqābalati •
- {15} ≈ Muşhafun ‘azîzun ‘alâ qit’ati rub’i al-dimashqî • ≈ Muşhafun ‘azîzun fi awâ’ili suṭûrihi şan’atu al-muqābalati •
- {16} ≈ Muşhafun ‘azîzun şaghîru al-ḥajmi bi-khaṭṭi Yûsuf bin Sulaymân • ≈ Muşhafun ‘azîzun şaghîru al-ḥajmi rusima fi âkhirihî yaktabahu Yâqût •
- {17} ≈ Muşhafun ‘azîzun şaghîru al-ḥajmi bi-khaṭṭi Muḥammad bin al-Adhra’î • ≈ Muşhafun ‘azîzun ‘alâ qit’ati rub’i al-dimashqî •
- {18} ≈ Muşhafun ‘azîzun bi-khaṭṭi ‘Abd al-Laṭîf ‘alâ qit’ati rub’i al-dimashqî • ≈ Muşhafun ‘azîzun şaghîru al-ḥajmi ‘alâ hay’ati al-tathmîni •
- {19} ≈ Muşhafun ‘azîzun ‘alâ qit’ati tamâmi al-samarqandî min hadâyâ rasûli Miṣr •

[16]

- {1} ≈ Muşhafun ‘azîzun fi ghāyati şighari al-ḥajmi ‘alâ hay’ati al-tathmîni fi âkhirihî fâlu al-Qur’ânî •
- {2} ≈ Muşhafun ‘azîzun fi ghāyati şighari al-ḥajmi ‘alâ hay’ati al-tathmîni •
- {3} ≈ Muşhafun ‘azîzun fi ghāyati şighari al-ḥajmi ‘alâ hay’ati al-tathmîni ma’a ghilâfi dhahabin •
- {4} ≈ Muşhafun ‘azîzun ‘alâ qit’ati al-samarqandî • ~ Mujalladun bi-khaṭṭin kûfiyyin •
- {5} ≈ Khatmu al-Qur’ânî al-‘azîmi fi al-ḥamâ’ili al-malfûfi al-mustadîri bi-ghilâfi fidḍatin •
- {6} ≈ Khatmu al-Qur’ânî al-‘azîmi fi al-ḥamâ’ili al-malfûfi al-mustadîri •
- {7} ≈ Khatmu al-Qur’ânî al-‘azîmi fi waraqatin ṭûluhâ miqdâru shibrin wa-nişfu shibrin
- {8} wa-‘arḍuhâ miqdâru shibrin • ≈ Ajzâ’u al-Qur’ânî al-‘azîmi thalâthûna mujalladan fi ghilâfin •
- {9} ≈ Ajzâ’u al-Qur’ânî al-‘azîmi thalâthûna mujalladan fi ghilâfin • ≈ Ajzâ’u al-Qur’ânî al-‘azîmi thalâthûna
- {10} mujalladan fi ghilâfin • ≈ Ajzâ’u al-Qur’ânî al-‘azîmi thalâthûna mujalladan illâ wâḥidan bi-ghilâfin •
- {11} ≈ Muşhafun ‘azîzun ‘alâ qit’ati al-dimashqî • ≈ Muşhafun ‘azîzun ‘alâ qit’ati al-samarqandî [*≈ bi-khaṭṭi Arghûn*]
- {12} bi-khaṭṭi Arghûn al-Kāmîlî •

[13–19 are blank]

[17]

[1–14 are blank]

{15} ≈ Mujalladun bi-suwarin min al-Qur'āni al-'azīmi bi-khaṭṭin kūfiyyin • ≈ Mujalladun bi-suwarin min al-Qur'āni

{16} al-'azīmi bi-khaṭṭin kūfiyyin • ≈ Sūratu al-an'āmi aḥadun wa-arba'ūna mujalladan fi šundūqin •

{17} • ≈ Sūratu al-an'āmi aḥadun wa-arba'ūna mujalladan fi šundūqin • ≈ al-Juz'u al-akhīru

{18} min al-Qur'āni al-'azīmi • ≈ Sūratu al-an'āmi bi-khaṭṭi Yāqūt • ≈ al-Juz'u al-akhīru

{19} min al-Qur'āni al-'azīmi • ≈ Yanji al-ḥamdu • ≈ Yanji al-ḥamdu • ≈ Yanji⁸ al-ḥamdu • ≈ Sūratu⁹

[18]

[1–17 are blank]

{18} Tafṣīlu kutubi al-tafāsiri wa-kutubi 'ilmi al-qirā'ati

{19} ≈ Tafsīrun kabīrun musamman bi-Mafātīḥi al-ghaybi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Tafsīrun kabīrun

[19]

{1} musamman bi-Mafātīḥi al-ghaybi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Tafsīrun kabīrun musamman bi-Mafātīḥi

{2} al-ghaybi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-tafsīri al-kabīri li-l-Imām al-Fakhr¹⁰ al-Rāzī

{3} -quddisa sirruhu- fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ al-Mujalladu al-akhīru min al-Tafsīri al-kabīri wa-lam yūjad

{4} sā'iru al-mujalladāti • ≈ Tafsīrun kabīrun fi mujalladayni • ≈ Tafsīrun kabīrun fi arba'i

{5} mujalladātin • ≈ Kitābu [al-]kashshāfi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-kashshāfi fi

{6} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kashshāfun fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kashshāfun fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{7} ≈ Kashshāfun fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-kashshāfi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{8} ≈ Kashshāfun fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kashshāfun fi arba'i mujalladātin •

⁸ The *jīm* is missing its dot.

⁹ *Al-an'ām* is written at the bottom of the page, but the next page does not begin with *al-an'ām* and is clearly missing.

¹⁰ The manuscript has consistently al-Fakhr al-Rāzī (and other names equally defined) when it omits al-Dīn.

{9} ≈ Kashshāfun fī mujalladayni lākin kitābatu aḥadi al-mujalladayni ghayru kitābati al-ākharī •

{10} ≈ Kashshāfun fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-kashshāfi fī mujalladayni mujalladun thānin

{11} wa-mujalladun thālithun wa-lam yūjad mujalladun awwalu minhu • ≈ Kitābu al-kashshāfi

{12} fī al-tafsīri fī mujalladin • ≈ Kitābu kashfi al-kashshāfi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{13} ≈ Kitābu kashfi al-kashshāfi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu kashfi al-kashshāfi

{14} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu kashfi al-kashshāfi fī al-tafsīri •

{15} ≈ al-Niṣfu al-akhīru min al-Kashshāfi wa-lam yūjad al-niṣfu al-awwalu •

{16} ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Kashshāfi li-Sirāj al-Dīn al-mawsūmu bi-Kashfi al-kashshāfi

{17} fī al-tafsīri • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi al-Kashshāfi fī al-tafsīri • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu

{18} [al-]Kashshāfi li-Mawlānā Sa’d al-Dīn • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu [al-]Kashshāfi

{19} li-Mawlānā Sa’d al-Dīn • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Kashshāfi li-Mawlānā Sa’d al-Dīn

[20]

{1} Sa’d al-Dīn • ≈ Mujalladun wāḥidun min Ḥāshiyati al-Kashshāfi li-Sa’d al-Dīn

{2} min sūratī al-nisā’i ilā awāsīṭi sūratī Yūnus • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati

{3} ḥāshiyati Sa’d al-Dīn li-l-Kashshāfi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Kashshāfi

{4} li-Sa’d al-Dīn fī al-tafsīri • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Kashshāfi min sūratī

{5} ṣād ilā sūratī al-fath li-Sa’d al-Dīn • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Kashshāfi

{6} li-l-Sayyid • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Kashshāfi li-l-Sayyid • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu

{7} al-Kashshāfi li-l-Sayyid -raḥmatu Allāhi [‘alayhi]- • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati [al-]Kashshāfi li-l-Sayyid •

{8} ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Kashshāfi wa-Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi ‘Aḍud al-Dīn li-l-Sayyid -raḥimahu

{9} Allāhu raḥmatan wāsi’atan- fī uṣūli al-fiqhi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu

{10} ḥāshiyati al-Kashshāfi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Sayyid

{11} ‘alā al-Kashshāfi fī al-tafsīri • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu al-Kashshāfi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf

{12} fī al-tafsīri • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Kashshāfin li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fī al-tafsīri •

{13} ≈ Ḥāshiyatu al-Sayyid al-Sharīf ‘alā al-Kashshāfi fī al-tafsīri wa-Ḥāshiyatu al-Sayyid

{14} al-Sharīf ‘alā Sharḥi al-‘Aḍud fī uṣūli al-fiqhi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{15} ≈ Risālatun fī madḥi Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn wa-Risālatu al-i’tirāḍāti ‘alā

- {16} Ḥāshiyati al-Sayyid al-Sharīf ‘alā al-Kashshāfi • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu al-Kashshāfi li-Mawlānā
 {17} Muḥyī al-Dīn al-mushtahiri bi-Khaṭīb-zādah • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati Kashshāfin
 li-Mawlānā
 {18} ‘Abd al-Karīm fī al-zahrāwayni • ≈ Kitābu tawḍīḥi mushkilāti al-Kashshāfi •
 {19} ≈ al-Mujalladu al-awwalu min Miftāḥi al-kunūzi al-muntakhabi min al-Kashshāfi •
 ≈ Kitābu

[21]

- {1} ḥāshiyati al-Kashshāfi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Kashshāfi • ≈ Mujalladun min
 {2} Ḥāshiyati Kashshāfin fī sūratī Maryam ilā ākhiri sūratī al-shu‘arā’i • ≈ Kitābu
 {3} al-abḥāthi fī al-Kashshāfi wa-ḥawāshīhi • ≈ Risālatu ḥāshiyatin li-ḥawāshī
 {4} al-Kashshāfi min qibali al-tafsīri • ≈ Risālatu ḥāshiyatin li-l-Kashshāfi wa-li-ḥawāshīhi •
 {5} • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati Mawlānā Quṭb al-Dīn ‘alā al-Kashshāfi fī al-tafsīri •
 {6} ≈ Ḥāshiyatu al-Kashshāfi fī al-tafsīri • ≈ Kitābu al-tafsīri fī thal[ā]thi¹¹
 {7} mujalladātin marqūmun bi-annahu li-l-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn -ṭāba tharāhu- • ≈ Kitābu
 tafsīri
 {8} al-Qurṭubī al-mawsūmu bi-al-Jāmi‘i li-aḥkāmi al-Qur’āni fī thalāthi mujalladātin wa-fi
 {9} al-mujalladi al-thālithi Kitābu riyāḍi al-ṣāliḥīna wa-Kitābu al-adhkārī • ≈ Kitābu
 {10} tafsīri al-Qurṭubī al-mawsūmu bi-al-Jāmi‘i li-aḥkāmi al-Qur’āni fī arba‘i mujalladātin •
 {11} ≈ Kitābu tafsīri al-Baghawī fī mujalladin wāḥidin al-mawsūmu bi-Ma‘ālimi al-tanzīli •
 {12} ≈ Kitābu tafsīri al-Baghawī al-mawsūmu bi-Ma‘ālimi al-tanzīli fī thalāthi mujalladātin •
 {13} ≈ Kitābu tafsīri al-Qāḍī¹² al-mawsūmu bi-Anwāri al-tanzīli • ≈ Kitābu tafsīri
 {14} al-Qāḍī al-mawsūmu bi-Anwāri al-tanzīli • ≈ Kitābu tafsīri al-Qāḍī al-mawsūmu
 {15} bi-Anwāri al-tanzīli • ≈ Kitābu tafsīri al-Qāḍī al-mawsūmu bi-Anwāri al-tanzīli •
 {16} ≈ Kitābu tafsīri al-Qāḍī al-mawsūmu bi-Anwāri al-tanzīli • ≈ Kitābu tafsīri
 {17} al-Qāḍī al-mawsūmu bi-Anwāri al-tanzīli • ≈ Kitābu tafsīri al-Qāḍī al-mawsūmu
 {18} bi-Anwāri al-tanzīli • ≈ Kitābu tafsīri al-Qāḍī al-mawsūmu bi-Anwāri al-tanzīli •
 [• ~ *Tafsīru al-Qāḍī al-mawsūmu bi-Anwāri al-tanzīli* •]
 {19} ≈ Kitābu anwāri al-tanzīli al-ma‘rūfu bi-Tafsīri al-Qāḍī • ≈ Kitābu tafsīri

¹¹ The copyist consistently omits the *alif* in *thalāth*—see also ll. {6, 12} below and fol. 21, ll. {3, 17}, etc.—but it has been noted with square brackets only in this first instance.

¹² Here, al-Qāḍī refers to al-Bayḍāwī.

[22]

- {1} al-Qāḍī al-mawsūmu bi-Anwāri al-tanzīli • ≈ Kitābu tafsīri al-Qāḍī al-mawsūmu
- {2} bi-Anwāri al-tanzīli • ≈ Tafsīru al-Qāḍī al-mawsūmu bi-Anwāri al-tanzīli •
- {3} ≈ Tafsīru al-Qāḍī al-musammā bi-Anwāri al-tanzīli • ≈ Kitābu tafsīri al-Qāḍī
- {4} al-musammā bi-Anwāri al-tanzīli • ≈ Kitābu tafsīri al-Qāḍī al-musammā bi-Anwāri al-tanzīli
- {5} • ≈ Tafsīru al-Qāḍī al-mawsūmu bi-Anwāri al-tanzīli • ≈ Tafsīru al-Qāḍī
- {6} al-musammā bi-Anwāri al-tanzīli • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Tafsīri al-Qāḍī li-l-zahrāwayni •
- {7} ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Tafsīri al-Qāḍī li-l-zahrāwayni • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Tafsīri al-Qāḍī •
- {8} ≈ al-Niṣfu al-akhīru min Ḥāshiyati Tafsīri al-Qāḍī wa-lam yūjad al-niṣfu al-awwalu •
- {9} ≈ Kitābu mushāhadati anwāri al-tanzīli fī mujāhadati asrāri al-ta'wīli wa-huwa Ḥāshiyatu
- {10} Tafsīri al-Qāḍī • ≈ al-Risālatu al-sulṭāniyyatu fī ḥawāshī Tafsīri al-Qāḍī
- {11} al-Bayḍāwī li-sūratī al-an'āmi • ≈ Risālatun fī āyati Hārūta wa-Mārūta
- {12} 'alā mā fī Tafsīri al-Qāḍī • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati Tafsīri al-Qāḍī li-Mawlānā
- {13} Idrīs al-Bidlīsī • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Tafsīri al-Qāḍī • ≈ Kitābu
- {14} al-taysīri fī al-tafsīri fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-taysīri fī al-tafsīri fī
- {15} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu tafsīri al-Qāshānī fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {16} ≈ Kitābu kashfī al-asrāri wa-'umdati al-abrāri fī al-tafsīri bi-al-fārisiyyati fī mujalladin
- {17} wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu kashfī al-asrāri wa-'umdati al-abrāri fī al-tafsīri bi-al-fārisiyyati
- {18} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu kashfī al-asrāri fī al-tafsīri bi-al-fārisiyyati
- {19} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-tafsīri al-mawsūmu bi-Kashfī al-asrāri bi-al-'arabiyyati fī mujalladayni •

[23]

- {1} ≈ Kitābu al-tafsīri al-mukhtaṣaru al-mawsūmu bi-al-Wajīzi • ≈ Kitābu al-tafsīri al-mukhtaṣaru
- {2} al-mawsūmu bi-al-Wajīzi • ≈ Kitābu al-taysīri fī al-tafsīri fī arba'i mujalladātin •
- {3} ≈ Kitābu al-taysīri fī al-tafsīri • ≈ Thalāthu mujalladātin min Tafsīri al-Qāshānī • [*wa-lam yūjad mujalladun thānin minhu*]
- {4} ≈ Kitābu jawāhiri al-Qur'āni li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī min qibali al-tafsīri • ≈ Kitābu jawāhiri
- {5} al-Qur'āni li-Ḥujjat al-Islām al-Ghazālī min qibali al-tafsīri • ≈ Risālatun fī tafsīri

- {6} al-Fakhr al-Rāzī fī sūratī al-‘aṣrī • ≈ Kitābu tarjamati al-tafsīri al-Wajīzi bi-al-fārisiyyati •
- {7} ≈ Kitābu al-tafsīri al-mawsūmu bi-Madāriki al-tanzīli • ≈ Kitābu al-tafsīri al-mawsūmu
- {8} bi-Madāriki al-tanzīli • ≈ Kitābu al-tafsīri al-mawsūmu bi-Madāriki al-tanzīli [*fī mujalladayni*] •
- {9} ≈ Kitābu ghāyati al-amānī fī tafsīri al-kalāmi al-rabbānī • ≈ Kitābu ghāyati al-amānī
- {10} fī tafsīri al-kalāmi al-rabbānī li-l-Gūrānī • ≈ Kitābu tafsīri al-Kawāshī fī mujalladin •
- {11} ≈ Kitābu tafsīri al-Kawāshī fī mujalladin • ≈ al-Niṣfu al-awwalu min Tafsīri al-Kawāshī
- {12} wa-lam yūjad al-niṣfu al-akhīru¹³ • ≈ Kitābu ‘uyūni al-tafāsīri al-ma‘rūfu
- {13} bi-Tafsīri al-Shaykh • ≈ Kitābu ‘uyūni al-tafāsīri al-ma‘rūfu bi-Tafsīri al-Shaykh
- {14} fī mujalladayni • ≈ Kitābu ta’wīlāti al-Qur’āni li-l-Qāshānī min qibali al-tafsīri •
- {15} ≈ Kitābu as’īlati al-Qur’āni min qibali al-tafsīri • ≈ Kitābu asbābi nuzūli
- {16} al-Qur’āni al-karīmi min qibali al-tafsīri • ≈ Kitābu ta’wīlāti Abī Manṣūr
- {17} al-Māturīdī fī thalāthi mujalladātin ilā ākhiri sūratī al-ra‘di • ≈ Thalāthu mujalladātin
- {18} min Ta’wīlāti Abī Manṣūr al-Māturīdī fī al-tafsīri wa-lam yūjad sā’iru al-mujalladāti
- {19} • ≈ al-Mujalladu al-awwalu wa-al-mujalladu al-thānī wa-al-mujalladu al-thālithu min sharḥi Ta’wīlāti Abī
- [24] {1} Manṣūr al-Māturīdī fī al-tafsīri • ≈ Kitābu tafsīri Abī al-Layth -raḥimahu Allāhu- [*fī mujalladayni*] •
- {2} ≈ Ḥāshiyatu al-Kashshāfi li-l-Ṭībī fī mujalladayni wa-lam yūjad sā’iru al-mujalladāti •
- {3} ≈ Risālatun fī tafsīri ba‘ḍi āyāti al-ḥajji • ≈ al-Niṣfu al-awwalu min Kitābi al-tafsīri
- {4} al-fārisī wa-lam yūjad al-niṣfu al-akhīru • ≈ Kitābu as’īlati al-Qur’āni li-l-Rāzī
- {5} min qibali al-tafsīri • ≈ Kitābu al-tafsīri min sūratī al-mulki ilā ākhiri al-Qur’āni •
- {6} ≈ Kitābu tarjamati Tafsīri al-Ṭabarī bi-al-fārisiyyati li-l-zahrāwayni • ≈ Kitābu tafsīri
- {7} al-fātiḥati li-Mawlānā al-Fanārī • ≈ Kitābu as’īlatin wa-ajwibatin ‘alā kutubi al-tafāsīri •
- {8} ≈ Kitābun fī tafsīri al-āyāti wa-tabyīni ṣifāti Allāhi ta‘ālā li-Mawlānā Afḍal al-Dīn-
- {9} zādah -raḥimahu Allāhu- • ≈ Kitābu as’īlati al-Qur’āni li-l-Rāzī min qibali al-tafsīri •
- {10} ≈ Kitābu khulāṣati al-fātiḥati fī al-tafsīri • Nāsikhātun wa-mansūkhatun min qibali
- {11} al-tafsīri • ≈ Risālatun fī tafsīri sūratī al-ikhhlāṣi wa-al-mu‘awwidhatayni wa-risālatun fī
- {12} ba‘ḍi al-asrārī fī al-suwari fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu tafsīri sūratī al-dukhāni •

¹³ Unless it is intended to be a *fathā*, the manuscript has *ākhīr* (*alif madda*).

- {13} ≈ Kitābu as'ilati al-Qur'āni wa-al-ḥadīthi min qibali al-tafsīri • ≈ Kitābun fī daqā'iqi
 {14} ba'ḍi al-suwarī min qibali al-tafsīri • ≈ Kitābu tafsīri al-fātiḥati li-ba'ḍi al-mashāyikhi
 {15} -qaddasa Allāhu arwāḥahum- • ≈ Risālatu tarjamati tafsīri sūratī al-ikhhlāṣi
 bi-al-fārisiyyati
 {16} wa-Risālatu tafsīri sūratī al-ikhhlāṣi bi-al-'arabiyyati fī mujalladin • ≈ Kitābu tafsīri
 {17} sūratī Yūsuf -'alayhi al-salāmu- ma'a qīṣṣati Yūsuf -'alayhi al-salāmu- wa-tafsīru
 {18} sūratī al-ra'di bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Kitābi anwāri al-ḥaqā'iqi
 {19} fī al-tafsīri • ≈ Kitābu laṭā'ifi al-ishārati li-ṣāḥibi al-risālati al-qushayriyyati

[25]

- {1} min qibali al-tafsīri • ≈ Kitābu tafsīrin min sūratī tabāraka ilā ākhiri al-Qur'āni
 {2} ma'a sūratī al-fātiḥati bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Kitābu ajwibati Mawlānā Khusraw
 {3} li-as'ilati 'Alā'i wa-li-as'ilati al-Sirāj ayḍan awwaluhu fī al-tafsīri • ≈ Risālatu
 {4} bayāni al-isti'ādhati wa-al-basmalati li-Fakhr al-Mawālī 'Alī bin Mawlānā Yegān
 -sallamahu
 {5} Allāhu- min qibali al-tafsīri • ≈ Risālatun fī khawāṣṣi al-isti'ādhati wa-al-tasmiyati
 {6} wa-āyati al-kursi min qibali al-tafsīri • ≈ Risālatun fī qawlihi ta'ālā inna Allāha
 {7} ishtarā min al-mu'minīna anfusahum wa-amwālahum al-āyatu fī al-tafsīri • ≈ Kitābu
 {8} al-madāriki fī tafsīri al-Qur'āni al-'azīmi • ≈ Kitābu al-as'ilati al-muta'alliqati
 {9} bi-al-Qur'āni min qibali al-tafsīri • ≈ Kitābu al-fuṣūli li-l-Būnī min
 {10} qibali al-tafsīri • ≈ Kitābu i'rābi Abī al-Baqā' min qibali al-tafsīri •
 {11} ≈ Kitābu [al-]mukhtaṣari fī tafsīri al-Qur'āni • ≈ Kitābun fī al-funūni al-sab'ati
 {12} awwaluhu al-tafsīru marqūmun bi-Kitābi aqālīmi al-ta'ālīmi • ≈ Majmū'atun min
 {13} al-kutubi awwaluhu Ījāzu al-bayāni fī al-tafsīri • ≈ Nuzhatu al-ikhwāni fī
 {14} fī [sic] tafsīri qawlihi ta'ālā qālū yā Lūṭu innā rusulu rabbika ilā ākhirihi •
 {15} ≈ Risālatun fī kashfi Quṭb al-'Ārifīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān -quddisa sirruhu- 'an qawlihi
 {16} ta'ālā Allāhu waliyyu alladhīna āmanū yukhrijuhum min al-ẓulumāti ilā al-nūri¹⁴ min
 {17} qibali al-tafsīri • ≈ Risālatun fī qawlihi ta'ālā Allāhu waliyyu alladhīna āmanū
 {18} yukhrijuhum min al-ẓulumāti ilā al-nūri al-āyati min qibali al-tafsīri • ≈ Risālatu
 {19} tafsīri sūratī al-'aṣri wa-risālatu tafsīri qawlihi ta'ālā yā ayyuhā alladhīna āmanū

¹⁴ Q 2:257.

[26]

- {1} işbirü wa-şābirü al-āyati min qibali al-tafsīri • ~ Nuzhatu al-aşhābi
- {2} fi tafsīri qawlihi ta'ālā wa-law yu'ākhidhu Allāhu al-nāsa bi-mā kasabū mā taraka
- {3} 'alā zahrihā min dābbatin • ~ Majmū'atun awwaluhā Kitābu Aflātūn wa-fihā
- {4} Risālatu al-Imām al-Rāzī -quddisa sirruhu- fi tafsīri al-suwari al-arba'i fi al-maṭālibi
- {5} al-arba'ati • ~ Risālatun fi bayāni al-fātiḥati fi al-tafsīri • ~ Risālatu
- {6} al-as'ilati wa-al-ajwibati al-wāqi'ati fi 'ursi al-sultāni min qibali al-tafsīri •
- {7} ~ Kitābu al-rawḍati al-fā'iḥati fi tafsīri al-fātiḥati • ~ Kitābun fi
- {8} asrāri al-fātiḥati wa- ~ Qaṣīdatun ma'rūfatun bi-Yaqūlu al-'abdu fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi
- {9} wa-risālatun fi makārimi al-akhlāqi wa- ~ Kitābu manāsiki al-ḥajji wa-risālatun
- {10} fi al-awrādi wa-Risālatu al-wujūdi li-Ibn Sīnā wa-risālatun fi aḥwālī
- {11} al-şāliḥīna wa-risālatun fi al-'ishqi wa- ~ Risālatu a'lāmi al-maḥabbati wa- ~ Risālatun
- {12} fi al-samā'i fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ~ Kitābun fi asrāri al-fātiḥati 'alā ṭarīqati
- {13} al-mashāyikhi li-Şadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī min qibali al-tafsīri wa- ~ Kitābun fi al-taşawwufi fi
- {14} mujalladin wāḥidin • ~ Kitābun fi asrāri al-fātiḥati 'alā ṭarīqati al-mashāyikhi
- {15} li-Şadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī • ~ Kitābun fi dhikri āyāti al-Qur'āni al-muttafaqu
- {16} 'alayhā wa-al-mukhtalafu fihā min qibali al-tafsīri • ~ Kitābu as'ilati al-Qur'āni
- {17} wa-al-ḥadīthi min qibali al-tafsīri • ~ Kitābu 'adadi āyātin nāsikhatin
- {18} wa-mansūkhatin min qibali al-tafsīri • ~ Kitābu jawāhiri al-aşḍāfi
- {19} bi-al-turkiyyati fi mujalladayni fi al-tafsīri • ~ Kitābu ta'wīlāti al-Qāshānī

[27]

- {1} min qibali al-tafsīri • ~ Tafsīru Najm al-Dīn Kubrā • ~ Risālatun fi
- {2} al-handasati wa- ~ Risālatu ṭālī'i Sultān al-Salāṭīn Sultān Bāyezīd
- {3} Khān bin Meḥemmed Khān -zīda naşruhu- wa-risālatun fi al-tafsīri fi mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {4} Kitābun fi tafsīri al-fātiḥati li-l-Fanārī •
- [5-7 are blank]
- {8} ~ Kitābu tarjamati qaṣīdati al-Shāṭibī bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati fi 'ilmi al-qirā'ati •
- {9} ~ Kitābu al-nashri fi al-qirā'ati al-'ashri • ~ Kitābu kanzi al-ma'ānī fi

{10} sharḥi Ḥirzi al-amānī [*wa-huwa al-Qaṣīdatu al-lāmiyyatu li-l-Shāṭibī*] li-l-Ja‘barī fī mujalladayni wa-fī al-mujalladi al-thānī Sharḥu

{11} al-Qaṣīdati al-rā‘iyyati li-l-Ja‘barī fī ‘ilmi al-qirā’ati • ≈ Kitābu al-qaṣīdati al-rā‘iyyati

{12} wa- ~ Risālatu risālatu raf‘i al-khitāmi fī waqfi Ḥamza wa-Hishām fī mujalladin wāḥidin fī ‘ilmi

{13} al-qirā’ati • ≈ Kitābu al-‘abqarī fī sharḥi al-Ja‘barī fī ‘ilmi al-qirā’ati •

{14} ≈ Kitābu ‘iqdi al-durari fī sharḥi al-Durrati al-ma‘rūfati bi-al-Lāmiyyati fī ‘ilmi al-qirā’ati •

{15} ≈ Kitābun sharīfun fī ṭabaqāti al-qurrā’i al-sab‘ati -nafa’a Allāhu ta‘ālā bi-him- •

{16} ≈ Kitābu al-mabsūṭi fī ‘ilmi al-qirā’ati • ≈ Risālatun fī al-tajwīdi wa-‘ilmi al-qirā’ati •

{17} ≈ Kitābu ḥilyati al-‘adanī fī al-qirā’ati • ≈ Kitābu maslaki al-qurrā’i

{18} fī sharḥi abyāti Ibn al-Jazarī -raḥimahū Allāhu ta‘ālā- fī ‘ilmi al-qirā’ati •

{19} ≈ Kitābu lawāmi‘i al-ghurari fī sharḥi Fawā’idi al-durari fī ‘ilmi al-qirā’ati wa-Kitābu

[28]

{1} kashfi al-asrārī fī ‘ilmi al-qirā’ati li-l-Gūrānī fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābun

{2} fārisiyyun fī ‘ilmi al-qirā’ati wa-al-qismāni al-akhīrāni min Kitābi al-mabsūṭi

{3} fī ‘ilmi al-qirā’ati • ≈ Kitābu al-sirri al-maktūmi li-l-Tirawī fī ‘ilmi al-qirā’ati •

{4} ≈ Qaṣīdatu al-Shāṭibī fī ‘ilmi al-qirā’ati [*wa-huwa al-Qaṣīdatu al-lāmiyyatu al-musammātu bi-Ḥirzi al-amānī*] • ≈ Kitābun fī i‘rābi

{5} al-Qur’āni wa-wujūh al-qirā’āti mashhūrun bi-i‘rābi Abī al-Baqā’ •

{6} ≈ Kitābu al-durari al-muḍī’ati fī sharḥi qaṣīdati al-Shāṭibī fī ‘ilmi al-qirā’ati •

{7} ≈ Qaṣīdatun musammātun bi-Ḥizbi al-qirā’ati fī ‘ilmi al-qirā’ati • ≈ Risālatun turkiyyatun

{8} fī ‘ilmi al-qirā’ati wa- ~ Risālatu tafsīri ba‘ḍi al-suwari bi-al-turkiyyati • ≈ Majmū‘atun

{9} min rasā’ila ~ awwaluhā Naẓmu al-Shaykh al-Jazarī fī ‘ilmi al-qirā’ati wa- ~ thāniyatuhā

{10} Risālatu al-naẓmi al-turkī fī ‘ilmi al-qirā’ati wa-thālithatuhā Zīnatu al-qārī’i wa- [sic]

{11} wa-rābi‘atuhā Qawā’idu al-Qur’āni •

[12–19 are blank]

[29 is blank]

[30]

[1–18 are blank]

{19} Tafşılı kutubi al-aḥādīthi wa-kutubi asmā'i al-rijāli

[31]

{1} wa-ansābihim wa-kutubi manāqibi aṣḥābi al-ḥadīthi wa-kutubi shamā'ili al-nabī
-ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama-

{2} ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi

{3} fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{4} ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi
al-Bukhārī

{5} fi al-ḥadīthi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi fi mujalladin

{6} wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu

{7} ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi fi mujalladin

{8} wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{9} ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi
al-Bukhārī

{10} fi al-ḥadīthi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi

{11} fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{12} ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi

{13} al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi

{14} al-ḥadīthi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi fi mujalladin

{15} wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu

{16} ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi

{17} al-ḥadīthi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi fi arba'i

{18} mujalladātin • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi fi sab'i mujalladātin

{19} wa-qad kāna fi al-aṣli thamānī mujalladātin fa-ju'ila al-mujalladu al-awwalu
wa-al-thānī fi jildin

[32]

{1} wāḥidin fa-ṣāra sab'a mujalladātin • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi fi

{2} thamānī mujalladātin fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Kitābi ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī

{3} fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ al-Niṣfu al-awwalu min Kitābi ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi •

{4} ≈ Mujalladun min Kitābi ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu al-kawkabi al-durrī

{5} fi ikhtiṣāri Ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Mujalladun rābi'un min Ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī

{6} fi al-ḥadīthi •

[7–11 are blank]

{12} ≈ Sharḥu Ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī li-l-Kirmānī fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Sharḥu Ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī li-l-Kirmānī

{13} fi mujalladayni fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Sharḥu Ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī li-l-Kirmānī fi mujalladayni fi al-ḥadīthi •

{14} ≈ Sharḥu Ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī li-l-Kirmānī fi arba'i mujalladātin fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Sharḥu Ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī

{15} li-l-Kirmānī fi arba'i mujalladātin fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Sharḥu Ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī li-l-Kirmānī fi

{16} thalāthi mujalladātin fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Sharḥi Ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī li-l-Kirmānī

{17} fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Mujalladāni thālithun wa-rābi'un min Sharḥi Ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī

{18} li-l-Kirmānī fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Mujalladun thānin min Sharḥi Ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī li-l-Kirmānī

{19} fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Mujalladun akhīrun min Sharḥi Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī li-l-Kirmānī fi

[33]

{1} al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu al-kawthari al-jārī fi sharḥi Ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī li-l-Gūrānī

{2} fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu al-tanqīḥi fi sharḥi Ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī [*fi al-ḥadīthi*] • ≈ Faṭḥu al-bārī

{3} fi sharḥi Ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi 'ashri mujalladātin al-mu'anwanu bi-Ibn al-Ḥajar • ≈ Kitābu bahjati al-n[uf]ūs [*fi sharḥi*]

{4} mukhtaṣari Ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi fi mujalladayni • ≈ Kitābu ḍaw'i al-sārī

{5} fi sharḥi Ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Mujalladun thālithun min Bahjati al-n[uf]ūsi

{6} fi sharḥi Kitābi jam'i al-nihāyati wa-huwa mukhtaṣaru Ṣaḥīḥi al-Bukhārī fi al-ḥadīthi wa- ~ Kitābu

{7} al-marā'ī fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{8} ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi Muslim fi al-ḥadīthi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi Muslim fi

{9} al-ḥadīthi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi Muslim fi al-ḥadīthi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{10} ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi Muslim fi al-ḥadīthi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi Muslim fi

{11} al-ḥadīthi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi Muslim fī al-ḥadīthi fī mujalladin

{12} wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥīḥi Muslim fī al-ḥadīthi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu

{13} ṣaḥīḥi Muslim fī al-ḥadīthi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

[14 is blank]

{15} ≈ Kitābun jāmi‘un bayna kitābay Muslim wa-al-Bukhārī fī al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu

{16} maṭla‘i al-nayyirayni al-mukhtaṣari min al-Ṣaḥīḥayni fī al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu

{17} maṭla‘i al-nayyirayni al-mukhtaṣari min al-Ṣaḥīḥayni fī al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Sharḥu

{18} Muslim li-l-Nawawī fī khamṣi mujalladātīn • ≈ Sharḥu Muslim li-l-Nawawī

{19} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu Muslim li-l-Nawawī fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu

[34]

{1} sharḥu [sic]¹⁵ Muslim li-l-Nawawī fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Sharḥi

{2} Ṣaḥīḥi Muslim fī al-ḥadīthi •

[3 is blank]

{4} ≈ Jāmi‘u al-uṣūli fī al-ḥadīthi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Jāmi‘u al-uṣūli

{5} fī al-ḥadīthi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Jāmi‘u al-uṣūli fī al-ḥadīthi fī

{6} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu jāmi‘i al-uṣūli fī ‘ilmi al-ḥadīthi fī

{7} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Jāmi‘u al-uṣūli fī al-ḥadīthi fī mujalladin wāḥidin

{8} Jāmi‘u al-uṣūli fī al-ḥadīthi fī mujalladayni • ≈ Mukhtaṣaru Jāmi‘i

{9} al-uṣūli fī al-ḥadīthi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Mukhtaṣaru Jāmi‘i al-uṣūli

{10} fī al-ḥadīthi fī mujalladayni •

[11 is blank]

{12} ≈ Musnadu al-Imām al-a‘ẓam Abī Ḥanīfa -raḥimahu Allāhu- fī al-ḥadīthi •
≈ Mujalladātun

{13} thamāniyatun min Musnadi Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin Ḥanbal fī al-ḥadīthi •
≈ Kitābu

{14} muwaṭṭa‘i Mālik fī al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu muwaṭṭa‘i Mālik fī al-ḥadīthi •

{15} ≈ Kitābu al-mujtabā li-l-Nasā‘ī fī al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu mukhtaṣari Sunani Abī Dāwūd fī al-ḥadīthi •

¹⁵ It is not a commentary on another commentary (i.e., not *Sharḥu sharḥi*); the last word on the previous folio seems to be repeated at the beginning of this one by mistake.

{16} ≈ Kitābu sunani Abi Dāwūd fi al-ḥadīthi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-sunnati al-mawsūmu bi-Ṣaḥīḥi Ibn Māja fi al-ḥadīthi •

{17} ≈ Mashāriqun¹⁶ • ≈ Mashāriqun • ≈ Mashāriqu • ≈ Mashāriqu •

{18} ≈ Mashāriqu • ≈ Mashāriqu • ≈ Kitābu al-mashāriqi fi al-ḥadīthi •

[19 is blank]

[35]

[1, 2 are blank]

{3} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Mashāriqi li-Ibn Malak fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Sharḥu al-Mashāriqi

{4} li-Ibn al-Malak fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Sharḥu al-Mashāriqi li-Ibn al-Malak fi al-ḥadīthi •

{5} ≈ Sharḥu al-Mashāriqi li-Ibn al-Malak fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Sharḥu al-Mashāriqi

{6} li-Ibn al-Malak fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Sharḥu al-Mashāriqi li-Ibn al-Malak fi

{7} al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Sharḥu Mashāriqi al-anwāri li-Ibn Malak fi al-ḥadīthi •

{8} ≈ Sharḥu al-Mashāriqi li-l-Kāzarūnī fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Sharḥu al-Mashāriqi

{9} fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Tuḥfatu al-abrāri fi sharḥi al-Mashāriqi fi thalāthi

{10} mujalladātin • ≈ Sharḥu al-Mashāriqi fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Maṭāli'u al-asrāri

{11} fi taḥshiyati Sharḥi Mashāriqi al-anwāri fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Mujalladun wāḥidun

{12} min Kitābi sharḥi al-Mashāriqi fi al-ḥadīthi •

[13–15 are blank]

{16} ≈ Maṣābīḥu¹⁷ fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Maṣābīḥu • ≈ Maṣābīḥu • ≈ Maṣābīḥu • ≈ Maṣābīḥu fi al-ḥadīthi

{17} ≈ Maṣābīḥu • ≈ Kitābu al-Maṣābīḥi fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Maṣābīḥu fi al-ḥadīthi •

{18} ≈ Maṣābīḥu fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu al-Maṣābīḥi fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Maṣābīḥu fi

{19} al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Maṣābīḥu fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Maṣābīḥu fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Maṣābīḥu

[36]

{1} fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Maṣābīḥu fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Maṣābīḥu fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Maṣābīḥu

{2} fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Maṣābīḥu fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu al-maṣābīḥi fi al-ḥadīthi •

{3} ≈ Kitābu al-maṣābīḥi fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Matnu maṣābīḥa fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Matnu

{4} maṣābīḥa fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu al-maṣābīḥi fi al-ḥadīthi •

¹⁶ The manuscript has nunation here and with the next title despite it being a diptote.

¹⁷ This being a diptote, there is no nunation.

[5, 6 are blank]

{7} ≈ Maṣābīḥu mutarjamun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu mishkāti¹⁸ al-maṣābīḥi fī al-ḥadīthi •

{8} ≈ Sharḥu Maṣābīḥa fī al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Maṣābīḥi fī al-ḥadīthi •

{9} ≈ Hidāyatu al-ruwāti ilā takhrīji al-Maṣābīḥi wa-al-Mishkāti fī al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Ḥawāshī¹⁹ li-l-Maṣābīḥi

{10} fī al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu al-maqātīḥi [al-mafātīḥi] fī sharḥi al-Maṣābīḥi fī al-ḥadīthi •
≈ [Kitābu al-kāshifī ‘an ḥaqā’iqi al-sunani fī] sharḥi Mishkāti

{11} al-maṣābīḥi li-l-Ṭībī fī al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu al-kāshifī ‘an ḥaqā’iqi al-sunani

{12} fī sharḥi Mishkāti al-maṣābīḥi li-l-Ṭībī -ṭāba tharāhu- fī mujalladayni • ≈ Kitābu manḥali

{13} al-yanābī’i fī sharḥi al-Maṣābīḥi fī al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu manḥali al-yanābī’i fī sharḥi

{14} al-Maṣābīḥi fī al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu al-azhārī fī sharḥi al-Maṣābīḥi fī al-ḥadīthi •

[15, 16 are blank]

{17} ≈ Kitābu mukhtaṣari al-Ḥiṣni al-ḥaṣīni • ≈ Du‘ā’-i sayfī wa-al-Ḥiṣnu al-ḥaṣīni

{18} al-fārisī [fī al-ḥadīthi] wa-Munabbihātun²⁰ fī mujalladin wāḥidin²¹ • ≈ Kitābu al-ḥiṣni al-ḥaṣīni

{19} bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu mukhtaṣari al-Ḥiṣni al-ḥaṣīni fī al-ḥadīthi

[37]

{1} ≈ Kitābu al-ḥiṣni al-ḥaṣīni fī al-ḥadīthi wa- ~ thalātha ‘ashara risālatan min qibali

{2} al-ḥadīthi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-ḥiṣni al-ḥaṣīni fī al-ḥadīthi

{3} wa-Risālatu ‘arfi al-ta’rīfi fī al-mawlidī al-sharīfī min qibali al-ḥadīthi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{4} ≈ Kitābu tarjamati Ḥiṣnin ḥaṣīnin bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-ḥadīthi wa- ~ Kitābu nathri al-la’ālī

{5} min kalāmi Ḥaḍrat ‘Alī -raḍīya Allāhu ‘anhu- wa- ~ Kitābu muntakhabi Khulāṣati al-ḥaqā’iqi

{6} fī iṣṭilāḥāti ahli al-ḥaqqi wa- ~ Qaṣā’idu ‘arabiyyatun wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-rasmi

{7} al-‘uthmānī fī al-muṣḥafi wa- ~ Risālatun fī ma’rifati Allāhi wa-ma’rifati al-insāni

¹⁸ The copyist has the habit of writing a *wāw* instead of an *alif*, as here, also, e.g., *ṣalāt*, *ḥayāt*, because he follows the Qur’anic spelling.

¹⁹ Thus in the manuscript, but it should be indefinite (*Ḥawāshin*).

²⁰ The manuscript has a *fatha*, reading *munabbahāt*.

²¹ After *wāḥidin*, the upper part of *fī* is written.

{8} li-l-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-‘Arabī wa- ~ Kitābu kanzi al-rumūzi fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu

{9} jām-i jahān-numāy wa- ~ Kitābu jāmāsbnāmah li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūṣī

{10} wa- ~ Risālatu al-‘arūḍi wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-‘arūḍi wa- ~ Risālatu tarjamati Ṣad kalimah-i

{11} ‘Alī -karrama Allāhu wajhahu- wa- ~ Risālatu Ibn Sīnā fī aḥwālī al-qalbi wa-fī

{12} hādhihi al-majmū‘ati rasā’ilu ghayru mā dhakarnā fī mujalladin wāḥidin .

[13 is blank]

{14} Kitābu al-shifā’i bi-ta’rīfi ḥuqūqi al-Muṣṭafā [‘ayn mīm]²² fī al-ḥadīthi . ~ Kitābu al-shifā’i

{15} bi-ta’rīfi ḥuqūqi al-Muṣṭafā -‘alayhi al-salāmu- fī al-ḥadīthi . ~ Kitābu al-shifā’i

{16} fī al-ḥadīthi fī mujalladin wāḥidin . ~ Kitābu al-shifā’i fī al-ḥadīthi . ~ Kitābu al-shifā’i

{17} fī al-ḥadīthi . ~ Kitābu al-shifā’i fī al-ḥadīthi . ~ Kitābu al-shifā’i fī al-ḥadīthi .

{18} ~ Kitābu al-shifā’i fī al-ḥadīthi fī mujalladayni . ~ Kitābu al-shifā’i fī al-ḥadīthi .

{19} ~ Kitābu al-shifā’i fī al-ḥadīthi . ~ Kitābu al-shifā’i bi-ta’rīfi ḥuqūqi al-Muṣṭafā

[54] [This page has been moved here as it was bound in the wrong place]

{1} -‘alayhi al-salāmu- fī al-ḥadīthi . ~ Kitābu al-shifā’i bi-ta’rīfi ḥuqūqi al-Muṣṭafā

{2} fī al-ḥadīthi . ~ Kitābu al-shifā’i bi-ta’rīfi ḥuqūqi al-Muṣṭafā -‘alayhi al-salāmu- .

{3} ~ Kitābu al-shifā’i fī arba‘i mujalladātin fī al-ḥadīthi .

[4 is blank]

{5} ~ Kitābun jāmi‘un fī al-targhībi wa-al-tarhībi fī al-ḥadīthi fī mujalladayni .

{6} ~ Kitābun jāmi‘un fī al-targhībi wa-al-tarhībi fī al-ḥadīthi . ~ Mujalladun thānin min

{7} kitābin jāmi‘in fī al-targhībi wa-al-tarhībi fī al-ḥadīthi .

[8 is blank]

{9} ~ Kitābu shir‘ati al-islāmi fī al-ḥadīthi . ~ Kitābu shir‘ati al-islāmi fī al-ḥadīthi .

{10} ~ Kitābu shir‘ati al-islāmi fī al-ḥadīthi . ~ Kitābu shir‘ati al-islāmi fī al-ḥadīthi .

{11} ~ Kitābu shir‘ati al-islāmi fī al-ḥadīthi . ~ Kitābu shir‘ati al-islāmi fī al-ḥadīthi .

{12} ~ Kitābu shir‘ati al-islāmi fī al-ḥadīthi . ~ Kitābun mawsūmun bi-Shir‘ati al-islāmi

{13} fī al-ḥadīthi .

[14 is blank]

²² Abbreviation of the formula *‘alayhi al-salāmu*.

{15} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Shir‘ati al-islāmi li-Mawlānā al-ma‘rūfi bi-Ibn Sayyid ‘Alī-[*zādah*]²³ fi al-ḥadīthi •

{16} ≈ Sharḥu Shir‘ati al-islāmi li-Sayyid ‘Alī-zādah fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu

{17} shihābi al-akhbāri fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu shihābi al-akhbāri fi al-ḥadīthi •

{18} ≈ Majma‘u al-zawā‘idi wa-manba‘u al-fawā‘idi fi al-ḥadīthi fi sab‘i mujalladātin •

{19} [*zā‘id*] ≈ Kitābu al-kāshifi ‘an ḥaqā‘iqi al-sunani [*ilā*] • ≈ Kitābu al-fawā‘idi min al-‘ulūmi

[55] [This page has been moved here as it was bound in the wrong place]

{1} al-mutafarriqati fi al-ḥadīthi wa-ghayrihi • ≈ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun min al-aḥādīthi

{2} al-ṣaḥīḥati fi riyāḍāti al-nufūsi wa-tahdhībi al-akhlāqi li-l-Nawawī •

{3} ≈ Kitābu shihābi al-akhbāri al-shahīru bi-Kitābi al-Quḍā‘ī • ≈ Kitābu shihābi

{4} al-akhbāri fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu shihābi al-akhbāri li-l-Quḍā‘ī fi al-ḥadīthi •

{5} ≈ Kitābu al-istī‘ābi fi al-ḥadīthi fi sitti mujalladātin • ≈ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun

{6} min al-aḥādīthi al-ṣaḥīḥati fi riyāḍāti al-nufūsi wa-tahdhībi al-akhlāqi li-l-Nawawī

{7} min ‘ilmi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu al-adhkāri ma‘a nafā‘isi ‘ilmi al-ḥadīthi wa-daqa‘iqi

{8} al-fiḥqi li-l-Nawawī • ≈ Kitābu al-adhkāri ma‘a nafā‘isi ‘ilmi al-ḥadīthi wa-daqa‘iqi

{9} al-fiḥqi li-l-Nawawī • ≈ Kitābu ma‘ānī al-akhbāri fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu

{10} al-ijtihādi fi faḍli al-jihādi bi-al-aḥādīthi • ≈ Kitābu zubdati al-jawāmi‘i

{11} al-muḥammadiyyati wa-barqati al-lawāmi‘i al-aḥmadiyyati fi al-jihādi bi-al-aḥādīthi •
≈ Kitābun

{12} mawsūmun bi-Fawā‘idi al-akhbāri fi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu miftāḥi al-jināni

{13} fi faḍā‘ili al-ṣalāti wa-ghayrihā bi-al-aḥādīthi • ≈ Kitābu nuzhati al-sulṭāni

{14} li-khizānati Meḥemmed bin Murād Khān fi faḍli al-jihādi bi-al-aḥādīthi • ≈ al-Juz‘u

{15} al-awwalu min Kitābi majma‘i al-aḥbābi wa-tadhkirati ūlī al-a[l]bābi fi

{16} al-aḥādīthi • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Kitābi ṣafwati al-ṣafwati fi dhikri

{17} al-‘āmilīna bi-al-‘ilmi wa-al-zāhidīna fi al-dunyā bi-al-aḥādīthi •

{18} ≈ Qaṣīdatu al-Sakhāwī ma‘a sharḥihā fi ‘ilmi al-tajwīdi wa- ~ Kitābu Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ

{19} fi ‘ilmi al-ḥadīthi wa- ~ Qaṣīdatu al-‘Irāqī ma‘a sharḥihā fi al-ḥadīthi wa-qad yuqālu

²³ Here, *zādah* is added later to the text, but it is redundant and probably a mistake. It should be either Ibn Sayyid ‘Alī or Sayyid ‘Alī-zādah as in the following entry.

[38]

- {1} li-hādhihi al-qaṣīdati Alfīyyatun ‘irāqīyyatun fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-qaṣīdati
- {2} al-‘irāqīyyati ma‘a sharḥihā fī ‘ilmi al-ḥadīthi allatī yuqālu lahā Alfīyyatun ‘irāqīyyatun •
- {3} ≈ Kitābun yashtamilu ‘alā faḍā’ili al-jihādi wa-al-ribāṭi bi-al-aḥādīthi • ≈ Kitābu
- {4} sharḥi al-aḥādīthi wa-rasā’ilu min maqālāti al-Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī
- {5} fī al-taṣawwufi wa-iṣṭilāḥātihi • ≈ Kitābu al-jalīsi al-ṣāliḥi al-kāfi wa-
- {6} al-anīsi al-nāṣiḥi al-shāfi fī sharḥi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu iḥkāmi al-aḥkāmi
- {7} fī sharḥi aḥādīthi Sayyid al-Anām -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi al-salāmu-²⁴ • ≈ Kitābu
- {8} qaṣīdati al-‘Irāqī ma‘a sharḥihā fī ‘ilmi al-ḥadīthi wa-yuqālu lahā Alfīyyatun ‘irāqīyyatun •
- {9} ≈ Mujalladun thānin min Kitābi tuḥfati al-ashrāfi bi-ma‘rifati al-aṭrāfi fī al-ḥadīthi •
- {10} ≈ Kitābu rawnaqi al-tafāsīri fī al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābun fī ma‘rifati anwā’i
- {11} ‘ilmi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu al-arba‘īna fī irshādi al-sā’irīna fī al-ḥadīthi •
- {12} ≈ Kitābun fī al-aḥwālī al-muta‘alliqati bi-nubuwwati Muḥammad -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama- min
- {13} qibali al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu al-as’ilati wa-al-ajwibati fī al-tafsīri wa-al-ḥadīthi •
- {14} ≈ Kitābun fī al-musalsalāti min al-aḥādīthi al-ṣiḥāḥi wa-al-ḥisāni wa-ghayrihā min
- {15} al-masānīdi wa-al-ḥikāyāti al-mustaḥsanāti • ≈ Risālatu al-iḥsāni fī
- {16} faḍīlati a’lā shu‘abi al-īmāni min qibali al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu al-hādī
- {17} ilā dāri al-salāmi fī faḍā’ili al-ṭā’ati bi-al-aḥādīthi • ≈ Kitābu
- {18} durri²⁵ al-wā’iẓīna wa-dhukhri al-‘ābidīna bi-al-aḥādīthi • ≈ Kitābu al-arba‘īna
- {19} fī irshādi al-sā’irīna ilā manāzili al-muttaqīna bi-al-aḥādīthi •

[39]

- {1} Kitābu arba‘īna²⁶ al-‘alā’i fī kalāmi al-‘Alī -raḍiya Allāhu- bi-al-tarjamati al-fārisiyyati
- {2} min qibali al-ḥadīthi • ≈ al-Risālatu al-ghiyāthiyyatu fī al-aḥādīthi al-nabawiyyati •
- {3} ≈ Kitābu kashfi mushkilāti al-aḥādīthi al-marwiyyati ‘an al-ṣaḥābī al-madfūni bi-aṣli

²⁴ Here, *ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi al-salāmu* is an uncommon hybrid phrase. It should either be *ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama* or *‘alayhi al-salāmu*. The scribe probably intended to write the former, but stopped after *‘alayhi* and thought he was writing *‘alayhi al-salāmu*.

²⁵ Written at first as *durrati* with *tā’ marbūṭa*, which was later erased.

²⁶ In the manuscript it was first written as *al-arba‘īn* and then the definite article was erased.

- {4} hişni al-Qusṭanṭīniyyati • ≈ Kitābu al-irshādi fī al-arbaʿīna ḥadīthan •
- {5} Kitābu al-majmūʿati min al-akhbāri wa-al-ḥikami maʿa baʿḍi al-aḥādīthi • ≈ Kitābu
- {6} khulāṣati al-aqwāli fī al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu al-arbaʿīna fī al-ḥadīthi •
- {7} Kitābun ʿajībun mawsūmun bi-Daqāʿiqi al-akhbāri ʿan al-nabī al-mukhtārī -ṣallā Allāhu ʿalayhi
- {8} wa-sallama- fī al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu al-arbaʿīna wa-risālatun fī al-sulūki
- {9} ismuhā Raḥīqun fī al-ḥadīthi wa- ~ Kitābu al-maḍnūni bihi ʿalā ghayri ahlihi wa- ~ Risālatun fī
- {10} al-takallum ʿalā al-ʿilmi al-ladunnī wa- ~ Kitābu mukhtaṣari lḥyāʾi al-ʿulūmi wa- ~ Kitābun fī al-taṣawwufi
- {11} ismuhu Kitābu al-isfāri ʿan natāʾiji al-asfāri wa- ~ Risālatun fī ʿilmi al-kalāmi fī mujalladin
- {12} wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu asʿilati Mawlānā ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Rūmī fī al-ḥadīthi
- {13} wa-al-tafsīri wa-al-furūʿi wa-al-uṣūli wa-al-maʿānī wa-al-manṭiqi maʿa ajwibati Mawlānā Sirāj al-Dīn
- {14} wa-maʿa ajwibati Mawlānā Khusraw wa-maʿa raddihi li-ajwibati Mawlānā Sirāj al-Dīn min qibali
- {15} al-ḥadīthi wa-ghayrihi • ≈ Kitābu aḥādītha fī al-miʿrāji [*muṣawwarun*] • ≈ Kitābun fī
- {16} al-asʿilati wa-al-ajwibati fī ʿilmi al-tafsīri wa-al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu al-aḥādīthi
- {17} al-arbaʿīna fī faḍli al-jihādi • ≈ Kitābu al-kawkabi al-durrī al-mustakhraju
- {18} min kalimi al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama- fī al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu waṣāyā al-nabī
- {19} -ṣallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama- li-ʿAlī -raḍiya Allāhu ʿanhu- • ≈ Kitābu al-arbaʿīna fī al-ḥadīthi •

[40]

- {1} ≈ Risālatun fī al-ḥadīthi wa-risālatun fī ʿilmi uṣūli al-fiqhi wa-risālatun manẓūmatun
- {2} fī ʿilmi al-maʿānī wa- ~ Risālatu al-tuḥfati al-quḍsiyyati fī ʿilmi al-farāʾidi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {3} ≈ Kitābun fī al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Risālatun fī al-akhbāri wa-al-ḥikami min qibali al-ḥadīthi •
- {4} Risālatun fī qawli al-nabī -ʿalayhi al-salāmu- al-aʿmālu bi-al-niyyāti wa- ~ Risālatun fī
- {5} baḥṭhi ziyādati al-īmāni fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatun fī faḍilati shahri al-muḥarrami
- {6} wa-yawmi ʿāshūrā • ≈ Risālatun fī al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Risālatun fī aḥādītha mutafarriqatin •
- {7} Risālatu al-arbaʿīna fī al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu nukhbati al-fikari fī muṣṭalaḥi ahli al-athari
- {8} fī ʿilmi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Risālatun fī al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu al-arbaʿīna fī faḍli

- {9} al-jihādi • ≈ Kitābun fī faḍā'ili al-mulūki min qibali al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu
 {10} mawāṭini al-ṣalāti 'alā al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama- min qibali al-ḥadīthi •
 ≈ Kitābu
 {11} lawāmi'i al-anwāri al-manẓūmi fī 'ilmi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Risālatun min qibali al-ḥadīthi
 {12} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-aḥādīthi li-Abī Bakr al-Kalābādhi fī
 {13} al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābun murattabun 'alā 'asharati kutubin marqūmun bi-Ādābi al-islāmi fī
 {14} al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu al-anwāri al-nabawiyyati min ṣiḥāḥi al-aḥādīthi
 al-muṣṭafawiyyati •
 {15} Kitābu unsi al-munqaṭi'ina fī al-ḥadīthi al-muḥakkā • ≈ Sharḥu al-arba'ina ḥadīthan •
 {16} Sharḥu al-arba'ina ḥadīthan • ≈ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun mushtamilun 'alā muqaddimatin
 wa-taqṣimin
 {17} wa-khātimatin fī 'ilmi al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Sharḥu kitābi al-arba'ina ḥadīthan bi-al-'arabiyyati •
 {18} ≈ Kitābu al-ḥikami al-marwiyyati 'an Sayyid al-Mursalīn Muḥammad wa-'Alī Amīr
 al-Mu'minīn fī al-ḥadīthi •
 {19} ≈ Risālatu al-aḥādīthi fī fawā'idi al-mawā'idi • ≈ Risālatu al-aḥādīthi ma'a tarjamatin
 fārisiyyatin

[41]

- {1} manẓūmatin wa-da'awāti al-ayyāmi fī al-ḥawāshī • ≈ Kitābu qawā'idi al-uṣūli
 {2} fī 'ilmi ḥadīthi al-rasūli • ≈ Sharḥu aḥādītha 'adaduhā sab'atun wa-'ishrūna
 {3} li-Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī • ≈ Kitābu al-jawhari al-farīdi fī sharḥi al-ḥadīthi alladhi
 {4} dhakarahu rasūlu Allāhi -ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama- 'inda su'ālī Jibrīl -'alayhi
 al-salāmu-
 {5} bi-khaṭṭi shāriḥi 'Alī al-Makkī • ≈ Majmū'atun min al-kutubi al-mu'tabarati mawsūmatun
 bi-al-Tuḥfati
 {6} al-najībiyyati al-uwaysiyyati fī anwā'i al-funūni ka-al-ḥadīthi wa-ghayrihi • ≈ Mujalladun
 min Majma'i
 {7} al-zawā'idi fī al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Bābun 'āshirun min Mawā'izi al-mulūki wa- ~ Risālatu
 {8} al-arba'ina ḥadīthan fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatun fī al-ḥadīthi wa-al-du'ā'i 'alā
 {9} tartībi al-ḥurūfi li-Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān bin Meḥemmed Khān
 {10} -zīdat sa'adatuhumā fī al-dārayni- mawsūmatun bi-Kitābi ighṭināmi al-furṣati li-qirā'ati
 {11} al-ḥadīthi bi-Burṣa • ≈ Kitābu al-hanā'i al-manūṭi fī sharḥi al-aḥādīthi al-'ashri •
 {12} ≈ Tuḥfatu al-khāqāni fī sharḥi al-arba'ina ḥadīthan bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati •
 {13} ≈ Majmū'atun min rasā'ili al-funūni al-mukhtalifati ūlāhā majmū'atun min al-aḥādīthi •

{14} ≈ Risālatu al-arbaʿīna ḥadīthan •

{15} ≈ Kitābu shamāʿili al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama- • ≈ Kitābu shamāʿili al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama- •

{16} ≈ Kitābu jawāhiri al-ʿiqdayni fī faḍli al-sharafayni sharafi al-ʿilmi al-jalī wa-sharafi

{17} al-nasabi al-ʿalī min qibali al-aḥādīthi • ≈ Kitābun fī shamāʿili al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu ʿalayhi

{18} wa-sallama- • ≈ Kitābu tadhkirati al-faḍāʿili fī tarjamati al-Shamāʿili bi-al-fārisiyyati •

{19} ≈ Kitābu shamāʿili al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama- • ≈ Kitābu al-ʿalī fī maʿrifati

[42]

{1} al-nabī -ʿalayhi al-salāmu- wa-awlādihi wa-aṣḥābihi -raḍiya Allāhu ʿanhum- • ≈ Kitābu

{2} taqrībi al-Tahdhībi fī asmāʾi al-rijālī min ahli al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu

{3} mukhtaṣari Tahdhībi al-kamālī fī asmāʾi al-rijālī li-ahli al-ḥadīthi fī arbaʿi mujalladātin •

{4} ≈ Kitābu asmāʾi al-rijālī min ahli al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu asmāʾi al-rijālī min ahli

{5} al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Kitābu asmāʾi al-rijālī min ahli al-ḥadīthi •

[6 is blank]

{7} ≈ Kitābu silāḥi al-muʾmini fī tafāṣīli al-adʿiyati al-maʿthūrati min qibali al-ḥadīthi •

{8} ≈ Kitābu najāti al-dhākirīna fī al-adʿiyati al-maʿthūrati bi-al-aḥādīthi • ≈ Kitābun

{9} fī al-adʿiyati al-maʿthūrati bi-al-aḥādīthi • ≈ Risālatun fī al-adʿiyati maʿa ḥikāyati

{10} al-Shaykh al-Ashajj min qibali al-ḥadīthi • ≈ Risālatun fī daʿawātin marwiyyatin bi-al-aḥādīthi •

{11} ≈ Risālatu al-jadāwili fihā asmāʾu Allāhi al-ḥusnā wa-nasabu al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama-

{12} maʿa awlādihi -riḍwānu Allāhi ʿalayhim ajmaʿīna- •

[13–19 are blank]

[43, 44 are blank]

[45]

{1} Tafṣīlu kutubi al-adʿiyati wa-kutubi khawāṣṣi al-Qurʾāni wa-kutubi ʿilmi al-wafqi

{2} ≈ Ḥamāʾilu adʿiyatin fī mujalladin • ≈ Ḥamāʾilu adʿiyatin fī mujalladin • ≈ Ḥamāʾilu adʿiyatin fī

{3} mujalladin • ≈ Ḥamāʾilu adʿiyatin fī mujalladin • ≈ Ḥamāʾilu adʿiyatin fī mujalladin • ≈ Adʿiyatu

{4} al-ayyāmi al-sab'ati fi mujalladin • ≈ Du'a'un sayfiyyun fi mujalladin • ≈ Du'a'u hazār-yak²⁷ nām

{5} fi mujalladin • ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun mustadīrun • ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun mustadīrun •

{6} ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun mustadīrun • ≈ Asmā'u ḥusnā bi-khaṭṭin kūfiyyin ghayru mujalladin •

{7} ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun mustadīrun fi ghilāfin mustadīrin • ≈ Qamīṣun maktūbun

{8} fihi al-ad'iyatu • ≈ Qamīṣun maktūbun fihi al-ad'iyatu • ≈ 'Araqiyyatun maktūbun

{9} fihā al-awfāqu • ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun mustadīrun • ≈ Naṭ'un a'zamu min

{10} al-kāghidi fihi al-awfāqu • ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun muthallathun • ≈ Ḥamā'ilu

{11} malfūfun muthallathun • ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun muthallathun • ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun

{12} muthallathun • ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun muthallathun • ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun muthallathun •

{13} ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun muthallathun • ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun muthallathun • ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun

{14} muthallathun • ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun muthallathun • ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun muthallathun •

{15} ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun muthallathun • ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun murabba'un • ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun

{16} murabba'un • ≈ Naṭ'un 'azīmun min al-kāghidi fihi al-awfāqu • ≈ Du'a'un sayfiyyun

{17} malfūfun mustadīrun • ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun mustadīrun 'arīḍun fi ghilāfin

{18} akhdara • ≈ Kāghidun murabba'un fihi al-awfāqu bi-ghilāfi kāghidin • ≈ Lawḥun murabba'un

{19} min fiḍḍatin fihi al-awfāqu • ≈ Lawḥun murabba'un min fiḍḍatin fihi al-awfāqu

[46]

{1} ≈ Lawḥun murabba'un min fiḍḍatin fihi al-awfāqu • ≈ Lawḥun murabba'un min nuḥāsin fihi al-awfāqu •

{2} ≈ Lawḥun mudawwarun min fiḍḍatin mudhahhabun fihi al-awfāqu • ≈ Thalāthatu ajzā'i fihā Du'a'u

{3} hazār-yak nām • ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun muthallathun • ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun muthallathun •

{4} ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun muthallathun • ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun muthallathun • ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun

²⁷ The manuscript has a *kasra*, either for the *ezāfe* or reading *yik*. See also at 46 {3}, 47 {17}, 48 {2}, etc.

{5} muthallathun • ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun muthallathun makhīṭun fī al-ḥarīri • ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun

{6} muthallathun makhīṭun fī ḥarīrin lahu 'ilāqatun min ḥarīrin • ≈ Ḥamā'ilu malfūfun muthallathun •

{7} ≈ Khashabun mustadīrun ṭuluḥu thalāthatu ashbārin luffa 'alayhi arba'a ḥamā'ila bi-al-awfāqi

{8} wa-al-ad'iyati • ≈ Ad'iyatun bi-khaṭṭi Yāqūt fī mujalladin • ≈ Ad'iyatu al-ayyāmi

{9} al-sab'ati fī mujalladin • ≈ Ad'iyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab'ati fī mujalladin • ≈ Ad'iyatu al-ayyāmi

{10} al-sab'ati fī mujalladin • ≈ Ad'iyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab'ati • ≈ Du'a'un fī makārimi al-akhlāqi

{11} 'an Zayn al-Ābidīn -raḍiya Allāhu 'anhu- fī mujalladin • ≈ Ad'iyatu al-hayākili al-sab'ati

{12} fī mujalladin • ≈ Ad'iyatun ba'da al-ṣalawāti fī mujalladin bi-khaṭṭi Ibn Jalāl al-Dīn •

{13} ≈ Awrādu al-Shaykh Abī al-Wafā['] fī mujalladin • ≈ Du'a'un sayfiyyun fī mujalladin • ≈ Ad'iyatu

{14} al-ayyāmi al-sab'ati fī mujalladin • ≈ Risālatu māḥi al-dhunūbi fī al-ad'iyati wa-

{15} al-aḥādīthi • ≈ Du'a'u ḥizbi al-baḥri wa-ghayrihi bi-khaṭṭi[n] muqatṭa'in fī mujalladin •

{16} ≈ Du'a'u ḥizbi al-baḥri wa-ghayruhu fī mujalladin • ≈ Suwaru al-wirdi wa-awrādu al-Shaykh

{17} Ḥamīd al-Dīn fī mujalladin • ≈ Du'a'u Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā fī mujalladin • ≈ Awrādu

{18} al-Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn -quddisa sirruhu- fī mujalladin • ≈ Ad'iyatu Sayyid 'Alī al-Hamadānī bi-khaṭṭi

{19} 'Abd Allāh al-Hirawī fī mujalladin • ≈ Risālatu maslaki al-qāṣidīna fī mujalladin

[47]

{1} ≈ Kitābu ḥilyati al-abrāri fī al-ad'iyati • ≈ Kitābu al-'uddati 'inda al-kurabi

{2} wa-al-shiddati fī al-ad'iyati wa-al-awfāqi wa- ~ al-juz'u al-awwalu min Kitābi subuli

{3} al-khayrāti min qibali al-naṣīḥati fī mujalladin wāḥidīn • ≈ Risālatu al-du'a'i al-sayfi

{4} wa-i'tiṣāmihi wa-du'a'i al-mi'rāji • ≈ Risālatu istifāḍati al-murādāti bi-asmā'i Allāhi

{5} ta'ālā 'alā al-wajhi al-khāṣṣi • ≈ Risālatu asmā'i Allāhi ta'ālā li-maṭāliba shattā •

{6} Risālatu awrādi al-ṣalawāti li-Shaykh Wafā['] -raḥimahu Allāhu ta'ālā- • ≈ Risālatu khawāṣṣi

{7} al-Qur'āni min qibali al-ad'iyati • ≈ Kitābu al-ad'iyati al-mubārakati al-jalīlāti

{8} bi-khaṭṭin nafisin muḥaqqaqin lam yura mithluhu • ≈ Risālatu wirdin jalīlin wa-du'a'in jamīlin •

{9} ≈ al-Da'awātu ba'da al-ṣalawāti 'an al-a'immati • ≈ Risālatun fihā wirdāni nafisāni •

- {10} ≈ Mujalladun fihi da‘awātu al-ṣalawāti wa-al-du‘ā‘u al-sayfi wa-sharḥuhu wa-du‘ā‘u qarṭhiyyā •
- {11} ≈ Risālatun fi al-du‘ā‘i bi-makārimi al-akhlāqi ‘an Zayn al-‘Ābidīn -raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhu- •
- {12} ≈ Ad‘iyatun ma‘thūratun bi-khaṭṭin nafisin • ≈ Da‘awātu al-ṣubḥi wa-da‘awātu al-ayyāmi al-sab‘ati
- {13} bi-khaṭṭi Arghūn • ≈ Risālatu al-musabba‘āti al-‘ashri bi-khaṭṭi al-dhahabi fi al-ad‘iyati •
- {14} ≈ Risālatu khawāṣṣi āyātīn min qibali al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Kitābu al-tamīmī fi manāfi‘i
- {15} al-Qur‘āni min qibali al-ad‘iyati wa- ~ Qaṣīdatu Burda [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Kitābu ḥilyati al-abrārī
- {16} fi al-ad‘iyati wa- ~ Risālatu shu‘abi al-īmāni fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Du‘ā‘u hazār-
- {17} yak nām • ≈ Kitabun fihi du‘ā‘u hazār-yak nām wa-Sharḥu Chihil nām •
- {18} ≈ Risālatu da‘awāti al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama- • ≈ Qamīṣun min niqābi
- {19} al-janīni fihi awfāqun wa-ad‘iyatun • ≈ Kirbāsun fihi arba‘atu suṭūrin min

[48]

- {1} al-āyāti wa-al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Qamīṣun fihi awfāqun wa-ad‘iyatun • ≈ Qamīṣun fihi awfāqun
- {2} wa-ad‘iyatun • ≈ Sharḥu du‘ā‘i hazār-yak nām bi-al-‘arabiyyati • ≈ Kitābu
- {3} shamsi al-ma‘ārifi li-l-Būnī min qibali al-adhkāri wa-al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Kitābu
- {4} shamsi al-āfāqi fi ‘ilmi al-awfāqi • ≈ Du‘ā‘un sayfiyyun bi-khaṭṭi Shaykh-zādah •
- {5} ≈ Du‘ā‘un sayfiyyun muqayyadun bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Du‘ā‘un sayfiyyun muqayyadun bi-al-fārisiyyati •
- {6} ≈ Du‘ā‘un sayfiyyun • ≈ Du‘ā‘un sayfiyyun ma‘a sharḥihi bi-ḥibri al-dhahabi • ≈ Du‘ā‘un sayfiyyun
- {7} muqayyadun bi-al-turkiyyati • ≈ Du‘ā‘u istiftāḥin wa-da‘awātu al-ayyāmi al-sab‘ati •
- {8} ≈ Du‘ā‘un sayfiyyun • ≈ Du‘ā‘un sayfiyyun • ≈ Kitābu al-ḥikmati fi al-ad‘iyati wa-al-maw‘izati
- {9} bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Tafsīru al-asmā‘i al-ḥusnā ma‘a khawāṣṣiḥā bi-al-fārisiyyati
- {10} min qibali al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Shamsu al-ma‘ārifi li-l-Aḥmad²⁸ al-Būnī min qibali al-ad‘iyati •
- {11} ≈ Kitābu asāsi al-‘ulūmi fi ‘ilmi al-ḥurūfi wa-al-awfāqi • ≈ Sūratu al-an‘āmi
- {12} wa-Ḥizbu al-baḥri min qibali al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Kitābu al-Aḥmad al-Būnī fi kayfiyyati
- {13} al-‘amal bi-al-asmā‘i wa-al-awfāqi • ≈ Kitābu al-‘uddati al-kāmilati ‘inda al-shiddati
- {14} al-shāmilati min qibali al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Kitābu al-ḥikmati fi al-ad‘iyati wa-al-maw‘izati

²⁸ The definite article in front of Aḥmad is a copyist error, repeated in lines {12}, {16}, and {17}.

- {15} bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Kitābu Aḥmad al-Būnī fī kayfiyyati al-‘amali bi-al-asmā’i
 {16} wa-al-awfāqi • ≈ Kitābu al-Aḥmad al-Būnī fī kayfiyyati al-‘amali bi-al-asmā’i
 wa-al-awfāqi •
 {17} ≈ Kitābu al-Aḥmad al-Būnī fī kayfiyyati al-‘amali bi-al-asmā’i wa-al-awfāqi • ≈ Sharḥu
 al-asmā’i
 {18} al-ḥusnā li-l-Shaykh al-Būnī min qibali al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Kitābu al-ḥikmati wa-al-ad‘iyati
 {19} wa-al-maw‘izati bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Sab‘atu ḥuṣūnin li-l-ayyāmi al-sab‘ati

[49]

- {1} min al-ad‘iyati bi-khaṭṭi al-Hirawī • ≈ Mukhtaṣaru Kunhi al-murādi fī wafqi al-a‘dādi •
 {2} ≈ Kitābu al-da‘awāti alladhī jama‘ahu Mawlānā Shukr Allāh • ≈ Ḥizbu al-baḥri
 wa-ghayruhu
 {3} min al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Asmā’u Allāhi ta‘ālā alfun wa-wāḥidun wa- ~ Kitābu da‘awāti
 {4} sā‘āti al-layli wa-al-nahāri al-mustajābati • ≈ Ad‘iyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab‘ati wa-Risālatu
 {5} al-aḥādīthi al-mutarjamati bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manzūmati fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
 ≈ Ad‘iyatu
 {6} al-ayyāmi al-sab‘ati bi-al-²⁹midādi al-dhahabi • ≈ Du‘ā’u al-munājāti bi-al-asmā’i
 al-ḥusnā •
 {7} ≈ Ad‘iyatun wa- ~ Risālatu rijālī al-ghaybi bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Ad‘iyatu al-ayyāmi
 al-sab‘ati •
 {8} ≈ Ad‘iyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab‘ati • ≈ Ḥirzu al-nabī -‘alayhi al-salāmu- wa-Ḥirzu ‘Alī
 wa-awlādihi
 {9} -raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhum- wa-Ad‘iyyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab‘ati bi-al-midādi al-dhahabi fī
 mujalladin wāḥidin •
 {10} • ≈ Du‘ā’un sayfiyyun • ≈ Risālatun fī kayfiyyati al-‘amali bi-al-ḥurūfi wa-al-asmā’i min
 qibali
 {11} al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Ad‘iyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab‘ati ma’a wīrdi al-Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn -quddisa
 {12} sirruhu- • ≈ Awrādun fatḥiyyatun li-Amīr Sayyid ‘Alī al-Hamadānī min al-ad‘iyati •
 {13} ≈ Du‘ā’un sayfiyyun • ≈ Awrādu al-ṣubḥi wa-du‘ā’u ‘Ukāsha -raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhu- •
 {14} ≈ Du‘ā’u al-ḥājati wa- ~ Du‘ā’un sayfiyyun wa- ~ Risālatu al-aḥādīthi fī ḥaqqi al-Qur’āni
 al-‘azīmi •
 {15} ≈ Du‘ā’u al-ṣalāti ‘alā al-nabī wa- ~ Risālatun min qibali al-tafsīri • ≈ Risālatu al-ḥijābi
 {16} al-‘azīmi min al-āyāt wa-al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Ad‘iyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab‘ati • ≈ Miftāḥu

²⁹ Erroneous (?) definite article as both *midād* and *dhahab* are nouns; see also line {9}.

- {17} al-najāhi min du‘ā’i Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī -raḍiya Allāhu ta‘ālā ‘anhu- • ≈ Da‘awātun •
- {18} ≈ Du‘ā’un sayfiyyun wa-Sharḥu Chihil nām [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Ad‘iyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab‘ati wa- ~ Mukhtaṣarun fi
- {19} ‘ilmi al-akhlāqī fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Du‘ā’un sayfiyyun ma‘a sharḥihi • ≈ Ad‘iyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab‘ati wa- ~ al-Da‘awātu

[50]

- {1} ba‘da al-ṣalāti [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Sharḥu Chihil nām bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Du‘ā’u
- {2} hazār-yak nām • ≈ Ad‘iyatu al-ayyāmi al-sab‘ati wa- ~ Risālatu rijālī al-ghaybi [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] •
- {3} ≈ Juz’un fihi ad‘iyatun • ≈ Kitābun fi al-ad‘iyati wa-ādābihā wa-sharā’iṭihā • ≈ Kitābu
- {4} al-tamīmī fi manāfi‘i al-Qur’āni al-‘aẓīmi min qibali al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Ad‘iyatu al-ayyāmi
- {5} al-sab‘ati • ≈ Ad‘iyatu al-thulthi al-akhīri min al-layālī • ≈ Kitābu shamsi al-ma‘ārifi
- {6} li-l-Būnī fi al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Risālātun fi al-awrādi al-faṭḥiyyati wa- ~ Risālātun fi al-da‘awāti
- {7} allatī ba‘da al-ṣalawāti [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Kitābu awrādi Shaykh Wafā['] fi al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Kitābu
- {8} mūdīhi al-ṭarīqi bi-asmā’i Allāhi ta‘ālā li-l-Būnī min qibali al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Kitābu al-Būnī
- {9} min qibali al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Kitābu al-sirri al-khafī al-makhzūni min qibali al-ad‘iyati wa- ~ Kitābu
- {10} al-‘iqdi al-manẓūmi fi ‘ilmi al-khawāṣṣi al-ḥurūfiyyati kilāhumā li-l-Shaykh Muḥyi al-Dīn al-‘Arabī -quddisa
- {11} sirruhu- wa-Risālatu ashkāli al-kawākibi wa-Kitābu sirri al-jamālī min qibali al-ad‘iyati
- {12} fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu rashḥi adhwāqi al-ḥikmati al-rabbāniyyati fi sharḥi awfāqi
- {13} al-lam‘ati al-nūrāniyyati fi al-wafqi • ≈ Du‘ā’u hazār yak nām ma‘a sharḥihi •
- {14} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-ismi al-a‘ẓami al-ma‘rūfi bi-Chihil nām fi al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Shifā’u al-mushtafī [al-mustashfī]
- {15} fi manāfi‘i al-Qur’āni wa-Kitābu al-durri al-naẓīmi fi manāfi‘i al-Qur’āni min qibali al-ad‘iyati [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] •
- {16} ≈ Risālatu khawāṣṣi suwari al-Qur’āni al-‘aẓīmi • ≈ al-Risālatu al-‘arabiyyatu fi al-awfāqi •
- {17} ≈ Kitābu al-lam‘ati al-nūrāniyyati li-l-Būnī fi al-ismi al-a‘ẓami wa-al-‘amali bihi min qibali al-ad‘iyati •
- {18} ≈ Kitābu al-tamīmī fi khawāṣṣi al-Qur’āni al-‘aẓīmi min qibali al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Kitābu

{19} al-durrati fi ‘ilmi al-awfāqi • ≈ Kitābu Quṭb al-Dīn-zādah -quddisa sirruhu- fi al-ad‘iyati •

[51]

{1} ≈ Sharḥu al-asmā‘i al-‘aẓīmati fi al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Sharḥi al-asmā‘i bi-al-fārisiyyati

{2} min qibali al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min al-Kitābi al-asnā fi sharḥi al-asmā‘i

{3} al-ḥusnā li-l-Imām al-Qurṭubī min qibali al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Kitābu Aflātūn fi al-naṣā’ihī

{4} wa- ~ Kitābu sharḥi ad‘iyati ‘Alī bin al-Ḥusayn bin ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib -raḍiya Allāhu ta‘ālā ‘anhum- fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{5} ≈ Kitābu al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī -quddisa sirruhu- fi al-ad‘iyati wa-al-ṭilsimāti wa-al-‘azā’imi wa- ~ Risālātu

{6} mas’alati binti Faghfūr-i Chīn [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Risālatun fi ismi Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn Bāyezīd Khān

{7} -zīdat sa‘ādatuhu fi al-dārāyni- min qibali al-wafqi • ≈ Kitābu al-durri al-munazzami fi

{8} al-sirri al-a‘ẓami fi ‘ilmi al-jafri wa-al-awfāqi • ≈ Kitābun fi takthīri al-ḥurūfi min qibali

{9} ‘ilmi al-wafqi manqūlun ‘an sifri Ādam -‘alayhi al-salāmu- • ≈ Risālatu al-munājāti

{10} li-l-Shaykh Shahāb al-Dīn al-maqtūli ma‘a sharḥihā min qibali al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Risālatun

{11} fi ‘ilmi al-ḥurūfi min qibali al-‘ilmi al-wafqi • ≈ Majmū‘atun min rasā’ila mukhtalifatin ūlāhā

{12} risālatun fi ‘ilmi al-ḥurūfi fi al-wafqi • ≈ Majmū‘atun awwaluhā al-ḥirzu al-mansūbi

{13} ilā Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī -raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhu- al-mawsūmu bi-Miftāḥi al-rizqi wa-al-najāti •

{14} ≈ Majmū‘atun awwaluhā muhallalātu al-Qur‘āni al-‘aẓīmi min qibali al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Kitābun

{15} fi al-handasati wa-risālatāni fi al-wafqi [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Sharḥu al-asmā‘i al-ḥusnā bi-al-fārisiyyati

{16} wa-risālatun ukhrā fi Sharḥi al-asmā‘i al-ḥusnā bi-al-fārisiyyati wa-rasā’ilu ukhrā [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] •

{17} ≈ Kitābu adawāti al-su’ūli min da‘awāti al-rasūli -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama- •

{18} ≈ Kitābu al-jāmi‘i al-bahī li-da‘awāti al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama- fi al-ad‘iyati •

{19} ≈ Kitābun fi ‘ilmi al-ad‘iyati al-mustajābati • ≈ Sharḥu al-asmā‘i al-ḥusnā bi-al-‘arabiyyati fi al-ad‘iyati •

[52]

{1} ≈ Kitābu al-jāmi‘i al-bahī li-da‘awāti al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama-
fi al-ad‘iyati •

{2} ≈ Kitābu al-ḥiṣni al-ḥaṣīni min qibali al-adhkāri wa-al-ad‘iyati • ≈ Sharḥu

{3} al-asmā‘i al-ḥusnā li-l-Imām ‘Abd al-Salām min qibali al-ad‘iyati •

[4–19 are blank]

[53 is blank]

[54 and 55 have been moved between 37 and 38, where they belong]

[56]

{1} Tafṣīlu kutubi ‘ilmi uṣūli al-dīn ay ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •

{2} ≈ Kitābu matni al-maqāṣidi fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu matni al-maqāṣidi fi ‘ilmi

{3} al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu matni al-maqāṣidi fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu matni al-maqāṣidi

{4} fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu matni al-maqāṣidi fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu

{5} matni al-maqāṣidi fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Tabṣiratun fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi [.]³⁰

[6, 7 are blank]

{8} • ≈ Sharḥu al-Maqāṣidi li-muṣannifihi fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •

{9} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Maqāṣidi fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Maqāṣidi fi ‘ilmi

{10} al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Maqāṣidi fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi

{11} al-Maqāṣidi fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Maqāṣidi fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •

{12} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Maqāṣidi fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati Sharḥi

{13} al-Maqāṣidi fi mabāḥithi al-nubuwwati wa-al-imāmati li-Mawlānā Sinān al-Dīn fi ‘ilmi
al-kalāmi •

[14–16 are blank]

{17} ≈ Kitābu matni al-mawāqifi fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu jawāhiri al-kalāmi

{18} wa-Kitābu matni al-mawāqifi li-‘Aḍud al-Dīn fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{19} ≈ Kitābu fihristi [al-]Mawāqifi fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •

[57]

[1 is blank]

³⁰ The last entry is written in a different hand in *ta‘liq* script.

- {2} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mawāqifi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
 {3} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mawāqifi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi
 {4} al-Mawāqifi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mawāqifi
 {5} li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mawāqifi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf
 {6} fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mawāqifi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •
 {7} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mawāqifi min al-ilāhiyyāti fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •
 [8–11 are blank]

- {12} ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati Mawlā al-Mawālī al-ma‘rūfi bi-Khwāja-zādah -ṭāba tharāhu- ‘alā
 {13} Sharḥi al-Mawāqifi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati Sharḥi al-Mawāqifi
 {14} li-Mawlānā al-Kamāl al-Qaramānī fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati [Sharḥi]
 al-Mawāqifi
 {15} li-Mawlānā al-ma‘rūfi bi-Ḥasan Çelebi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati Sharḥi
 {16} al-Mawāqifi li-Mawlānā al-ma‘rūfi bi-Ḥasan Çelebi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati
 {17} Sharḥi al-Mawāqifi li-mudarrisin min mudarrisī al-rūmi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu
 {18} ḥāshiyati Sharḥi al-Mawāqifi fī baḥṭhi al-‘illati wa-al-ma‘lūli fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •
 {19} ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati Sharḥi al-Mawāqifi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati Sharḥi

[58]

- {1} al-Mawāqifi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati Sharḥi al-Mawāqifi fī ‘ilmi
 {2} al-kalāmi • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi ilāhiyyāti al-Mawāqifi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •
 {3} ≈ Majmū‘atun min al-ḥawāshī fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi awwaluhā Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi dībajati
 al-Mawāqifi •
 {4} ≈ Risālatu al-as‘ilati ‘alā sharḥi al-Sayyid al-Sharīf li-l-Mawāqifi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •
 {5} ≈ Risālatun fī al-ajwibati ‘an i‘tirāḍāti Mawlānā Kastallū³¹ ‘alā al-Mawāqifi wa-sharḥihi
 {6} fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •
 [7 is blank]

- {8} ≈ Kitābu matni al-tajrīdi li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu matni
 {9} tajrīdi al-‘aqā’idi li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa-Kitābu qawā’idi al-‘aqā’idi
 {10} fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa-Risālatu al-Fārābī fī al-ḥikmati fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
 [11–13 are blank]

³¹ Mevlānā Kestelli.

- {14} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Tajrīdi li-Shams al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī al-mawsūmu bi-Tashdīdi al-qawā'idi
 {15} fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu kashfi al-murādi fi Sharḥi Tajrīdi al-i'tiqādi fi 'ilmi
 {16} al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Tajrīdi li-'Alā' al-Dīn al-Qūshjī -ṭāba tharāhu- fi 'ilmi
 {17} al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Tajrīdi li-'Alā' al-Dīn al-Qūshjī fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi •
 [18, 19 are blank]

[59]

[1, 2 are blank]

- {3} ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Sayyid al-Sharīf 'alā sharḥi Shams al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī li-l-Tajrīdi
 {4} fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati Ḥāshiyati al-Sayyid al-Sharīf li-sharḥi al-Tajrīdi
 {5} li-Mawlānā Khaṭīb-zādah -sallamahu Allāhu ta'ālā- fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati
 {6} Ṣadr al-Dīn 'alā sharḥi 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Qūshjī li-l-Tajrīdi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi •
 {7} ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Naṣīr al-Ḥillī 'alā sharḥi al-Tajrīdi li-l-Iṣfahānī fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi •
 {8} ≈ Sharḥu dībājati Sharḥi al-Tajrīdi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati
 {9} sharḥi al-Qūshjī -ṭāba tharāhu- li-l-Tajrīdi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi •

[10–12 are blank]

- {13} Kitābu matni ṭawālī'i al-anwāri fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu matni al-ṭawālī'i al-anwāri
 {14} fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu matni al-ṭawālī'i li-l-Bayḍāwī fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi wa-al-fannu
 {15} al-thālithu min al-Muṭawwālī fi al-badī'i fi al-ma'ānī fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu
 {16} al-nūri al-ṭālī'i mukhtaṣari al-Ṭawālī'i fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Majmū'atun min kutubi
 {17} al-funūni awwaluhā Kitābu al-ṭawālī'i fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi •
 {18} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Ṭawālī'i al-anwāri li-Muḥammad al-Bukhārī al-ma'rūfi bi-Amīrak fi 'ilmi
 al-kalāmi •
 {19} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Ṭawālī'i fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu maṭālī'i al-anzāri fi

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- {1} sharḥi Ṭawālī'i al-anwāri li-l-Iṣfahānī fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi
 {2} al-Ṭawālī'i fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Ṭawālī'i fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi •
 {3} ≈ Sharḥu al-Ṭawālī'i li-l-Iṣfahānī fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi •
 [4 is blank]

- {5} ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati sharḥi al-'Ibrī li-l-Ṭawālī'i fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati
 {6} sharḥi al-'Ibrī li-l-Ṭawālī'i fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu lawāmi'i al-afkāri fi

{7} taḥshiyati Maṭālī'i al-anzāri li-Mawlānā Kirmāstī fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi •

[8–10 are blank]

{11} ≈ Kitābu matni al-'aqā'idi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi wa- ~ Risālatu ādābi al-baḥṭhi wa- ~ Risālatun

{12} fi al-ṭibbi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu matni al-'aqā'idi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi wa-

{13} ~ Kitābu matni Mawlānā-zādah al-musammā bi-al-Hidāyati fi al-ḥikmati fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{14} ≈ Kitābu nazmi matni al-'Aqā'idi li-l-makhdūmi Mawlānā Tāj-zādah fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi •

[15–17 are blank]

{18} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-'Aqā'idi li-Sa'd al-Dīn fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi

{19} al-'Aqā'idi li-Sa'd al-Dīn fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-'Aqā'idi fi

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{1} 'ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-'Aqā'idi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi

{2} al-'Aqā'idi wa- ~ Kitābu sharḥi al-Hidāyati al-ma'rūfi bi-Mawlānā-zādah fi al-ḥikmati wa-

{3} ~ Kitābu matni al-hidāyati fi al-ḥikmati fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-'Aqā'idi

{4} fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi wa- ~ Kitābu sharḥi [al-] 'Izzī wa- ~ Kitābu sharḥi Ādābi al-baḥṭhi li-l-Zanjānī

{5} wa- ~ Qaṣīdatun fārisiyyatun wa- ~ Kitābu sharḥi Kitābi al-'arūḍi wa- ~ Kitābun manzūmun

{6} fi 'ilmi al-'arūḍi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-'Aqā'idi bi-al-fārisiyyati

{7} fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi •

[8–11 are blank]

{12} ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati Sharḥi al-'Aqā'idi li-l-Khayālī fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi wa- ~ Kitābu al-mulakhkhaṣi

{13} li-l-Chaghminī fi al-hay'ati fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati Sharḥi al-'Aqā'idi

{14} li-l-Khayālī fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi wa- ~ Kitābu sharḥi al-Hidāyati al-ma'rūfi bi-Mawlānā-zādah fi

{15} al-ḥikmati wa- ~ Kitābu ḥāshiyati Mawlānā-zādah fi al-ḥikmati fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu

{16} al-qalā'idi fi sharḥi al-'Aqā'idi al-mansūbati ilā Abī Ḥaṣṣ al-Ṭaḥāwī li-l-Qunawī

{17} al-Ḥanafī fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi al-'Aqā'idi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi •

{18} ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi al-'Aqā'idi fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi •

[19 is blank]

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[1, 2 are blank]

{3} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-qaṣīdati al-ma'rūfati bi-Yaḡūlu al-'abdu fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu

{4} sharḥi al-qaṣīdati al-ma'rūfati bi-Yaḡūlu al-'abdu fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu

{5} naẓmi Yaḡūlu al-'abdu bi-al-turkiyyati fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi wa-Naẓmu kalimātin ḥasanatin

{6} li-l-Sham'ī fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Tarjamatu Yaḡūlu al-'abdu bi-al-turkiyyati al-manẓūmati

{7} li-l-Sham'ī fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu al-tamhīdi fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi wa-kitābun fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi

{8} wa-Shar[ḥu] Yaḡūlu al-'abdu fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi wa-Matnu al-'aqā'idi fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi wa-kitābun fī 'ilmi

{9} al-kalāmi wa-kitābun fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi •

{10} ≈ Kitābu maḥakki al-naẓari li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī wa- ~ Kitābu mi'yāri al-'ilmi li-l-Imām

{11} al-Ghazālī wa- ~ Kitābu ḥikāyati maqāṣidi al-falāsifati li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī wa- ~ Kitābu

{12} tahāfuti al-falāsifati li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī min qibali al-kalāmi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{13} ≈ Kitābu tahāfuti al-falāsifati li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -ṭāba tharāhu- min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi •

{14} ≈ Kitābu tahāfuti al-falāsifati min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu anwāri al-afkāri

{15} fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati wa- ~ Kitābu 'amali al-uṣṭurlābi fī 'ilmi al-nujūmi wa- ~ Sharḥu

{16} khuṭbatī Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati wa- ~ Kitābu tahāfuti al-falāsifati

{17} li-Ḥujjat al-Islām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi wa- ~ Kitābu lawāmi'i al-bayyināti

{18} fī sharḥi al-asmā'i wa-al-ṣifāti fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

[19 is blank]

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{6} ≈ Kitābu al-dhukhri fī ibṭālī madhāhibi al-falāsifati min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi •

{7} ≈ Kitābun fī ibṭālī madhāhibi al-falāsifati min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Risālatun

{8} fī ibṭālī qawli al-falāsifati fī al-ma'ādi fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi wa- ~ Risālatu al-munāẓarati

{9} al-fiḥiyyati [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Majmū'atun min rasā'ila awwaluhā Kitābu al-tafriqati bayna al-zandaqati

- {10} wa-al-īmāni li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa- ~ fihā kitābun fī ‘ilmi
- {11} al-kīmiyā’i • ≈ Majmū‘atun min rāsā’ila fihā Risālātu al-masā’ili allatī katabahā al-Shaykh
- {12} Şadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī -quddisa sirruhu- min al-rūmi ilā al-Naşīr al-Ṭūsī wa-ajwibatihā
- {13} min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu al-maqāmi’i fī raddi mā qālat bihi al-naşārā
- {14} min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ al-Risālatu al-hādiyatu fī ibṭālī ḥujaji al-yahūdī ‘alā al-islāmi
- {15} min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Risālatu al-ḥujaji ‘alā al-naşārā min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •
- {16} ≈ Kitābu al-raddi al-jamīlī ‘alā şarīḥi al-Injīlī fī ilāhiyyati ‘Īsā -‘alayhi al-salāmu- li-l-Imām
- {17} al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu al-maqāmi’i fī raddi
- {18} mā qāla bihi al-naşārā min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Risālatun fī raddi al-millati
- {19} al-naşrāniyyati bi-al-Injīlī min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu al-intişārāti

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- {1} al-islāmiyyati fī kashfi al-shubahi al-naşrāniyyati min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābun
- {2} mawsūmun bi-al-Tafriqati bayna al-īmāni wa-al-zandaqati li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī wa- ~ Kitābu
- {3} al-maḥnūni bihi ‘alā ghayri ahlihi li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī wa- ~ Risālatun min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi
- {4} wa- ~ Kitābu ḥilyati al-abdālī fī al-taşawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu
- {5} Mulakhkhaşi al-Imām al-Rāzī -quddisa sirruhu- • ≈ Kitābu nihāyati al-‘uqūli
- {6} fī dirāyati al-uşūli li-l-Imām al-Rāzī fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu
- {7} al-şahā’ifi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu al-şahā’ifi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa- ~ Kitābu
- {8} al-qustāsi fī al-mantiqi kilāhumā li-Shams al-Dīn al-Samarqandī fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {9} ≈ Kitābu al-şahā’ifi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Alṭafu al-laṭā’ifi fī sharḥi al-Şahā’ifi
- {10} fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu al-ma‘ārifi fī sharḥi al-Şahā’ifi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •
- {11} ≈ Kitābu al-ma‘ārifi fī sharḥi al-Şahā’ifi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu al-ma‘ārifi
- {12} fī sharḥi al-Şahā’ifi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa- ~ Risālatu ashkālī al-ta’sīsi fī al-handasati fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {13} ≈ Kitābu matni al-muḥaşşali fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu al-mufaşşali fī sharḥi al-Muḥaşşali
- {14} fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu al-mufaşşali fī sharḥi al-Muḥaşşali fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •
- {15} ≈ Kitābu talkhīşi al-Muḥaşşali fī sharḥi al-Muḥaşşali fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu
- {16} talkhīşi al-Muḥaşşali fī sharḥi al-Muḥaşşali fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu ḥadā’iqi

{17} al-anwāri fi al-‘ulūmi al-sittīna li-l-Rāzī awwaluhā ‘ilmu al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu

{18} jāmi‘i al-‘ulūmi fi arba‘īna ‘ilman li-l-Rāzī awwaluhā ‘ilmu al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu

{19} jāmi‘i al-‘ulūmi al-arba‘īna li-l-Imām al-Rāzī awwaluhā ‘ilmu al-kalāmi •

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{1} ≈ Kitābu yawāqīti al-‘ulūmi fi thalāthīna ‘ilman awwaluhā ‘ilmu al-kalāmi • ≈ Sharḥu

{2} al-Muḥaṣṣali al-musammā bi-Talkhīṣi al-Muḥaṣṣali fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Sharḥu Kitābi ta’dili

{3} al-‘ulūmi fi al-manṭiqi wa-‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu al-arba‘īna fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •

{4} ≈ Kitābu nihāyati al-aqdāmi fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fi ‘ilmi

{5} al-kalāmi • ≈ Risālatun fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu jawāhiri al-kalāmi fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •

{6} ≈ Kitābu silki al-durri al-manẓūmi fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu mukhtaṣari al-Fawzi al-akbari

{7} fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu nihāyati al-aqdāmi fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Risālatun fi

{8} mas’alati al-qadari marqūmatun bi-annahu li-Mawlānā ‘Arab fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu al-ajwibati

{9} al-fākhirati ‘an al-as’ilati al-fājirati min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābun fi al-ḥikmati

{10} ‘alā al-jihati al-shar‘iyyati marqūmun bi-anna ismahu Tadhhibu al-ḥaqā’iqi min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •

{11} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi kitābi al-Naṣīr al-Ḥillī li-Aḥmad al-Kāshī fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Risālatun

{12} fi fawā’ida min masā’ili ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābun manẓūmun mawsūmun bi-‘Uqūdi

{13} al-‘aqā’idi fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi ‘Aqā’idi al-firaqi al-nājiyyati fi

{14} ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu naẓmi al-ilāhiyyāti fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu tarjamati

{15} ‘Aqā’idi al-firaqi al-nājiyyati bi-al-fārisiyyati fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu nihāyati

{16} al-aqdāmi fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābun fārisiyyun fi aḥwālīn shattā min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •

{17} ≈ Kitābu abkāri al-afkāri fi ‘ilmi uṣūli al-dīni ay fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi fi mujalladayni •

{18} ≈ Kitābu abkāri al-afkāri fi ‘ilmi uṣūli al-dīni ay fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{19} ≈ Kitābu abkāri al-afkāri fi ‘ilmi uṣūli al-dīni ay fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi li-l-Muḥaqqiq al-Āmidī

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{1} fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu durrati al-tāji fi al-ḥikmati al-islāmiyyati bi-al-fārisiyyati
[*wa-innamā qāla al-islāmiyyatu li-anna akthara mabāḥithihi shar‘iyyātu*]

- {2} min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu lubābi al-arba‘īna fī uṣūli al-dīni
- {3} ay ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu hibati Allāhi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun
- {4} fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābun nafisun mukhtaṣarun fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu
- {5} al-anwāri al-qudsiyyati fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Risālatun i‘tiqādiyyatun fī ‘ilmi
- {6} al-kalāmi • ≈ al-Risālatu fī al-as‘ilati al-muta‘alliqati bi-mawḍū‘i ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •
- {7} ≈ Risālatun muta‘alliqatun bi-mabāḥithi al-mawḍū‘i min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Risālatu
- {8} daf‘i al-shubahi ‘an ḥawāshī mabāḥithi al-mawḍū‘i min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Risālatu
- {9} raddi al-khaṭā‘i ma‘a sharḥihā fī al-ḥawāshī min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa- ~ Risālatu rijālī
- {10} Allāhi min qibali al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-‘arūḍi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu
- {11} ma‘āqidi al-‘ulūmi min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa-ghayrihi • ≈ Kitābu al-mu‘tamadi fī al-mu‘taqadi
- {12} bi-al-fārisiyyati fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu al-mu‘tamadi fī al-mu‘taqadi min qibali ‘ilm al-kalāmi •
- {13} ≈ Tarjamatu Rashfi al-naṣā‘iḥi bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa- ~ Sharḥu Qaṣīdati
- {14} Burda bi-al-fārisiyyati [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Risālatun fī al-tawḥīdi min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •
- {15} ≈ Risālatun fārisiyyatun fī al-masā‘ili al-kalāmiyyati • ≈ Kitābu al-maṭālībi al-‘āliyyati
- {16} li-l-Imām Fakhr al-Milla wa-al-Dīn al-Rāzī fī al-ilāhiyyāti ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu
- {17} al-irshādi min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Risālatu jawāhiri al-kalāmi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •
- {18} ≈ Risālatu ilzāmi al-yahūdi fimā za‘amū fī al-Tawriyati [Tawrāti] min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •
- {19} ≈ Mukhtaṣarun mushtamilun ‘alā ‘ilmi uṣūli al-dīni ay ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa-‘ilmi uṣūli al-fiqhi •

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- {1} wa-‘ilmi al-fiqhi wa-‘ilmi al-uṣūli al-mu‘tabarati fī al-khilāfiyyāti wa-‘ilmi al-uṣūli
- {2} al-mu‘tabarati fī al-jadali • ≈ Risālatun fī al-wujūdi min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •
- {3} ≈ Risālatun fī ṣifati kalāmi Allāhi ta‘ālā min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu al-as‘ilati
- {4} wa-al-ajwibati al-rashīdiyyati bi-al-‘arabiyyati li-l-Naẓẓām fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa-ghayrihi •
- {5} ≈ Kitābu al-as‘ilati wa-al-ajwibati al-rashīdiyyati bi-al-fārisiyyati li-l-Naẓẓām fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi
- {6} wa-ghayrihi • ≈ Kitābu al-maqālāti al-islāmiyyati min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •

{7} ≈ Kitābu al-‘aqīdati al-musammāti bi-nabdhati al-tawhīdi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Risālatun fī

{8} kalāmi Allāhi ta‘ālā wa-ru’yatihi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Risālatu jawāhiri al-kalāmi

{9} fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Risālatu al-ḥawāshī min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Risālatu

{10} al-mabda’i wa-al-ma‘ādi bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Sharḥu al-fiqhi

{11} al-akbari fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Sharḥu al-fiqhi al-akbari fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Kitābu

{12} muḥhiri al-anwāri min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Mukhtaṣarun sharīfun fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi

{13} wa-uṣūli al-fiqhi wa-‘ilmi al-fiqhi wa-‘ilmi al-khilāfiyyāti wa-‘ilmi al-jadali •

{14} ≈ Risālatun fī taḥqīqi ḥaqīqati al-‘ilmi ay al-ṣūrati al-‘aqliyyati min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •

{15} ≈ al-Risālatu al-qudsiyyatu fī qawā’idi al-‘aqā’idi li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- fī

{16} ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Taqrīru al-ḥaqqi fī al-markazi min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa-al-ḥikmati •

{17} ≈ Muṣārī‘u al-muṣārī‘i fī al-muḥākamati bayna al-Shahrastānī wa-Ibn Sīnā min qibali ‘ilmi

{18} al-kalāmi wa-risālatāni ukhrāyāni fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Majmū‘atun min rasā’ili

{19} ḥawāshī mawālī al-Rūmi -raḥimahum Allāhu ta‘ālā- fī baḥthi al-jihati min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi

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{1} wa-al-ḥikmati • ≈ Majmū‘atun min rasā’ila fī al-mantiqi wa-al-jadali wa-al-‘arūḍi

{2} wa-ākhiruhā al-Risālatu al-qudsiyyatu li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •

{3} ≈ Majmū‘atun fihā Zādu ma‘ādin li-l-Imām al-Fakhr al-Rāzī -quddisa sirruhu- wa-fihā ~ al-Risālatu

{4} al-qudsiyyatu li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi • ≈ Majmū‘atun awwaluhā

{5} Sharḥu Qawā’idi al-‘aqā’idi al-musammā bi-Kashfi al-fawā’idi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa-thāniyatuhā Sharḥu

{6} Ḥikmati al-hidāyati • ≈ Majmū‘atun awwaluhā Qawā’idi al-‘aqā’idi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •

{7} ≈ Majmū‘atun awwaluhā ‘Uqūdu al-‘aqā’idi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa-fihā ~ Kitābu ḥusāmi al-kalāmi

{8} li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa-fihā Kitābu al-ḥaddi li-l-Imām

{9} al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- •

[10–19 are blank]

[69–72 are blank]

[73]

{1} Tafṣīlu kutubi uṣūli al-fiqhi

{2} ≈ Kitābu al-tawḍīḥi fī uṣūli al-fiqhi [*wa-huwa sharḥu al-Tanqīḥi*] • ≈ Kitābu al-tawḍīḥi fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •

{3} ≈ Kitābu al-tawḍīḥi fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-tawḍīḥi fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •

{4} ≈ Kitābu al-tawḍīḥi fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-tawḍīḥi fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •

{5} ≈ Kitābu al-tawḍīḥi fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-tawḍīḥi fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •

{6} ≈ Kitābu al-tawḍīḥi fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •

[7–10 are blank]

{11} ≈ Kitābu al-talwīḥi fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-talwīḥi fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •

{12} ≈ Kitābu al-talwīḥi fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-talwīḥi fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •

{13} ≈ Kitābu al-talwīḥi fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-talwīḥi fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •

{14} ≈ Kitābu al-talwīḥi fī sharḥi al-Tawḍīḥi fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-talwīḥi

{15} fī sharḥi al-Tawḍīḥi fī uṣūli al-fiqhi wa- ~ Sharḥu al-Mughnī fī uṣūli al-fiqhi

{16} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-talwīḥi ḥāshiyati al-Tawḍīḥi [*ṣannafahu al-Talwīḥ*]
li-Mawlānā Sa'd al-Dīn

{17} al-Taftāzānī fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-talwīḥi fī sharḥi al-Tawḍīḥi

{18} fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •

[19 is blank]

[74]

[1, 2 are blank]

{3} ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Talwīḥi fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Talwīḥi

{4} fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Talwīḥi fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •

{5} ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Talwīḥi fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Talwīḥi

{6} li-Mawlānā Khusraw fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Talwīḥi li-Mawlānā

{7} Ibn Ḥusām al-Dīn fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Talwīḥi wa-

{8} ~ Ḥāshiyatu al-Talwīḥi wa- ~ Sharḥu Ādābi al-baḥṭhi wa- ~ Risālatu al-ṣalāti wa-
~ Ḥāshiyatu

{9} Sharḥi al-Shamsiyyati li-l-Sayyid wa- ~ Matnu khulāṣati fī al-ḥadīthi wa- ~ Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi Talkhīṣi

{10} al-Miftāḥi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-dhukhri fī raddi madhhabī al-falāsifati

{11} wa- ~ Ḥāshiyatu al-Talwīḥi wa- ~ Ḥāshiyatu Ḥāshiyati al-Sayyid ‘alā Sharḥi al-Mukhtaṣari fī uṣūli

{12} al-fiqhi wa- ~ Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi al-Mawāqifi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

[13–17 are blank]

{18} ≈ Kitāb fuṣūli al-badā’i’i li-l-Fanārī -raḥimahu Allāhu- fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •

{19} ≈ Kitābu fuṣūli al-badā’i’i fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu fuṣūli al-badā’i’i

[75]

{1} fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu fuṣūli al-badā’i’i fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •

{2} ≈ Kitābu fuṣūli al-badā’i’i fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu fuṣūli

{3} al-badā’i’i fī uṣūli al-fiqhi fī mujalladayni • ≈ Kitābu³²

[4–7 are blank]

{8} ≈ Kitābu mukhtaṣari Ibn al-Ḥāḥib fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu mukhtaṣari

{9} Ibn al-Ḥāḥib fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu mukhtaṣari Ibn al-Ḥāḥib fī

{10} uṣūli al-fiqhi •

[11, 12 are blank]

{13} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mukhtaṣari [*ay mukhtaṣari Ibn al-Ḥāḥib*] li-l-‘Allāma al-Shīrāzī fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu

{14} sharḥi al-Mukhtaṣari li-l-‘Allāma fī ‘ilmi uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mukhtaṣari

{15} li-l-‘Allāma fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mukhtaṣari li-‘Aḍud al-Dīn

{16} fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mukhtaṣari li-‘Aḍud al-Dīn fī uṣūli

{17} al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mukhtaṣari li-‘Aḍud al-Dīn fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •

{18} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mukhtaṣari li-‘Aḍud al-Dīn fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu

{19} sharḥi al-Mukhtaṣari li-‘Aḍud al-Dīn fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mukhtaṣari

[76]

{1} li-‘Aḍud al-Dīn fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mukhtaṣari li-‘Aḍud al-Dīn

{2} fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mukhtaṣari li-‘Aḍud al-Dīn fī uṣūli

³² This word is clearly erased in the manuscript.

- {3} al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mukhtaṣari li-‘Aḍud al-Dīn fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •
- {4} ≈ Kitābu kāshifi al-rumūzi fī sharḥi Mukhtaṣari Ibn al-Ḥāḥib fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •
- {5} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mukhtaṣari li-‘Aḍud al-Dīn ma‘a nuqṣāni awrāqin min awwalihi fī
- {6} uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Sharḥu Mukhtaṣari Ibn al-Ḥāḥib li-‘Aḍud al-Dīn fī uṣūli
- {7} al-fiqhi •
- [8–10 are blank]
- {11} ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati sharḥi ‘Aḍud al-Dīn li-Sa‘d al-Dīn fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •
- {12} ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati sharḥi ‘Aḍud al-Dīn li-Sa‘d al-Dīn fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •
- {13} ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati sharḥi ‘Aḍud al-Dīn li-Sa‘d al-Dīn fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •
- {14} ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyatin ‘alā Sharḥi al-Mukhtaṣari al-‘Aḍudī li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •
- {15} ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati sharḥi ‘Aḍud al-Dīn li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •
- {16} ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyatin ‘alā Sharḥi al-Mukhtaṣari al-‘Aḍudī li-l-Sayyid -raḥimahu Allāhu- fī uṣūli
- {17} al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyatin ‘alā Sharḥi al-Mukhtaṣari al-‘Aḍudī li-l-Sayyid -raḥimahu Allāhu-
- {18} fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyatin ‘alā al-Ḥāshiyati ‘alā al-Sharḥi al-‘Aḍudī
- {19} li-Mawlānā Afḍal-zādah (Efḍal-zāde) -sallamahu Allāhu- • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati sharḥi ‘Aḍud al-Dīn

[77]

- {1} li-Sa‘d al-Dīn -raḥimahu Allāhu- fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Ḥāshiyati
- {2} ‘alā sharḥi ‘Aḍud al-Dīn li-l-Mukhtaṣari fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-ḥāshiyati ‘alā
- {3} al-ḥawāshī ‘alā sharḥi ‘Aḍud al-Dīn wa- ~ Kitābu al-as’ilati wa-al-ajwibati li-Mawlānā Khusraw (Ḥüsrev) fī
- {4} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati sharḥi ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-marqūmu bi-annahu li-l-Abharī -ṭāba
- {5} tharāhu- • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu al-Sayyid ‘alā sharḥi al-‘Aḍud fī uṣūli al-fiqhi ≈ Ḥāshiyatun
- {6} ‘alā Ḥāshiyati sharḥi al-‘Aḍud fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu sharḥi al-‘Aḍud
- {7} fī uṣūli al-fiqhi wa- ~ Ḥāshiyatu al-Mukhtaṣari fī ‘ilmi al-ma‘ānī [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] •
- [8–12 are blank]
- {13} ≈ Kitābu al-Bazdawī fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-Bazdawī fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •
- {14} ≈ Kitābu al-Bazdawī fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-Bazdawī fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •

{15} ≈ Kitābu al-Bazdawī fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-Bazdawī fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •

{16} Kitābu al-kashfī sharḥi al-Bazdawī [• ≈] Kitābu al-iḥkāmī [•.]³³

[17 is blank]

{18} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Bazdawī fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •

[19 is blank]

[78]

{1} ≈ Kitābu al-manāri fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-manāri fī uṣūli

{2} al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-manāri fī uṣūli al-fiqhi wa-Kitābu al-mughnī fī

{3} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu naẓmi al-Manāri fī qaṣīdatin lāmiyyatin ma‘a sharḥihi •

[4, 5 are blank]

{6} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Manāri li-Ibn al-Malak fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu kashfī

{7} al-asrārī fī sharḥi al-Manāri fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu kashfī al-asrārī

{8} fī sharḥi al-Manāri fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Manāri fī uṣūli

{9} al-fiqhi •

[10, 11 are blank]

{12} ≈ Kitābu al-mughnī fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-mughnī fī uṣūli al-fiqhi

{13} wa-kitābun ākharu fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

[14 is blank]

{15} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mughnī li-Manṣūr fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mughnī

{16} li-Manṣūr fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •

[17 is blank]

{18} ≈ Kitābu al-taḥqīqī sharḥu³⁴ al-Akhsikātī fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu

{19} al-taḥqīqī sharḥu al-Akhsikātī fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-taḥqīqī

[79]

{1} sharḥu al-Akhsikātī fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-taḥqīqī fī sharḥi

{2} al-Akhsikātī fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu miftāḥi al-uṣūli

{3} fī sharḥi al-Akhsikātī fī ‘ilmi uṣūli al-fiqhi •

³³ Line 16 is written in a different hand in *ta‘līq* script; the last title could be either *al-Iḥkām* or *al-Aḥkām*.

³⁴ As in n. 33, but here *sharḥ* is clearly spelled with a *ḍamma*; see, however, 79 {1} where the title is given as *Kitāb al-taḥqīq fī sharḥ al-Akhsikātī*.

[4, 5 are blank]

- {6} ≈ Kitābu mirqāti al-wuṣūli ilā ‘ilmi al-uṣūli li-Mawlānā Khusraw fī uṣūli
- {7} al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu mirqāti al-wuṣūli wa- ~ Kitābu mir’āti al-uṣūli
- {8} fī sharḥi Mirqāti al-wuṣūli li-Mawlānā Khusraw fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •
- {9} ≈ Kitābu manāhiji al-‘uqūli fī sharḥi Minhāji al-uṣūli fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •
- {10} ≈ Kitābu al-mustaṣfā min ‘ilmi al-uṣūli li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -raḥimahu Allāhu- fī uṣūli
- {11} al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-badī‘i fī ‘ilmi uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-iḥkāmī
- {12} fī uṣūli al-aḥkāmī li-l-Shaykh al-Āmidī fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-iḥkāmī
- {13} fī uṣūli al-aḥkāmī li-l-Shaykh al-Āmidī fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu
- {14} al-iḥkāmī fī uṣūli al-aḥkāmī li-l-Shaykh al-Āmidī fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •
- {15} ≈ Kitābu natā’iji al-uṣūli ma’a sharḥihi [*ṣannafahu sharḥahu*] Uṣūli al-nata’iji ‘alā tartībi al-furū‘i
- {16} fī ‘ilmi al-fiqhi wa-masā’ili al-uṣūli • ≈ Risālatun fī uṣūli al-fiqhi
- {17} li-l-Kirmāstī • ≈ Risālatun muta’alliqatun bi-al-ḥusni wa-al-qubḥi al-‘aqliyyayni al-madhkūrayni fī kutubi
- {18} ‘ilmi uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu mir’āti al-uṣūli fī sharḥi Mirqāti al-wuṣūli
- {19} li-Mawlānā Khusraw fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-taḥqīqāti fī sharḥi al-Waraqāti

[80]

- {1} fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu ‘ayni al-naẓari fī sharḥi Muqaddimati al-naẓari
- {2} wa-sharḥihā fī ‘ilmi al-jadali al-muta’alliqi bi-‘ilmi uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu
- {3} ḥalli ‘aqdi al-taḥṣīli fī sharḥi al-Taḥṣīli • ≈ Risālatun fī al-ḥusni
- {4} wa-al-qubḥi al-‘aqliyyayni fī [*kutubi*] ‘ilmi al-uṣūli • ≈ Kitābu rumūzi al-asrārī fī
- {5} uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Sharḥu al-Waraqāti al-musammā bi-Idrākāti al-Waraqāti
- {6} fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu muntahā al-su’li wa-al-amali fī ‘ilmay al-uṣūli
- {7} wa-al-jadali ay ‘ilmi uṣūli al-fiqhi wa-‘ilmi al-munāẓarati li-Ibn al-Ḥājj wa- ~ Kitābu
- {8} sharḥi Taṣrīfi al-miftāḥi [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Matnu al-ṣaḥā’ifi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa- ~ Sharḥu
- {9} Maḥṣūli al-Imām al-Rāzī al-musammā bi-al-Taḥṣīli fī uṣūli al-fiqhi wa- ~ Sharḥu
- {10} al-quṣṭāsi li-l-Muṣannifi fī al-manṭiqi • ≈ Sharḥu al-Nāfi‘i li-Mawlānā al-Kirmāstī
- {11} fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Risālatu al-irādāti al-baḥṭhiyyati fī uṣūli
- {12} al-fiqhi • ≈ Majmū’atun awwaluḥā Taḥṣīlu al-uṣūli mukhtaṣaru Kitābi

- {13} al-maḥṣūli fī uṣūli al-fiqhi • ≈ Ḥāshiyatun ‘alā Ḥāshiyati al-Sayyid al-Sharīf
- {14} ‘alā Sharḥi al-Maṭāli‘i wa- ~ Ḥāshiyatu al-Talwīḥi li-Ibn Sa‘d al-Taftāzānī fī uṣūli
- {15} al-fiqhi • ≈ Mukhtaṣarun fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa- ~ Kitābu al-ma‘ālimi fī uṣūli
- {16} al-fiqhi al-mawsūmāni bi-al-Ma‘ālimayni li-l-Imām al-Rāzī -quddisa sirruhu- •
- {17} ≈ Risālatu muqaddimati ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa- ~ Kitābu mabādi‘i al-wuṣūli ilā ‘ilmi al-uṣūli
- {18} fī uṣūli al-fiqhi •
- [19 is blank]

[81, 82 are blank]

[83]

- {1} Tafṣīlu kutubi al-fiqhi wa-kutubi manāqibi al-a‘immati
- {2} ≈ Kitābu al-bidāyati ay matni al-Hidāyati allatī allafahā ṣāḥibu al-Hidāyati •
- {3} ≈ Kitābu bidāyati al-mubtadī fī al-fiqhi •
- [4 is blank]
- {5} ≈ Kitābu al-hidāyati fī sharḥi al-Bidāyati fī mujalladayni • ≈ Kitābu al-hidāyati fī
- {6} sharḥi al-Bidāyati fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-hidāyati fī sharḥi al-Bidāyati fī
- {7} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-hidāyati fī sharḥi al-Bidāyati fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {8} ≈ Kitābu al-hidāyati fī sharḥi al-Bidāyati fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-hidāyati fī
- {9} sharḥi al-Bidāyati al-marqūmu bi-annahu bi-khaṭṭi Mawlānā Khidīr Shāh (Ḥızır Şāh) al-Balāṭi •
- {10} ≈ Kitābu al-hidāyati fī sharḥi al-Bidāyati fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-hidāyati fī
- {11} al-fiqhi • ≈ Mujalladun ṣaghīrun min Kitābi al-hidāyati ruqima fihi bi-anna jamī‘a ḥawāshīhi
- {12} wa-i‘jāmi matnihi [juz‘āni] bi-khaṭṭi al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Niḥrīr al-Jurjānī -quddisa sirruhu- fī al-fiqhi •
- {13} Kitābu al-aṣli li-Imām Muḥammad wa-Mukhtaṣaru al-Aṣli [li-] Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan [•] Siyaru al-kabīri li-Imām Muḥammad [•] ³⁵
- {14} Jāmi‘u al-ṣaghīri li-Imām Muḥammad [•] Mukhtaṣaru al-Karkhī [•] Fuṣūlu Ustrūshanī [•] Fuṣūlu ‘Imādiyyatin [•]
- {15} Mukhtaṣaru Ṭahāwī [•]
- [16, 17 blank]

³⁵ Lines 13, 14, and 15 have been added in a different hand in *ta‘liq* script.

{18} ≈ Kitābu al-kifāyati fī sharḥi al-Hidāyati fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-kifāyati fī sharḥi

{19} al-Hidāyati fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ghāyati al-bayāni fī sharḥi al-Hidāyati

[84]

{1} fī sittī mujalladātin • ≈ Kitābu nihāyati al-kifāyati fī sharḥi al-Hidāyati fī mujalladayni •

{2} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Hidāyati al-marqūmu bi-annah li-l-Khabbāzī • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Hidāyati al-marqūmu

{3} bi-annah li-l-Khabbāzī • ≈ Kitābu nihāyati al-kifāyati fī sharḥi al-Hidāyati fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{4} ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Nihāyati al-kifāyati fī sharḥi al-Hidāyati • ≈ Kitābu al-kifāyati fī

{5} sharḥi al-Hidāyati fī mujalladayni • ≈ Kitābu al-‘ināyati fī sharḥi al-Hidāyati fī thalāthi

{6} mujalladātin • ≈ Kitābu ḥawāshī al-Hidāyati fī al-fiqhi •

[7–10 are blank]

{11} ≈ Kitābu al-wiqāyati fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-wiqāyati fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu

{12} al-wiqāyati fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-wiqāyati fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-wiqāyati

{13} fī al-fiqhi •

[14 is blank]

{15} ≈ Kitābu Şadr al-Sharī‘a fī sharḥi al-Wiqāyati fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu Şadr al-Sharī‘a

{16} fī sharḥi al-Wiqāyati fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Şadr al-Sharī‘a fī sharḥi al-Wiqāyati fī

{17} al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu Şadr al-Sharī‘a fī sharḥi al-Wiqāyati fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu

{18} Şadr al-Sharī‘a fī sharḥi al-Wiqāyati fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu Şadr al-Sharī‘a

{19} fī sharḥi al-Wiqāyati fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu Şadr al-Sharī‘a fī al-fiqhi •

[85]

{1} ≈ Kitābu Şadr al-Sharī‘a fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu Şadr al-Sharī‘a fī al-fiqhi •

{2} ≈ Kitābu Şadr al-Sharī‘a fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu Şadr al-Sharī‘a fī al-fiqhi •

{3} ≈ Kitābu Şadr al-Sharī‘a fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu Şadr al-Sharī‘a fī al-fiqhi •

{4} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Wiqāyati li-Ibn al-Malak • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Wiqāyati fī mujalladayni

{5} al-marqūmu bi-annah li-l-Aswad ‘Alā’ al-Dīn³⁶ fī mujalladayni •

³⁶ Here, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Aswad refers to Kara Hoca.

[6–9 are blank]

{10} ≈ Kitābu badri al-sharī‘ati fī sharḥi Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-tashrīḥi

{11} fī sharḥi Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a fī ~~muḥalladayni~~ li-Mawlānā al-ma‘rūfi bi-Ḥusām-zādah (Ḥusām- zāde) fī

{12} al-fiqhi fī muḥalladayni •

[13 is blank]

{14} ≈ Kitābu ḥawāshī Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a

{15} fī muḥalladayni fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a fī al-fiqhi •

{16} ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a

{17} ilā ākhiri bābi al-nafaqati li-Mawlānā al-Niksārī fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati

{18} Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a ilā ākhiri manāsiki al-ḥajji li-Mawlānā al-Niksārī fī al-fiqhi •

{19} ≈ Risālatun fī samti al-qiblati wa-Ḥāshiyatu Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a li-Mawlānā Sulaymān al-Qaramānī

[86]

{1} fī al-fiqhi fī muḥalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a al-musammā

{2} bi-Dhakhīrati al-‘uqbā li-Mawlānā Akhī fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Ḥāshiyatun ‘alā kitābi Ṣadr

{3} al-Sharī‘a fī masā‘ili al-ṣubḥi wa-al-dā‘irati al-hindiyyati fī al-fiqhi •

[4–6 are blank]

{7} ≈ Kitābu majma‘i al-baḥrayni fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu majma‘i al-baḥrayni fī al-fiqhi •

{8} ≈ Kitābu majma‘i al-baḥrayni fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu majma‘i al-baḥrayni fī al-fiqhi •

{9} ≈ Kitābu naẓmi Majma‘i al-baḥrayni bi-al-turkiyyati fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu majma‘i al-baḥrayni fī

{10} al-fiqhi •

[11 is blank]

{12} ≈ Sharḥu majma‘i al-baḥrayni li-Ibn al-Malak fī al-fiqhi •

[13 is blank]

{14} ≈ Kitābu kanzi al-daḡā‘iqi fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu kanzi al-daḡā‘iqi fī al-fiqhi •

{15} ≈ Kitābu kanzi al-daḡā‘iqi fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu kanzi al-daḡā‘iqi fī al-fiqhi •

{16} ≈ Kitābu kanzi al-daḡā‘iqi fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu kanzi al-daḡā‘iqi fī al-fiqhi •

{17, 18 are blank]

{19} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Kanzi fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu ramzi al-ḥaqā'iqi fī sharḥi Kanzi al-daqa'iqi •

[87]

{1} ≈ Kitābu 'uyūni al-ḥaqā'iqi fī sharḥi Kanzi al-daqa'iqi fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi

{2} al-Kanzi fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Kitābi kashfi al-ḥaqā'iqi fī sharḥi Kanzi

{3} al-daqa'iqi wa- ~ Mujalladun thālithun min Kitābi kashfi al-ḥaqā'iqi fī sharḥi Kanzi al-daqa'iqi wa-lam

{4} yūjad mujalladun thānin minhu • ≈ Mujalladun thānin min Sharḥi al-Kanzi fī al-fiqhi •

[5–8 are blank]

{9} ≈ Kitābu al-Qudūrī fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-Qudūrī fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu

{10} al-Qudūrī fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-Qudūrī fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-Qudūrī

{11} fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-Qudūrī fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-Qudūrī fī

{12} al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu mukhtaṣari al-Qudūrī fī al-fiqhi •

[13–15 are blank]

{16} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Qudūrī li-l-Imām al-Zāhidī fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi

{17} al-Qudūrī fī al-fiqhi •

{18} ≈ Kitābu al-ḥāshiyati 'alā al-khulāṣati fī Sharḥi al-Qudūrī fī al-fiqhi •

[19 is blank]

[88]

{1} ≈ Kitābu al-fatāwā al-tātārkhāniyyati fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

[2–4 are blank]

{5} ≈ Kitābu fatāwā al-Awzajandī [al-Ūzjandī] al-ma'rūfi bi-Qāḍī Khān • ≈ Kitābu

{6} fatāwā al-Awzajandī al-ma'rūfi bi-Qāḍī Khān • ≈ Kitābu

{7} fatāwā al-Awzajandī al-ma'rūfi bi-Qāḍī Khān • ≈ Kitābu

{8} fatāwā al-Awzajandī al-ma'rūfi bi-Qāḍī Khān ilā ākhiri kitābi al-shahādāti

{9} fī thalāthi mujalladātin fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu fatāwā al-Awzajandī al-ma'rūfi

{10} bi-Qāḍī Khān fī mujalladayni • ≈ Kitābu fatāwā al-Awzajandī al-ma'rūfi

{11} bi-Qāḍī Khān fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu mukhtaṣari al-Fatāwā al-khāniyyati

{12} al-mansūbati ilā Qāḍī Khān fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu muntakhabi Fatāwā Qāḍī

{13} Khān [fī al-fiqhi] • ≈ Kitābu tarjamati al-Fatāwā al-khāniyyati bi-al-turkiyyati fī al-fiqhi

[14–17 are blank]

{18} ≈ ‘Asharatu mujalladātin min al-Muḥīṭi al-burhānī [*fī al-fiqhi*] ~ Mujalladun minhā ghayru murtabiṭin [*bimā ba’dahu, ṣaḥḥ*] wa-huwa awwalu

{19} mujalladātihi fa-fihi kitābu al-ṭahārati wa-kitābu al-ṣalāti wa- ~ Thalāthu mujalladātin

[89]

{1} minhā ba’duhā murtabiṭun ma’a al-ba’di al-ākharī³⁷ fa-awwalu mā fī hādhihi al-thalāthi kitābu

{2} al-rujū’i ‘an al-shahādāti wa-ākhiru mā fihā ~ Kitābu al-ikrāhi wa- ~ Khamsu mujalladātin

{3} minhā ba’duhā murtabiṭun ma’a al-ba’di al-ākharī fa-awwalu mā fī hādhihi al-khamisi kitābu

{4} al-‘atāq wa-ākhiru mā fihā kitābu al-ijārāti wa- ~ Mujalladun minhā ghayru murtabiṭin

{5} bi-mā qablahu wa-huwa ākhiru mujalladātihi fa-fihi kitābu al-shurūṭi wa-lam yūjad sā’iru

{6} mujalladātihi [.]

[7–10 are blank]

{11} ≈ Kitābu al-muḥīṭi bi-masā’ili al-kutubi al-mansūbu ilā al-Sarakhsī [*fī al-fiqhi*] fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{12} } ≈ Kitābu al-muḥīṭi bi-masā’ili al-kutubi al-mansūbu ilā al-Sarakhsī [*fī al-fiqhi*] fī mujalladayni lākin

{13} lā tawāfuqa bayna jildayhimā •

[14–17 are blank]

{18} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Mukhtaṣari Mabsūṭi Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan -raḥimahu Allāhu- li-Shams al-A’imma al-Sarakhsī

{19} fī mujalladayni fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min sharḥi Mukhtaṣari Mabsūṭi Muḥammad

[90]

{1} bin al-Ḥasan -raḥimahu [*Allāhu*]- li-Shams al-A’imma al-Sarakhsī fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Mujalladun thānin min

{2} Sharḥi [*Mukhtaṣari, ṣaḥḥ*] Mabsūṭi Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan -raḥimahu [*Allāhu*]- li-Shams al-A’imma al-Sarakhsī fī al-fiqhi •

{3} ≈ Mujalladun thānin min sharḥi [*mukhtaṣari, ṣaḥḥ*] mabsūṭi Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan -raḥimahu Allāhu- li-Shams al-A’imma al-Sarakhsī

³⁷ The manuscript has a clear *kasra*, reading *ākhir*.

{4} fi al-fiqhi •

[5–7 are blank]

{8} ≈ Kitābu qinyati³⁸ al-munyati fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu qinyati al-munyati fi al-fiqhi •

{9} ≈ Kitābu qinyati al-munyati fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu qinyati al-munyati fi al-fiqhi •

{10} ≈ Kitābu qinyati al-munyati fi al-fiqhi ≈ Kitābu qinyati al-munyati fi al-fiqhi •

[11, 12, are blank]

{13} ≈ Kitābu al-manẓūmati fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu manẓūmati al-Nasafi fi al-fiqhi •

[14 is blank]

{15} ≈ Kitābu sharhi al-Manẓūmati fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu sharhi al-Manẓūmati fi al-fiqhi •

{16} ≈ Sharhu al-Manẓūmati fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu ḥaqāʾiqi al-manẓūmati fi al-fiqhi •

[17, 18 are blank]

{19} ≈ Kitābu al-ikhtiyāri fi sharhi al-Mukhtāri fi al-fiqhi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu

[91]

{1} al-ikhtiyāri fi sharhi al-Mukhtāri fi al-fiqhi •

[2 is blank]

{3} ≈ Kitābu talkhīši al-Jāmiʿi al-kabīri fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu talkhīši al-Jāmiʿi al-kabīri fi

{4} al-fiqhi • ≈ Mukhtaṣaru al-Jāmiʿi al-kabīri li-l-ʿAttābī fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu talkhīši al-Jāmiʿi

{5} al-kabīri fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu talkhīši al-Jāmiʿi al-kabīri fi al-fiqhi •

{6} ≈ Kitābu al-tanwīri fi sharhi Talkhīši al-Jāmiʿi al-kabīri li-l-Masʿūd al-Ghujdawānī fi al-fiqhi

{7} fi mujalladayni • ≈ Kitābu al-tanwīri fi sharhi Talkhīši al-Jāmiʿi al-kabīri li-l-Masʿūd

{8} al-Ghujdawānī fi al-fiqhi fi mujalladayni • ≈ Kitābu al-tanwīri fi sharhi Talkhīši al-Jāmiʿi

{9} al-kabīri fi al-fiqhi fi mujalladayni lā tawāfuqa bayna jildayhimā • ≈ Kitābu sharhi

{10} al-Jāmiʿi al-kabīri fi al-fiqhi fi mujalladayni • ≈ Kitābu al-taysīri fi sharhi al-Jāmiʿi

{11} al-kabīri fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu sharhi manẓūmi al-Jāmiʿi al-kabīri fi al-fiqhi fi mujalladayni •

{12} ≈ Kitābu sharhi Talkhīši al-Jāmiʿi al-kabīri ilā bābi al-yamīni fi al-lubsi li-Shams al-Dīn

{13} al-Fanārī fi al-fiqhi •

[14–16 are blank]

{17} ≈ Kitābu khulāṣati al-fatāwā fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu khulāṣati al-fatāwā

³⁸ The manuscript has a clear *kasra*, but should read *qunya*.

{18} fī mujalladayni • ≈ Kitābu khulāṣati al-fatāwā fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu

{19} khulāṣati al-fatāwā fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

[92]

[1 is blank]

{2} ≈ Kitābu al-fatāwā al-bazzāziyyati fī al-fiqhi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu

{3} al-fatāwā al-bazzāziyyati fī al-fiqhi •

[4 is blank]

{5} ≈ Kitābu majma'ī al-fatāwā fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu majma'ī al-fatāwā fī al-fiqhi •

{6} ≈ Kitābun mawsūmun bi-Majma'ī al-fatāwā fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābun mawsūmun bi-Majma'ī al-fatāwā

{7} fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābun mawsūmun bi-Majma'ī al-fatāwā fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu

{8} majma'ī al-fatāwā fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Majma'u al-fatāwā fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu

{9} muntakhabi Majma'ī al-fatāwā al-mawsūmu bi-Khizānati al-fatāwā fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu

{10} khizānati al-fatāwā li-mu'allifi Majma'ī al-fatāwā fī al-fiqhi •

[11 is blank]

{12} ≈ Kitābu munyati al-muftī li-l-Sijistānī fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu munyati al-muftī fī al-fiqhi •

{13} ≈ Kitābu munyati al-muftī fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu munyati al-muftī fī al-fiqhi •

{14} ≈ Kitābu munyati al-muftī fī al-fiqhi •

[15, 16 are blank]

{17} ≈ Kitābu jāmi'ī al-fuṣūlayni li-Ibn Simāwuna³⁹ fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu jāmi'ī

{18} al-fuṣūlayni li-Ibn Simāwina fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu jāmi'ī al-fuṣūlayni li-Ibn

{19} Simāwuna fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu jāmi'ī al-fuṣūlayni li-Ibn Simāwuna fī al-fiqhi •

[93]

{1} ≈ Kitābu jāmi'ī al-fuṣūlayni fī al-fiqhi •

[2, 3 are blank]

{4} ≈ Kitābu aḥkāmi al-Qur'āni al-'aẓīmi min qibali al-fiqhi fī khamasi mujalladātin •

{5} ≈ Kitābu aḥkāmi al-Qur'āni al-'aẓīmi min qibali al-fiqhi fī khamasi mujalladātin •

{6} ≈ Kitābu laṭā'ifi al-ishārāti fī al-fiqhi •

³⁹ The copyist has vocalized this name, which in Ottoman Turkish is most commonly Simawna, three separate ways.

{7} ≈ Kitābu al-tashīlī fī sharḥi Laṭāʾifi al-ishārāti li-Ibn Simāwuna fī al-fiqhi •

{8} ≈ Kitābu al-tashīlī fī sharḥi Laṭāʾifi al-ishārāti li-Ibn Simāwuna fī al-fiqhi •

[9 is blank]

{10} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Siyari al-kabīri li-l-Imām Muḥammad fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi

{11} al-Siyari al-kabīri li-l-Imām Muḥammad fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Siyari al-kabīri

{12} li-l-Imām Muḥammad fī al-fiqhi •

[13 is blank]

{14} ≈ Kitābu al-ḥāwī ʿalā madhhabī al-shāfiʿī fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-ḥāwī

{15} ʿalā madhhabī al-shāfiʿī fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-ḥāwī ʿalā madhhabī

{16} al-shāfiʿī fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-amālī fī sharḥi al-Ḥāwī ʿalā al-madhhabī

{17} al-shāfiʿī fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu bahjati al-ḥāwī ʿalā madhhabī al-shāfiʿī fī al-fiqhi •

[18 is blank]

{19} ≈ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun ʿalā madhhabī al-shāfiʿī fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun ʿalā madhhabī

[94]

{1} al-shāfiʿī fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu mukhtaṣari al-muḥarrari ʿalā madhhabī al-shāfiʿī fī

{2} al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu mukhtaṣari al-muḥarrari ʿalā madhhabī al-shāfiʿī fī al-fiqhi •

{3} • ≈ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun ʿalā madhhabī Mālik bin Anas fī al-fiqhi •

[4, 5 are blank]

{6} ≈ Kitābu fuṣūli al-aḥkāmi⁴⁰ yuqālu lahu al-Fuṣūlu al-ʿimādiyyatu fī al-fiqhi •

{7} ≈ Kitābu fuṣūlin ʿimādiyyatin mawsūmun bi-Fuṣūli al-aḥkāmi fī al-fiqhi •

{8} ≈ Kitābu fuṣūli al-aḥkāmi fī uṣūli al-aḥkāmi al-shahīru bi-al-Fuṣūli

{9} al-ʿimādiyyati fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-fuṣūli al-ʿimādiyyati fī al-fiqhi •

[10 is blank]

{11} ≈ Kitābu al-kāfi fī sharḥi al-Wāfi [*fī al-fiqhi, ṣaḥḥ*] fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

[12 is blank]

{13} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Jāmiʿi al-ṣaghīri li-l-Shaykh al-Bukhārī wa-huwa li-Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan fī al-fiqhi •

{14} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Jāmiʿi al-ṣaghīri maʿa zawāʿida li-l-Shaykh Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Bukhārī fī

⁴⁰ The manuscript has a *fatha* but it is more often *Fuṣūl al-iḥkām*: see Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1943–49], 1:382 (p. 476).

{15} al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Jāmi‘i al-ṣaghīri li-l-Shaykh al-Zāhid ‘alā al-Bazdawī

{16} fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu jawāmi‘ al-fiqari fi sharḥi manẓūmi al-Jāmi‘i al-ṣaghīri

{17} fi al-fiqhi •

{18} ≈ Kitābu al-wajīzi fi al-fiqhi •

{19} ≈ Kitābu al-biḥāri fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-biḥāri fi al-fiqhi •

[95]

[1 is blank]

{2} ≈ Kitābu durari al-biḥāri fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu durari al-biḥāri fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-durari

{3} al-zāhirati fi sharḥi al-Biḥāri al-zākhirati • ≈ Kitābu al-durari al-zāhirati fi sharḥi al-Biḥāri al-zākhirati •

[4 is blank]

{5} ≈ Kitābu al-wajīzi li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī fi fiqhi al-shāfi‘ī •

[6 is blank]

{7} ≈ Kitābu ‘uyūni al-madhāhibi fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu ‘uyūni al-madhāhibi fi al-fiqhi •

{8} ≈ Arba‘u mujalladātin min sharḥi al-Mujallā wa-lam yūjad sā’iru al-mujalladāti al-marqūmi bi-anna ismahu⁴¹

{9} al-Muḥallā bi-al-ḥā’i al-muḥmalati • ≈ Kitābu irshādi al-adhhāni fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu

{10} al-rawḍati fi al-fiqhi wa-ghayrihi • ≈ Kitābu mushtamili al-aḥkāmi fi al-fiqhi •

{11} ≈ Kitābu ghurari al-aḥkāmi wa- ~ Risālatun fi uṣūli al-fiqhi li-Mawlānā al-ma‘rūfi bi-Khusraw (Ḥüsrev)

{12} fi al-fiqhi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu dhāti ‘iqdayni fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-ikhtiyārati

{13} fi sharḥi al-Niqāyati fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun min al-fatāwā fi al-fiqhi •

{14} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Qalā’idi fi mujalladayni fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-mukhtalafi bayna

{15} al-aṣḥābi fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-fuṣūli fi masā’ili al-qaḍāyā wa-al-da‘āwā •

{16} ≈ Kitābu al-fuṣūli fi masā’ili al-qaḍāyā wa-al-da‘āwā • ≈ Kitābu

{17} adabi al-qāḍi li-Shams al-A’imma fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Kitābi adabi

{18} al-qāḍi fi al-fiqhi •

[19 is blank]

⁴¹ There is a clear *ḍamma* but it should be in the accusative following *bi-anna*, to read *ismahu*.

[96]

- {1} ≈ Kitābu al-kāfi fi al-fiqhi ‘alā al-madhhabī al-ḥanbalī fi mujalladayni • ≈ Kitābu
- {2} ghurari al-shurūṭi fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Risālatun manẓūmatun fi al-fiqhi wa- ~ Risālatun
- {3} ma‘rūfatun bi-Yaqūlu al-‘abdu fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa- ~ Qaṣīdatun ma‘rūfatun bi-al-Burda fi
- {4} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun ‘ajībun fi al-fiqhi yu‘rafu min uslūbihi ~ ‘ilmu
- {5} al-‘arūḍi wa- ~ al-tawārīkhu wa- ~ al-naḥwu wa-al-qawāfi • ≈ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun ‘ajībun fi
- {6} al-fiqhi yu‘rafu min uslūbihi ‘ilmu ~ al-‘arūḍi wa- ~ al-tawārīkhu wa- ~ al-naḥwu wa- ~ al-qawāfi •
- {7} ≈ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun ‘ajībun fi al-fiqhi yu‘rafu min uslūbihi ‘ilmu ~ al-‘arūḍi wa- ~ al-tawārīkhu
- {8} wa- ~ al-naḥwu wa- ~ al-qawāfi wa- ~ Kitābu al-ta‘arrufi li-madhhabī al-taṣawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {9} ≈ Kitābu al-wasīṭi li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī ‘alā madhhabī al-shāfi‘ī fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu
- {10} jawāhiri al-fiqhi bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābun fi faḍā’ili al-‘ibādāti
- {11} fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābun fi al-aḥkāmi al-sulṭāniyyati ‘alā madhāhibi al-fuqahā’i fi al-fiqhi •
- {12} ≈ Kitābun fi al-fiqhi ibtada’an bi-kitābi al-miyāhi • • ≈ Risālatun fi al-waṣiyyati
- {13} wa- ~ Kitābu asrāri al-waḥyi wa- ~ Kitābu al-farā’iḍi ma’a taṣwīrāti al-masā’ili fi al-fiqhi •
- {14} ≈ Khamsu mujalladātin min Kitābi sharḥi Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām li-kitābi Ibn al-Ḥājjib
- {15} ‘alā madhhabī Mālik Ibn Anas [*fī al-fiqhi, ṣaḥḥ*] mujalladun awwalu wa-mujalladun thānin wa-mujalladun rābi‘un wa-
- {16} mujalladun sādisun wa-mujalladun sābi‘un wa-lam yūjad thālithun wa-khāmisun wa-thāminun minhu •
- {17} ≈ Mujalladun min Kitābi sharḥi Fatāwā al-‘Attābī fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu as’ilati li-Aqṣarā’i
- {18} bi-al-fārisiyyati wa- ~ Kitābun fi al-fiqhi bi-al-fārisiyyati fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu
- {19} ḍaw’i al-lum‘ati fi sharḥi al-Lum‘ati • ≈ Mujalladun thanin min al-fatāwā ibtada’an bi-kitābi

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- {1} al-mafqūdi fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābun fi ṭabaqāti al-fuqahā’i ‘alā madhhabī al-shāfi‘ī
- {2} li-l-Shaykh al-Nawawī wa- ~ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun fi ṭabaqāti al-fuqahā’i wa-aḥwālihim wa- ~ Kitābu

- {3} mughīthi al-khalqi fī tarjīhi madhhabī al-shāfi‘ī li-l-Shaykh Imām al-Ḥaramayn ‘Abd al-Malik
- {4} wa- ~ Risālatun fī aḥwālī sayyidinā Muḥammad -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi- wa-aḥwālī aṣḥābihi -raḍiya Allāhu
- {5} ‘anhum- wa-Risālatu ḥilyati al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī wa-risālatun fīmā yadda‘īhi al-nāsu
- {6} min ‘ilmi al-ghaybi wa-ma‘rifati al-ḥawādithi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ~ Risālatun fī al-ta‘arruḍi
- {7} li-ba‘ḍi mawāḍi‘i al-kutubi al-fiqhiyyati • ~ Kitābu shifā’i al-siqāmi fī ziyārati khayri
- {8} al-anāmi -‘alayhi al-salāmu- fī al-ḥadīthi wa- ~ Kitābu al-sayfi al-maslūli ‘alā man sabba
- {9} al-rasūli -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama- fī al-fiqhi [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ~ Risālatun fī bayāni alfāzi al-kufri
- {10} min qibali al-fiqhi • ~ Kitābu bidāyati al-hidāyati li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī fī al-fiqhi wa-
- {11} ~ Kitābu al-naṣā’i al-īmāniyyati li-dhawī al-wilāyāti al-sulṭāniyyati [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ~ Kitābu ‘umdati al-islām
- {12} bi-al-fārisiyyati [*fī al-fiqhi*] • ~ Kitābu munyati al-ṣayyādīna li-Ibn al-Malak fī al-fiqhi • ~ Kitābu
- {13} badā’i‘i al-aḥkāmi bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-fiqhi • ~ Kitābu tuḥfati al-ḥarīṣi fī sharḥi
- {14} al-Talkhīṣi fī al-fiqhi fī mujalladayni • ~ Kitābu al-darajāti al-‘aliyyati fī ṭabaqāti
- {15} al-‘ulamā’i al-ḥanafīyyati • ~ Kitābu al-tahdhībi ‘alā madhhabī Abī Ḥanīfa -raḥimahū Allāhu-
- {16} fī al-fiqhi • ~ Kitābun ‘ajībun mawsūmun bi-‘Unwāni al-sharafi fī al-fiqhi wa-al-ishārati
- {17} ilā ‘ulūmin arba‘atin • ~ Kitābu khazīnati al-‘ulamā’i fī al-fiqhi • ~ Risālatu ṣalāti
- {18} al-raghā’ibi fī al-fiqhi • ~ Risālatu mā nuqila min Ghurari al-aḥkāmi fī dukhūli
- {19} waladi al-binti fī waladi al-waladi [awlādi] fī al-fiqhi • ~ Kitābu masā’ili al-mu‘āmalāti bi-al-fārisiyyati

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- {1} fī al-fiqhi • ~ Risālatu al-ḥudūdi wa- ~ Kitābu khālīṣati al-ḥa[qā]’iqi li-Abī al-Qāsim
- {2} al-Fāriyābi [al-Fāryābi] fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu alfāzi al-kufri fī al-fiqhi fī mujalladin •
- {3} ~ Kitābun marqūmun bi-Ḥilyati al-‘ulamā’i fī madhāhibi al-fuqahā’i fī al-fiqhi • ~ Wajīzu
- {4} al-muḥīṭi li-l-Sarakhsī fī al-fiqhi • ~ Kitābun fārisiyyun min qibali al-fiqhi •
- {5} ~ Risālatu Mawlānā al-Kirmāstī fī al-waqfi fī ‘ilmi al-fiqhi • ~ Kitābu al-bustāni
- {6} li-l-Imām Abī al-Layth min qibali al-fiqhi • ~ Kitābu al-khulāṣati fī al-fiqhi •

- {7} Kitābu al-niqāyati min al-Wiqāyati [*ay muntakhabun min al-Wiqāyati*] li-Şadr al-Sharī'a fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Risālatun fi
- {8} alfāzi al-kufri min qibali al-fiqhi • ≈ Risālatun fi al-fiqhi 'alā madhhabī Abī Ḥanīfa
- {9} -quddisa sirruhu- • ≈ Kitābun jāmi'un fi al-khilāfiyyati mawsūmun bi-al-uştuqsāti
- {10} fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābun mansūbun ilā al-Shaykh al-ma'rūfi bi-Nūr-bakhsh al-Ḥusaynī fi
- {11} al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu mā lā budda bi-al-fārisiyyati li-Ḥujjat al-Islām al-Ghazālī -quddisa
- {12} sirruhu- fi al-ṭahārati wa-al-ṣalāti wa-al-ṣawmi • ≈ Risālatun fi aḥwālī al-madhāhibi
- {13} al-fiqhiyyati • ≈ Nashātu al-şudūri fi sharḥi Kitābi al-faraḥi wa-al-surūri fi
- {14} bayāni al-madhāhibi fi furū'i al-dīni min qibali al-fiqhi • ≈ 'Umdat al-şayyādīna mutarjamatan
- {15} bi-al-'arabiyyati li-Mawlānā Mīrim Çelebi fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Risālatun allafahā Mawlānā al-Kirmāstī
- {16} fi mas'alati rahn al-dāri bi-dūni al-matā'i wa-huwa fihā fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Muqaddimatun
- {17} turkiyyatun li-Quṭb al-Dīn-zādah fi al-fiqhi wa- ~ Dīwānu 'Āshiq wa- ~ Gulshan-i rāz wa-
- {18} ~ Khurshīdnāmah wa- ~ Khusraw [u] Shīrīn wa- ~ Kitābu al-malhamati al-turkiyyati min qibali al-nujūmi [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] •
- {19} ≈ Asāsu al-islāmi bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Majmū'atun fihā rasā'ilu

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- {1} fi ~ 'ilmi al-ḥisābi wa- ~ 'ilmi al-wafqi wa-fi awākhirihā kitābun yashtamilu 'alā al-masā'ili al-dawriyyati
- {2} al-wāqi'ati fi al-aḥkāmī al-shar'iyyati fi al-fiqhi wa- ~ Risālatu al-waṣāyā fi al-fiqhi wa- ~ Risālatu
- {3} sharḥi al-masā'ili min Kitābi al-dawri fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Mişbāḥu al-mubtadī fi al-fiqhi
- {4} wa- ~ Risālatu al-ḥajji fi al-fiqhi wa- ~ Risālatu sharḥi al-durrati al-alfiyyati fi al-fiqhi wa- ~ Risālatun wajīzatun
- {5} fi al-ṣalāti wa- ~ Kitābu al-fiqhi wa- ~ Kitābu al-nikāḥi fi al-fiqhi wa-rasā'ilu ukhrā • ≈ Ḥāshiyatun
- {6} 'alā Kitābi al-kitābati fi al-Kāfi wa-al-Hidāyati fi al-fiqhi wa- ~ Kitābu al-ḥawāshī 'alā Şadr
- {7} al-Sharī'a li-Mawlānā Şafī al-Dīn fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-rumūzi 'alā ikhtilāfati
- {8} al-fuqahā'i fi al-fiqhi • ≈ Safīnatun fihā Kitābu al-shurūṭi fi ghāyati al-nafāsati
- {9} min qibali al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu asāsi al-islāmi bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-fiqhi •
- {10} ≈ Kitābu al-muqaddimati fi al-fiqhi wa-Risālatu al-fiqhi al-akbari li-Abī Ḥanīfa fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

[11–14 are blank]

{15} ≈ Kitābu al-farā'īdi fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābun fī 'ilmi al-farā'īdi wa- ~ Rasā'ilu fī al-ḥisābi

{16} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ 'Aqā'idu al-nasafi fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi wa- ~ Kitābu al-farā'īdi fī

{17} al-fiqhi wa- ~ Kitābu al-mughnī fī uṣūli al-fiqhi [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Risālatu farā'īdi al-mukallafina

{18} bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-farā'īdi bi-al-turkiyyati al-manẓūmati min qibali

{19} al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu al-farā'īdi bi-al-'arabiyyati al-manẓūmati min qibali al-fiqhi wa- ~ Risālatu

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{1} ḥikami af'ālī al-ṣalāti • ≈ Kitābu al-farā'īdi al-manẓūmu wa- ~ Kitābu al-bihāri

{2} fī al-fiqhi •

[3, 4 are blank]

{5} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Farā'īdi fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Farā'īdi bi-Sirāj al-Dīn [*fī al-fiqhi*]

{6} wa- ~ Kitābu minhāji al-'ābidīna li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- fī [*al-taṣawwufi*] fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{7} ≈ Kitābu zayni al-shurūḥi fī sharḥi matni al-Farā'īdi min qibali al-fiqhi • ≈ Ḥāshiyatun

{8} 'alā sharḥi al-Sayyid al-Sharīf li-l-Farā'īdi al-sirājiyyati li-Qidwat al-Mawālī al-ma'rūfi bi-'Ajam

{9} Muḥyī al-Dīn -sallama Allāhu- fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Majmū'atun fihā arba'atun wa-'ishrūna kitāban awwaluhā

{10} Farā'īdu al-sirājī fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Mawlānā al-'Ajam 'alā sharḥi al-Sayyid al-Sharīf

{11} li-l-Farā'īdi fī al-fiqhi • ≈ Sharḥu al-arba'ina ḥadīthan wa-Sharḥu al-Farā'īdi

{12} min qibali al-fiqhi [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Majmū'atun awwaluhā Sharḥu al-Maqṣadi fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi wa- ~ Fihā Kitābu

{13} ḥikmatī al-furūḍi min qibali al-fiqhi wa- ~ Kitābu al-irshādi fī al-fiqhi wa- ~ Mukhtaṣaru al-Ḍaw'i

{14} al-sirājī fī sharḥi al-Farā'īdi min qibali al-fiqhi wa- ~ Risālatun fī tarjīḥi ijtihādi Abī Ḥanīfa

{15} -raḥimahu Allāhu- wa-risālatun fī 'adami jawāzi bay'i al-ḥayawāni bi-al-ḥayawāni nasī'atan fī al-fiqhi wa-

{16} Sharḥu al-Risālati al-akmaliyyati fī al-farā'īdi min qibali al-fiqhi •

[17–19 are blank]

[101]

[1, 2 are blank]

{3} ≈ Kitābun fī manāqibi al-Imām al-A‘ẓam wa-mashāyikhihi wa-aṣḥābihi min qibali al-fiqhi •

{4} ≈ Kitābu manāqibi al-Imām al-A‘ẓam min qibali al-fiqhi • ≈ Mukhtaṣarun fī manāqibi

{5} al-Imām al-A‘ẓam wa-mashāyikhihi wa-aṣḥābihi min qibali al-fiqhi • ≈ Mukhtaṣarun fī manāqibi

{6} al-Imām al-A‘ẓam wa-mashāyikhihi wa-aṣḥābihi min qibali al-fiqhi • ≈ Mukhtaṣarun fī manāqibi

{7} al-Imām al-A‘ẓam wa-mashāyikhihi wa-aṣḥābihi min qibali al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu manāqibi [al-Imām]

{8} al-A‘ẓam wa-mashāyikhihi wa-aṣḥābihi li-l-Kardārī • ≈ Kitābu manāqibi al-Imām

{9} al-A‘ẓam wa-mashāyikhihi wa-aṣḥābihi li-l-Kardārī • ≈ Majmū‘atun nafisatun awwaluhā Manāqibu

{10} al-Imām al-A‘ẓam -quddisa sirruhu- • ≈ Kitābu al-jawāhiri al-muḍiyyati fī ṭabaqāti al-ḥanafīyyati

{11} min ‘ulamā’i al-islāmī •

[12–19 are blank]

[102–104 are blank]**[105]**

[1–13 are blank]

{14} Tafṣīlu kutubi al-taṣawwufi wa-kutubi

{15} al-naṣā’ihī wa-al-mawā’izī wa-kutubi manāqibi al-mashāyikhi wa-al-awliyā’i

{16} -quddisa sirruhum- wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-akhlāqī

{17} ≈ Kitābu iḥyā’i ‘ulūmi al-dīni li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -ṭāba tharāhu- fī al-taṣawwufi •

{18} ≈ Kitābu al-iḥyā’i li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu

{19} iḥyā’i ‘ulūmi al-dīni li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu iḥyā’i

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{1} al-‘ulūmi li-Ḥujjat al-Islām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu

{2} mukhtaṣari Iḥyā’i al-‘ulūmi al-mawsūmu bi-Talkhīṣi al-Iḥyā’i fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu

{3} iḥyā’i ‘ulūmi al-dīni li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -ṭāba tharāhu- fī al-taṣawwufi •

{4} ≈ Kitābu muntakhabī Iẖyā'i al-'ulūmi fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Kitābi

{5} al-iẖyā'i ilā al-kitābi al-khāmisi min rub'i al-muhlikāti fī al-taṣawwufi •

{6} ≈ al-Mujalladu al-akhīru min Kitābi iẖyā'i al-'ulūmi fī al-taṣawwufi •

[7–13 are blank]

{14} ≈ Kitābu al-futūḥāti al-makkiyyati li-l-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-'Arabī -raḍiya Allāhu ta'ālā 'anhu-

{15} fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābun muntakhabun min al-Futūḥāti al-makkiyyati

{16} fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-waṣāyā li-l-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-'Arabī -qaddasa Allāhu

{17} ta'ālā rūḥahu al-'azīza- fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Mujalladun min al-Futūḥāti al-makkiyyati

{18} min al-bābi al-thālithi wa-al-sittīna wa-thalāthi mi'atin ilā ākhiri al-kitābi fī al-taṣawwufi •

{19} ≈ Mujalladun min al-Futūḥāti al-makkiyyati min al-bābi al-thānī wa-al-tis'īna wa-thalāthi mi'atin

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{1} ilā ākhiri al-kitābi fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Mujalladun min al-Futūḥāti al-makkiyyati min al-bābi

{2} al-thānī wa-al-sittīna ilā ākhiri al-bābi al-tāsi'i wa-al-sittīna wa-mi'atayni fī

{3} al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Mujalladun min al-Futūḥāti al-makkiyyati min al-bābi al-sab'īna

{4} wa-mi'atayni ilā ākhiri al-bābi al-thānī wa-al-sittīna wa-thalāthi mi'atin fī al-taṣawwufi •

{5} ≈ Mujalladun min al-Futūḥāti al-makkiyyati min al-bābi al-sābi'i wa-al-tis'īna wa-arba'i mi'atin

{6} ilā ākhiri al-kitābi fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Mujalladun min al-Futūḥāti al-makkiyyati min

{7} al-bābi al-sittīna wa-khamisi mi'atin ilā ākhiri al-kitābi fī al-waṣiyyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi •

[8–13 are blank]

{14} ≈ Kitābu kīmiyā'-i sa'adat bi-al-fārisiyyati li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -ṭāba tharāhu- fī

{15} al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu kīmiyā'-i sa'adat bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi •

{16} ≈ Kitābu kīmiyā'-i sa'adat bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu kīmiyā'-i

{17} sa'adat bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu kīmiyā'-i sa'adat

{18} bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu kīmiyā'-i sa'adat bi-al-fārisiyyati

{19} fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu kīmiyā'-i sa'adat bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi •

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- {1} ≈ Kitābu kīmiyā'-i sa'adat bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladayni •
 {2} ≈ Kitābu kīmiyā'-i sa'adat bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu kīmiyā'-i
 {3} sa'adat bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kīmiyā'-i sa'adat li-l-Imām
 {4} al-Ghazālī fī al-taṣawwufi •
 [5–7 are blank]
 {8} ≈ Kitābu mirṣādi al-'ibādi bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi [*li-l-Najm*⁴² *al-Dīn al-Dāya al-Rāzī*] • ≈ Kitābu mirṣādi
 {9} al-'ibādi bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu mirṣādi al-'ibādi bi-al-fārisiyyati
 {10} fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatu al-Qushayrī -ṭāba tharāhu- fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladayni •
 {11} Risālatu al-Qushayrī fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābun fārisiyyun 'alā 'asharati abwābin
 {12} fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābun fī muḥāḍarāti al-udabā'i wa-muḥāwarāti
 {13} al-bulaghā'i min qibali al-naṣā'ihi • ≈ Kitābu ādābi al-dārayni min qibali
 {14} al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu khāliṣati al-ḥaqā'iqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu
 {15} 'awārifi al-ma'ārifi li-l-Suhrawardī fī al-taṣawwufi wa-Kitābu al-ta'arrufi
 {16} li-madhhabi ahli al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu tarjamati 'Awārifi
 {17} al-ma'ārifi bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu 'awārifi al-ma'ārifi
 {18} fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu 'awārifi al-ma'ārifi fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu
 {19} anīsi al-waḥdati min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābun ismuhu Unsu al-waḥīdi min qibali

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- {1} al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-fuṣūṣi li-l-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-'Arabī -raḍiya Allāhu 'anhu-
 {2} fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Fuṣūṣi al-marqūmu bi-annahu li-l-Qāshānī
 {3} fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun fī sharḥi al-Fuṣūṣi li-l-Shaykh Mu'ayyad al-Dīn
 {4} al-Jandī fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Fuṣūṣi bi-al-fārisiyyati
 {5} fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-fuṣūṣi fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu al-fukūki
 {6} fī sharḥi al-Fuṣūṣi fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu al-nuṣūṣi li-l-Shaykh al-Qunawī
 {7} fī al-taṣawwufi wa-risālatun fī al-asmā'i al-ḥusnā fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
 {8} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Nuṣūṣi al-marqūmu bi-annahu li-l-Qāshānī fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu
 {9} sharḥi al-Nuṣūṣi bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-nuṣūṣi fī

⁴² With a definite article in the manuscript.

- {10} al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu naqdi al-nuṣūṣi fī sharḥi Naqshi al-fuṣūṣi wa-
- {11} Risālatu sharḥi al-Qaṣīdati al-mīmīyyati fī al-taşawwufi wa-Sharḥu al-Qaṣīdati al-tā'īyyati
- {12} li-Ibn al-Fāriḍ fī al-taşawwufi wa-Risālatu al-lawā'ihī fī al-taşawwufi wa-Risālatu
- {13} sharḥi al-Rubā'īyyāti fī al-taşawwufi wa-raṣā'ilu ukhrā fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {14} ≈ Kitābu zubdati al-taḥqīqi fī sharḥi al-Nuṣūṣi fī al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu
- {15} nuṣūṣi al-khuṣūṣi fī sharḥi al-Fuṣūṣi bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taşawwufi •
- {16} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Fuṣūṣi li-Dāwud al-Qayṣarī fī al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu
- {17} sharḥi al-Fuṣūṣi fī al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Fuṣūṣi fī
- {18} al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Fuṣūṣi al-marqūmu bi-annahū li-l-Qāshānī fī
- {19} al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Fuṣūṣi li-l-Shaykh Mu'ayyad al-Dīn al-Jandī

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- {1} fī al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Fuṣūṣi fī al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu
- {2} sharḥi Kitābi nuṣūṣi al-Shaykh al-Qunawī⁴³ -quddisa sirruhu- fī al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatu
- {3} al-Qushayrī fī al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu waṣāyā Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī bin Abī
- {4} Ṭālib li-ibnihi Muḥammad bin al-Ḥanafīyya min qibali al-naṣīḥati • ≈ Kitābu 'awārifi
- {5} al-ma'ārifi li-l-Suhrawardī fī al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu miftāḥi al-ghaybi
- {6} li-l-Shaykh al-Qunawī -quddisa sirruhu- fī al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Miftāḥi al-ghaybi
- {7} al-mawsūmu bi-Faṭḥi miftāḥi al-ghaybi li-Quṭb al-Dīn-zādah -ṭāba tharāhu- fī al-taşawwufi •
- {8} ≈ Kitābu tarjamati Miftāḥi al-ghaybi bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābun
- {9} fī faḍā'ila min al-dhikri wa-al-firāsati wa-ghayrihimā mawsūmun bi-Mūnisi al-wāḥidi
- {10} bi-al-ahādīthi min qibali al-naṣā'ihī • ≈ Kitābu miṣbāḥi al-unsī fī sharḥi
- {11} Miftāḥi al-ghaybi fī al-taşawwufi wa-Risālatu al-asrāri al-ilāhiyyati al-murattabati
- {12} 'alā alfi maqāmin min maqāmāti allatī bayna al-'abdi wa-al-rabbi fī al-taşawwufi
- {13} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Miftāḥi al-ghaybi al-mawsūmu bi-Faṭḥi
- {14} Miftāḥi al-ghaybi li-Quṭb al-Dīn-zādah -ṭāba tharāhu- fī al-taşawwufi •
- {15} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Miftāḥi al-ghaybi al-mawsūmu bi-Faṭḥi Miftāḥi al-ghaybi li-Quṭb
- {16} al-Dīn-zādah -ṭāba tharāhu- fī al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Miftāḥi al-ghaybi

43 The manuscript actually has Qūnawī.

- {17} fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābun fi al-mawā'izi wa-al-manāqibi wa-al-khuṭabi min
 {18} qibali al-naṣīḥati wa-al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu rabī'i al-abrārī [*'aṭā'olundu*] li-l-Zamakhsharī
 {19} fi al-naṣā'ihi wa-al-ṭarā'ifi min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-maḥbūbi

[III]

- {1} min qibali al-taşawwufi wa-risālatun fi zuhūri khātami al-wilāyati [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*]
 • ≈ Kitābu
 {2} ta'wilāt al-Qāshānī fi al-Qur'āni min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu jāwidān-
 {3} khirad min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu tarjamati Jāwidān-khirad bi-al-fārisiyyati
 {4} min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu jāwidān-khirad min qibali al-taşawwufi
 {5} Kitābu jāwidān-khirad min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu talbisi
 {6} Iblis min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābun fārisiyyun fihi as'ilatun muta'alliqatun
 {7} bi-al-Qur'āni min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu mafātīhi al-i'jāzi fi sharhi
 {8} Gulshan-i rāz bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sharhi Gulshan-i rāz
 {9} al-mawsūmu bi-Shaqā'iqi al-ḥaqā'iqi bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Mujalladun
 akhīrun
 {10} min Kitābi al-maḥbūbi min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu adabi al-dīni wa-
 {11} al-dunyā min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatu al-Qushayrī fi al-taşawwufi •
 {12} ≈ Kitābu manāqibi al-Shaykh al-Kāzarūnī min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābun
 {13} fi sharhi qaṣīdati Ibn al-Fāriḍ fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun fi
 {14} sharhi qaṣīdati Ibn al-Fāriḍ bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābun
 {15} fi sharhi qaṣīdati Ibn al-Fāriḍ bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-taşawwufi •
 {16} ≈ Kitābu sharhi qaṣīdatin khamriyyatin li-Ibn al-Fāriḍ fi al-taşawwufi •
 {17} ≈ Kitābu sharhi qaṣīdati Ibn al-Fāriḍ bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-taşawwufi •
 {18} ≈ Kitābu majma'i al-baḥrayni bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sharhi qaṣīdati
 {19} Ibn al-Fāriḍ fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sharhi qaṣīdati Ibn al-Fāriḍ

[II2]

- {1} fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sharhi qaṣīdati Ibn al-Fāriḍ bi-al-fārisiyyati fi
 {2} al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sharhi qaṣīdati Ibn al-Fāriḍ fi al-taşawwufi •
 {3} ≈ Kitābu junūni al-majānīni bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābun
 {4} fi taṣḥīhi dīwāni Ibn al-Fāriḍ fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābun murattabun 'alā

- {5} kham sati abwābin bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu manāhiji al-‘ibādi
- {6} ilā al-ma‘ādi bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu junūni
- {7} al-majānīni bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mawāqifi
- {8} fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mawāqifi fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu
- {9} khiwāni al-ikhwāni bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu
- {10} sharḥi qaṣīdati Ibn al-Fāriḍ fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu akhlāq-i
- {11} nāṣirī min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu akhlāq-i nāṣirī min qibali al-taṣawwufi •
- {12} ≈ Kitābu akhlāq-i nāṣirī min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu akhlāq-i nāṣirī
- {13} min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu minhāji al-‘ābidīna fī al-taṣawwufi •
- {14} ≈ Kitābu minhāji al-‘ābidīna li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu
- {15} tuḥfati al-bararati fī ajwibati al-as‘ilati al-‘asharati fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu
- {16} muḥāḍarati al-abrārī wa-musāmarati al-akhyārī li-Muḥyī al-Dīn al-‘Arābī [*wa-huwa al-ma‘rūfu bi-al-Musāmarati*] min qibali al-taṣawwufi •
- {17} ≈ Kitābun fī al-mawā‘izi ismuhu Inkāru al-ma‘ārifi wa- ~ Kitābu al-qalā’idi wa-al-farā’idi
- {18} fī al-naṣā’iḥi min qibali al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-munqidhi min
- {19} al-ḍalālī li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- wa- ~ Kitābu rayḥāni al-qulūbi

[113]

- {1} fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu akhlāq-i nāṣirī min qibali al-taṣawwufi •
- {2} ≈ Kitābun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-dharī‘ati ilā makārimi
- {3} al-sharī‘ati fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Manāzili al-sā’irīna fī al-taṣawwufi •
- {4} ≈ Kitābu zubdati al-taḥqīqi fī sharḥi al-Nuṣūṣi fī al-taṣawwufi wa-Kitābu al-muqaddimati
- {5} min Sharḥi Naẓmi al-durri li-Dāwud al-Qayṣarī fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
≈ Kitābun
- {6} fī adabi al-dīni wa-al-dunyā min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu Qāḍī al-Qirim (Kırım) fī
- {7} ‘ilmi al-akhlāqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābun fārisiyyun ismuhu al-Zubdatu li-‘Ayn
- {8} al-Quḍāt al-Hamadānī min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu ṭabaqāti al-mashāyikhi
-quddisa
- {9} sirruhum- bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābun fārisiyyun fī bayāni sulūki
- {10} ṭarīqi al-dīni fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu naṣīḥatnāmah-i shāhī bi-al-fārisiyyati
- {11} fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu jawāhiri nufūsi al-‘ārifīna bi-al-turkiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi •

- {12} ≈ [sic] wa-Kitābu aṭwāri al-qalbi bi-al-turkiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu
- {13} kashfi al-ḥaqā'iqi bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu mawāqī'i al-nujūmi
- {14} bi-al-'arabiyyati li-Muḥyī al-Dīn al-'Arabī -ṭāba tharāhu- fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu minhāji
- {15} al-'ābidīna li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -ṭāba tharāhu- fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu miršādi
- {16} al-'ibādī bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu mawāqī'i al-nujūmi li-Muḥyī al-Dīn
- {17} al-'Arabī -ṭāba tharāhu- fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Majmū'atun mushtamilatun 'alā anwā'i min al-manzūmi
- {18} wa-al-manthūri min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu yawāqīti al-'ulūmi bi-al-fārisiyyati
- {19} fī anwā'i al-'ulūmi min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu yawāqīti al-'ulūmi bi-al-fārisiyyati

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- {1} fī anwā'i al-'ulūmi min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu akhlāq-i nāṣirī min qibali
- {2} al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu makārimi al-akhlāqi bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi •
- {3} ≈ Kitābu makārimi al-akhlāqi bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu
- {4} makārimi al-akhlāqi bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu makārimi
- {5} al-akhlāqi bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu makārimi al-akhlāqi
- {6} bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu makārimi al-akhlāqi bi-al-fārisiyyati
- {7} min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu mukhtaṣari Minhāji al-'ābidīna fī al-taṣawwufi⁴⁴
- {8} wa- ~ Kitābu fawātiḥi al-jamāli fī ṭarīqi al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu al-hā'imi al-khā'ifi⁴⁵ min
- {9} lawmati al-lā'imi min qibali al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Rasā'ilu ukhrā fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {10} ≈ Kitābu siratnāmah li-l-Shaykh al-Kabīr min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu barīdi al-sa'ādati
- {11} fī sharḥi Kalimāti al-naṣā'iḥi bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu
- {12} ashi'ati al-lama'āti fī sharḥi Lama'at-i 'Irāqī li-Mawlānā 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī -ṭāba
- {13} tharāhu- fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu farā'idi al-sulūki fī al-naṣā'iḥi min qibali al-taṣawwufi •
- {14} ≈ Kitābun fī ādābi al-dīni wa-al-dunyā min qibali al-taṣawwufi ≈ Kitābu mir'āti
- {15} al-nāẓirīna fī sharḥi Manāzili al-sā'irīna fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-intizā'āt

⁴⁴ A triple dot at the end of the line has been erased.

⁴⁵ Although the manuscript clearly shows a *qāf*, the general consensus is that this should be *khā'ifi*, a work by Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (ed. M[arijan] Molé, *Annales islamologiques* 4 [1963]: 23–37).

- {16} min āyi al-Qur'āni al-'aẓīmi li-naṣā'ihi al-nāsi min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu
 {17} tarjamati kitābi al-Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi •
 {18} ≈ Kitābu al-lama'āti bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābun fārisiyyun fī
 {19} umūrin dīniyyatin bi-āyāti al-Qur'āni al-'aẓīmi min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu

[115]

- {1} zubdati al-taḥqīqi fī sharhi al-Nuṣūṣi fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābun fī al-adhkārī
 {2} wa-al-da'awāti ismuḥu Ḥilyatu al-abrārī min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu manḥajī
 {3} al-rashādi min qibali al-fiqhi wa-al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu 'ahdi Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī
 {4} bin Abī Ṭālib -karrama Allāhu wajhahu- ilā Mālik bin al-Ashtar fī al-naṣīḥati min qibali
 {5} al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu kashfi al-kunūzi li-l-mar'ati al-sayyidati al-'ālimati al-rabbāniyyati
 {6} fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu sharhi al-Mashāhidi al-quḍsiyyati allatī li-l-Shaykh Muḥyi
 al-Dīn
 {7} al-'Arabī li-tilka al-mar'ati⁴⁶ al-'ālimati ayḍan fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
 {8} ≈ Kitābu maqāmāti al-shaykhi al-ma'rūfi bi-Naqshband -ṭāba tharāhu- min qibali
 al-taṣawwufi •
 {9} ≈ Kitābu al-dā'irati al-muḥammadiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu ḥalli al-rumūzi fī
 {10} al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-tajallī al-manẓūmu min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu
 {11} sayri al-'ibādi ilā al-ma'ādi min kalimāti al-Ḥakīm al-Sanā'ī min qibali al-taṣawwufi •
 {12} Kitābu minhāji al-wuzarā'ī fī al-naṣīḥati min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-lamaḥāti
 {13} fī sharhi al-Lama'āti fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu akhlaṣi al-khālīṣati fī
 {14} al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun ukhrā fī al-naṣīḥati wa- ~ Qaṣīdatun mustakhrajatun min
 Zabūri
 {15} Dāwud -'alayhi al-salāmu- min qibali al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu
 {16} sharhi al-ṣadri fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi wa-al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-nahji al-maslūki
 {17} fī siyāsati al-mulūki min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu murshidi al-'ibādi
 {18} min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu mawāqī'i al-nujūmi li-l-Shaykh Muḥyi al-Dīn al-'Arabī
 {19} -ṭāba tharāhu- fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu zādi al-'ārifina bi-al-fārisiyyati

⁴⁶ The manuscript has what looks like a dagger *alif* above the *rā'*, as in *mir'āti*, but it is likely a case of 'Atufi being indecisive about where to write the *hamza*: on the *alif* or on the line, both of which were common. It would seem that the reference is to a learned woman, i.e., Sitt al-'Ajam bt. al-Nafīs, who wrote this *sharḥ* on Ibn al-'Arabī.

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- {1} min qibali al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun ukhrā bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-taşawwufi
- {2} fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu maqṣadi al-sā'irīna ilā Allāhi ta'ālā fi al-taşawwufi •
- {3} ≈ Kitābu al-maqṣadi al-aqṣā fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sirri al-asrāri fi naṣiḥati
- {4} al-mulūki min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu badri al-ahillati min qibali al-taşawwufi •
- {5} ≈ Kitābu al-dharī'ati ilā makā[ri]mi al-sharī'ati min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-dawā'iri
- {6} wa-al-ashkāli li-l-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-'Arabī -ṭāba tharāhu- fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatun
- {7} fi taḥqīqi madhāhibi al-ṣūfiyyati wa-al-mutakallimīna wa-al-ḥukamā'i min qibali al-taşawwufi •
- {8} ≈ Risālatun fi al-ḥikmati al-'amaliyyati min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-munāẓarāti
- {9} fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-munāẓarāti fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Mukhtaṣarun fi 'ilmi
- {10} al-akhlāqi min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu aṭbāqi al-dhahabi fi al-naṣiḥati
- {11} min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu tabṣirati al-mubtadī wa-tadhkirati al-muntahī min qibali
- {12} al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu tabṣirati al-mubtadī wa-tadhkirati al-muntahī min qibali al-taşawwufi •
- {13} ≈ Kitābun fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Kitābi khal'i al-na'layni min qibali
- {14} al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-Hātifi al-Rūmī -raḥimahu Allāhu- min qibali al-taşawwufi •
- {15} ≈ al-Risālatu al-dhawqiyyatu li-Mawlānā Ibn Ḥusām al-Dīn -raḥimahu Allāhu ta'ālā- fi
- {16} al-taşawwufi • ≈ al-Risālatu al-munabbihatu fi sharḥi qawlihi -'alayhi al-salāmu- al-nāsu
- {17} niyāmun fa-idhā mātū intabahū min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatun fi sharḥi al-Insāni
- {18} min qibali al-firāsati wa-al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatu maqālāti 'Alī -karrama Allāhu
- {19} wajhahu- fi al-naṣiḥati min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-munāẓarāti fi al-taşawwufi [.]

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- {1} ≈ Kitābu al-munāẓarāti fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu faḍiḥati al-mulḥidīna min qibali al-taşawwufi •
- {2} ≈ Risālatu tuḥfati al-'aqli min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fi
- {3} kayfiyyati al-sulūki fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatu al-'aqidati al-quḍsiyyati li-l-Imām
- {4} al-Ghazālī -ṭāba tharāhu- min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatu asrāri al-khiṭābi
- {5} fi qawlihi ta'ālā idhā qumtum ilā al-ṣalāti fa-[i]ghsilū wujūhakum al-āyata min qibali

- {6} al-taşawwufi • ≈ al-Risālatu al-nūriyyatu fī sharḥi Risālati al-asrāri al-nāriyyati
 {7} min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Qaṣīdati Ibn al-Fāriḍ al-tā'īyyati fī
 {8} al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatun 'ajibatun fī 'ajā'ibi al-qulūbi fī al-taşawwufi •
 {9} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi dībājati mathnawī min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu zajri
 {10} al-nafsi al-mansūbu ilā Hurmus min qibali 'ilmi al-akhlāqi wa-al-taşawwufi •
 {11} ≈ Kitābu ḥaqqi al-yaqīni bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu inshā'i
 {12} al-dawā'iri li-l-Shaykh Muḥyi al-Dīn al-'Arabī -ṭāba tharāhu- min qibali al-taşawwufi •
 {13} ≈ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf min qibali al-taşawwufi wa-risālatun
 {14} ukhrā lahu ayḍan min qibali al-taşawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatu silsilati
 {15} al-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn al-Khwāfi⁴⁷ wa-Kitābu al-waṣāyā li-l-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn al-Khwāfi
 {16} -ṭāba tharāhu- min qibali al-taşawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati
 {17} li-l-Shaykh Abī al-Naṣr Aḥmad bin Abī al-Ḥasan al-Nāmiqī -qaddasa Allāhu rūḥahu- fī
 {18} al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatu al-Shaykh al-Rūmī al-ma'rūfi bi-Aq Shams al-Dīn (Aḳṣemseddīn)
 -ṭāba
 {19} tharāhu- fī al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu mashāribi al-adhwāqi bi-al-fārisiyyati

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- {1} fī al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatu mabda'in wa-ma'ādin bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Risālatu
 {2} al-tajridi li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- fī al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu qurrati al-'ayni
 {3} bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-naṣīḥati wa-al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu tarjamati kalimāti
 {4} al-Shaykh al-Barrāq (Barāḳ) -ṭāba tharāhu- min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ al-Risālatu
 al-qudsiyyatu
 {5} wa-Kitābu faṣli al-khiṭābi fī 'aqā'idi al-kubarā'i al-jāmi'ina bayna 'ulūmi al-sharī'ati
 {6} wa-al-ṭarīqati min qibali al-taşawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu faṣli al-khiṭābi
 {7} fī 'aqā'idi al-kubarā'i al-jāmi'ina bayna 'ulūmi al-sharī'ati wa-al-ṭarīqati min qibali
 {8} al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu faṣli al-khiṭābi fī 'aqā'idi al-kubarā'i al-jāmi'ina
 {9} bayna 'ulūmi al-sharī'ati wa-al-ṭarīqati wa- ~ al-Risālatu al-qudsiyyatu min qibali
 al-taşawwufi
 {10} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu manāzili al-sā'irina li-l-Anṣārī al-Hirawī
 {11} -quddisa sirruhu- fī al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu ādābi al-murīdina li-Abī al-Najīb
 al-Suhrawardī

47 Zayn al-Dīn al-Khwāfi (or al-Khāfi), d. 838/1435.

- {12} fi al-taşawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-hidāyati fi al-manṭiqi wa- ~ Risālatu
- {13} taqṣīmi al-ḥikmati wa- ~ Kitābu tafṣīli al-nash'atayni li-Abī al-Qāsim -ṭāba tharāhu- min qibali
- {14} al-taşawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu rashḥi al-zulāli fi sharḥi al-alfāzi
- {15} al-mutadāwilati bayna arbābi al-aḥwāli wa- ~ Risālatu al-uṣṭurlābi wa-Risālatu
- {16} ma'rifati kayfiyyati al-arṣādi wa-al-'amali bi-dhāti al-ḥalaqi wa- ~ Kitābu al-iṣṭilāḥāti
- {17} li-l-Qāshānī fi al-taşawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Mujalladun min kālāmin fārisiyyin
- {18} marqūmun bi-annahu min kalimāti Mawlānā Sh[amsi] Tabrīzī fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatu
- {19} al-ḥisābi bi-'aqdi al-aṣbā'i [aṣābi'i] wa- ~ Risālatun nūriyyatun li-l-Qāshānī wa- ~ Kitābu

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- {1} al-iṣṭilāḥāti li-l-Qāshānī wa- ~ Risālatun zamāniyyatun li-l-Qāshānī wa- ~ Risālatun
- {2} fi taḥqīqi al-kalāmi li-l-Qāshānī wa- ~ Risālatun fi mas'alatin kulliyyatin fi al-ḥaqā'iqi
- {3} wa- ~ Risālatun fi jawābi al-masā'ili al-madhkūrati wa- ~ Risālatun fi sharḥi su'ālī
- {4} Kumayl bin Ziyād 'an Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī -raḍiya Allāhu 'anhu- min qibali al-taşawwufi
- {5} fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatu al-nuzhati al-sāsāniyyati fi bad'i nash'ati al-'ālam
- {6} ilā al-ṣūratī al-insāniyyati wa- ~ Kitābu al-durri al-farīdi fi al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Mir'ātu
- {7} al-'arīfina fi taḥqīqi fātīḥati al-kitābi wa- ~ Kitābu al-mukāshafāti fi al-taşawwufi
- {8} fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatu al-muqaddimāti min awā'ili sharḥi al-Qaṣīdati
- {9} al-tā'iyyati wa- ~ Risālatu al-muqaddimāti min awā'ili sharḥi al-Fuṣūṣi li-Dāwud
- {10} al-Qayṣarī fi al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu al-Qādī al-Simāwī 'alā khilāfi
- {11} al-taşawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatu fawā'idī al-ḥikami wa-Kitābu gulshan-i rāz
- {12} bi-al-fārisiyyati wa- ~ al-Risālatu al-shawqiyyatu li-l-Sayyid al-Jurjānī fi al-taşawwufi •
- {13} ≈ Kitābun fi muhimmati al-umūri al-dīniyyati li-l-faqīhi Abī al-Layth al-Samarqandī wa- ~ Kitābu
- {14} akhlaṣi al-khāliṣati fi al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu al-basmalati wa-risālatun 'alā madhhabī
- {15} ahli al-sunnati wa-al-jamā'ati wa- ~ Risālatun fi al-rūḥi wa-al-naḥsi wa-ḥālī al-nā'imi min kitābi
- {16} al-Shaykh al-'Allāma Abī Ishāq al-Bukhārī min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi wa-al-taşawwufi •
- {17} ≈ Risālatun gharrā'u fi umūrin shattā wa- ~ Kitābu akhlaṣi al-khāliṣati fi al-taşawwufi fi
- {18} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ḥilyati al-nāsiki min qibali al-fiqhi wa- ~ Kitābu asrārī

{19} manāqibi al-abrāri min qibali al-taṣawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu maqṣad-i aqṣā

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{1} bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatu al-Qushayrī fi al-taṣawwufi

{2} ≈ Risālatun fi siyari al-arwāḥi wa- ~ Kitābu al-tajrīdi fi kalimati al-tawḥīdi li-l-Imām Aḥmad al-Ghazālī

{3} -ṭāba tharāhu- wa- ~ Kitābu shir‘ati al-islāmi fi al-ḥadīthi wa- ~ Kitābu dāmighati al-mubtadi‘īna

{4} wa-nāṣirati al-muhtadīna fi al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu al-Shaykh al-Suhrawardī fi sharḥi al-Faqrī

{5} fi al-taṣawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābun mawsūmun bi-Ādābi al-murīdīna li-l-Shaykh

{6} Abi al-Najīb fi al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu al-Shaykh Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā -quddisa sirruhu- wa-

{7} ~ Kitābu al-tajrīdi fi kalimati al-tawḥīdi li-l-Imām [*Aḥmad, ṣaḥḥ*] al-Ghazālī -ṭāba tharāhu- fi al-taṣawwufi

{8} wa- ~ Kitābu bardī al-akbādī ‘an faqdi al-awlādī wa- ~ Kitābun fi sharḥi Aḥwālī al-awliyā’i

{9} min qibali al-taṣawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ al-Risālatu al-quḍsiyyatu fi asrāri

{10} al-nuqṭati al-ḥissiyyati wa-Risālatu ḥaqqi al-yaqīni fi al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu al-‘asharati

{11} al-kāmilati fi al-riyā’i min qibali al-taṣawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu tuḥfati

{12} al-bararati fi al-masā’ili al-‘asharati wa- ~ al-Risālatu al-laduniyyatu li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -ṭāba tharāhu-

{13} wa- ~ Kitābu mi‘rājī al-sālikīna li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī fi al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu maḥakki

{14} nafsi al-insāni fi al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu ma‘ārijī al-nufūsi fi al-taṣawwufi

{15} fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Qaṣīdati al-mīmīyyati al-fāriḍiyyati al-mawsūmu

{16} bi-al-Lawāmi‘i fi al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu al-lawā’ihī fi al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu sharḥi

{17} al-rubā‘iyyāti fi al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu naqdi al-nuṣūṣi fi sharḥi Naqshi al-fuṣūṣi

{18} fi al-taṣawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatun nūrbakhshiyyatun fi al-taṣawwufi •

{19} ≈ Kitābu tanbīhi al-‘arifīna fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu mir’āti al-tā’ibīna fi

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{1} al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatu wirḍi al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm min qibali al-taṣawwufi •

- {2} ≈ Risālatu jāmi-jihān-numāy fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu fuṣūṣi al-ḥikami li-l-Shaykh
- {3} al-‘Arabī -ṭāba tharāhu- fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu ma‘ārijī al-albābi fi kashfi
- {4} marātibi al-afrādi wa-al-aqṭābi min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatun mawsūmatun
- {5} bi-Asrārī al-qulūbi fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatun mawsūmatun bi-Aṣrārī al-qulūbi
- {6} fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu kāshifi al-anwāri li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -ṭāba
- {7} tharāhu- fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatu al-wujūdi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf min qibali al-taṣawwufi •
- {8} ≈ Risālatu al-quḍsi li-ahli al-unsī fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatu sirri al-salṭanati
- {9} wa- ~ Risālatu sirri al-wujūdi fi al-taṣawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-rūḥi
- {10} fi ‘ilmi al-rūḥi wa- ~ Kitābu al-nuzhati fi al-rūḥi wa-al-naḥsi wa- ~ Kitābu al-raḥmati fi
- {11} ‘ālamī al-barzakhi min qibali al-taṣawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatu sirri bālī
- {12} al-bālī li-dhawī al-ḥālī bi-khaṭṭi al-Quṭb al-Shīrāzī fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatu
- {13} taḥqīqī al-mabda’i wa-al-ma‘ādi min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābun fi sharḥi kalimāti
- {14} Amīr al-Mu‘minīn Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatun mawsūmatun
- {15} bi-Laṭā’ifi al-tawḥīdi fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatun muntakhabatun min kalāmi Allāhi ta‘ālā
- {16} wa-al-nabī -‘alayhi al-salāmu- wa-al-walī wa-al-‘ulamā’i wa-al-fuṣaḥā’i ma‘rūfatun bi-Rawḍati
- {17} al-nāziri fi al-laṭā’ifi wa-al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-badri al-munīri min qibali
- {18} al-kalāmi wa-al-fiqhi wa-al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-ṣiḥāḥi fi al-fursi wa- ~ Risālatun
- {19} fi al-hay’ati wa- ~ Kitābu qurrati al-‘ayni min qibali al-laṭā’ifi wa-al-taṣawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

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- {1} ≈ Risālatu sirri al-ma‘iyyati fi al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu ‘arḍiyyatin bi-al-fārisiyyati li-l-Shaykh
- {2} al-Ilāhi fi al-taṣawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu qurrati al-‘ayni min qibali al-laṭā’ifi
- {3} wa-al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatu sirri bālī al-bālī fi al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu zayni al-mu‘taqadi
- {4} fi al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu al-anwāri fi al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu ṣadā’ifi al-laṭā’ifi fi
- {5} al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu bayāni al-dhikri al-khafī fi al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun fihā arba‘atu
- {6} fuṣūlin fi al-taṣawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu lawā’iḥa bi-al-fārisiyyati fi

- {7} al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun fī sharḥi awā'ili Mathnawī [li-]Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn -ṭāba
- {8} tharāhu- fī al-taşawwufi [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Risālatu al-manḥajī al-sadīdi ilā kalimati al-tawḥīdi min qibali
- {9} al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu ḥadā'iqi al-ḥaqā'iqi fī al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatun mawsūmatun
- {10} bi-mashāribi al-adhwāqi fī al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Manāzili al-sā'irīna fī
- {11} al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatu ḥilyati al-abdālī fī al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun nafīsatun
- {12} fī al-taşawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu qaṣīdatin lāmiyyatin fī al-taşawwufi
- {13} wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-taşawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatun fī nafā'isi kalimāti
- {14} al-Shaykh al-ma'rūfi bi-Naqshband -ṭāba tharāhu- fī al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatun fī
- {15} munāzarati al-layli wa-al-nahāri min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-ṭahārati fī tahdhībi
- {16} al-nafsi li-Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Miskawayh⁴⁸ min qibali al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu al-Fārābī min
- {17} qibali al-akhlāqi wa-al-taşawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-ṭahārati fī tahdhībi
- {18} al-nafsi li-Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Miskawayh min qibali al-taşawwufi wa-Kitābu al-Fārābī min qibali
- {19} al-akhlāqi wa-al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Kitābun ma'rūfun bi-Jāwidān-khirad min qibali al-taşawwufi

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- {1} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-ṭahārati fī tahdhībi al-nafsi li-Aḥmad bin Muḥammad
- {2} Miskawayh min qibali al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu al-Fārābī min qibali al-akhlāqi wa-al-taşawwufi
- {3} wa- ~ Kitābun ma'rūfun bi-Jāwidān-khirad wa- ~ Risālatun mashḥūnatun bi-kalimāti 'Alī -raḍīya Allāhu 'anhu-
- {4} fī naṣā'iḥi al-mulūki wa-ghayrihim min qibali al-taşawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu
- {5} ṭarabi al-majālisi min qibali al-naṣā'iḥi wa- ~ Kitābu rawḍati khuldin li-Majd al-Khāfi min qibali al-mawā'izi
- {6} wa-al-taşawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatun fī ḥilli al-miqyāsi min qibali al-hay'ati
- {7} wa-al-nujūmi wa-Kitābu al-qalā'idi wa-al-farā'idi min qibali al-naṣā'iḥi wa-al-taşawwufi fī mujalladin
- {8} wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu iqtinā'i al-fawā'idi min qibali al-wafqi wa-al-ad'iyyati wa- ~ Kitābu
- {9} sharḥi al-abyāti al-nasībīyyati 'alā ṭarīqi al-taşawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu

⁴⁸ Vocalized in the text as Maskūyah here and in the following two mentions.

{10} tanazzuli al-amlāki alladhī nusiba ilā al-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-‘Arabī -ṭāba tharāhu- fī al-taṣawwufi [wa- ~]

{11} Kitābu tabṣirati al-mulūki fī naṣā’ihī al-mulūki min qibali al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu kanzi al-rumūzi

{12} fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatun fī al-tawajjuhi al-atammi ilā Allāhi ta‘ālā fī

{13} al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu tabṣirati al-mubtadī wa-tadhkirati al-muntahī fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{14} ≈ Kitābu zubdati al-ṭarīqi ilā Allāhi ta‘ālā fī al-taṣawwufi wa-risālatun fī ṣifati al-nabī

{15} -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama- ‘alā mā ruwiya ‘an ‘Alī -raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhu- wa-risālatun nafīsatun fī

{16} al-sulūki wa-al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu sayri al-sulūki fī al-tawḥīdi

{17} wa-al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābun mawsūmun bi-Dāri mulki al-ma‘ānī bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali

{18} al-ma‘ārifi wa-al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu jāmi-jihān-numā fī al-taṣawwufi wa-Kitābu al-lama‘āti

{19} fī al-‘ishqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābun mawsūmun bi-Mudām-i jān-fazā

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{1} fī sharḥi Jāmi-jihān-numā fī al-‘ishqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu jāmi-jihān-

{2} numā fī al-‘ishqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu ishārāti al-ilhāmī fī sharḥi

{3} al-abyāti bi-al-turkiyyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ al-Risālatu al-naṣīriyyatu allatī hiya fī

{4} sharḥi kitābin fī al-asrāri al-rabbāniyyati wa-al-daqa‘iqi al-ḥikmiyyati wa-al-‘ulūmi al-dhawqiyyati wa-

{5} ~ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ta‘līmī al-muta‘allimī

{6} min qibali al-naṣā’ihī wa-al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatu al-shaykhi al-ma‘rūfi bi-Nūrbakhsh fī

{7} al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatun mawsūmatun bi-Ḥaqqi al-yaqīni fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu

{8} al-qalā’idi wa-al-farā’idi min qibali al-naṣā’ihī wa-al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatu Sayyid ‘Alī

{9} al-Hamadānī -ṭāba tharāhu- fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatun fī al-maḥabbati fī al-taṣawwufi •

{10} ≈ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-masā’ili al-thalāthi wa- ~ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī iṣṭilāḥāti

{11} al-şūfiyyati min qibali al-taşawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatun fi al-istikhārati wa-~ Risālatun

{12} manẓūmatun fi al-wafqi wa-risālatun fi al-īmāni wa-al-islāmi ‘alā ṭarīqi al-taşawwufi

{13} fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fihā ishārātun ilā uşūli ahli

{14} al-wuṣūli fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu kashfi al-kunūzi fi al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu

{15} sharḥi al-Mashāhidi al-qudsiyyati fi al-taşawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatu maḥabbat-

{16} nāmah fi al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun fi sharḥi kalimati Man ‘arafa nafsahu fa-qad ‘arafa rabbahu

{17} fi al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun fi shaqqi al-qamari wa- ~ Risālatun marqūmatun bi-Tuḥfati al-aşḥābi

{18} wa- ~ Qaṣīdatun mansūbatun ilā Ibn Sīnā fi al-naḥsi wa- ~ Risālatun marqūmatun bi-Sīrati al-mulūki

{19} li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī wa- ~ Kitābu tuḥfati al-mulūki fi al-naṣā’iḥi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

[125]

{1} ≈ Risālatun fi al-sulūki al-khalwatī bi-al-asmā’i fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-munāẓarāti

{2} fi al-‘ishqi min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-munāẓarāti fi al-‘ishqi min qibali

{3} al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun fi al-qābiliyyati min qibali al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun fi al-firāsati

{4} fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-lawā’iḥi bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu

{5} sharḥi kalimāti Aḥmad al-Ghazālī -ṭāba tharāhu- fi al-‘ishqi min qibali al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu

{6} kunūzi al-asrāri fi al-‘ishqi min qibali al-taşawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ al-Risālatu

{7} al-quṭbiyyatu bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-shihābi al-thāqibi

{8} fi naḥsi al-bid‘ati al-ma‘rūfati bi-al-Futuwwati min qibali al-taşawwufi wa-risālatun fi naḥsi al-bid‘ati

{9} al-ma‘rūfati bi-al-Futuwwati min qibali al-taşawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu tazkiyati al-arwāḥi

{10} fi al-akhlāqi min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatun majmū‘atun min kalimāti al-shaykhi al-ma‘rūfi

{11} bi-Naqshband fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatun fi al-firāsati li-l-shaykhi al-ma‘rūfi bi-Nūrbakhsh

{12} min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu maḥrami al-arwāḥi fi al-laṭā’ifi wa-al-naṣā’iḥi min

{13} qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābun fi iṣṭilāḥāti al-mashāyikhi fi al-taşawwufi •

{14} ≈ Kitābun fihi al-ma‘ārifu wa-al-lāṭā’ifu wa-al-naṣā’ihu min qibali al-taṣawwufi •
≈ Risālatun

{15} fi takwīni al-‘ālamī ‘alā al-ṭarīqati al-ṣūfiyyati • ≈ Kitābun marqūmun bi-al-Munqidhi min

{16} al-ḍalālī li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -ṭāba tharāhu- min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatu
tahayyuji

{17} al-‘ishqi ilā al-ma‘rifati wa-ṭawr al-walāyati fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-muthuli
al-Aflāṭūniyyati

{18} ‘alā ṭarīqati al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu al-nuṣūṣi fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu tabṣirati
al-mubtadī

{19} wa-tadhkirati al-muntahī fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu maṭālī‘i al-īmāni min qibali
al-taṣawwufi

[126]

{1} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatun fī al-mu‘ammā wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-iṣṭilāḥāti al-ṣūfiyyati

{2} wa-Risālatun fī al-maqāmāti al-ṣūfiyyati wa-Risālatun fī ṭarīqi al-sulūki li-l-Shaykh Shahāb
al-Dīn

{3} al-Suhrawardī fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatun fī al-taṣawwufi •

{4} ≈ Risālatun sharīfatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī iṣṭilāḥāti al-ṣūfiyyati • ≈ al-Risālatu al-ma‘rūfatu

{5} bi-Risālati al-shawqi li-l-Sharīf al-Jurjāni fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu ‘abhari al-‘āshiqīna

{6} fī aḥwālī al-‘ishqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Ādābi al-baḥṭhi fī

{7} ‘ilmi al-jadali wa- ~ Risālatun mawsūmatun bi-Ṣafīr-i sīmurgh fī al-taṣawwufi wa-
~ Risālatun fī al-‘ishqi

{8} min qibali al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatun fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu
sharḥi

{9} al-Qaṣīdati al-mīmīyyati al-khamriyyati al-fāridīyyati al-musammā bi-al-Lawāmi‘i li-‘Abd
al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī

{10} -ṭāba tharāhu- min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu ṭarabi al-majālisi min qibali
al-taṣawwufi •

{11} ≈ Kitābu waṣiyati Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī -raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhu- li-waladihi al-Ḥusayn
-raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhu- fī

{12} al-naṣā’ihu min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatun marqūmatun bi-Zādi al-‘ārifina
li-l-Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh

{13} al-Anṣārī wa- ~ Risālatu al-wa‘ziyyati li-l-Shaykh al-Anṣārī ayḍan min qibali al-taṣawwufi

{14} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-nuṣūṣi li-Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī -ṭāba tharāhu-

{15} fi al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Kitābun li-Muḥyī al-Dīn al-‘Arabī fi al-taşawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{16} ≈ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatun fi al-taşawwufi •

{17} ≈ Risālatun fi kalimāti al-Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī min al-naṣā’iḥi wa-al-taşawwufi •

{18} ≈ Kitābun fi al-muqaddimāti li-sharḥi al-Nuṣūṣi li-Dāwud al-Qayṣarī fi al-taşawwufi •

{19} ≈ Risālatun fi ḥadīthi al-‘amā’i fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatun fārisiyyatun fi al-taşawwufi •

[127]

{1} ≈ Risālatun ma‘rūfatun bi-Ayyuhā al-waladi li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -ṭāba tharāhu- fi al-taşawwufi •

{2} ≈ Risālatun ma‘rūfatun bi-Lama‘āt-i ‘Irāqī bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatun

{3} marqūmatun bi-Shifā’i al-jināni fi al-naṣīḥati min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatun fi naṣīḥati

{4} al-mulūki min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatun fi sharḥi al-kalimāti al-‘alawiyyati al-ma‘rūfati

{5} bi-Şad kalima min al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābun fi al-naṣā’iḥi wa-al-akhlāqi min qibali al-taşawwufi •

{6} ≈ Risālatun fi marātibi al-wujūdi min qibali ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa-al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatun

{7} fi mukātabāti ba‘ḍi al-mashāyikhi min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu shabistān-i nukāt

{8} min qibali al-ta‘miyyati wa-al-naṣā’iḥi wa-al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatun fi al-sulūki wa-al-taşawwufi •

{9} ≈ Risālatun sharīfatun fi taḥqīqi subḥānaka mā ‘arafnāka ḥaqqā ma‘rifatika min qibali al-taşawwufi

{10} wa- ~ Risālatun fi ta‘jili al-fiṭri wa-al-suḥūri min qibali al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun bi-al-turkiyyati muta‘alliqatun

{11} bi-al-tarāwīḥi [*kulluhā, ṣaḥḥ*] li-Ibn Mawlānā Quṭb al-Dīn al-Iznīqī min qibali al-taşawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{12} ≈ Risālatun fiḥā munājātu al-Shaykh Khwāja ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī min qibali al-taşawwufi •

{13} ≈ Risālatun fi taḥqīqi al-wujūdi al-wājibiyyi ‘alā madhhabi al-mutakallimīna wa-al-ḥukamā’i al-mutaqaddimīna

{14} wa-al-şūfiyyati • ≈ Risālatun dhawqiyyatun sirriyyatun fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati

{15} fi al-wujūdi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatun fi

{16} al-munāqaḍāti al-wāqī'ati fī al-Tawriyati [Tawrāti] wa-al-Injili min qibali 'ilmi al-kalāmi wa-al-taṣawwufi •

{17} ≈ Riṣālatun fī taḥqīqi madhhabī al-ṣūfiyyati wa-daf'i al-maṭā'ini fīhi nusibat ilā al-shaykhi

{18} al-ma'rūfi bi-Aq Shams al-Dīn (Akṣemseddin) -ṭāba tharāhu- fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Riṣālatun sirriyyatun fī

{19} al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Riṣālatun shawqiyyatun fī al-inshā'i li-Mawlānā Ḥusām al-Dīn-zādah fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

[128]

{1} ≈ Riṣālatun fī al-rubā'īyyāti fī waḥdati al-wujūdi wa- ~ Riṣālatu al-lawā'ihī fī bayāni

{2} al-ma'ārifi fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Riṣālatun fī al-rubā'īyyāti fī

{3} waḥdati al-wujūdi wa- ~ Riṣālatu al-lawā'ihī fī bayāni al-ma'ārifi fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin

{4} wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābun fī sharḥi alfāzi al-tawḥīdi al-wāqī'ati fī kalāmi Allāhi al-majīdi

{5} fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Sayri al-'ibādi ilā al-ma'ādi fī al-ḥikmati wa-al-taṣawwufi •

{6} ≈ Riṣālatun fī al-'ishqi wa-al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Riṣālatun nafisatun li-l-Shaykh Najm al-Dīn fī

{7} al-sulūki wa-al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-'awāmili fī al-naḥwi wa- ~ Kitābu rawḍati

{8} al-qulūbi fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Sharḥu ba'ḍi kalimāti Ibn Sīnā fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{9} ≈ Kitābu al-nafaḥāti al-nashriyyati fī al-wizārati min qibali al-naṣīḥati wa-al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Riṣālatun

{10} mawsūmatun bi-Āyinah-i ṣafā fī al-sulūki wa- ~ Khamsu rasā'ila fī al-sulūki wa-al-taṣawwufi

{11} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Riṣālatu al-wujūdi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī fī al-taṣawwufi •

{12} Riṣālatu al-wujūdi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ al-Riṣālatu

{13} al-shawqiyyatu fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Riṣālatu al-wujūdi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī fī

{14} al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Riṣālatāni li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fī al-ḥikmati wa- ~ Riṣālatun fī asbābi al-ra'di

{15} wa- ~ Riṣālatu al-mukātabati bayna Bahā' al-Dīn al-Nīsābūrī wa-al-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fī ba'ḍi

{16} al-masā'ili wa- ~ Riṣālatun fī al-wujūdi fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Ad'iyatu al-ayyāmi

{17} al-sab'ati wa- ~ Riṣālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī 'ilmi al-badī'i wa- ~ Kitābu nuzhati al-arwāḥi

{18} fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Riṣālatu al-sulūki wa-Riṣālatu al-sayri fī

{19} al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu ṣafīr-i sīmurgh fī al-taṣawwufi li-l-Shaykh al-Suhrawardī

[129]

{1} fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Thalāthu rasā'ila fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati

{2} fī al-wujūdi fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun bi-al-'arabiyyati fī al-wujūdi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{3} ≈ Qaṣīdatu Burda wa- ~ Zādu al-'ārifina fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu Ibn Sīnā fī al-ta'wīli

{4} al-bāṭili wa- ~ Risālatun fī awā'ili wāḍi'ī al-muḥdathāti wa- ~ Īḍāḥu maḥajjati al-'ilāji fī

{5} al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-inshā'i wa-risālatun fī 'aẓmi katifi al-ghanami wa- ~ Risālatun fī sharḥi

{6} awā'ili al-Mathnawī wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-rūḥi al-insānī wa-al-ḥayawānī wa- ~ Kitābu anīsi al-'ushshāqi

{7} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu tuḥfati al-wāhibi fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun fī

{8} al-iṣṭilāḥāti al-ṣūfiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun fī sharḥi al-baytayni awwaluhumā kunnā

{9} ḥurūfan 'āriyātin munqalatan wa- ~ Risālatun fī sharḥi al-baytayni awwaluhumā kunnā ḥurūfan 'āliyātin

{10} lam nuqal fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu al-tajrīdi li-l-Imām Aḥmad al-Ghazālī fī al-taṣawwufi fī

{11} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kutubun khamsatun min ḥaqā'iqi Mawlānā Khudāwandigār -quddisa sirruhu- fī

{12} al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu al-buḥūri al-arba'īna min ḥaqā'iqihi fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun fī

{13} ba'ḍi manāqibihi wa- ~ al-Arba'ūna ḥadīthan wa- ~ Abyātun kathīratun mutanawwi'atun min ḥaqā'iqihi fī

{14} al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu kashfi al-ḥaqā'iqi fī al-taṣawwufi •

{15} ≈ Munājātun mansūbatun ilā al-Shaykh Shahāb al-Dīn al-maqtūli wa- ~ Sharḥu al-Munājāti wa- ~ Risālatun

{16} musammātun bi-Aṭwāqi al-dhahabi li-l-'Allāma al-Zamakhsharī⁴⁹ fī al-naṣā'ihi wa-al-maḡālātu al-mi'atu

{17} al-musammātu bi-Aṭbāqi al-dhahabi fī al-naṣā'ihi wa- ~ Kitābun fī al-naṣā'ihi li-l-'Allāma al-Zamakhsharī

49 The manuscript has a *kasra* under the *zā'* here and in line {18}.

{18} wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-naṣā'ihi li-l-ʿAllāma al-Zamakhsharī wa- ~ Risālatun mawsūmatun bi-al-Jumānati

{19} manẓūmatun li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikmatī fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-isrā'i fī [al-taṣawwufi]⁵⁰

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[A folio is missing between 129 and 130]

{1} li-l-Shaykh Muḥyi al-Dīn al-ʿArabī wa- ~ Kitābu al-Baṭlamyūs fī al-ḥikmatī wa-kalimāt al-Iqlishṭi

{2} wa- ~ Risālatu al-ṭayri al-mansūbatī ilā Ibn Sīnā wa- ~ Risālatu al-ṭayri al-mansūbatī ilā Aḥmad bin Saʿīd

{3} wa- ~ Risālatu al-ṭayri al-mansūbatī ilā al-Imām al-Ghazālī -ṭāba tharāhu- min qibali al-taṣawwufi

{4} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatu sharḥi al-Naẓari fī al-alfāẓi al-ṣūfiyyati wa- ~ Risālatun

{5} fī al-alfāẓi al-ṣūfiyyati wa- ~ Risālatun fī mas'alati al-samā'i wa-manāzili al-sā'irina wa-sharḥu

{6} Manāzili al-sā'irina fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu maqṣadi aqṣā

{7} fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun fī 'ilmi al-ma'ānī wa- ~ Risālatu al-lama'āti fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Anīsu

{8} al-ʿushshāqi fī al-iṣṭilāḥāti fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-alwāḥi al-ʿimādiyyati

{9} fī al-ḥikmatī wa- ~ Hayākilu al-nūri li-l-Suhrawardī min qibali al-ḥikmatī wa- ~ Risālatu al-abrāji min qibali

{10} al-ḥikmatī wa- ~ Kitābun fī iṣṭilāḥāti al-ʿilmiyyati wa- ~ Kitābu al-ḥudūdi li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-iṣṭilāḥāti

{11} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Nuqūshu fuṣūṣi al-ḥikamī fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu al-jalālī wa-

{12} al-jamālī fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu al-lama'āti fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Ḥilyatu al-abdālī fī

{13} al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun fī ishārāti al-ḥurūfi fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun fī

{14} al-iṣṭilāḥāti al-ṣūfiyyati wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-iṣṭilāḥāti min qibali al-taṣawwufi

{15} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu Fuṣūṣi al-ḥikamī fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu tafsīri kalāmi Allāhi

{16} wa-ta'wīli al-āyāti wa- ~ Risālatu [al-]lawā'ihi fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Sharḥu bayti Mawlānā Khudāwandigār

⁵⁰ The catchword is *al-taṣawwuf* but the following folio begins with *li-l-Shaykh*.

{17} fi al-taṣawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-‘abādilati wa- ~ Kitābu al-shāhidi wa-al-mashāhidi

{18} wa- ~ Kitābun marqūmun bi-Tāji al-tarājimi⁵¹ wa- ~ Sharḥu al-asmā’i al-ḥusnā min al-Futūḥāti al-makkiyyati

{19} li-l-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-‘Arabī fi al-taṣawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābun fi al-ḥikmati

[131]

{1} wa- ~ Risālatun fi iṣṭilāḥāti al-ṣūfiyyati wa- ~ Kitābu awṣāfi al-ashrāfi fi al-taṣawwufi

{2} wa- ~ Risālatun fi asrāri al-nuḡṭati fi al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatāni fi al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun fi al-mu‘ammā

{3} wa- ~ Risālatun mawsūmatun bi-jam‘i mukhtaṣarin fi ‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi wa- ~ Risālatun fi ‘ilmi al-qawāfi wa- ~ Risālatun

{4} fi ma‘rifati al-jawāhiri al-ma‘daniyyati fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Thalāthu rasā’ila fi al-taṣawwufi wa-kitābun

{5} fi sharḥi ma‘ānī Naqshi al-fuṣūṣi fi al-taṣawwufi wa-Risālatu al-lawā’ihī fi al-taṣawwufi fi mujalladin

{6} wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatu al-ṭayri li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī min qibali al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Sittu rasā’ila

{7} fi al-ḥikmati fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-tajalliyāti fi al-taṣawwufi wa-Rashḥu al-zulālī

{8} fi sharḥi al-alfāzi al-mutadāwilati bayna arbābi al-aḥwālī wa- ~ Kitābun fi aḥwālī

{9} al-ḥurūfi wa- ~ Kitābu ma‘ārijī al-albābi fi kashfi al-afrādi wa-al-aqṭābi min qibali

{10} al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu rashfi al-ma‘īni⁵² fi kashfi ma‘nā al-nubuwwati wa-Sharḥu Ḥukmi al-wilāyati

{11} wa- ~ Risālatu al-lā’ihati al-‘ulwiyyati fi al-taṣawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatun fi qawlihi

{12} ta‘ālā wa-nafakhtu fihi min rūḥi⁵³ wa- ~ Risālatu al-ṭayri li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī min qibali

{13} al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu tafṣīli ahli al-bida‘i wa-Risālatu ghāyati al-imkāni fi

{14} al-tawḥīdi wa-Risālatu al-‘ilmi wa-Kitābu gulshan-i rāz fi al-taṣawwufi wa-Risālatu nuzhati

⁵¹ The manuscript has it vocalized as *al-tarājumi*.

⁵² J. G. Hava, *Arabic-English Dictionary* (Beirut: Catholic Press, 1951), q.v.: “water flowing upon the surface of the earth.”

⁵³ Q 15:29.

{15} al-‘āshiqīna wa- ~ Rişālatu nazmi Ibn al-Fāriḍ fi al-taşawwufi wa-‘asharu rasā’ila min qibali

{16} al-taşawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Thalāthūna kitāban aktharuhā li-l-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-‘Arabī

{17} fi al-taşawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābun fi lughāti al-Qur’āni wa-Risālatu sharḥi

{18} al-asmā’i al-ḥusnā wa-Risālatu al-hā’imi li-Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā fi al-taşawwufi wa-~ Kitābu

{19} kashfi al-asrāri fi al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu awṣāfi al-ashrāfi fi al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu

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{1} farā’ida manthūratin min maqālāti ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib -raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhu- wa- ~ Kitābu nathri al-la’ālī

{2} min kalimāti ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib -raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhu- wa- ~ Kitābun fi al-lughati wa- ~ Risālatun fi

{3} ādābi al-khaṭṭi wa- ~ Kitābu qānūni al-sa‘ādati fi şinā’ati al-muḥāsabāti fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{4} ≈ Risālatun fi al-laṭā’ifi wa-al-aḥwāli al-taşawwufiyyati • ≈ Kitābu al-fanā’i fi al-mushāhadati

{5} wa- ~ Kitābu al-qismi al-ilāhī wa- ~ Kitābu inshā’i al-jadāwili wa- ~ Risālatu al-amri al-marbūṭi

{6} wa- ~ Kitābu al-‘azamati wa- ~ Kitābu maqāmi al-qurbati wa- ~ Kitābu mafātīḥi al-ghaybi wa- ~ Risālatun fi

{7} sharḥi al-alfāzi wa- ~ Kitābu al-yā’i wa- ~ Kitābun fi sharḥi al-asmā’i al-ḥusnā wa- ~ Kitābu

{8} ḥilyati al-abdālī wa- ~ Kitābu al-tadbīrāti al-ilāhiyyati wa- ~ Risālatu ashkālī dawā’iri

{9} al-‘awālīmi wa- ~ Rasā’ilu mukhtaşaratun aktharuhā li-l-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-‘Arabī min qibali al-taşawwufi

{10} wa- ~ Risālatu malḥamati al-sanati allati allafahā Dhū-al-Qarnayn fi aḥkāmi al-sanati min qibali

{11} al-nujūmi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu fuşūlin fi al-taşawwufi wa- ~ al-Risālatu

{12} al-qudsiyyatu fi al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu Mawlānā Kāshghirī fi kayfiyyati al-dhikri wa-al-tawajjuhi

{13} fi al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Sharḥu rubā’i al-Shaykh ‘Aṭṭār wa- ~ Risālatun mawsūmatun bi-Mir’āti al-‘āshiqīna

{14} wa- ~ Rişālatun fi faḍli al-du‘ā’i wa- ~ Risālatun fi ‘ilmi al-khaṭṭi wa- ~ Risālatu ta’wīli Qişşati Yūsuf

{15} -‘alayhi al-salāmu- fi al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Qaşīdatun mawsūmatun bi-Waḍā’i’i al-ashāri fi şanā’i’i

- {16} al-ash'āri wa- ~ Qaṣīdatu al-āfāqi wa-al-anfusi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu
- {17} ghāyati al-imkāni fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu al-arba'īna al-ilāhiyyati wa- ~ Risālatu maqāmāti
- {18} arba'īna fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun mawsūmatun bi-Jihād-nāmah wa- ~ Risālatun nafīsatun
- {19} li-Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā⁵⁴ fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-ma'ārifi wa- ~ Risālatu yazdān-shinākht

[133]

- {1} wa- ~ Kitābu tabṣirati al-mubtadī fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ al-Abyātu al-'arabiyyat[u] wa-al-fārisiyyat[u]⁵⁵
- {2} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Minhāju al-'ābidīna fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābun ma'rūfun
- {3} bi-'Awārifi al-ma'ārifi fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu rawḍati al-murīdīna⁵⁶ fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun
- {4} fī firaqi ahli al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu al-sā'iri fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun qudsiyyatun fī
- {5} ziyāratī al-mazūri 'alā ra'si qabrihi wa- ~ Risālatun fī fawā'idī al-ḥurūfi wa- ~ Risālatu sharḥi mi'ati
- {6} kalimatin li-'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib -raḍiya Allāhu 'anhu- wa- ~ Risālatun fī bayāni awliyā'i Allāhi ta'ālā
- {7} min al-aqṭābi wa-ghayrihim wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-mashyakhati⁵⁷ wa- ~ Risālatun fī bayāni anwā'i al-mawti
- {8} fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu wāhibi al-mawāhibi wa- ~ Risālatu ma'ārijī al-albābi fī
- {9} al-afrādī wa-al-aqṭābi wa- ~ Risālatu sharḥi al-Qaṣīdati al-mīmiyyati al-musammāti bi-al-Khamriyyati fī
- {10} al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu taḥarruki al-'ishqi wa- ~ Risālatun fī khawāṣṣi al-ḥurūfi wa-Risālatu
- {11} bustāni al-ma'rifati min kalāmi Manṣūr al-ma'rūfi bi-al-Ḥallāj wa- ~ Risālatu al-najāti fī
- {12} ṭarīqi al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu waṣāyā al-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn al-Khwāfi fī al-taṣawwufi
- {13} wa- ~ Rasā'ilu mukhtaṣaratun fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābun fī faḍā'ila min qibali al-taṣawwufi

⁵⁴ The manuscript has *al-Kubrā*.

⁵⁵ The manuscript has a *kasra* as case ending for *al-'arabiyya* and *al-fārisiyya* (no case ending given for *al-Abyāt*), but *wa-al-Abyāt* ..., which begins a new entry, must be in the nominative.

⁵⁶ The manuscript has a *fatha* above the *dāl* for the dual.

⁵⁷ The manuscript has a *kasra* under the *shīn*, to read *mashīkha*.

{14} wa- ~ Kitābu waṣīyati rasūli Allāhi -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama- min qibali al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu

{15} al-futuwwati wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-wājibāti wa- [~] Abwābun fī al-faḍā’ili min qibali al-taṣawwufi •

{16} ≈ Iḥdā wa-thalāthūna risālatan fī al-taṣawwufi wa-ghayrihi wa- ~ al-Munājāt bi-al-fārisiyyati

{17} awwaluhā risālatun fī ḥamāqati ahli al-ibāḥati fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatun fī

{18} al-akhlāqī wa-al-siyāsati wa- ~ Kitābun fī qawānīni al-mulūki wa-risālatun manẓūmatun fī al-‘aqā’idi

{19} wa- ~ Qaṣīdatun nafisatun fī al-wujūdi min qibali al-taṣawwufi wa-kitābun marqūmun bi-al-ṣuḥufi

[134]

{1} al-yūnāniyyati wa- ~ Kitābun mawsūmun bi-al-Jamānati al-ilāhiyyati li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikmati wa- ~ Risālatun fī

{2} dafi al-aḥzāni wa- ~ Thalāthu rasā’ila fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-waṣāyā li-l-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn

{3} al-Khwāfi fī al-taṣawwufi wa-Risālatu rayḥāni al-qulūbi fī al-taṣawwufi wa-risālatun nafisatun

{4} li-l-Shaykh Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-lama’āti

{5} li-l-‘Irāqī fī al-taṣawwufi wa-Sharḥu al-Lama’āti wa- ~ Risālatu al-munāzarāti al-khamisi wa- ~ Kitābu

{6} gulshan⁵⁸-i rāz fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Khamsu rasā’ila fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu

{7} ādābi al-murīdīna li-Abī al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī wa- ~ Kitābu al-tadbīrāti al-ilāhiyyati

{8} li-l-Shaykh Muḥyi al-Dīn al-‘Arabī wa- ~ Kitābu al-naqabā’i⁵⁹ li-l-Shaykh ayḍan wa- ~ Kitābu mā lā yu’awwalu

{9} ‘alayhi lahu wa- ~ Kitābu ‘uqlati al-mustawfizi lahu wa- ~ Kitābu al-ḥujubi lahu wa- ~ Kitābu al-ḥalwati lahu

{10} -quddisa sirruhu- kulluhā fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-wāridāti wa-

{11} al-taqdisāti min qibali al-ṭilsimāti wa- ~ Kitābu al-yawāqīt fī al-laṭā’ifi wa- ~ Risālatun

{12} fī al-khawāṣṣi al-Qur’āniyyati wa- ~ Kitābu al-ṣuḥufi al-yūnāniyyati wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-laṭā’ifi

⁵⁸ The manuscript has both a *fatha* and a *kasra* under the *shīn*.

⁵⁹ Thus vocalized, but should read *nuqabā’*, with *ḍamma*.

{13} al-musajja‘ati wa- ~ Risālatun fī rasā‘ila ansha‘ahā al-Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Raḥīm wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-ṣalāti

{14} ‘alā zu‘mi Ibn Sīnā wa- ~ Abwābun wa-kalimātun fī al-mawā‘izi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{15} ≈ Tafsīru fātiḥati al-kitābi li-l-Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī min qibali al-taṣawwufi wa-Kitābu

{16} al-nafaḥāti al-ilāhiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu al-fukūki fī sharḥi al-Fuṣūṣi fī al-taṣawwufi

{17} wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-ḥaqā‘iqi wa-al-asrāri wa- ~ Kitābu al-tajalliyāti li-l-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-‘Arabī

{18} fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābun min kalimāti Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī

{19} -raḍīya Allāhu ‘anhu- wa- ~ Kitābun fī al-maḥabbati min qibali al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun fī tafṣīli

[135]

{1} al-qaḍā‘i wa-al-qadari wa- ~ Kitābu ishārāti al-Qur‘āni fī ‘ilmi⁶⁰ al-insāni fī al-taṣawwufi

{2} wa- ~ Kitābu natā‘iji al-adhkāri wa- ~ Kitābu tāji al-rasā‘ili wa- ~ Kitābu al-‘abādilati wa- ~ Risālatu

{3} al-ifādati li-l-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-‘Arabī fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu ‘uqlati⁶¹ al-mustawfizi li-l-Shaykh

{4} ayḍan fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu al-amri al-muḥkami li-l-Shaykh ayḍan fī al-taṣawwufi wa-thamānī rasā‘ila

{5} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābun fī martabati al-quṭbi wa-al-imāmayni wa- ~ Risālatu al-intiṣāri

{6} wa- ~ Risālatu al-anwāri fīmā yumnaḥu ṣāḥibu al-khalwati min al-asrāri wa- ~ Kitābu al-amri al-muḥkami

{7} al-marbūṭi fīmā yalzamu ahla ṭarīqi Allāhi min al-shurūṭi wa- ~ Risālatun fī mukātabatin ilā

{8} Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī kulluhā li-l-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-‘Arabī fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{9} ≈ Kitābu ḥaqqi al-yaqīni fī al-taṣawwufi wa-Kitābu gulshan-i rāz fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu

{10} kanzi al-rumūzi fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Qaṣīdatu Firdawsī min qibali al-taṣawwufi wa-

60 The manuscript has an erasure, as if *‘ilm* had been written erroneously; it appears to have been corrected to read *‘alim* (including a *fatḥa* above the *‘ayn*).

61 The manuscript has a (mistaken) *ḍamma* and *kasra* to vocalize the *tā’ marbūṭa*.

{11} ~ Kitābu jam‘i mukhtaṣarin fī ‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi wa- ~ Kitābun fī al-ṣalāti wa- ~ Kitābu maqṣad-i aqṣā

{12} fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu fāli al-kawākibi wa- ~ Arba‘u rasā‘ili fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{13} ≈ Risālatun fī iṣṭilāḥāti al-ṣūfiyyati marqūmatun bi-annahā⁶² li-l-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-‘Arabī

{14} wa- ~ Kitābu al-maqṣadi al-asmā fī al-ishārāt al-Qur’āniyyati li-l-Shaykh ayḍan wa- ~ Kitābu

{15} manāzili al-sā’irīna fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun musammātun bi-‘Umdati al-ṣūfiyyati wa- ~ Risālatun

{16} fī al-qaḍā’i wa-al-qadari wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-kalāmi fī al-fātiḥati ‘alā zu‘mi Ibn Sinā wa-

{17} ~ Kitābu ādābi al-murīdīna li-Abī al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun

{18} fī kayfiyyati al-tawajjuhi al-atammi ilā al-ḥaqqi ta‘ālā fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu bulbulnāmah

{19} al-manzūmu wa- ~ khamṣa ‘aṣharata rasā’ila⁶³ fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Mujalladun mulaqqabun bi-al-safīnati

[136]

{1} fīhi thalāthun wa-‘ishrūna risālatan awwaluhā Manāzilu al-sā’irīna fī al-taṣawwufi fī

{2} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-lawāmi‘i fī sharḥi al-Qaṣīdati al-mīmīyyati al-fāriḍiyyati wa- ~ Sharḥu

{3} kalimatin ṭayyibatin wa- ~ Sharḥu mushkilāt-i Mathnawī wa- ~ Rasā’ilu kulluhā li-l-Jāmī ba‘ḍuhā fī ghayri al-taṣawwufi

{4} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu kashfi al-wujūhi al-ghurri li-ma‘ānī Naẓmi al-durri wa-huwa sharḥu

{5} qaṣīdati Ibn Fāriḍ allatī sammāhā bi-Naẓmi al-durri fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābun fī naṣā’ihī

{6} al-salāṭini mawsūmun bi-al-Tibri al-masbūki fī naṣīḥati al-mulūki bi-al-aḥādīthi min qibali

{7} al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu ‘awārifi al-ma‘ārifi fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu mukhtārī al-ḥikami

{8} fī al-faḍā’ili wa-al-shiyami min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Sharḥu Kitābi miftāḥi al-ghaybi

{9} fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu nafā’isi al-‘anāṣiri li-majālisi al-maliki al-nāṣiri fī

{10} al-akhlāqi wa-al-diyānāti bi-al-aḥādīthi min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu ‘awārifi

⁶² The manuscript has corrected (a still legible) *-hu* to *-hā* in *bi-annahā*.

⁶³ The plural *rasā’il* would seem to be an error; the counted element after fifteen should be singular: *risālatan*.

- {11} al-ma‘ārifi fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu asrārī al-ḥukamā’i bi-khaṭṭi Yāqūt min qibali
- {12} al-naṣīḥati wa-al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābun yaḥṭawī ‘alā kalāmi al-Shaykh Abi ‘Abd Allāh al-Qurashī⁶⁴
- {13} al-Hāshimī wa- ~ Kitābu al-irshādi wa-al-taṭrīdi fi faḍli dhikri wa-tilāwati kitābihi al-‘azizi
- {14} wa-faḍli al-awliyā’i wa-al-nāsikīna wa-al-fuqarā’i wa-al-masākīni min qibali al-taşawwufi [fi mujalladin wāḥidin] •
- {15} ≈ Kitābu minhāji al-‘ābidīna li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu
- {16} al-salwati fi sharā’iṭi al-khalwati fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi fuṣūṣi al-ḥikami fi
- {17} al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu wāridāti al-Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn fi al-taşawwufi •
- {18} ≈ Kitābu akhlāq-i nāsirī min qibali al-naṣīḥati wa-al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatu mir’āti
- {19} al-muḥaqqiqīna min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu tuḥfati al-ṣiddīqi fi sharḥi kalimāti

[137]

- {1} Abī Bakr -raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhu- wa-Kitābu faṣli al-khiṭābi fi sharḥi kalimāti ‘Umar -raḍiya Allāhu-
- {2} wa- ~ Kitābu al-lahfāni fi sharḥi kalimāti ‘Uthmān -raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhu- wa- ~ Kitābu maṭlūbi
- {3} kulli ṭālibin fi sharḥi kalimāti ‘Alī -raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhu- kulluhā min qibali al-taşawwufi fi mujalladin
- {4} wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu laṭā’ifi al-ma‘ārifi fi waṣā’ifi shuhūri al-sanati min qibali al-taşawwufi •
- {5} ≈ Risālatun fi al-taşawwufi wa-asālībi al-tawḥīdi • ≈ Kitābu manāqibi Abī Zayd al-Biṣṭāmī
- {6} -quddisa sirruhu- • ≈ Kitābu bidāyati al-hidāyati li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī min qibali al-taşawwufi
- {7} wa-al-fiqhi • ≈ Kitābu manāzili al-sā’irīna fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu lama‘āt-i
- {8} Jāmī fi sharḥi al-Qaṣīdati al-mīmiyyati li-Ibn al-Fāriḍ fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu
- {9} waṣāyā Zayn al-Dīn al-Khwāfi fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatu tarjamati Ṣad kalimah-i ‘Alī -raḍiya
- {10} Allāhu ‘anhu- bi-al-fārisiyyati wa- ~ Risālatu futuwatnāmah-i ‘Alī -raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhu- wa- ~ Kitābu lama‘āt-i
- {11} ‘Irāqī fi al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Rasā’ilu ghayrihā fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu mukhtārī al-ḥikami fi

64 The manuscript seems to have a yā’, but this is an error.

{12} al-faḍā'ili wa-al-shiyami min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu faḍā'ili shahri ramadān min qibali

{13} al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu nuzhati al-arwāḥi li-l-Ḥusayn fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu

{14} tarjamati Ṣad kalimah-i 'Alī -karrama Allāhu wajhahu- bi-al-'arabiyyati wa-al-fārisiyyati al-manthūrati wa-al-manzūmati

{15} min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Maktūbu al-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-'Arabī ilā al-Fakhr al-Rāzī

{16} min qibali al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu qismati al-rub'ī al-maskūni naqlan 'an Baṭlamyūs fi mujalladin

{17} wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatun fi 'ajā'ibi al-qulūbi min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatu waṣiyati

{18} 'Alī -karrama Allāhu wajhahu- fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatun fi faḍā'ili ba'ḍi al-aḥwāli

{19} bi-khaṭṭin gharībin min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Muntakhabu Jāwidān-khirad fi al-naṣā'ihi

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{1} wa- ~ Risālatu al-aḥādīthi wa- ~ Risālatu munājāti 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī bi-al-fārisiyyati

{2} fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatu tafṣīli al-nash'atayni min qibali al-taṣawwufi •

{3} • ≈ Kitābu ta'līmi al-muta'allimi fi al-naṣīḥati min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu khālīṣati

{4} al-ḥaqā'iqi li-Abī al-Qāsim al-Fāriyābī fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Mashāriqu al-darārī

{5} fi sharḥi Nazmi al-durri li-Ibn al-Fāriḍ fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kashfu al-ḥaqā'iqi fi

{6} al-taṣawwufi • Qurratu al-'uyūni min qibali al-mawā'izi⁶⁵ • ≈ Kitābu mirṣādi al-'ibādi

{7} bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu mukhtārī al-ḥikami wa-al-ādābi min qibali

{8} al-naṣīḥati • ≈ Kitābu rabī'ī al-abrārī li-l-Zamakhsharī min qibali al-naṣīḥati •

{9} ≈ Kitābu nakhlistān min qibali al-naṣīḥati • ≈ Kitābu laṭā'ifi al-ma'ārifi

{10} fimā li-mawāsimi al-'āmmi min al-waḥā'ifi min qibali al-naṣīḥati • ≈ Kitābu ādābi

{11} al-dārayni bi-al-'adli fi al-naṣīḥati • ≈ Risālatu Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh fi sharḥi

{12} al-rubā'ī al-mashhūrī min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatun fārisiyyatun fi naṣā'ihi

{13} al-mulūki min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatun fārisiyyatun fi al-taṣawwufi •

{14} ≈ Kitābu aṭbāqī al-dhahabi fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatu qurrati al-'ayni fi

{15} al-amthālī min qibali al-naṣīḥati wa- ~ 'Awāmilu fi al-naḥwi wa- ~ Miṣbāḥun fi al-naḥwi fi

{16} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu anīsi al-waḥdati fi al-ṭurafi min qibali al-naṣā'ihi

{17} wa- ~ Munsha'at-i ba'ḍi al-afāḍili wa- ~ Rasā'ilu ukhrā fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

⁶⁵ A former entry was erased and replaced with the present one.

{18} ≈ Hibatu al-ḥaqā'iq bi-al-mughūliyyati fī al-naṣīḥati wa-al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu ḥurūfi

{19} al-suryānī 'alā naw'in min khuṭūṭihim wa-huwa alladhī yuktabu al-Injīlu bihi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

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{1} ≈ Kitābu laṭā'ifi al-minani fī manāqibi al-Shaykh Abī al-'Abbās wa-shaykhihi min qibali al-taṣawwufi •

{2} ≈ Kitābu mashārī'i al-ashwāqi min qibali al-naṣā'ihi • ≈ Kitābu jāmi'i al-'ulūmi

{3} wa- ~ Risālatu al-miṣbāḥi fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun fī sharḥi al-rubā'iyāti fī al-taṣawwufi

{4} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu tāji al-sa'ādati fī al-naṣīḥati al-malikiyyati • ≈ Kitābun

{5} fī al-siyāsati al-mulūkiyyati wa-al-akhlāqi al-ikhtiyāriyyati min qibali al-naṣīḥati wa- ~ Risālatu

{6} al-ṣuḥufi li-l-Shaykh al-Akmal fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kashfu al-asrāri

{7} 'an ḥikami al-ṭuyūri wa-al-azhāri min qibali al-mawā'izi wa-al-naṣā'ihi wa- ~ Risālatun gharībatun

{8} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu kashfi al-asrāri fī ḥikami al-ṭuyūri wa-al-azhāri

{9} min qibali al-mawā'izi wa-al-naṣā'ihi • ≈ Risālatu al-lawā'ihi li-l-Jāmī fī al-taṣawwufi •

{10} ≈ Sharḥu rubā'i-yi Abī al-Khayr Ḥawrā' bi-naẓārat-i nigāram ṣaf zad min qibali al-taṣawwufi •

{11} ≈ Kitābu al-waṣāyā li-l-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-'Arabī -quddisa sirruhu- fī al-taṣawwufi •

{12} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-asmā'i al-ḥusnā wa- ~ Kitābu al-tajalliyyāti fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu

{13} al-ḥujubi fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-khalwati wa- ~ Risālatu al-mu'awwalu 'alayhi fī

{14} al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu tafṣīli al-nash'atayni ~ Kulluhā li-l-Shaykh al-'Arabī wa- ~ Risālatun fī

{15} 'ilmi al-kalāmi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu tawṭi'ati al-mihādi fī faḍli al-jihādi fī

{16} al-naṣīḥati al-mulūkiyyati • ≈ Kitābu al-tadhkirati bi-umūri al-ākhirati li-l-Qurṭubī min

{17} qibali al-naṣīḥati • ≈ Kitābu miftāḥi al-ghaybi li-Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī kutiba

{18} 'alayhi sharḥu Mawlānā al-Fanārī fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābun bi-al-turkiyyati

{19} al-manẓūmati li-Wafā-zādah -quddisa sirruhu- fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Risālatun fī faḍli Makka -sharrafahā Allāhu

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- {1} ta‘ālā- • ≈ Kitābu al-muḥāḍarāti fī al-mawā‘izi wa-gharā’ibi al-ka[li]māti fī arba‘i
- {2} mujalladātin • ≈ Kitābun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-naṣā’iḥi • ≈ Kitābun fī ‘ilmi
- {3} al-akhlāqi • ≈ Kitābu akhlāq-i nāṣiri bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Kitābu
- {4} al-ṣaḥā’ifi fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa- ~ Risālatu inshā’i al-dawā’iri li-l-Shaykh al-‘Arabī min qibali
- {5} al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Sharḥu Ḥikmatī al-ashrāfi li-l-‘Allāma al-Shīrāzī fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {6} ≈ Sharḥu al-rubā‘iyyāti al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Tuḥfatu al-mulūki fī
- {7} al-naṣā’iḥi al-‘ajībati • ≈ Thalāthu rasā’ila min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu
- {8} al-ḥikami wa-al-mawā‘izi • ≈ Kitābu ghurari al-ḥikami fī mawā‘izi Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī
- {9} bin Abī Ṭālib -raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhu- • ≈ Zubdatu al-taḥqīqi fī sharḥi al-Nuṣūṣi
- {10} fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-iṣṭilāḥāti li-l-Qāshānī fī al-taṣawwufi
- {11} wa- ~ Kitābu al-ishārati li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikmatī al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Kitābu
- {12} al-ṭahārati li-Ibn Miskawayh⁶⁶ fī tahdhībi al-akhlāqi wa- ~ Risālatun li-l-Fārābī fī
- {13} al-akhlāqi • ≈ Tuḥfatu al-wuzarā’i fī al-mawā‘izi • ≈ Tarjamatu Kitābi
- {14} naṣīḥati al-mulūki bi-al-‘arabiyyati • ≈ Tarjamatu Kitābi naṣīḥati al-mulūki bi-al-‘arabiyyati •
- {15} ≈ Dhakhīratu al-mulūki fī al-naṣā’iḥi • ≈ Kitābu naṣīḥati al-mulūki bi-al-fārisiyyati
- {16} li-l-Imām Ḥujjat al-Islām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- • ≈ Dhakhīratu al-mulūki li-l-Sayyid
- {17} al-Hamadānī fī al-mawā‘izi • ≈ Kitābu al-nafaḥāti min qibali al-taṣawwufi •
- {18} ≈ Kitābu siyari al-mulūki li-l-Imām Ḥujjat al-Islām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- fī al-naṣā’iḥi
- {19} al-‘ajībati • ≈ Kitābu siyari al-mulūki li-Nizām al-Mulk fī al-naṣā’iḥi al-‘ajībati •

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- {1} ≈ Kitābu siyari al-mulūki li-Nizām al-Mulk fī al-naṣā’iḥi al-‘ajībati • ≈ Majmū‘atu rasā’ili
- {2} al-Shaykh ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt min qibali al-mawā‘izi • ≈ Kitābu al-siyāsati al-mulūkiyyati fī
- {3} al-akhlāqi al-marḍiyyati • ≈ Risālatu al-akhlāqi al-ḥamīdati bi-al-fārisiyyati •
- {4} ≈ Muntakhabun min Kitābi jāwidān-khirad fī al-naṣā’iḥi • ≈ Maḥāsinu al-shiyami tarjamatu

66 The manuscript has vocalized the name as Ibn Maskūyah.

- {5} sirāji al-mulūki bi-al-fārisiyyati wa- ~ Risālatu ash-rāṭi al-sā'ati wa- ~ Rāḥatu al-insāni
- {6} fi al-mawā'izi • ~ Kitābu al-kalimi al-rūḥāniyyati fi al-ḥikami al-yūnāniyyati fi al-mawā'izi •
- {7} ~ Kitābu al-ādābi al-mulūkiyyati wa-al-akhlāqi al-ikhtiyāriyyati min multaḳāti Aflātūn •
- {8} ~ Ṣafarnāmah min qibali al-naṣā'ihi • ~ Nuzhatu al-arwāhi fi al-taṣawwufi •
- {9} ~ Nuzhatu al-arwāhi fi al-taṣawwufi • ~ Kitābu al-qalā'idi fi al-naṣā'ihi al-musajja'ati •
- {10} ~ Kitābu al-qalā'idi fi al-naṣā'ihi al-musajja'ati • ~ Sharḥu al-rubā'iyāti bi-al-fārisiyyati
- {11} li-l-Jāmī • ~ Thalāthu rasā'ila li-l-Amīr al-Sayyid al-Hamadāni fi al-taṣawwufi • ~ Kitābu
- {12} al-qalā'idi fi al-naṣā'ihi al-musajja'ati wa- ~ Risālatu kāghidnāmah fi mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {13} ~ Risālatu awṣāfi al-ash-rāfi wa- ~ Risālatun fi al-marātibi al-thalāthi al-ṣūfiyyati wa- ~ Risālatu
- {14} qalandarnāmah fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ~ Risālatun fi al-manṭiqi wa- ~ Risālatun fi al-taṣawwufi
- {15} wa-ghayrihimā fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ~ Majmū'atun awwaluhā risālatun fi al-taṣawwufi
- {16} wa-ākhiruhā Bustānu al-maqlūbi • ~ 'Aynu al-fawā'idi min qibali al-naṣā'ihi wa-
- {17} ~ Riṣālatun fi al-taṣawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ~ Kitābu ghamgusār min qibali
- {18} al-naṣā'ihi wa- ~ Risālatun fi al-naṣā'ihi wa-al-muḥāḍarāti fi mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {19} • ~ Majmū'atun min rasā'ila bi-al-turkiyyati wa-al-fārisiyyati fi manāqibi al-Sayyid Aḥmad

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- {1} al-Kabīr -quddisa sirruhu- • ~ Majmū'atun min al-kalimāti al-mutafarriqati aktharuhā min qibali
- {2} al-mawā'izi • ~ Majmū'atun min rasā'ila fi al-ḥikmiyyāti al-falsafiyyati wa-ghayrihā wa-fihā
- {3} Kitābu al-maḍnūni bihi 'alā ghayri ahlihi li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- fi al-taṣawwufi •
- {4} ~ Kitābu al-dhakhā'iri wa-al-aghlāqi fi sharḥi Tarjumāni al-ashwāqi li-l-Shaykh Muḥyi al-Dīn
- {5} al-'Arabī -quddisa sirruhu- fi al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu miftāhi al-ghaybi li-l-Shaykh
- {6} Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī -quddisa sirruhu- fi al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu al-nuṣūṣi lahu
- {7} ayḍan fi al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu al-fukūki lahu ayḍan fi al-taṣawwufi fi mujalladin
- {8} wāḥidin • ~ Majmū'atun min rasā'ila fihā Kitābu al-sawānihi li-Aḥmad al-Ghazālī
- {9} -quddisa sirruhu- fi al-'ishqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ~ Majmū'atun min rasā'ila fihā

- {10} Risālatu al-naḥkhi wa-al-taswiyati li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- min qibali al-taṣawwufi
- {11} wa- ~ Fihā Risālatu al-Imām al-Fakhr al-Rāzī fi tafsīri al-suwari al-arba'i fi al-maṭālibi
- {12} al-arba'ati fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Majmū'atun awwaluhā Sharḥu al-alfāzi al-ṣūfiyyati
- {13} wa- ~ Mukhtaṣaru fuṣūṣi al-ḥikami fi al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Fihā Nafā'isu taṣānīfi al-Shaykh Muḥyi al-Dīn
- {14} al-'Arabī -quddisa sirruhu- • ≈ Majmū'atun min rasā'ila awwaluhā risālatun fi
- {15} tarakkubi jasadi al-insāni wa- ~ thāniyatuhā nuskhātu Waṣiyati al-Imām al-Fakhr al-Rāzī
- {16} -quddisa sirruhu- min qibali al-mawā'izi • ≈ Majmū'atun min rasā'ila awwaluhā Risālatu
- {17} al-mahdī wa-fihā Ḍaw'u al-lama'āti fi al-'ishqi min qibali al-taṣawwufi •
- {18} ≈ Majmū'atun min rasā'ila awwaluhā risālatun fārisiyyatun fi al-taṣawwufi •
- {19} ≈ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābun mawsūmun bi-Asrāri al-tanzīli

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- {1} li-l-Imām al-Rāzī -ṭāba tharāhu- min qibali al-naṣā'ihi • ≈ Kitābun mawsūmun
- {2} bi-Asrāri al-tanzīli li-l-Imām al-Rāzī -ṭāba tharāhu wa-quddisa sirruhu- min qibali
- {3} al-naṣā'ihi • ≈ Risālatun fi al-naṣīḥati • ≈ Risālatu mūnisi al-'ushshāqi min
- {4} qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Mir'ātu al-qulūbi bi-al-turkiyyati min qibali al-taṣawwufi •
- {5} ≈ Risālatu farā'idhi Allāhi wa-hiya arba'atun wa-khamsūna farīḍatan min qibali al-taṣawwufi •
- {6} ≈ Kitābu qurrati al-'uyūni min qibali al-mawā'izi wa- ~ Ḥadā'iqu al-ḥaqā'iqi fi 'ilmi al-shi'ri
- {7} wa- ~ Risālatun fi al-naṣā'ihi wa- ~ Lama'āt-i 'Irāqī fi al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Tuḥfatu al-'aqli
- {8} min qibali al-naṣā'ihi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatun fi ummahāti al-faḍā'ili
- {9} wa-al-akhlāqi li-Abī 'Alī bin Sīnā -raḥimahu Allāhu- wa- ~ Risālatu mukātabātihi ma'a Abī Sa'īd •
- {10} ≈ Kitābu al-munqidhi min al-ḍalāli wa- ~ Risālatu al-'ilqi⁶⁷ wa- ~ Kitābu al-maḍnūni bihi ilā
- {11} ghayri ahlihi wa- ~ Kitābu al-farqi bayna al-zandaqati wa-al-īmāni kulluhā li-Ḥujjat al-Islām
- {12} al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- min qibali al-taṣawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābun bi-al-fārisiyyati

67 Vocalized with a *kasra* under the 'ayn, but if meant to be one of al-Ghazālī's works, the title is unknown.

- {13} min qibali al-naşā'ihī • ≈ Taḍarru'nāmah-i Sinān Pāshā al-marḥūmi min qibali al-mawā'izi •
- {14} ≈ Kitābu al-laṭā'ifi fi naşā'ihī al-mulūki wa-ghayrihim • ≈ Kitābu 'Abd al-Raḥīm
- {15} mim mā sami'ahu min wālidihī fi al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Risālatu al-farqi bayna 'ilmi al-sharī'ati
- {16} wa-al-ḥaqīqati wa- ~ Risālatu al-Qushayrī fi al-taşawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {17} ≈ Kitābu al-furūqi wa-hiya mi'atun wa-arba'atun wa-sittūna farqan li-l-Shaykh al-Tirmidhī
- {18} -quddisa sirruhu- min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-lawā'ihī fi al-taşawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {19} ≈ Lawāmi'u fi sharḥi al-Qaṣīdati al-mīmiyyati al-khamriyyati al-fāriḍiyyati li-Mawlānā Jāmī fi

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- {1} al-taşawwufi • ≈ Dīwānu Ibn al-Fāriḍ fi al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu manṭūqāti
- {2} al-'abādilati fi al-taşawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Qurratu al-'uyūni min qibali [*al-amthāl wa, ṣaḥḥ*] al-mawā'izi •
- {3} ≈ Kitābun bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-ma'ārifi al-taşawwufiyyati • ≈ Kitābu sulwān
- {4} al-muṭā'i fi al-mawā'izi • ≈ Kitābu sirāji al-mulūki fi al-mawā'izi • ≈ Mir'ātu
- {5} al-jamāli li-Idrīs al-Bitlīsī fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sulwān al-muṭā'i
- {6} fi al-mawā'izi • ≈ Kitābu rabī'i al-abrārī li-l-'Allāma al-Zamakhsharī fi al-naşā'ihī
- {7} wa-al-ṭarā'ifi • ≈ Kitābu al-'iqdi al-farīdi fi al-naşā'ihī wa-al-faḍā'ili •
- {8} ≈ Majmū'atun fihā Mishkātu al-anwāri li-Ḥujjat al-Islām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- fi al-taşawwufi
- {9} wa- ~ Kitābu Abī Muṭī' Makḥūl fi al-taşawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu
- {10} al-ādābi fi 'ilmi al-akhlāqi • ≈ Kitābu al-taşfiyyati fi 'ilmi al-akhlāqi •
- {11} ≈ Kitābu al-tibri al-masbūki fi naşīḥati al-mulūki wa- ~ huwa tarjumatu kitābi al-Imām
- {12} al-Ghazālī bi-al-'arabiyyati min al-fārisiyyati • ≈ al-Risālatu al-sharīfatu bi-khaṭṭin
- {13} dīwāniyyin bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Nuzhatu al-arwāḥi fi al-taşawwufi •
- {14} ≈ Kitābu a'lāmi al-hudā fi al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Kitābu ādābi al-murīdina fi
- {15} al-taşawwufi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu fawā'idi al-sulūki fi faḍā'ili
- {16} al-mulūki fi al-mawā'izi • ≈ Majmū'atun fi awwalihā mukhtaṣarun bi-al-fārisiyyati
- {17} fi al-taşawwufi wa- ~ Fihā rasā'ilu fi al-muruwwati wa-al-futuwwati min qibali al-naşā'ihī •

{18} ≈ Kitābu al-kalimi al-rūhāniyyati wa-al-ḥikam al-yūnāniyyati jama‘ahu Abū al-Faraj fī al-naṣā’ihī •

{19} ≈ Minhāju al-‘ābidīna li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- fī al-taṣawwufi •

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{1} ≈ Mashāribu al-adhwāqi fī sharḥi Mīmiyyati Ibn al-Fāriḍ fī al-taṣawwufi •

{2} ≈ Akhlaṣu al-khāliṣati fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Qalandarnāmah min qibali al-naṣā’ihī •

{3} ≈ Kitābu al-ādābi al-mulaqqabu bi-Jāwidān-khirad fī al-naṣā’ihī wa-al-ḥikami • ≈ Awrāqun [muḥtami‘atun]

{4} min kitābin ~~wa-huwa al-ma‘rūfu bi-al-musāmarati~~ muḥāḍarati al-abrār [*wa-huwa al-ma‘rūfu bi-al-musāmarati*] li-l-Shaykh al-‘Arabī -quddisa

{5} sirruhu- jullidat ghayra murattabatin min qibali al-tawārīkhi wa-al-naṣā’ihī • ≈ Tarjamatu Kashfi

{6} al-asrārī ‘alā lisāni al-ṭuyūri wa-al-azhārī min qibali al-mawā’izi wa-al-‘tibārī •

{7} ≈ Kitābu al-ṣaḥā’ifi fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ ‘Aynu al-sharābi al-ṭahūrī li-l-Khujandī fī

{8} al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābi al-dharī‘ati fī makārīmi al-akhlāqi wa-al-naṣā’ihī •

{9} ≈ Sharḥu abyāti Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn wa- ~ Risālatu sharḥi Ma’nī-yi nay li-l-Jāmī fī

{10} al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-lamaḥāti fī sharḥi Lama‘āt-i ‘Irāqī fī al-taṣawwufi •

{11} ≈ Kitābu Aristāṭālīs⁶⁸ fī naṣīḥati al-Iskandar • ≈ Risālatun mutarjamatun

{12} bi-al-fārisiyyati min Kitābi Aristāṭālīs fī naṣīḥati al-Iskandar Dhī al-Qarnayn •

{13} ≈ Risālatu ‘Abd al-Laṭīf -quddisa sirruhu- fī al-ṭarīqati al-ṣūfiyyati al-zayniyyati •

{14} ≈ Kitābu al-ādābi al-mulūkiyyati wa-al-akhlāqi al-ikhtiyāriyyati • ≈ Risālatu al-‘aqli

{15} wa-al-‘ilmi wa-al-‘adli fī al-naṣā’ihī • ≈ Risālatu naṣā’ihī al-ḥukamā’i • ≈ Risālatu

{16} naṣā’ihī al-ḥukamā’i bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Risālatu Bahrām-shāhiyya min qibali

{17} al-naṣīḥati • ≈ Kitābu al-raddi al-jamīlī ‘alā ṣarīḥi al-Injīli wa-Kitābu shifā’i

{18} al-‘alīlī fīmā waqa‘a fī al-Tawriyati [Tawrāti] wa-al-Injīli wa- ~ Kitābu al-ta’wīlāti wa- ~ Kitābu

{19} al-munqidhi wa- ~ Kitābu al-maḍnūni bihi ‘alā ghayri ahlihi wa- ~ Kitābu al-futūḥi fī nafkhi al-rūḥi

68 The manuscript has a *ḍamma* (or *sukūn*) above the *rā*, but a *kasra* in the next line.

[146]

{1} wa- ~ Kitābu ḥilyati al-abdāli kulluhā⁶⁹ li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- min qibali al-taṣawwufi •

{2} ≈ Sharḥu rubāʿi-yi Ḥawrā be-naẓārat-i nigāram ʿalā ṭarīqati al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Dafīnatu kitābi

{3} Anūshirwān fī al-naṣāʾiḥi • ≈ Akhlāq-i nāṣiri fī al-naṣāʾiḥi • ≈ Kitābu al-ādābi

{4} al-mulūkiyyati wa-al-akhlāqi al-ikhtiyāriyyati • ≈ Kashfu asrāri al-Tawriyati [Tawrāti] bi-al-lughati

{5} al-ʿarabiyyati fī al-naṣāʾiḥi • ≈ Risālatun darwīshiyyatun min qibali al-taṣawwufi •

{6} ≈ Risālatun suryāniyyatun min al-Tawriyati [Tawrāti] mutarjamatun bi-al-ʿarabiyyati min qibali al-naṣāʾiḥi •

{7} ≈ Risālat-i ghawthiyya fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kashfu al-asrāri ʿalā ḥikami al-ṭuyūri

{8} wa-al-azhāri min qibali al-naṣāʾiḥi • ≈ Rāḥatu al-insāni fī al-naṣiḥati •

{9} ≈ Risālatun min kalimāti al-anbiyāʾi -ʿalayhi al-salāmu- wa-ghayrihim fī al-naṣāʾiḥi

{10} wa-Risālatu Buzurjimihr⁷⁰ [fī mujalladin wāḥidin] • ≈ Kitāb-i Fattāḥi min qibali al-naṣāʾiḥi • ≈ Kitābu

{11} al-muḥāḍarāti fī mujalladayni min qibali al-naṣāʾiḥi • ≈ Kitābun bi-al-turkiyyati min qibali

{12} al-naṣāʾiḥi • ≈ Risālatun nafīsatun fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatun sharīfatun

{13} bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Shabistān li-l-Fattāḥi min qibali

{14} al-naṣāʾiḥi • ≈ Risālatu Muḥammad bin ʿImād al-Subḥānī fī al-naṣāʾiḥi • ≈ Majmūʿatun

{15} min raṣāʾila minhā ~ Risālatun fī ithbāti nubuwwati rasūlina Muḥammad -ʿalayhi al-ṣalāti

{16} wa-al-salāmu- wa- ~ minhā Risālatu jawāhiri al-kalāmi fī al-naṣāʾiḥi wa-Kitābu nukati

{17} al-wuzarāʾi wa-Kitābu maʿāyibi al-nafsi fī al-naṣāʾiḥi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{18} ≈ Sirrun qalbiyyun bi-al-turkiyyati li-Gulkhanī (Gülḥānī) fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Sharḥu rubāʿiyyāti

{19} Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-naṣāʾiḥi •

[147]

{1} ≈ Waṣīyatu al-Manṣūr li-waladihi al-Mahdī -raḥimahumā Allāhu taʿālā- fī al-naṣāʾiḥi •

{2} ≈ Risālatun bi-khaṭṭin mughūliyyin wa- ~ Risālatu jāmi-jihān-numāy fī al-taṣawwufi •

⁶⁹ The manuscript has a *kasra* for *kullihā*.

⁷⁰ Thus in the manuscript; in Persian, Buzurgmihr.

- {3} ≈ Kitābu atwāqi al-dhahabi li-l-Zamakhsharī wa- ~ Risālatu mi'ati maqālatin 'alā uslubihī⁷¹ fi
- {4} al-naṣīḥati al-musajja'ati wa-pandnāmah-i Nūshirwān [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Risālatu atwāqi al-dhahabi
- {5} li-l-Zamakhsharī fi al-naṣīḥati wa-Risālatu al-laḥni fi al-lughati [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Risālatun fi sharḥi
- {6} abyātin fārisiyyatin wa- ~ Risālatun li-Mawlānā Jāmī fi bayāni ma'nā nay min qibali
- {7} al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatun fārisiyyatun nafīsatun fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Majmū'atun
- {8} min rasā'ila awwaluhā Tuḥfatu al-mulūki bi-al-fārisiyyati li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu-
- {9} fi al-naṣā'iḥi • ≈ Nihāyatu al-rutbatī fi ṭalabī al-ḥisbatī fi naṣā'iḥi al-muḥtasibī •
- {10} ≈ Risālatu sharḥi mā amara bihi Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib -raḍiya Allāhu 'anhu-
- {11} Mālik bin al-Ḥarth⁷² al-Ashtar fi al-naṣā'iḥi • ≈ Kitābun 'aẓīmu al-sha'ni fi al-naṣā'iḥi
- {12} marqūmun bi-annahu li-Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn -quddisa sirruhu- • ≈ Risālatu faḍīlati
- {13} al-jihādi bi-al-turkiyyati min qibali al-naṣā'iḥi • ≈ Khamsu rasā'ila thānīyatuhā Risālatu
- {14} ta'līmi al-muta'allimi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Ṭarabnāmah min qibali al-naṣā'iḥi •
- {15} ≈ Kitābu al-tadbīrāti al-ilāhiyyati fi iṣlāḥi al-mamlakati al-insāniyyati fi al-taṣawwufi
- {16} wa- ~ Sharḥu al-arba'ina ḥadīthan 'alā ṭarīqati al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Pandnāmah-i Nūshirawān
- {17} fi al-naṣā'iḥi • ≈ Irṭiyāḍu al-sāliki fi riyāḍi al-masāliki • ≈ Sharḥu Lama'āt-i
- {18} 'Irāqī al-mawsūmu bi-Ḍaw'i al-lama'āti fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Mukhtārūn min kalāmi al-ḥukamā'i
- {19} al-arba'ati al-akābiri min qibali al-naṣā'iḥi • ≈ Barī'u al-azhārī mukhtaṣaru Rabī'i

[148]

- {1} al-abrārī min qibali al-naṣā'iḥi • ≈ Kashfu al-asrārī 'alā ḥikami al-ṭuyūri wa-al-azhārī
- {2} min qibali al-naṣā'iḥi • ≈ Kitābu al-dharī'ati ilā makārimi al-sharī'ati wa- ~ Kitābu tafṣīli
- {3} al-nash'atayni kilāhumā li-l-Shaykh al-Rāghib fi al-naṣā'iḥi • ≈ Naṣā'iḥu al-Shaykh Muḥyi al-Dīn
- {4} al-'Arabī -quddisa sirruhu- • ≈ Risālatun manẓūmatun bi-al-'arabiyyati fi al-mantiqi wa- ~ al-Jumānatu
- {5} al-ilāhiyyatu li-Ibn Sīnā wa- ~ Risālatu mi'ati maqālatin fi al-naṣā'iḥi wa-rasā'ilu ukhrā [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] •

⁷¹ The manuscript has a *hamza* above the *hā'*, as if a Persian *eẓāfe*.

⁷² Thus in the manuscript (unless the sign above is a dagger *alif*), but it should be al-Ḥārith.

{6} ≈ Wasīlatu al-tā'ibīna fī al-naṣā'ihī al-muta'alliqatu bi-taḥrīmi al-khamri • ≈ Majmū'atun awwaluhā

{7} Qiṣṣatu al-khaybar wa- ~ thāniyatuhā Risālatu al-'ilqī al-nafisi al-maḍnūni bihi li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī

{8} -quddisa sirruhu- fī al-naṣā'ihī • ≈ Risālatu mujībī al-sā'ilīna li-l-Muḥibbī fī al-taṣawwufi •

{9} ≈ Kitābu asrāri al-anwāri al-ilāhiyyati li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- fī al-taṣawwufi

{10} wa- ~ Risālatun fī tafṣīli al-nash'atayni wa- ~ Risālatu tabṣirati al-mubtadī wa-tadhkirati al-muntahī

{11} fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-fiqhi bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manzūmati

{12} wa- ~ Kitābu al-madkhali al-manzūmi fī al-nujūmi wa- ~ Sharḥu al-Farrā' al-lāmiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] •

{13} ≈ Nuqūshu fuṣūṣi khawātīmi al-ḥukamā'i wa-ādābihim min qibali al-naṣā'ihī • ≈ Riyāḍu

{14} al-qulūbi fī al-'ulūmi al-muta'addidati awwaluhā al-taṣawwufu • ≈ Risālatu

{15} ṣafīr-i sīmurgh fī al-taṣawwufi wa-risālatun ukhrā [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Kitābu nathri al-la'ālī

{16} min kalāmi 'Alī -karrama Allāhu wajhahu- 'alā tartībī al-ḥurūfi min qibali al-taṣawwufi •

{17} ≈ Risālatu nathri al-la'ālī min kalāmi 'Alī -raḍiya Allāhu 'anhu- 'alā tartībī al-ḥurūfi min qibali

{18} al-naṣīḥati wa-al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatun suryāniyyatun min al-Tawriyati [Tawrāti] mutarjamatun bi-al-'arabiyyati

{19} min qibali al-naṣā'ihī • • ≈ **Risālatun fī aḥwālī al-ṣā'imi li-Muḥammad bin Quṭb** [*wa-huwa al-ma'rūfu bi-Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn-zādah -quddisa sirruhu-*]⁷³

[149]

{1} al-Dīn al-Iznīqī wa-risālatun fihā bayānu 'adadi al-kutubi al-muṣannafati al-mansūbatī

{2} ilā al-Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-'Arabī -ṭāba tharāhu- wa-hādhihi al-risālatu li-l-Shaykh al-madhkūrī

{3} **ayḍan min qibali al-taṣawwufi** • ≈ Manāqibu Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī

{4} fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu al-waṣāyā li-l-Shaykh al-Muḥyī al-Dīn al-'Arabī min

{5} al-Futūḥāti al-makkiyyati wa-Kitābu mawāqī'i al-nujūmi li-l-Shaykh al-madhkūr [fī]

{6} ~~al-naṣīḥati~~⁷⁴ min qibali al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

⁷³ This interpolation in square brackets was added by the same hand upside down on top of the line.

⁷⁴ Struck through with a red pen, but the *fī* in the previous line was forgotten.

[7–19 are blank]

[150]

[1–13 are blank]

{14} ≈ Kitābu tadhkirati al-awliyā'i -quddisa sirruhum- al-manẓūmu al-ma'rūfu bi-Walīnāmah •

{15} ≈ Kitābu tadhkirati al-awliyā'i -quddisa sirruhum- • ≈ Kitābu nafaḥāti al-unsī fi

{16} tadhkirati al-awliyā'i -quddisa sirruhum- • ≈ Risālatu tadhkirati Ibrāhīm bin Adham

{17} -quddisa sirruhu- • ≈ Kitābu tadhkirati al-awliyā'i bi-al-fārisiyyati -quddisa sirruhum- •

{18} ≈ Kitābu tadhkirati al-awliyā'i bi-al-fārisiyyati -quddisa sirruhum- • ≈ Kitābu

{19} tadhkirati al-awliyā'i al-musammā bi-Nafaḥāti al-unsī li-l-Jāmī • ≈ Tadhkiratu al-awliyā'i

[151]

{1} bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Tadhkiratu al-awliyā'i bi-al-fārisiyyati -quddisa sirruhum- •

{2} ≈ Manāqibu quṭbi al-awliyā'i Bahā' al-Dīn -quddisa sirruhu- •

[3–12 are blank]

{13} Tafṣīlu al-kutub al-ṭibbiyyati [*wa-mā yata'allaqu bi-al-ṭibbi bi-jihatin min al-jihāti ka-kutubi al-sumūmi wa-kutubi al-falāḥati*]

{14} ≈ Kitābu ṭibbi al-nabī -'alayhi al-salāmu- • ≈ Kitābu rawḍi al-insāni

{15} fi al-ṭibbi al-nabawī wa- ~ Risālatu [*bi-al-turkiyyati al-manẓūmati*] dhukhri al-'aṭshāni fi al-ṭibbi al-nabawī wa- ~ Risālatu [*bi-al-'arabiyyati al-manẓūmati*]

{16} ḥifẓi al-abḍāni fi al-ṭibbi ~ kulluhā min ta'lifāti aḍ'afi al-'ibādi al-'Aṭūfi

{17} al-khādimi li-kutubi al-khizānati al-'āmirati al-Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khāniyyati fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{18} ≈ Risālatu al-Nisābūrī fi al-ṭibbi al-nabawī wa- ~ Sharḥi Īsāghūji li-l-Fanārī wa- ~ Risālatun fathīyyatun li-Mawlānā 'Alī al-Qūshjī fi

{19} al-hay'ati wa- ~ Risālatun muḥammadiyyatun fi al-ḥisābi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ⁷⁵

[152]

{1} ≈ Dhakhīrah-i Khwārazmshāhī fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Dhakhīrah-i Khwārazmshāhī

{2} fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Dhakhīrah-i Khwārazmshāhī fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Dhakhīrah-i

{3} Khwārazmshāhī fi al-ṭibbi •

⁷⁵ Works listed in lines {18} and {19} were added in a smaller script by the same hand.

[4–6 are blank]

{7} ≈ Kitābu al-shifā'i bi-khaṭṭi mu'allifihī wa-huwa Khiḍir bin 'Alī al-ma'rūfu bi-Ḥājji Pāshā (Ḥācī Paşa) •

[8 is blank]

{9} ≈ Kitābu al-ta'ālīmī wa- ~ Kitābu al-farīdati kilāhumā min al-ṭibbī bi-khaṭṭi mu'allifihimā

{10} wa-huwa Khiḍir bin 'Alī al-ma'rūfu bi-Ḥājji Pāshā • ≈ Kitābu mā lā yasa'u

{11} fī al-ṭibbī • ≈ Kitābu al-mi'ati al-masīhī fī al-ṭibbī

[12 is blank]

{13} ≈ Khamsu mujalladātin min Kitābi al-ḥawī li-Muḥammad bin Zakariyyā kullun minhā murtabiṭun

{14} bi-al-ākharī fī al-ṭibbī • ≈ al-Mujalladu al-'āshiru min Kitābi al-ḥawī li-Muḥammad bin

{15} Zakariyyā fī al-ṭibbī • ≈ al-Mujalladu al-ḥādī 'ashara min Kitābi al-ḥawī li-Muḥammad bin Zakariyyā

{16} fī al-ṭibbī • ≈ al-Mujalladu al-'ishrūna min Kitābi al-ḥawī li-Muḥammad bin Zakariyyā fī

{17} al-ṭibbī •

[18, 19 are blank]

[153]

{1} ≈ al-Risālatu al-shawqiyyatu li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf wa-Risālatu Muḥammad bin Zakariyyā fī al-ṭibbī wa-

{2} risālatāni fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-tajāribi li-Muḥammad bin Zakariyyā al-Rāzī fī al-ṭibbī •

{3} ≈ Kitābu al-fākhiri li-Muḥammad bin Zakariyyā fī al-ṭibbī fī mujalladayni •

[4 is blank]

{5} ≈ Kitābu al-fuṣūli li-Buqrāṭ⁷⁶ fī al-ṭibbī wa- ~ Kitābu Muḥammad bin Zakariyyā fī

{6} al-qūlanji fī al-ṭibbī wa- ~ Kitābun fimā yaḥtāju ilayhi al-mutaṭabbibu min 'ilmi al-nujūmi fī

{7} al-ṭibbī wa- ~ Kitābu al-lu'lu'ati fī tadbīri al-ṣiḥḥati fī al-ṭibbī wa- ~ Kitābun fī

{8} al-khadari wa-sab'ata 'ashara kitāban fī al-ṭibbī fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu

{9} taqdimati al-ma'rifati alladhī huwa tarjamatu kitābi Abuqrāṭ fī al-ṭibbī •

{10} ≈ Ahada 'ashara kitāban li-Abuqrāṭ fī al-ṭibbī fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu Fuṣūli

{11} Abuqrāṭ fī al-ṭibbī • ≈ Kitābu al-ahwiyati wa-al-buldāni li-Abuqrāṭ

⁷⁶ Hippocrates, spelled as Abuqrāṭ below.

- {12} tarjamatu Ḥunayn fī al-ṭibbī wa- ~ Maqālatu Jālīnūs⁷⁷ tarjamahu Ibn Sīnā fī al-ṭibbī
 {13} wa- [~] Kitābu Badhīghūrūs⁷⁸ fī abdālī al-adwiyati fī al-ṭibbī fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
 {14} ≈ Kitābu fuṣūli Abuqrāt fī al-ṭibbī wa- ~ Kitābu qaḍāyā Abuqrāt fī al-ṭibbī
 {15} wa-Kitābu al-urjūzati li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-ṭibbī fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu
 {16} al-fuṣūli li-Abuqrāt fī al-ṭibbī wa- ~ Kitābun ma'rūfun bi-Qānūnchah fī al-ṭibbī
 {17} wa-maqālatun fī al-bāhi fī al-ṭibbī wa-rasā'ilu ukhrā fī al-ṭibbī wa-ghayrihi fī
 {18} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Majmū'atu rasā'ila minhā risālatun nafisatun fī al-adwiyati
 {19} al-mushilati fī al-ṭibbī wa- ~ Risālatu Muḥammad bin Zakariyyā fī al-ṭibbī wa-risālatun
 'alā

[154]

- {1} ṭarīqati Fuṣūli Abuqrāt fī al-ṭibbī wa-Risālatu al-i'tirāḍāti 'alā kalimāti
 {2} Ibn Sīnā fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Majmū'atun min kutubi al-ṭibbī awwaluhā Kitābu
 {3} tadbiri al-amrāḍi al-ḥāddati li-Abuqrāt wa-fihā Kitābu asrāri al-nisā'i
 {4} li-Jālīnūs wa-fihā Kitābu al-furūqi li-Ibn Ḥalwān al-ṭabībī •
 [5, 6 are blank]
 {7} ≈ Kitābu al-adwiyati al-mufradati li-Jālīnūs naqalahu Ḥunayn bin Ishāq wa-huwa
 {8} iḥdā 'asharata maqālatan fī al-ṭibbī • ≈ Kitābu al-'ilali wa-al-a'rāḍi li-Jālīnūs
 {9} alladhi tarjamahu Ḥunayn bin Ishāq wa-huwa sittu maqālātīn fī al-ṭibbī •
 {10} ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min jawāmi'i kutubi Jālīnūs mimmā naqalahu Ḥunayn
 al-mutaṭabbibu mubtadi'an
 {11} bi-farqi al-ṭibbī wa-mukhtatiman bi-aṣnāfi al-a'rāḍi fī al-ṭibbī • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu
 {12} min jawāmi'i kutubi Jālīnūs mimmā naqalahu Ḥunayn mubtadi'an bi-farqi al-ṭibbī
 {13} wa-mukhtatiman bi-al-buḥrāni fī al-ṭibbī • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min jawāmi'i kutubi
 {14} Jālīnūs mimmā naqalahu Ḥunayn al-mutaṭabbibu mubtadi'an bi-farqi al-ṭibbī
 {15} wa-mukhtatiman bi-asbābi al-a'rāḍi fī al-ṭibbī • ≈ Mujalladun min jawāmi'i
 {16} Kitābi Jālīnūs mimmā naqalahu Ḥunayn al-mutaṭabbibu mubtadi'an bi-al-ustūqussāti
 {17} wa-mukhtatiman bi-al-nabḍi fī al-ṭibbī • ≈ Mujalladun thānin fīmā naqalahu Ḥunayn
 {18} min Kitābi Jālīnūs mubtadi'an bi-al-quwā al-ṭabī'iyyati wa-mukhtatiman bi-al-nabḍi
 {19} al-kabīri fī al-ṭibbī • ≈ Kitābu jawāmi'i Kitābi Jālīnūs tarjamahu Ḥunayn

⁷⁷ Galen.

⁷⁸ Pythagoras (Ar. Fīthāghūrus)?

[155]

{1} al-mutaṭabbibu⁷⁹ muṭtadi'an bi-al-ṭabī'ati wa-mukhtatiman bi-ṭarīqi al-ḥīlati li-l-bur'i fi al-ṭibbi •

{2} ≈ Kitābu tafsīri Jālīnūs li-Fuṣūli kitābi Buqrāṭ tarjamahu Ḥunayn al-mutaṭabbibu

{3} fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu ikhtiṣārāti kutubi Jālīnūs muṭtadi'an bi-al-ustuquṣṣāti

{4} wa-mukhtatiman bi-tatimmat al-tashrīhi fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu tarkībi al-adwiyati

{5} bi-ḥasabi al-mawāḍi'i al-ālimati fihi 'ashru maqālātīn manqūlātīn min Kitābi Jālīnūs

{6} fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Risālatun fi tafṣīli aḥwālī kutubi Jālīnūs li-Ḥunayn

{7} wa-Kitābu al-jawāmi'i min kutubi Jālīnūs muṭtadi'an bi-al-adwiyati al-munqiyati⁸⁰ wa-

{8} mukhtatiman bi-al-tadbīri al-mulaṭṭifi fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-mawāḍi'i al-ālimati

{9} li-Jālīnūs naqalahu Ḥunayn al-mutaṭabbibu fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābun fi tafṣīli

{10} aḥwālī kutubi Jālīnūs wa-fimā naqalahu Ḥunayn min Kitābi Jālīnūs

{11} muṭtadi'an bi-al-burhāni 'alā anna al-dama muḥtabisun wa-mukhtatiman bi-al-maqālātī al-thāniyati fi

{12} al-manī fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu jawāmi'i Kitābi Jālīnūs fi al-tiryāqi

{13} muṭtadi'an bi-ṣūratī Andarūmākhis⁸¹ al-ṭabībi wa-mukhtatiman bi-ṣūwari al-adwiyati

{14} fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Tafsīru Jālīnūs li-Fuṣūli Buqrāṭ tarjamahu Ḥunayn

{15} al-mutaṭabbibu fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābun yudhkaru fihi al-karamatu mim mā dhakarahu

{16} Jālīnūs fi quwā al-adwiyati wa-al-aghdhīyati fi al-maqālātī al-thāniyati tarjamahu

{17} Ḥunayn al-mutaṭabbibu fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Mujalladun min tafsīri Jālīnūs li-kitābi

{18} Buqrāṭ al-musammā Anīdīmīyā⁸² tarjamahu Ḥunayn fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Mujalladun min Sharḥi

{19} Kitābi Jālīnūs fi tashrīhi al-a'ḍā'i fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu jawāmi'i

[156]

{1} ḥīlati al-bur'i li-Jālīnūs fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Khamsu kutubin li-Jālīnūs fi

{2} al-ṭibbi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu arsas⁸³ li-Jālīnūs fi farqi

{3} al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu Jālīnūs al-ma'rūfu bi-al-Ṣinā'ati al-ṣaghīrati fi

79 The manuscript has a *kasra* under the final *bā'*, but as a modifier for Ḥunayn one expects it to be in the nominative, not part of an *iḍāfa*.

80 Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 9 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967–84) [henceforth, *GAS*], 3:129: *K. fi l-Adwīya al-munqīya*.

81 Andromachus (d. 68 CE), the physician.

82 Animedia.

83 *GAS*, 3:79: *K. Arāsīs*.

{4} al-ṭibbi •

[5–10 are blank]

{11} ≈ Kitāb al-ḥāwī li-l-Shīrāzī fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-ḥāwī li-Najm al-Dīn

{12} al-Shīrāzī fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitāb al-ḥāwī li-l-Shīrāzī fī al-ṭibbi •

[13 is blank]

{14} ≈ Kitābu al-qānūni fī ‘ilmi al-ṭibbi •

{15} ≈ [al-]Qānūnu fī al-ṭibbi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ al-Qānūnu fī ‘ilmi al-ṭibbi fī mujalladin

{16} wāḥidin • ≈ [al-]Qānūnu fī al-ṭibbi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-qānūni

{17} fī al-ṭibbi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ al-Qānūnu fī al-ṭibbi fī thalāthi mujalladātin •

{18} ≈ al-Qānūnu fī al-ṭibbi fī mujalladayni • ≈ Mukhtaṣaru Kulliyāti al-Qānūni fī al-ṭibbi
wa- ~ Kitābu

{19} al-qarābādīn li-l-Samarqandī fī al-ṭibbi [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Kulliyātu al-Qānūni
fī al-ṭibbi •

[157]

{1} ≈ Kulliyātu al-Qānūni fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kulliyātu al-Qānūni fī al-ṭibbi •

{2} ≈ Kulliyātu al-Qānūni fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kulliyātu al-Qānūni fī al-ṭibbi •

{3} ≈ Kulliyātu al-Qānūni fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kulliyātu al-Qānūni fī al-ṭibbi •

{4} ≈ Kulliyātu al-Qānūni fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Mukhtaṣaru Kulliyāti al-Qānūni li-l-Īlāqī

{5} fī al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Risālatu al-janīni fī al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-faṣḍi fī al-ṭibbi wa-arba‘u

{6} rasā‘ila fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Kitābi al-qānūni fī al-ṭibbi •

{7} ≈ Kitābu mukhtaṣari al-Qānūni fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Sharḥu Tashrīḥi al-Qānūni min qibali

{8} al-ṭibbi • ≈ Sharḥu Tashrīḥi al-Qānūni min qibali al-ṭibbi •

{9} Sharḥu Tashrīḥi al-Qānūn li-Zayn al-‘Arab fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Sharḥu Tashrīḥi al-Qānūni

{10} li-l-Qurayshī fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Sharḥu Kulliyāti al-Qānūni li-Zayn al-‘Arab fī

{11} al-ṭibbi • ≈ Sharḥu Kulliyāti al-Qānūni li-Zayn al-‘Arab fī al-ṭibbi •

{12} ≈ Sharḥu Kulliyāti al-Qānūni li-l-‘Allāma al-Shīrāzī fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Mujalladun

{13} awwalu min Sharḥi Kulliyāti al-Qānūni li-l-‘Allāma al-Shīrāzī fī al-ṭibbi •

{14} ≈ Sharḥu Kulliyāti al-Qānūni li-l-‘Allāma al-Shīrāzī fī al-ṭibbi fī tis‘i mujalladātin •

{15} ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Sharḥi Kulliyāti al-Qānūni li-l-Qurayshī fī al-ṭibbi •

{16} ≈ Sharḥu Kulliyāti al-Qānūni li-l-‘Allāma al-Shīrāzī fī al-ṭibbi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{17} ≈ Sharḥu Kulliyāti al-Qānūni li-l-Sāmīrī fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Sharḥu Kulliyāti

{18} al-Qānūni li-l-‘Allāma al-Shīrāzī fī al-ṭibbī fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu

{19} Kulliyyāti al-Qānūni fī al-ṭibbī • ≈ Mujalladun akhīrun min intikhābi Sharḥi Kulliyyāti

[158]

{1} al-Qānūni fī al-ṭibbī • ≈ Sharḥu Kulliyyāti [al-]Qānūni fī al-ṭibbī •

{2} ≈ Mujalladun min Sharḥi Kulliyyāti al-Qānūni li-l-Āmulī fī al-ṭibbī • ≈ Mujalladun

{3} thānin min Sharḥi Kulliyyāti al-Qānūni li-l-Shīrāzī fī al-ṭibbī • ≈ Tarjamatu Tashrīḥi

{4} al-Qānūni min qibali al-ṭibbī • ≈ Sharḥu kitābu al-Īlāqī alladhī huwa Mukhtaṣaru⁸⁴
Kulliyyāti

{5} al-Qānūni fī al-ṭibbī [• ≈] ⁸⁵ Kitābun fī al-ajwibati ‘an ishkālāti al-Imām

{6} al-Rāzī -ṭāba tharāhu- fī al-Qānūni fī al-ṭibbī [• ≈] Risālatu al-khizāniyyati fī al-i‘tirāḍi

{7} ‘alā Qānūni Ibn Sīnā fī al-ṭibbī [•]

{8} ≈ Kitābu al-mūjazi fī al-ṭibbī • ≈ Kitābu al-mūjazi fī al-ṭibbī • ≈ Kitābu

{9} al-mūjazi fī al-ṭibbī • ≈ Kitābu al-mūjazi fī al-ṭibbī • ≈ Kitābu

{10} al-mūjazi fī al-ṭibbī • ≈ Tarjamatu al-Mūjazi bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati fī

{11} al-ṭibbī • ≈ Kitābu al-mūjazi fī al-ṭibbī • ≈ Kitābu al-mūjazi li-l-Qurayshī

{12} fī al-ṭibbī •

[13 is blank]

{14} ≈ Sharḥu al-Mūjazi al-musammā bi-Ḥalli al-mūjazi fī al-ṭibbī li-l-Aqsarā’ī •

{15} [≈] Majmū‘atun awwaluhā Kitābu al-ajwibati ‘an i‘tirāḍāti sharḥi al-Imām al-Fakhr
al-Rāzī

{16} li-l-Qānūni fī⁸⁶ wa-thāniyatuhā Kitābu ‘umdati al-fuḥūli fī sharḥi al-Fuṣūli wa-hiya
Fuṣūlu

{17} Abuqrāṭ fī al-ṭibbī [•]

{18} ≈ Mukhtaṣarun ma‘rūfun bi-Qānūnchah fī al-ṭibbī wa-risālatun mukhtaṣaratun fī al-ṭibbī
fī mujalladin • [sic]

{19} wāḥidin • ≈ Mukhtaṣarun ma‘rūfun bi-Qānūnchah fī al-ṭibbī wa- ~ Risālatun ma‘rūfatun
bi-Sirāj

⁸⁴ The manuscript has a *kasra* for the reading *mukhtaṣir*.

⁸⁵ There is a space for the *butta*, while a triple dot seems to have been erased. See also lines {6} and {7} which have no erasure.

⁸⁶ The manuscript seems to be missing *al-ṭibb* here. The *butta* and triple dot are also missing in lines {15–17}.

[159]

- {1} al-Qumrī fī al-iṣṭilāḥāti al-ṭibbiyyati wa- ~ Kitābu al-aghdhiyati wa-al-ashribati wa-mā
 {2} yattaṣilu bihā fī al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Kitābun fī aṭ'imati al-marḍā wa-'ilājātiḥā fī al-ṭibbi fī
 {3} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Qānūnchah fī al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Risālatun mukhtaṣaratun fī al-ṭibbi fī
 {4} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Qānūnchah fī al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Risālatun ma'rūfatun bi-Sirāj al-Qumrī
 {5} fī al-iṣṭilāḥāti al-ṭibbiyyati fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Qānūnchah fī al-ṭibbi •

[6–10 are blank]

- {11} ≈ Sharḥu Qānūnchah fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Sharḥu Qānūnchah fī al-ṭibbi •
 {12} [≈] Sharḥu al-Qānūnchah fī al-ṭibbi •

[13 is blank]

- {14} ≈ Kitābu al-asbābi wa-al-'alāmāti li-l-Samarqandī fī al-ṭibbi •

[15 is blank]

- {16} ≈ Sharḥu Kitābi al-asbābi wa-al-'alāmāti alladhī li-l-Īlāqī fī al-ṭibbi •
 {17} ≈ Sharḥu Kitābi al-asbābi wa-al-'alāmāti li-l-Nafis fī al-ṭibbi •
 {18} ≈ Fuṣūlun li-l-Shaykh al-Ra'īs⁸⁷ fī al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Mukhtaṣarun fī uṣūli al-tarākibi
 {19} fī al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Sharḥu al-Asbābi wa-al-'alāmāti fī al-ṭibbi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

[160]

- {1} ≈ Kitābu al-aghrāḍi al-ṭibbiyyati fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-aghrāḍi
 {2} al-ṭibbiyyati wa-al-mabāḥithi al-'alā'iyati al-khwārazmshāhiyyati • ≈ Guzīda fī al-tawārīkhi
 {3} wa- ~ Kitābu al-aghrāḍi al-ṭibbiyyati ~ wa-fiqhu Kitābi durrati al-tāji wa- ~ Mukhtaṣarun
 {4} fī 'ilmi al-'arūḍi wa- ~ Kitābun muqannanun fī lughati al-fursi •
 {5} ≈ Kitābu kāmili al-ṣinā'ati fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī
 {6} al-tashrīḥi min qibali al-ṭibbi • ≈ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-tashrīḥi
 {7} min qibali al-ṭibbi • ≈ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-tashrīḥi min qibali
 {8} al-ṭibbi • ≈ Sharḥu al-Mukhtaṣari fī 'ilmi al-tashrīḥi min qibali al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Risālatu
 {9} aḥkāmi al-mawālidi • ≈ Kitābu jawāmi'i al-ḥisābi fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābi
 {10} wa-kitābun fī 'ilmi al-tashrīḥi min qibali al-ṭibbi •

[11–13 are blank]

⁸⁷ The copyist is using the titular designation for Ibn Sīnā. The manuscript has an erroneous *al-* defining Shaykh (it should be Shaykh al-Ra'īs).

- {14} ≈ Kitābu jāwami‘i al-ladhdhāti fi al-ṭibbi al-bāhī wa- ~ Kitābu rujū‘i al-shaykhi ilā
 {15} ṣibāhi fi al-ṭibbi al-bāhī fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu nuzhati al-aṣḥābi
 {16} fi mu‘āsharati al-aḥbābi fi ‘ilmi al-bāhi fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Mukhtaṣarun muḥfidun
 {17} fi bayāni quwwati al-bāhi fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-īdāhi fi asrāri
 {18} al-nikāhi fi al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Risālatun fi al-bāhi wa-rasā’ilu ukhrā fi al-ṭibbi
 {19} wa-ghayrihi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu muhayyiji shāhi bi-al-turkiyyati al-manzūmati

[161]

- {1} min qibali al-tawārīkhi wa-al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu jāwami‘i al-ladhdhati fi aḥwāli
 {2} al-jimā‘i min qibali al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-īdāhi fi asrāri al-nikāhi fi
 {3} al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-īdāhi fi asrāri al-nikāhi fi al-ṭibbi •
 {4} ≈ Kitābu al-īdāhi fi asrāri al-nikāhi fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-‘ursi
 {5} wa-al-‘arā’isi fi aḥwāli al-jimā‘i min qibali al-ṭibbi • ≈ Risālatun fi māhiyyati
 {6} al-saqanqūri fi al-ṭibbi wa- ~ al-Risālatu al-sayfiyyatu fi al-adwiyati al-mulūkiyyati wa-
 {7} ~ Risālatun fi al-duwāri wa- ~ Sittu rasā’ila kulluhā li-Ibn Jumay‘ fi al-ṭibbi fi mujalladin
 wāḥidin •

[8–10 are blank]

- {11} ≈ Kitāb al-wiṣlati⁸⁸ ilā al-ḥabībi fi al-ṭayyibāti wa-al-ṭibi min qibali al-ṭibbi •
 {12} ≈ Kitābu al-taraffuqi fi al-‘iṭri al-ma‘rūfu bi-‘Iṭrāmāh min qibali al-ṭibbi •
 {13} ≈ Kitābu al-wiṣlati ilā al-ḥabībi fi waṣfi al-ṭayyibāti wa-al-ṭibi min qibali
 {14} al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-taraffuqi fi al-‘iṭri min qibali al-ṭibbi •

[15, 16 are blank]

- {17} • ≈ [al-]Taṣrīḥu fi sharḥi al-Talwīhi fi al-ṭibbi •
 {18} ≈ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun mughnin fi ma‘rifati al-amrādi wa-al-asbābi wa-al-‘alāmāti
 {19} wa-al-mudawāti fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Ḥayātu al-ḥayawāni min qibali al-ṭibbi •

[162]

- {1} ≈ Kitābu ḥayāti al-ḥayawāni min qibali al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu ḥayāti al-ḥayawāni min qibali
 {2} al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu ḥayāti al-ḥayawāni min qibali al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu ḥayāti
 {3} al-ḥayawāni min qibali al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu ḥayāti al-ḥayawāni min qibali al-ṭibbi •

⁸⁸ Although the manuscript has a *kasra*, it is generally read with a *ḍamma*, *wuṣla*.

- {4} ≈ Kitābu ḥayāti al-ḥayawāni min qibali al-lughati wa-al-fiqhi wa-al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu
 {5} ḥayāti al-ḥayawāni min qibali al-lughati wa-al-fiqhi wa-al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu
 {6} nāfi' al-ṭibbi bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Kitābu taqwīmi al-ṣiḥḥati bi-al-asbābi
 {7} al-sittati fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu taqwīmi al-ṣiḥḥati bi-al-asbābi al-sittati
 {8} fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu taqwīmi al-ṣiḥḥati bi-al-asbābi al-sittati fi al-ṭibbi •
 {9} ≈ Kitābu tarjamati Taqwīmi al-abdāni bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Taqwīmu
 {10} al-abdāni fi al-ṭibbi wa- [*Kitābu, ṣaḥḥ*] taqwīmi al-ṣiḥḥati bi-al-asbābi al-sittati fi al-ṭibbi
 {11} wa-Aqrābādīnu muntakhabun fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Taqwīmu al-abdāni fi al-ṭibbi •
 {12} ≈ Kitābu taqwīmi al-abdāni fi al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Kitābu taqwīmi al-ṣiḥḥati bi-al-asbābi
 {13} al-sittati fi al-ṭibbi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu taqwīmi al-abdāni fi
 {14} al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun marqūmun bi-Şaydi al-khāṭiri fi al-ṭibbi
 {15} wa- ~ Kitābu al-talkhīṣi fi al-ṭibbi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun
 marqūmun
 {16} bi-Şaydi al-khāṭiri fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu maṣāliḥi al-abdāni wa-al-anfusi
 {17} fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu maṣāliḥi al-abdāni wa-al-anfusi fi al-ṭibbi •
 {18} ≈ Kitābun marqūmun bi-Kitābi al-tadhkirati fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Minhāju al-bayāni fi
 {19} al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu Abi Sahl al-Sijzī fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Sharḥu Kitābi

[163]

- {1} masā'ili Ḥunayn li-Abi al-Qāsim fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Sharḥu Kitābi masā'ili
 {2} Ḥunayn li-l-Qurayshī fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu masā'ili Ḥunayn ma'a ziyādāti
 {3} tilmīdhihi Ḥubaysh fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Mujalladun thānin min Sharḥi Kitābi masā'ili Ḥunayn
 {4} li-Abi al-Qāsim fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Taḥṣīlu al-ṣiḥḥati bi-al-asbābi al-sittati fi al-ṭibbi •
 {5} • Majmū'atun min al-rasā'ili al-nafisati fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu zubdati al-ṭibbi
 {6} fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu zubdati al-ṭibbi fi mujalladayni • ≈ Kitābun fārisiyyun
 {7} manzūmun fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābun fārisiyyun manzūmun li-l-Ḥalīmī -raḥimahu Allāhu- fi
 al-ṭibbi •
 {8} ≈ Kitābu nuzhatnāmah bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-ṭibbi wa-ghayrihi • ≈ Kitābu
 {9} al-is'ādi fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābun fārisiyyun fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Sharḥu
 {10} al-Urjūzati al-ṭibbiyyati al-mansūbati ilā Ibn Sīnā fi al-ṭibbi wa-Sharḥu al-Urjūzati
 {11} al-mantiqiyyati al-mansūbati ilā Ibn Sīnā fi al-mantiqi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •
 ≈ Mujalladun

- {12} awwalu min Kitābi al-hidāyati bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-ḥummayāti⁸⁹
 {13} li-Ishāq bin Isrā'īl fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-dhakhīrati li-Thābit
 {14} bin Qurra fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu khuff-i 'Alā' fi al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Kitābu
 {15} zubdati al-hay'ati fi al-hay'ati fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābun fārisiyyun mukhtaṣarun
 {16} 'alā arba'i maqālātīn fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Mukhtaṣarun fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Risālatun
 {17} tashkhīṣiyyatun fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Risālatu tuḥfati al-salāṭīni fi al-ṭibbi •
 {18} ≈ Kitābu al-tuḥfati fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-maqālātī al-nāṣiriyyati fi al-ṭibbi •
 {19} ≈ Kitābu ādābi al-sharābi min qibali ṭibbi al-naṣrānī • ≈ Risālatun fi al-firāsati

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- {1} wa-Kitābu zubdati al-bayāni fi al-ṭibbi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatu da'wati
 {2} al-aṭibbā'i wa- ~ Risālatun fi sharḥi Da'wati al-aṭibbā'i fi al-ṭibbi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •
 {3} ≈ Risālatu nu'ūti al-ḥayawānāti min qibali al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-talwīḥi ilā
 {4} asrāri al-tanqīḥi fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-talkhīṣi fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Sharḥu
 {5} Wasā'ili al-wuṣūli fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu Qusṭā bin Lūqā al-yūnānī fi
 {6} al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu iṣlāḥi masā'ili Ḥunayn fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Risālatun
 {7} nafisatun fi masā'ili al-nabḍi fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Sharḥu Wasā'ili al-wuṣūli
 {8} fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Risālatun fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Risālatu ṭibbin fārisiyyatun •
 {9} ≈ Kitābu siyāsati al-badani wa-manfa'ati al-sharābi wa-maḍarratihi fi al-ṭibbi •
 {10} ≈ Mir'ātu al-ṣiḥḥati fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Risālatun fi al-tadbīri wa-ḥifẓi al-ṣiḥḥati fi
 {11} al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu luqaṭi al-manāfi' fi al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Kitābu mukhtāri luqaṭi
 {12} al-manāfi' fi al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Kitābu mawā'izi al-mulūki fi mujalladin wāḥidin •
 {13} ≈ Kitābun fi ḥifẓi al-ṣiḥḥati wa- ~ Kitābu al-khawāṣṣi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatu
 {14} da'wati al-aṭibbā'i wa- ~ Risālatun fi sharḥi Da'wati al-aṭibbā'i fi al-ṭibbi fi mujalladin
 wāḥidin •
 {15} ≈ Kitābu al-as'ilati wa-al-ajwibati fi al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Risālatun fi al-bawli wa- ~ Kitābu
 {16} wa- ~ Kitābu [sic] Maghnīs Fī al-bawli fi al-ṭibbi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Mujalladun
 {17} awwalu min Kitābi al-mukhtāri fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābun sharīfun fi al-ṭibbi [.]
 {18} [≈] Kitābun manqūṣu al-awwali fi al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Risālatun katabahā al-Ḥakīm ilā
 al-Ma'mūn

89 GAS, 3:295.

{19} fi tadbiri al-badani fi al-ṭibbi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-urjūzati

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{1} li-Ibn Sīnā fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābun fi daf'i al-maḍārri al-kulliyyāti li-l-abdāni

{2} al-unsīyyati li-Ibn Sīnā fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-amālī al-irāqīyyati li-l-Fuṣūli

{3} al-ilāqīyyati li-Tāj al-Rāzī fi al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Thalāthu rasā'ila fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{4} ≈ Wasā'ilu al-wuṣūli ilā masā'ili al-Fuṣūli fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Arba'a asharata

{5} risālatan fi al-ṭibbi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Mukhtaṣarun fi ṣinā'ati al-ṭibbi

{6} wa-risālatun fi al-ramli⁹⁰ wa-thalāthu rasā'ila fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu

{7} minhāji al-dukkāni fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu Atānksūqnāmah-i Īlkhān

{8} fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu maṣālihi al-abdāni fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-tashili

{9} bi-al-turkiyyati fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu Ḥunayn bin Iṣḥāq fi al-masā'ili wa-ajwibatihā

{10} fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Risālatu ajwibati masā'ili Ibn Buṭlān fi al-ṭibbi •

{11} ≈ Kitābun marqūmun bi-al-Tanwīri li-Abī Maṣṣūr fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu

{12} mir'āti al-ṣiḥḥati fi al-ṭibbi •

[*Maṭlabu al-raṣā'ila al-kaḥḥāliyyati wa-al-jarrāḥiyyati*]⁹¹

{13} ≈ Kitābu imtiḥāni al-kaḥḥālīna fi al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Kitābu taqdimati al-ma'rifati li-Abūqrāṭ

{14} fi al-ṭibbi wa- ~ arba'u rasā'ila fi al-ṭibbi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu

{15} tadhkirati⁹² al-kaḥḥālīna fi al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Rasā'ilu ukhrā fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{16} ≈ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati li-Ibn Sīnā fi al-mantiqi wa-Risālatu al-urūqi al-mafṣūdati li-Ibn Sīnā fi al-ṭibbi •

{17} ≈ Kitābu jarrāḥiyyatin [*ay umūrin jarrāḥiyyatin*] khāniyyatin bi-al-turkiyyati ma'rūfun⁹³ bi-Jarrāhnāmah fi al-ṭibbi •

{18} ≈ Kitābun marqūmun bi-al-Zahrāwī fi 'amali al-jarrāḥīna fi al-ṭibbi •

{19} • ≈ Risālatu sharḥi al-Iṣṭilāḥāti al-ṭibbiyyati min qibali al-ṭibbi •

[*Maṭlabu sharḥi al-Iṣṭilāḥāti al-ṭibbiyyati*]⁹⁴

⁹⁰ The manuscript has a clear *kasra* under the *mīm* but it should probably be a *sukūn*, to read *raml*.

⁹¹ Written sideways in the right-hand margin, in the same hand. It refers to books listed between lines {13–18}, which were requested and checked out.

⁹² The manuscript has a clear *ḍamma* above the *rā'*.

⁹³ A definite article has been erased and there is a clear *tanwīn fatḥa*.

⁹⁴ Written in the same hand diagonally next to the book listed in line {19}, to which this note refers.

[166]

- {1} ≈ Majmū'atu rasā'ila fihā Zādu al-musāfirīna min qibali al-naṣīḥati wa-al-ṭibbi •
- {2} ≈ Majmū'tun fihā Pandnāmah-i Kaykāwūs wa- ~ Tarjamatu Taqwīmi al-ṣiḥḥati bi-al-fārisiyyati fī
- {3} al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-fawā'id min al-khawāṣṣi min qibali al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu
- {4} al-mubīni fī iṣṭilāḥāti al-mutakallimīna wa-al-ḥukamā'i wa- ~ Risālatu al-ḥikmatī al-'amaliyyati wa-
- {5} ~ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu wasīlati 'azīzi qawmin qad dhalla fī
- {6} al-ṭibbi • ≈ Risālatun turkiyyatun li-Mawlānā Akhī Çelebi -sallamahu Allāhu- fī ḥaṣāti⁹⁵
- {7} al-kulyati wa-al-mathānati fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Muntakhabu Faraḥnāmah-i 'Alā'ī fī
- {8} manāfi'ī al-ashyā'i min qibali al-ṭibbi • ≈ Risālatun [*naḥḥatun, ṣaḥḥ*] bi-al-'arabiyyati fī al-ṭibbi⁹⁶
- {9} Kitābun nafisun mukhtaṣarun fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu kunūzi al-ṭibbi al-laṭīfi •
- {10} ≈ Ḥifzu al-abdāni li-aḍ'afi 'ibādi Allāhi al-'Aṭūfi [*bi-al-'arabiyyati al-manzūmati*] fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ al-Tuḥfatu
- {11} al-saniyyatu fī al-maqālāti al-ṭibbiyyati li-Aḥmad al-Biqā'ī al-Ḥanafī fī al-ṭibbi •
- {12} ≈ Majmū'atun min rasā'ila awwaluhā mukhtaṣarun sharīfun fī ṣinā'ati al-ṭibbi wa- ~ thāniyatuhā
- {13} Risālatu ashkālī al-ta'sisi fī al-handasati • ≈ Majmū'atun min rasā'ila
- {14} awwaluhā risālatun fī al-ḥilati li-daf'i al-aḥzāni wa- ~ Fihā Risālatu Ibn Sīnā
- {15} fī al-adwiyati al-qalbiyyati fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Jawharu ḥifzi al-ṣiḥḥati fī al-ṭibbi •
- {16} ≈ Risālatu mabāḥithi al-nabḍi fī al-ṭibbi •
- [17–19 are blank]

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[*Maṭlabu rasā'ili al-amrāḍi al-wabā'īyyati wa-awjā'i al-mafāṣili wa-al-niqrisi*]⁹⁷

- {1} ≈ Risālatu al-wabā'ī fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Risālatun fī al-farqi bayna al-amrāḍi
- {2} al-mushtabihati fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Risālatu istikhrāji khaṭṭayni 'alā mas'alati al-handasati
- {3} li-taḍ'ifi al-madhbaḥi li-daf'i al-wabā'ī min qibali al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-ḥaṣili
- {4} fī 'ilāji al-mafāṣili fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Risālatun fī al-ṭā'uni fī al-ṭibbi •

95 The manuscript has a *kasra* under the *ḥā*'. A similar title (by al-Rāzī) is *al-Ḥaṣā' fī l-kulā wa-l-mathāna* (GAS, 3:288).

96 Unclear whether titles listed in lines {8} and {9} are part of a single volume or separate works.

97 Written vertically along the right margin, next to works on that subject.

- {5} ≈ Risālatu bur'ī al-ālāmi fī awjā'ī al-mafāṣili fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Risālatun
 {6} fī waja'ī al-mafāṣili wa-ghayrihā fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-ṭibbi fī tadbīri
 {7} al-musāfirīna wa-maraḍi al-ṭā'ūni bi-khaṭṭi mu'allifihi • ≈ Kitābu al-furūqi
 {8} bayna al-amrāḍi al-mushtabihati li-Ibn Ḥalwān al-ṭabībi fī al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Kitābu
 {9} al-urjūzati al-faṣīḥati fī khawāṣṣi al-a'māli al-ṣaḥīḥati • ≈ Majmū'atun
 {10} awwluhā risālatun fihā Sīrat al-Imām al-Fakhr al-Rāzī -quddisa sirruhu- ma'a taṣānīfihi
 {11} wa-fihā Ḍdāḥu maḥajjati al-'ilāji fī al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Fihā risālatun fī awjā'ī al-niqrisi
 {12} wa-al-mafāṣili fī al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Fī awākhirihā Iṣṭilāḥātu al-Qāshānī wa- ~ Risālatu
 {13} al-Imām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- fī al-kīmiyā' wa- ~ Sharḥu qaṣīdati Dhī al-Nūn
 al-Ḥākīm fī
 {14} al-kīmiyā'ī • ≈ Risālatu dā'ī al-asadi fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Risālatun fī
 {15} al-buḥrāni wa-Risālatu al-fawā'id al-multaqaṭati min al-Shifā'ī fī al-ṭibbi
 {16} wa-rasā'ilu ukhrā • ≈ Risālatun fī al-ḥarārati al-gharīziyyati li-'Alī al-mutaṭabbibi
 {17} fī al-ṭibbi [.]
 [18, 19 are blank]

[168]

[*Maṭlabu al-qarābādiniyyāti*]⁹⁸

- {1} ≈ Mukhtārūn fī aqrabādiniyyāti al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu qarābādīni bi-al-turkiyyati
 {2} fī al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Mukhtaṣaru Jālīnūs fī al-amrāḍi wa-al-adwiyati fī al-ṭibbi •
 {3} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu minhāji al-dukkān fī al-aqrābādīni fī
 {4} al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-qarābādīni 'alā tartībī al-'ilali min Kitābi al-asbābi
 {5} wa-al-'alāmāti alladhī ṣannafahu al-Samarqandī fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu
 {6} qarābādīni al-manẓūmu fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-talkhīṣi fī qarābādīni
 {7} Ya'qūb bin Ishāq al-Kindī fī al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu qarābādīni
 {8} Badī'ī fī al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-khamri fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Muntakhabu⁹⁹
 {9} Kulliyyāti al-Qānūni li-l-Ḍlāqī fī al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Wasā'ilu al-wuṣūli
 {10} ilā masā'il al-Fuṣūli fī al-ṭibbi wa-Kitābu al-asbābi wa-al-'alāmāti
 {11} li-l-Samarqandī fī al-ṭibbi wa-Kitābu al-qarābādīni 'alā tartībī al-'ilali fī¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Written vertically along the left margin, next to books on that subject.

⁹⁹ The manuscript has both *ḍamma* and *kasra* under the *bā'*.

¹⁰⁰ Something has been omitted here.

- {12} wa- ~ Kitābu atʿimati al-marḍā wa-rasāʿilu ukhrā fi al-ṭibbi fi mujalladin wāḥidin .
 {13} ≈ Muntakhabu Kitāb-i firdawsi al-ḥikmati fi al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Maqālatun fi al-adwiyati
 {14} al-mufradati al-mustaʿmalati fi al-aqrābādini fi mujalladin wāḥidin .
 [15–19 are blank]

[169]

[*Maṭlabu al-mufradāti wa-al-adwiyati*]¹⁰¹

- {1} [ʿaṭāʾ olundi] ≈ al-Jāmiʿu fi al-mufradāti li-Ibn al-Bayṭār fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ al-Jāmiʿu al-mufradāti
 {2} li-Ibn al-Bayṭār fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu taqwīmi al-adwiyati fi al-ṭibbi •
 {3} ≈ Kitāb al-ḥashāʾishi li-Dīsqūrīdus wa-huwa khamsu maqālātīn fi al-ṭibbi •
 {4} ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Kitābi Dīsqūrīdus fi al-ḥashāʾishi wa-ghayrihā wa-fihi khamsu
 {5} maqālātīn fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Mujalladun fihi arbaʿu maqālātīn min Kitābi Dīsqūrīdus
 {6} fi al-ḥashāʾishi wa-ghayrihā fi al-ṭibbi wa-fihi Kitābu al-karmi li-Ḥunayn bin Ishāq
 {7} fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu ikhtiyārāt-i Badīʿi fi al-adwiyati fi al-ṭibbi •
 {8} Ikhtiyārātu Badīʿi fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Mujalladun min Kitābi al-iʿtimādi fi dhikri
 {9} al-adwiyati al-mufradati fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-mughnī fi al-adwiyati al-mufradati
 {10} bi-ḥasabi al-ʿilājāti al-makhṣūṣati li-Ibn Bayṭār fi al-ṭibbi fi mujalladayni •
 {11} ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Kitābi al-mughnī fi al-adwiyati al-mufradati bi-ḥasabi al-ʿilājāti
 {12} al-makhṣūṣati li-Ibn Bayṭār fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-mughnī fi al-adwiyati
 {13} al-mufradati li-l-Harawī fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu manāfiʿi al-ḥayawāni bi-al-fārisiyyati
 {14} fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu manāfiʿi al-ḥayawāni li-l-Wazīr Abī al-ʿAlāʾ fi al-ṭibbi •
 {15} ≈ Kitābu manāfiʿi al-ḥayawāni li-ʿUbayd Allāh bin Jabrāʾil fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu
 {16} tarjamati Manāfiʿi al-ḥayawāni bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu manāfiʿi
 {17} al-ḥayawānāti fi al-ṭibbi • [*maṭlabu awzāni al-ṭibbi*]¹⁰² ≈ Risālatu Ḥunayn fi al-awzāni
 min qibali
 {18} al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Risālatu al-Baʿlabakkī fi al-awzāni wa- ~ Kitābu sharḥi asmāʾi al-ʿaqāqiri
 {19} al-mustaʿmalati fi ṣināʿati al-ṭibbi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-ṣaydanati [*ay
 al-taḥarrufi bi-jamʿi al-adwiyati*] fi

¹⁰¹ Written vertically along the right margin, next to books on that subject.

¹⁰² Written vertically at the bottom of the right margin, next to the volume it refers to.

[170]

- {1} fi [sic] al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābun fi daf'i al-maḍārri al-kulliyyati li-l-abdāni al-insāniyyati
- {2} fi al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Risālatu al-maḡālāt al-sābi'ati 'ashara fi al-adwiyati al-mufradati wa-
- {3} ~ Risālatu Ibn Sīnā fi al-adwiyati al-qalbiyyati fi al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun fi
- {4} ṣinā'ati al-ṭibbi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu manāfi'i al-Qur'āni wa-Kitābu
- {5} al-ṭawāliq al-mufsidati min al-jinni wa- ~ Risālatun fi abdāli al-adwiyati al-mufradati
- {6} wa-al-murakkabati wa- ~ Risālatun fi al-aḥjāri al-mulūkiyyati wa-Kitābu al-samūm li-Ibn Waḥshiyya
- {7} fi al-ṭibbi wa-rasā'ilu ukhrā fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu Ibn al-Bayṭār
- {8} al-mawsūmu bi-al-Mughni fi al-adwiyati al-mufradati fi al-ṭibbi fi mujalladayni •
- {9} ≈ Kitābu minhāji al-bayāni fīmā yasta'miluhu al-insānu min al-adwiyati wa-al-aghddhiyyati
- {10} fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-ḥikmati al-jāmi'ati fi al-adwiyati al-nāfi'ati fi
- {11} al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu uṣūli tarkībi al-adwiyati fi al-ṭibbi wa-rasā'ilu
- {12} nafisatun fi ghāyati al-nafāsati fi al-ṭibbi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatun fi
- {13} a'rāḍi al-adwiyati fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Risālatu naẓmi al-Mutanabbī 'alā wafqi qawli
- {14} Aristāṭālīs wa- ~ Risālatu khawāṣṣi al-ashyā'i min qibali al-ṭibbi • ≈ Mujalladun
- {15} awwalu min Kitābi mufradāti Abī Bakr al-Ṭabīb 'alā tartībi ḥurūfi abjadi fi
- {16} al-ṭibbi • ≈ Majmū'atun awwaluhā ḥallu al-mushkilāti min al-mughālaṭāti wa- ~ Fihā
- {17} risālatun 'alā tartībi al-ḥurūfi fi asāmī al-adwiyati al-mushkilati min qibali al-ṭibbi •
- {18} ≈ Kitābu al-jāmi'i li-Ibn al-Bayṭār fi al-adwiyati al-mufradati fi al-ṭibbi •
- {19} ≈ Risālatun fi tartībi al-adwiyati al-mufradati alwāḥan fi al-ṭibbi •

[171]

[1 is blank]

- {2} ≈ Kitābu al-tadāruki li-anwā'i khaṭa'i al-tadābiri li-Ibn Sīnā fi al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Risālatu
- {3} al-hindubā'i li-Ibn Sīnā fi al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Risālatu al-adwiyati al-qalbiyyati li-Ibn Sīnā fi
- {4} al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Risālatu manāfi'i al-sikanjabīn wa-maḍārrihi li-Ibn Sīnā fi al-ṭibbi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

[5 is blank]

- {6} ≈ Kitāb al-aghddhiyyati li-l-Isrā'īlī fi al-ṭibbi fi arba'i mujalladatin • ≈ Kitābu
- {7} waṣfi al-aṭ'imati al-mu'tādati min qibali al-ṭibbi • ≈ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati

{8} fi al-aghdhiyati wa-al-adwiyati fi al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-ṭabīkhi min al-aṭʿimati min

{9} qibali al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu al-ṭabīkhi fi al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Kitābu khuffi ʿAlāʾi fi

{10} al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Rasāʾilu ukhrā fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

[11, 12 are blank]

[*Maṭlab al-shumūmi wa-dafʿi al-shumūmi*]¹⁰³

{13} ≈ Kitābu azhāri al-afkāri fi jawāhiri al-aḥjāri wa- ~ Kitābu al-munqidhi min al-halakati

{14} fi dafʿi maḍārri al-shamāʾimi al-muhlikati fi al-ṭibbi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu

{15} al-sumūmi alladhī tarjamahu bi-al-ʿarabiyyati min al-nabaṭiyyati Ibn Waḥshiyya fi al-ṭibbi •

{16} ≈ Kitābu al-shumūmi alladhī tarjamahu bi-al-ʿarabiyyati min al-nabaṭiyyati Ibn Waḥshiyya fi al-ṭibbi •

{17} ≈ Maqālatun fi dafʿi al-ḥasharāti wa-sumūmi al-ḥayyāti wa- ~ Kitābu al-khawāṣṣi fi al-ṭibbi

{18} wa- ~ Risālatun fi khawāṣṣi al-aḥjāri fi al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Risālatu al-tawāludi wa-al-tanāsuli

{19} fi al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Risālatun fihā aqwālun maʿa sharḥi Ḥunayn fi al-ṭibbi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

[172]

{1} Kitābu al-falāḥati min qibali [*yaʿnī min ḥaythu bayānu al-manāfiʿi wa-al-khawāṣṣi minhu*] al-ṭibbi fi khamisi mujalladātin • ≈ Mujalladun min Kitābi

{2} al-falāḥati min qibali al-ṭibbi • ≈ Mukhtaṣaru Kitābi al-falāḥati min qibali al-ṭibbi •

{3} ≈ Mukhtaṣaru Kitābi al-falāḥati min qibali al-ṭibbi wa-mukhtaṣarun fi fiqhī al-Shāfiʿi wa-risālatun

{4} fārisiyyatun fi al-firāsati fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-falāḥati min qibali

{5} al-ṭibbi • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Kitābi al-falāḥati min qibali al-ṭibbi •

{6} ≈ Mujalladun thānin min Kitābi al-falāḥati min qibali al-ṭibbi • ≈ Mujalladun thālithun

{7} min Kitābi al-falāḥati min qibali al-ṭibbi • ≈ Kitābu Qaṣṭawīs¹⁰⁴ fi

{8} al-falāḥati min qibali al-ṭibbi •

[9–19 are blank]

[173, 174 are blank]

¹⁰³ Written vertically along the right margin, next to the volumes it refers to.

¹⁰⁴ The author's name, Qastus ibn Iskulastīqa, is spelled thus in the manuscript, with a *fatha* above the *qāf* and *ṭāʾ*, and a *yāʾ*. Cf. *GAS*, 4:317f.

[175]

[1–13 are blank]

{14} Tafşīlu kutubi al-siyari wa-al-tawārīkhi wa- ~ kutubi

{15} ādābi al-ḥarbi wa- ~ kutubi umūri al-riyāsati wa-al-salṭānati wa-al-siyāsati

{16} wa- ~ kutubi al-furūsiyyati wa-al-bayṭarati ya'nī farasnāmah [*ay bayṭarnāmah, ṣaḥḥ*]
wa- ~ kutubi bāznāmah

{17} wa- ~ kutubi sagnāmah wa- ~ kutubi 'ajā'ibi al-makhlūqāti

{18} wa- ~ kutubi šuwari al-aqālīmi

{19} ≈ Kitābu al-rawḍi wa-al-ḥadā'iqi fi tahdhībi sīrati khayri al-khalā'iqi min qibali al-tawārīkhi

[176]

{1} fi khamisi mujalladātin • ≈ Kitābu al-maqṣadi al-aqṣā fi tarjamati al-Mustaqṣā

{2} bi-al-fārisiyyati fi siyari al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama- min qibali al-tawārīkhi •

{3} ≈ Kitābu 'uyūni al-athari fi al-shamā'ili wa-al-siyari min qibali al-tawārīkhi •¹⁰⁵

{4} ≈ 'Uyūnu al-athari fi al-shamā'ili wa-al-siyari min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābun fi dhikri

{5} nasabi al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama- wa-dhikri ansābi al-'asharati
al-mubashsharati bi-al-jannati

{6} ismuhu Nuqāwatu al-akhbāri fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu aḥwāli al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi

{7} wa-sallama- min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu siyari al-nabī -'alayhi al-salāmu- min
qibali

{8} al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu siyari al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama- min qibali
al-tawārīkhi •

{9} ≈ Kitābu siyari al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama- min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu

{10} talkhīši sīrati al-Muṣṭafā -ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama- min qibali al-tawārīkhi •
≈ Kitābu

{11} siyari al-Muṣṭafā -ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama- min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu
siyari

{12} al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama- min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu siyari al-nabī
-ṣallā Allāhu

{13} 'alayhi wa-sallama- min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu siyari al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi
wa-sallama-

{14} min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābun fi faḍā'ili al-nabī -'alayhi al-salāmu- wa-naṣīḥati

¹⁰⁵ The manuscript has an erasure and a second *butta*.

- {15} al-mulūki wa-manāqibi al-khulafā'i wa-al-salāṭini wa-al-laṭā'ifi min qibali al-tawārīkhi •
- {16} ≈ Kitābun fi dhikri al-anbiyā'i -'alayhim al-salamu- wa-dhikri nasabi Sayyid al-anbiyā'i -'alayhi
- {17} al-ṣalātu wa-al-salāmu- wa-azwājihi wa-awlādihi wa-aṣḥābihi wa-'ulamā'i ummatihī fi
- {18} al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu siyari al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama- bi-al-turkiyyati fi thalāthi
- {19} mujalladātin • ≈ Kitābu khulāṣati al-Wafā bi-akhbāri dāri al-Muṣṭafā -ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi

[177]

- {1} wa-sallama- min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu siyari al-nabī bi-al-'arabiyyati fi al-tawārīkhi •
- {2} • ≈ Kitābu siyari al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama- bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-tawārīkhi •
- {3} ≈ Rawḍatu al-aḥbābi fi siyari al-nabī -'alayhi al-salāmu- wa-al-aṣḥābi fi al-tawārīkhi •
- {4} ≈ Kitābu al-siyari bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Siyar al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi
- {5} wa-sallama- bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu durji al-durari fi siyar Sayyid
- {6} al-Bashar fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu durarin manthūratin fi siyari al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu
- {7} 'alayhi wa-sallama- fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu al-'ārā'isi fi qaṣaṣi¹⁰⁶ al-anbiyā'i
- {8} -'alayhim al-salāmu- fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu al-'ārā'isi fi qaṣaṣi al-anbiyā'i
- {9} -'alayhim al-salāmu- fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu qaṣaṣi al-anbiyā'i -'alayhim al-salāmu-
- {10} bi-al-'arabiyyati fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābun fi anbā'i al-anbiyā'i -'alayhim al-salāmu-
- {11} wa-tawārīkhi al-khulafā'i wa-al-mulūki ilā sanati ithnatayni wa-ishrīna wa-arba'a mi'atin
- {12} bi-al-'arabiyyati • ≈ Kitābun 'arabiyyun fi tawārīkhi mashāhīri al-anbiyā'i -'alayhim al-salāmu-
- {13} wa-al-a'immati wa-al-khulafā'i • ≈ Kitābun arabiyyun fi tawārīkhi mashāhīri al-anbiyā'i
- {14} wa-al-a'immati wa-al-khulafā'i mawsūmun bi-Ishrāqi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu shawāhidi
- {15} al-nubuwwati li-taqwiyyati yaqīni ahli al-futuwwati bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-tawārīkhi •
- {16} ≈ Kitābu shawāhidi al-nubuwwati li-taqwiyyati ahli al-futuwwati bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-tawārīkhi •
- {17} ≈ Kitābu muthīri al-gharāmi fi siyar sayyidinā Khalīl al-Raḥmān -'alayhi al-salāmu- min qibali
- {18} al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābun fi aḥwāli Ibrāhīm al-nabī Khalīl al-Raḥmān -'alayhi

¹⁰⁶ Both the *kasra* below and *fatha* above the *qāf* have been erased.

{19} al-salāmu- min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu muthīri al-gharāmi fī faḍli ziyāratī

[178]

{1} sayyidinā Khalīl al-Raḥmān -‘alayhi al-salāmu- min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Jāmi‘u laṭā’ifi

{2} al-basātīni fī qīṣṣati Yūsuf -‘alayhi al-salāmu- min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu

{3} al-na‘īmi al-muqīmī fī aḥwālī al-nabī wa-‘itratihi -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama- min qibali al-tawārīkhi •

{4} ≈ Kitābu sīrati rasūli Allāhi -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama- min qibali al-tawārīkhi •
≈ Kitābu

{5} Sulaymānnāmah al-muṣawwaru fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu Sulaymānnāmah al-ghayru al-muṣawwari

{6} fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Risālatu al-tawārīkhi fī al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama- wa-fī ‘Alī

{7} -raḍīya Allāhu ‘anhu- wa-awlādihi -riḍwānu Allāhi ‘alayhim ajma‘īna- • ≈ Kitābu al-tuḥfati fī nasabī

{8} al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama- wa-aḥwālīhi wa-al-khulafā’i fī al-tawārīkhi
[• ≈]¹⁰⁷ Kitābu al-talqīhi min qibali

{9} al-siyari wa-al-tawārīkhi [•]

[10, 11 are blank]

{12} ≈ Kitābu nadīmi al-kirāmi wa-nasīmi al-gharāmi fī dhikri al-khulafā’i al-‘izāmi min qibali

{13} al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu sīrati Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-‘Azīz fī al-tawārīkhi •
[Maṭlabu Hikāyati ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-‘Azīz -quddisa sirruhu-]¹⁰⁸

{14} ≈ Kitābu al-riyāḍi al-naẓirati fī manāqibi al-‘asharati fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Tārīkhun mukhtaṣarun ‘alā al-sanawāti

{15} al-islāmiyyati marqūmun bi-Kitābi al-‘ibari fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ra’si

{16} māli al-nadīmi fī tawārīkhi a’yāni ahli al-islāmi • ≈ Kitābu tawārīkhi shuyūkhi

{17} ahli al-ḥadīthi ‘alā al-ḥurūfi al-mu‘jamati • ≈ Kitābu al-tawārīkhi fī madḥi a’immati al-islāmi

{18} wa-madḥi al-ṣulāḥā’i wa-al-mulūki wa-al-wuzarā’i wa-ghayrihim • ≈ Kitābu maqāmāti

{19} al-‘ulamā’i bayna yaday al-khulafā’i wa-al-umarā’i li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- min qibali al-tawārīkhi •

¹⁰⁷ A *butta* and title distinguishing mark above *Kitāb* are missing in the manuscript.

¹⁰⁸ Written vertically in the left margin, near the volume it refers to.

[179]

{1} ≈ Majmū‘atun min al-ṣahriyyāti aktharuhā min qibali al-tawārīkhi wa-fihā urjūzatun dhukira fihā

{2} jamī‘u al-khulafā‘i al-rāshidīna ba‘da al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama- •

{3} ≈ Kitābu taḥqīqi al-nuṣrati fī faḍli al-madīnati wa-ahlihā min qibali al-tawārīkhi •

{4} ≈ Kitābu tawārīkhi Makka wa- ~ Kitābu faḍilati Bayt al-Maqdis wa- ~ Kitābu manāsiki al-ḥajji

{5} wa- ~ Kitābu kashfi al-mahjūbi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ~ Kitābu muthīri al-gharāmi ilā ziyārati

{6} al-Quds wa-al-Shām fī al-tawārīkhi • ~ Mukhtaṣarun min tawārīkhi Makka -shar[r]afahā Allāhu

{7} ta‘ālā- • ~ Risālatun fī faḍilati Makka wa-mujāwaratihā wa- ~ Risālatun fī ṭūli

{8} binā‘ihā wa-‘arḍihā min qibali al-tawārīkhi wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{9} ≈ Muthīri al-gharāmi fī faḍā‘ili al-Quds wa-al-Shām wa-risālatun fī aḥwāli Bayt al-Maqdis

{10} fī al-tawārīkhi wa-Kitābu al-sab‘iyyāti fī al-mawā‘izi • ~ Kitābu al-mukhtaṣari fī tārikhi

{11} Makka al-musharrafati wa-al-Qaṣīdatu al-dhahabiyyatu fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{12} ≈ Mujalladun fī al-futūḥi al-shāmiyyati bi-al-‘arabiyyati li-l-Wāqidi fī al-tawārīkhi •

{13} ≈ Kitābu futūḥi al-Shām bi-al-‘arabiyyati fī al-tawārīkhi • ~ Kitābu futūḥi al-Shām

{14} bi-al-‘arabiyyati fī al-tawārīkhi • ~ Mujalladun fī al-futūḥi al-shāmiyyati bi-al-turkiyyati fī

{15} al-tawārīkhi • ~ Mujalladun fī al-futūḥi al-shāmiyyati bi-al-turkiyyati fī al-tawārīkhi •

{16} ≈ Qiṣṣatu Baṭṭal-i Ghāzī bi-al-turkiyyati fī al-tawārīkhi • ~ Qiṣṣatu Abī al-Muslim

{17} bi-al-turkiyyati fī al-tawārīkhi •

[18, 19 are blank]

[180]

[1–4 are blank]

{5} ≈ Qiṣṣatu julūsi Sulṭān al-Salāṭin Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān -a‘ānahu al-musta‘ānu-

{6} bi-al-turkiyyati • ~ Fatḥu wilāyati Qaraboğdān fī yadi Sulṭān al-Salāṭin

{7} Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān bin Meḥemmed Khān -zādah Allāhu ta‘ālā sa‘ādahū fī al-dārayni-

{8} fī al-tawārīkhi • ~ Tawārīkhu Sulṭān Meḥemmed bin Murād Khān ma‘a dhikri salṭanati

{9} Sulṭān al-Salāṭin Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān -khullidat khilāfatuhu- •

- {10} ≈ Risālatun fi tawārīkhi al-salāṭīni al-‘uthmāniyyati ilā tārikhi salṭanati Sulṭān
- {11} al-Salāṭīn Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān bin Meḥemmed Khān -khullidat khilāfatuhum- •
- {12} ≈ Dāstān-i gul u mul¹⁰⁹ ma‘a tārikhi salṭanati Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn Sulṭān
- {13} Bāyezīd Khān bin Meḥemmed Khān -khullidat khilāfatuhum- • ≈ Risālatun fi tawārīkhi
- {14} al-salāṭīni al-‘uthmāniyyati -abbada Allāhu ta‘ālā khilāfatahum- • ≈ Risālatu fathī
- {15} Iskandariyya bi-amri Sulṭān Meḥemmed Khān -ṭāba tharāhu- fi al-tawārīkhi •
- {16} ≈ Kitābu bahjati al-tawārīkhi alladhī dhukira fihi tawārīkhu ba‘ḍi al-salāṭīni al-‘uthmāniyyati
- {17} -khullidat khilāfatuhum- • ≈ Kitābu bahjati al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu bahjati al-tawārīkhi
- {18} ilā al-salāṭīni al-‘uthmāniyyati -abqāhum Allāhu ta‘ālā ilā yawmi al-dīni- • ≈ Risālatu
- {19} fathī Qusṭanṭīniyya fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Bahjatu al-tawārīkhi fārisiyyun [*ay kitābun fārisiyyun*] •

[181]

- {1} ≈ Kitābu fakhri al-manāqibi fi tawārīkhi al-salāṭīni al-‘uthmāniyyati -ubbidat khilāfatuhum-
- {2} bi-al-turkiyyati • ≈ Risālatun bi-al-‘arabiyyati fi tawārīkhi al-salāṭīni al-‘uthmāniyyati
- {3} -khalladahum Allāhu ta‘ālā ilā yawmi al-dīni- wa- ~ Risālatun bi-al-‘arabiyyati fi tawārīkhi Sulṭān
- {4} Meḥemmed bin Murād Khān min Āl-i ‘Osmān -qaddasa Allāhu ta‘ālā arwāḥahum al-ṭayyibāti •
- {5} ≈ Risālatu tahni‘ati ‘idin wa- ~ Risālatu fathī Sulṭān Meḥemmed bin Murād Khān -ṭāba tharāhumā-
- {6} Egriboz wa- ~ Risālatu fathī Kāraboğdān wa- ~ Risālatu fathī Aqçaḥiṣār wa-ghayrihā
- {7} fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Risālatun fārisiyyatun fi tawārīkhi al-salāṭīni al-‘uthmāniyyati
- {8} ilā salṭanati Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān bin Meḥemmed Khān
- {9} -zīdat sa‘ādatuhu- • ≈ Qiṣṣatu khitāni awlādi Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn
- {10} Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān -a‘ānahu al-musta‘ānu- li-Afṣaḥī fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābun
- {11} fi tawārīkhi Meḥemmed bin Murād Khān -ṭāba tharāhumā- • ≈ Mukhtaṣarun fi tawārīkhi
- {12} al-salāṭīni al-‘uthmāniyyati -khullidat khilāfatuhum- wa- ~ Risālatu al-Fārābī fi al-ḥikmati
- {13} al-falsafiyyati wa- ~ Risālatu sirati Ibn Sīnā wa-fihristi kutubihī •

¹⁰⁹ The manuscript has a *kasra* under the *sīn* for Persian *dāstān* (“history”) and, as always, a *kāf* for the Persian *gāf*.

[Maṭlabu Sīrati Ibn Sīnā]¹¹⁰

{14} ≈ Kitābu bahjati al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Risālatu fathnāmah-i sulṭānī fī al-tawārīkhi •

{15} ≈ Risālatun fī wilāyati Mora fī al-tawārīkhi •

[16–19 are blank]

[182]

[1–10 are blank]

{11} ≈ Tarjumah-i Iskandārnāmah min al-rūmī ilā al-turkī fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu

{12} Iskandārnāmah fī tis'ī mujalladātin fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu al-aḥwālī

{13} wa-al-akhbāri al-iskandariyyati wa- ~ Akhbāri ḥukamā'i zamāni Iskandār al-mazbūri fī

{14} al-tawārīkhi •

[15–17 are blank]

{18} ≈ Kitābu al-kāmili fī al-tārīkhi li-Ibn al-Athīr fī ithnay 'ashara mujalladan •

{19} ≈ Kitābu al-kāmili fī al-tārīkhi li-Ibn al-Athīr fī mujalladayni •

[183]

[1–3 are blank]

{4} ≈ Muntakhabu Tāji al-ma'āthiri fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu tāji al-ma'āthiri fī al-tawārīkhi

{5} wa-Kitābu badā'i'i al-azmāni fī waqā'i'i kirmāni fī al-tawārīkhi wa- ~ Kitābu al-munsha'āti

{6} wa- ~ Majmū'atun fī al-qaṣā'idi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu tāji al-ma'āthiri fī al-tawārīkhi •

{7} ≈ Kitābu tāji al-ma'āthiri fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Mujalladun akhīrun min Kitābi tāji al-ma'āthiri fī

{8} al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu tāji al-ma'āthiri fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu tāji al-ma'āthiri fī

{9} al-tawārīkhi •

[10–12 are blank]

{13} ≈ Kitābu tawārīkhi Ṭabarī • ≈ Kitābu al-tawārīkhi bi-al-fārisiyyati li-l-Ṭabarī •

{14} ≈ Kitābu al-tawārīkhi bi-al-fārisiyyati li-l-Ṭabarī • ≈ Tawārīkhu al-Ṭabarī bi-al-fārisiyyati •

[15, 16 are blank]

{17} • ≈ Kitābun musamman bi-Nizāmi al-tawārīkhi •

¹¹⁰ This faint note is written vertically along the right margin, next to the volume it refers to.

{18} ≈ Nizāmu al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu nizāmi al-tawārīkhi wa- ~ Kitābu majma'ī al-ansābi

{19} fi al-tawārīkhi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu nizāmi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu

[184]

{1} ≈ [sic] nizāmi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu nizāmi al-tawārīkhi bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Kitābu

{2} nizāmi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Nizāmu al-tawārīkhi bi-al-fārisiyyati •

{3} ≈ Kitābu tansūkhnāmah-i ilkhānī fi 'ilmi al-ahjāri wa- ~ Kitābu nizāmi al-tawārīkhi fi

{4} mujalladin wāḥidin •

[5, 6 are blank]

{7} ≈ Kitābu tawārīkhi al-'Utbī al-mulaqqabu bi-Kitābi al-Yamīnī wa- ~ Risālatun fi sharḥi mā ashkala

{8} min alfāzi Kitābi al-Yamīnī fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu tawārīkhi al-'Utbī

{9} bi-al-'arabiyyati • ≈ Kitābu tawārīkhi al-'Utbī • ≈ Kitābu tarjamati Kitābi al-Yamīnī

{10} bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu tarjamati Kitābi al-Yamīnī bi-al-fārisiyyati

{11} fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu tarjamati al-Yamīnī bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-tawārīkhi •

{12} ≈ Kitābu tarjamati Tawārīkhi al-'Utbī bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Kitābu tārikhi al-'Utbī •

{13} ≈ Kitābu tawārīkhi al-'Utbī • ≈ Sharḥu Tawārīkhi al-'Utbī bi-al-'arabiyyati •

{14} ≈ Sharḥu Tawārīkhi al-'Utbī bi-al-'arabiyyati •

[15, 16 are blank]

{17} ≈ Kitābu tārikhi Waṣṣāf •

[18 is blank]

{19} ≈ Kitābu al-mu'jami fi āthāri mulūki al-'ajami fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu al-mu'jami

[185]

{1} fi āthāri mulūki al-'ajami fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu al-mu'jami fi āthāri mulūki

{2} al-'ajami • ≈ Kitābu al-mu'jami fi āthāri mulūki al-'ajami • ≈ Kitābu al-mu'jami

{3} fi āthāri mulūki al-'ajami fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu al-mu'jami fi āthāri mulūki

{4} al-'ajami fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu al-mu'jami fi tārikhi mulūki al-'ajami fi al-tawārīkhi •

{5} ≈ Tarjamatu Kitābi al-mu'jami bi-al-turkiyyati li-Tāj-zādah (Tācīzāde) -rahimahu Allāhu ta'ālā- fi al-tawārīkhi •

[6–9 are blank]

{10} ≈ Tārikhu Jingīz Khān al-mashhūru bi-Tārikh-i jahān-gushāy fi al-tawārīkhi •

- {11} ≈ Tārīkhu Jingīz Khān bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu tārīkhi Jingīz
- {12} Khān bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu tārīkhi Jingīz Khān wa- ~ Kitābu
- {13} tārīkhi Jingīz Khān al-mashhūru bi-Tārīkh-i jahān-gushāy fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {14} ≈ Kitābu tārīkhi ghāzāniyyin fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Kitābi jāmi‘i
- {15} al-tawārīkhi alladhī huwa thalāthu mujalladātin wa-al-mujalladu al-awwalu minhā fī Tārīkhi Jingīz¹¹¹ Khān
- {16} wa-Ghāzān Khān fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Oghūznāmah bi-al-turkiyyati fī al-tawārīkhi •
- {17} ≈ Mujalladun thānin min Tārīkhi Jingīz Khān bi-al-turkiyyati • ≈ Mujalladun rābi‘un min Tārīkhi Jingīz Khān bi-al-turkiyyati •
- {18} ≈ Kitābu tawārīkhi Āl-i Saljūq wa- ~ Kitābu simṭi al-‘ulā fī tawārīkhi a‘yāni Kirmān fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {19} ≈ Kitābu rāḥati al-ṣudūri fī tawārīkhi Kaykhusraw wa-Āl-i Saljūq •

[186]

- {1} ≈ Kitābu tārīkhi Āl-i Saljūq wa- ~ Kitābu tārīkhi salāṭīni Kirmān wa- ~ Kitābu tārīkhi
- {2} Ūljāytū fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {3} ≈ Kitābu tārīkhi Ibn Khallikān al-musammā bi-Kitābi wafayāti¹¹² al-a‘yāni fī mujalladayni •
- {4} ≈ Tārīkhu Ibn Khallikān al-musammā bi-Kitābi wafayāti al-a‘yāni fī thalāthi mujalladātin •
- {5} ≈ Tārīkhun khallikāniyyun mawsūmun bi-Kitābi wafayāti al-a‘yāni fī thalāthi mujalladātin lākin
- {6} jildu ākhiri al-mujalladāti mukhālifu al-naqshi li-l-awwalayni • ≈ Kitābu tawārīkhi
- {7} Ibn Khallikān al-mawsūmu bi-Kitābi wafayāti al-a‘yāni fī arba‘i mujalladātin •
- [8–12 are blank]
- {13} ≈ Kitābu al-ẓāhirī fī al-‘ibari fī al-tawārīkhi fī sab‘i mujalladātin •
- {14} ≈ Kitābu al-bidāyati wa-al-nihāyati
- {15} fī al-tawārīkhi li-Ibn Kathīr fī thamāniyata ‘ashara mujalladan lākinna al-mujallada al-ḥādiya ‘ashara lam
- {16} yūjad •
- [17, 18 are blank]

¹¹¹ The manuscript has *yā*’ here, not above, however.

¹¹² The manuscript has a *kasra* under the *fā*’.

{19} ≈ Tārīkh-i guzīda • ≈ Tārīkh-i guzīda •

[187]

[1 is blank]

[‘aṭā’ olundı]¹¹³

{2} ≈ Tārīkh-i Taymūr (Tīmūr)¹¹⁴ bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Tārīkh-i Taymūr bi-al-fārisiyyati •
≈ Tārīkh-i

{3} Taymūr bi-al-fārisiyyati •

[4 is blank]

{5} ≈ Kitābu ‘ajā’ibi al-maḡdūri fī nawā’ibi Taymūr bi-al-‘arabiyyati fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu majmū‘ati

{6} ḥikāyāti al-a’yāni fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu ḥikāyatnāmah bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu ḥikāyat-

{7} nāmah bi-al-turkiyyati fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu tarjumah-i Sh[ā]hnāmah bi-al-turkiyyati fī mujalladayni •

{8} ≈ Kitābu jāmi‘ al-ḥikāyāti fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu ḥikāyatnāmah bi-al-turkiyyati fī al-tawārīkhi •

{9} ≈ al-Kitābu al-awwalu al-musammā bi-al-Tawḍīḥāti al-rashīdiyyati fī al-‘ilmiyyāti wa-al-tawārīkhi •

{10} ≈ al-Kitābu al-thālithu al-musammā bi-al-Risālati al-sulṭāniyyati min al-kutubi al-arba‘ati fī

{11} al-‘ilmiyyāti wa-al-tawārīkhi al-rashīdiyyati • ≈ al-Kitābu al-awwalu al-musammā bi-al-Tawḍīḥāti¹¹⁵

{12} al-rashīdiyyati min al-kutubi al-arba‘ati fī al-‘ilmiyyāti wa-al-tawārīkhi •

{13} ≈ al-Kitābu al-awwalu al-musammā bi-al-Tawḍīḥāti al-rashīdiyyati min al-kutubi al-arba‘ati

{14} fī al-‘ilmiyyāti wa-al-tawārīkhi • ≈ al-Kitābu al-awwalu al-musammā bi-al-Tawḍīḥāti

{15} al-rashīdiyyati min al-kutubi al-arba‘ati fī al-‘ilmiyyāti wa-al-tawārīkhi •

{16} ≈ al-Kitābu al-awwalu al-musammā bi-al-Tawḍīḥāti al-rashīdiyyati bi-al-fārisiyyati min al-kutubi

{17} al-arba‘ati fī al-‘ilmiyyāti wa-al-tawārīkhi •

[18, 19 are blank]

¹¹³ Written vertically above l. (2).

¹¹⁴ When vocalized, the manuscript has consistently a *fatḥa* above the *tā*, for Taymūr.

¹¹⁵ The *ḍād* is missing its dot.

[188]

[1, 2 are blank]

{3} ≈ Qişşatu ‘Antar fi al-tawārīkhi fi mujalladayni • ≈ Qişşatu ‘Antar fi al-tawārīkhi fi sittatin

{4} wa-thalāthīna mujalladan • ≈ Qişşatu ‘Antar fi al-tawārīkhi fi thamāniyatīn wa-khamsīna mujalladan •

{5} • ≈ Kitābu qişşati ‘Antar bi-al-turkiyyati fi al-tawārīkhi fi sab‘i mujalladātin • ≈ Abyātu

{6} Qişşati ‘Antar min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābun fākhīrun fi Qişşati ‘Antar bi-al-turkiyyati

{7} fi thalāthi mujalladātin •

[8–10 are blank]

{11} ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Kitāb-i samak-i ‘ayyār bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-tawārīkhi •

{12} ≈ Mujalladun min Kitāb-i samak-i¹¹⁶ ‘ayyār fi al-‘ishqi wa-al-balā’i bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-tawārīkhi •

{13} ≈ Mujalladun min Kitāb-i samak-i ‘ayyār awwaluhu ba‘da az ḥamdu wa-thana’i bi-pāyān āfarīdakārī-rā

{14} fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Qişşah-i samak-i ‘ayyār bi-al-turkiyyati fi al-tawārīkhi •

{15} ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Kitāb-i samak-i ‘ayyār bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-tawārīkhi •

{16} ≈ Mujalladun akhīrun min Kitāb-i samak-i ‘ayyār bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-tawārīkhi •

[17–19 are blank]

[189]

{1} ≈ Kitābu marzubānnāmah al-mulaqqabu bi-Rawḍati al-‘uqūli fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Marzubān-

{2} nāmah fārisī fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Marzubānnāmah bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-tawārīkhi •

{3} ≈ Marzubānnāmah bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Marzubānnāmah bi-al-turkiyyati

{4} fi al-tawārīkhi •

[5, 6 are blank]

{7} ≈ Kitābu Kalīla wa-Dimna fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kalīla wa-Dimna fi al-tawārīkhi •

{8} ≈ Kalīla wa-Dimna fi al-tawārīkhi • Kalīla wa-Dimna fi al-tawārīkhi •

{9} ≈ Kitābu Kalīla wa-Dimna bi-al-‘arabiyyati fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu Kalīla wa-Dimna

{10} bi-al-‘arabiyyati fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu Kalīla wa-Dimna al-muṣawwaru fi al-tawārīkhi •

¹¹⁶ There is a misplaced *kasra* under the *mīm*.

- {11} ≈ Kitābu Kalīla wa-Dimna fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu Kalīla wa-Dimna al-muṣawwaru
 {12} bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābun fihi Kalīla wa-Dimna wa-min ~ Kitāb-i
 {13} būstān-i Shaykh Sa’dī wa-min ~ Kitāb-i ṭūṭīnāmah min qibali al-tawārīkhi •
 {14} ≈ Kitābu Kalīla wa-Dimna bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Sharḥu abyāti Kalīla
 {15} wa-Dimna min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu ḥalli mushkilāti Kalīla wa-Dimna wa-[*huwa*
ṣaḥḥ] kitābun
 {16} nādiru al-wujūdi muṣaḥḥahun bi-ghāyati al-taṣḥīḥi fī al-tawārīkhi •
 [17 is blank]
 {18} ≈ Tawārīkhu al-ḥukamā’i • ≈ Kitābu tawārīkhi al-ḥukamā’i • ≈ Kitābu tawārīkhi
 al-ḥukamā’i •
 {19} ≈ Kitābu tawārīkhi al-ḥukamā’i • ≈ Kitābu muntakhabi Tawārīkhi al-ḥukamā’i
 wa- ~ Rasā’ila li-Ibn Sīnā

[190]

- {1} wa-ghayrihi • ≈ Kitābu tawārīkhi al-ḥukamā’i • ≈ Kitābu tawārīkhi al-ḥukamā’i •
 {2} ≈ Kitābu tawārīkhi al-ḥukamā’i • ≈ Muntakhabu Tawārīkhi al-ḥukamā’i • ≈ Kitābu
 muntakhabi
 {3} Tawārīkhi al-ḥukamā’i bi-al-‘arabiyyati • ≈ Majmū‘atun min al-kutubi awwaluhā Kitābu
 tawārīkhi
 {4} al-ḥukamā’i • ≈ Kitābu al-rawḍati fī tārikhi al-ḥukamā’i • ≈ Mukhtaṣaru Ṣinwāni¹¹⁷
 {5} al-ḥikmati wa- ~ Kitābu tawārīkhi al-ḥukamā’i al-ma‘rūfu bi-Tatimmatī Ṣinwāni
 al-ḥikmati fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
 {6} ≈ Risālatun fī tārikhi Ibn Sīnā wa-‘addi muṣannafātihi wa- ~ Kitābu al-thamarati li-
 Baṭlamyūs
 {7} ma‘a sharḥihā bi-al-fārisiyyati li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fī al-nujūmi wa- ~ Rasā’ilu ukhrā •
 [*Maṭlabu Siyari Ibn Sīnā*]¹¹⁸
 {8} ≈ Risālatun fī asāmī al-ḥukamā’i wa-muṣannafātihim al-mansūbati ilayhim •
 [9–16 are blank]
 {17} ≈ Kitābu al-tawārīkhi bi-al-‘arabiyyati fī awwalihi dhikru Abī Maṣṣūr Sabuktakīn •
 {18} ≈ Kitābu qīṣṣati Shāhrukh fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu ḥusn u dil fī al-tawārīkhi •
 {19} ≈ Kitābun musamman bi-al-Waladi al-shafīqī fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu al-muntaẓami fī
 bad’i al-dunyā

¹¹⁷ Here and in the following, the manuscript has a misspelling for *ṣinwān*.

¹¹⁸ Written vertically along the left margin of lines {6–7}, next to the volume it refers to.

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- {1} wa-tawārīkhi al-umami fi thalāthi mujalladātin • ≈ Kitābu manāqibi Qāḍī Burhān
- {2} al-Dīn fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Tuḥfatu al-faqīri ilā šāḥibi al-sarīri fi ‘ilmi al-tawārīkhi •
- {3} ≈ ‘Uyunu al-ḥikāyāti bi-al-‘arabiyyati min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Mir’ātu¹¹⁹ al-janāni fi
- {4} ma‘rifati ḥawādithi al-zamāni fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Manāhiju al-ṭālibīna fi al-tawārīkhi •
- {5} ≈ Kitābu tawārīkha muṣawwarun bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Kitābun mubawwabun fi al-ḥikāyāti
- {6} min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu tawārīkhi mulūki al-‘ajami bi-al-‘arabiyyati •
- {7} ≈ Kitābu tawārīkhi ba‘ḍi al-mulūki bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Mujalladun min kitābin ‘arabiyyin
- {8} musamman bi-Kanzi al-durari fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Mujalladun min tawārīkhi mulūki al-‘arabi
- {9} wa-mamālikihim • ≈ Sirāju al-mulūki fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu qūti al-arwāḥi
- {10} bi-al-‘arabiyyati fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu al-fatḥi al-qussī fi al-fatḥi al-qussī fi
- {11} al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu tawārīkhi Sulṭān Maḥmūd wa- ~ Kitābun fi al-tawārīkhi wa- ~ Kitābun
- {12} fi al-tawārīkhi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Tārīkhu tuḥfati al-mulūki • ≈ Kitābu
- {13} al-maqtali ma‘a Qiṣṣati al-Musayyab wa-Qiṣṣati al-Mukhtār fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu naṣīḥat-
- {14} nāmah al-marqūmu bi-Qābūs-nāmah • ≈ Kitābu fākihāti al-khulafā’i wa-mufākahāti
- {15} al-ẓurafā’i fi mujalladayni • ≈ Tawārīkhu fārisiyyatun fi alqābi al-wuzarā’i •
- {16} ≈ Kitābu naṣīḥati al-Shaykh Muḥyi al-Dīn al-‘Arabī li-Sulṭān Sanjar wa- ~ Kitābu gulshan-i
- {17} rāz fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu siyari al-mulūki fi al-tawārīkhi •
- {18} ≈ Kitābu sukurdāni al-sulṭāni fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu al-tuḥfati fi al-naṣā’iḥi
- {19} wa-al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu Sindabād fi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Tawārīkhu al-wuzarā’i [.]

[192]

- {1} ≈ Kitābu thimāri al-qulūbi fi al-muḍāfi wa-al-mansūbi fi al-amthāli min qibali al-tawārīkhi •
- {2} ≈ Kitābu tawārīkhi Nabākati¹²⁰ • ≈ Kitābu nawrūznāmah min qibali al-tawārīkhi wa- ~ Kitābu

¹¹⁹ The manuscript has a *kasra* under the *tā’ marbūṭa*.

¹²⁰ Banākātī.

- {3} qurrati al-‘uyūni fī al-amthāli wa-al-ḥikāyāti fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Mujalladun akhīrun min
- {4} kitābi tarjamati Kitābi al-Firdawsī bi-al-‘arabiyyati fī al-tawārīkhi •
- {5} ≈ Kitābu al-farajī ba‘da al-shiddati min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Qiṣṣatu al-qāḍi wa-al-liṣṣ
- {6} fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Mujalladāni awwalu wa-thānin min qiṣṣati Ḥamza fī al-tawārīkhi •
- {7} ≈ Mujalladāni kullun minhumā murtabiṭun bi-al-ākhirī awwalu al-mujalladi al-awwali Amru al-sihri wa-awwalu
- {8} al-mujalladi al-thānī Muqāṭalatu Rustam ma‘a Nashawāṭ fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ al-Kitābu al-jāmi‘u
- {9} fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu jāmasbnāmah fī al-tawārīkhi •
- {10} ≈ Kitābu anmūzaj al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu ḥusn u dil fī al-tawārīkhi •
- {11} ≈ Kitābu alfi laylatin fī khamṣi mujalladātin fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min
- {12} Kitābi alfi laylatin fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Ḥikāyat-i Kishmīrshāh fī al-tawārīkhi •
- {13} ≈ Kitābun fī tawārīkhi ba‘ḍi mulūki al-Fārs min Shāhrukh Bahādur •
- {14} ≈ Kitābu majma‘i al-nawādiri fī al-tawārīkhi wa-ghayrihā • ≈ Kitābu al-durrati al-muḍī‘ati
- {15} fī al-nawādiri min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu tawārīkhi mulūki al-fursi bi-al-fārisiyyati •
- {16} ≈ Risālatun fī ma‘rifati al-tawārīkhi al-musta‘malati bayna al-nāsi bi-al-fārisiyyati •
- {17} ≈ Muntakhabu Kitābi ṣinwāni al-ḥikmati fī tawārīkhi al-ḥukamā‘i • ≈ Kitābu al-mukhtaṣari al-mufidi
- {18} fī ‘ilmi al-tārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu ṣaḥā‘ifi al-laṭā‘ifi fī anwā‘i al-‘ulūmi wa-al-tawārīkhi
- {19} li-l-Riyāḍi lākin lam yuktab al-ṣaḥīfatu al-thāniyatu wa-al-thālithatu fī hādihā al-mujalladi •

[193]

- {1} ≈ Kitābu al-qalā‘idi fī anbā‘i al-ru‘asā‘i wa-al-wuzarā‘i wa-ash‘ārihim wa-munsha‘ātihim
- {2} min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī tawārīkhi al-mulūki wa-ghayrihim •
- {3} ≈ al-Durratu al-yatīmatu fī al-tawārīkhi wa-al-āthāri al-qadīmati fī thalāthi mujalladātin bi-khaṭṭi mu‘allifihi •
- {4} ≈ Kitābu aghrāḍi al-siyāsati fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu baḥri al-ansābi fī al-tawārīkhi •
- {5} ≈ Kitābu Abī al-Rayḥān Muḥammad bin Aḥmad al-Birūnī fī taḥqīqi mā li-l-Hind min maqūlatin maqbūlatin
- {6} fī al-‘aqli aw mardhūlatin min qibali al-‘ilmiyyāti wa-al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu Abī al-Rayḥān

{7} Muḥammad bin Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī fī taḥqīqī mā li-l-Hind min maqūlatin maqbūlatin aw mardhūlatin

{8} min qibali al-‘ilmiyyāti wa-al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Juhaynatu akhbāri mulūki al-amṣāri

{9} fī al-tawārīkhi •

[10, 11 are blank]

{12} ≈ Kitābu al-milali wa-al-niḥali min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu al-milali wa-al-niḥali min qibali al-tawārīkhi •

{13} ≈ Kitābu al-milali wa-al-niḥali min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu al-milali wa-al-niḥali min qibali

{14} al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu al-milali wa-al-niḥali min qibali al-tawārīkhi •

[15, 16 are blank]

{17} ≈ Bakhtiyār-nāmah bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Mukhtaṣarun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-tawārīkhi •

{18} ≈ Dustūr al-wizāratī fī qawānīni al-wizāratī fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Qiṣṣatu al-ruhbāni

{19} wa-masā’ilihim wa-kayfa sharaḥahā ‘Alī -raḍiya Allāhu ta‘ālā ‘anhu- fī al-tawārīkhi •

[194]

{1} ≈ Kāghidnāmah min qibali al-tawārīkhi wa- ~ Dastān-i ‘ajā’ib bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati •

{2} ≈ Mujalladun akhīrun min tawārīkhi Shaykh al-Islām¹²¹ • ≈ Jāmasbnāmah min qibali al-tawārīkhi •

{3} ≈ Qiṣṣa-yi-i dil-gushāy fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Munāẓaratu ‘aqli wa-‘ishqi min qibali al-tawārīkhi •

{4} ≈ Hikāyat-i Īdhīpūs min al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Risālatu munāẓarati aṭ‘imati min qibali al-tawārīkhi •

{5} ≈ Dawlatnāmah fī munāẓarati al-‘aqli wa-al-‘ilmi wa-al-ḥilmi wa-al-dawlati min qibali al-tawārīkhi •

{6} ≈ Majmū‘atu al-nawādiri min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Majmū‘atun fī awwalihā mukhtaṣarun min al-tawārīkhi •

{7} ≈ Risālatun fārisiyyatun fī munāẓarati dili wa-jāni fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu al-mukhtaṣari

{8} al-mufidi fī ‘ilmi al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu akhbāri al-ḥamqā wa-al-mughaffalīna min qibali

{9} al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu ḥusn u dil li-l-Fattāḥī min qibali al-tawārīkhi •

{10} ≈ Risālatun fī aḥwālī ahli Fāris wa-‘Irāq bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali al-tawārīkhi •

¹²¹ The manuscript seems to be missing the *alif* of the definite article.

- {11} ≈ 'Unwānu al-sa'ādati fī ādābi al-ḥukamā'i min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Risālatu munāẓarāti
 {12} 'aqli wa-'ishqi min qibali al-tawārīkhi wa- ~ Rasā'ilu ukhrā • ≈ Kitābu akhbāri
 {13} al-quḍāti bi-al-aḥādīthi min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Risālatu Mawlānā Idrīs
 {14} fī munāẓarati al-ṣawmi wa-al-'īdi min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu naẓmi al-sulūki
 {15} fī musāmarati al-mulūki fī al-tawārīkhi al-gharībati • ≈ Kitābu al-baṣḥati
 {16} al-muqaddasati¹²² fī tawārīkhi ahli al-Injili wa-ahli al-Tawrāti • ≈ Risālatu munāẓarati
 {17} al-sayfi wa-al-qalami min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābun fī qīṣṣati Salāmān wa-Absāl
 {18} 'alā al-tamāmi fī al-tawārīkhi •
 [19 is blank]

[195 is blank]

[196]

[1–4 are blank]

- {5} ≈ Kitābu al-tadhkirati al-harawiyyati¹²³ fī al-ḥiyali al-ḥarbiyyati min qibali al-tawārīkhi •
 {6} ≈ Ṣuwaru ālāti al-ḥarbi • ≈ Kitābu al-ṭabṣirati fī kayfiyyati al-najāti fī al-ḥurūbi
 {7} fī umūri al-salṭanati • ≈ Risālatun fī al-furūsiyyati wa-tartībi al-juyūshi
 {8} min qibali umūri al-salṭanati • ≈ Risālatun fī ādābi al-ḥurūbi mutarjamatun 'an
 {9} al-yūnāniyyati • ≈ Risālatun fī ādābi al-ḥurūbi mutarjamatun 'an al-yūnāniyyati
 {10} bi-al-'arabiyyati wa- ~ Risālatun mutarjamatun bi-al-fārisiyyati 'an al-yūnāniyyati fī ādābi
 {11} al-ḥarbi • ≈ Miṣbāḥu al-ẓalāmi fī ma'rifati al-ḍarbi bi-al-ḥusāmi fī al-ḥarbi •
 {12} ≈ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī aḥwāli al-ḥurūbi • ≈ Risālatun fī ādābi
 {13} al-ḥurūbi mutarjamatun min al-yūnāniyyati • ≈ Risālatun nafisatun fī umūri al-ḥarbi •
 {14} ≈ Ghunyatu al-ṭullābi fī ma'rifati al-ramyi bi-al-nushshābi • ≈ Kitābun fī al-furūsiyyati
 wa-al-ramyi •
 {15} ≈ Kitābu al-khayli wa-al-furūsiyyati bi-al-'arabiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu Qawsnāmah-i kamāli
 al-millati wa-al-dīni •
 {16} ≈ Thalāthu rasā'ila fī 'ilmi al-furūsiyyati wa-al-ramyi • ≈ Qawsnāmah bi-al-fārisiyyati •
 {17} ≈ Sharḥu Risālati al-kamāli al-qawsiyyati •
 {18, 19 are blank}

¹²² *Baṣkha* (Pascha) *muqaddasa* commemorates the resurrection among the Orthodox Christians.

¹²³ The manuscript has a *kasra* under the *hā'*, but to rhyme with *ḥarbīyya* it should be read (and is usually transliterated) as [*H*]arawiyya.

[197]

- {1} ≈ Risālatu umūri al-riyāsati wa-al-siyāsati • ≈ Kitābu
- {2} tajāribi al-insāni fī umūri al-salṭanati • ≈ Kitābu majmū'ati rasā'ili
- {3} al-Malik al-Nāṣir qad jama'ahu waladuhu li-balāghati naẓmihi wa-nathrihi fī umūri al-salṭanati •
- {4} ≈ Kitābu farā'idi al-sulūki al-muṣawwaru fī umūri al-salṭanati • ≈ Kitābu silwāni
- {5} al-muṭā'i fī al-naṣiḥati wa-umūri al-salṭanati wa- ~ Kitābu unsi al-wahīdi fī al-laṭā'ifi
- {6} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu tarjamati Naṣiḥati al-mulūki li-Ḥujjat al-Islām
- {7} al-Ghazālī bi-al-'arabiyyati wa- ~ Kitābu al-nahji al-maslūki fī al-siyāsati al-mulūki fī
- {8} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu sirāji al-mulūki fī umūri al-salṭanati •
- {9} ≈ Kitābu al-wazīri Niẓām al-Mulk fī umūri al-salṭanati • ≈ Nihāyat al-su'l
- {10} wa-al-umniyyati fī ta'allumi a'māli al-furūsiyyati fī umūri al-salṭanati •
- {11} ≈ Kitābu taqwīmi al-siyāsati al-mulūkiyyati fī umūri al-salṭanati • ≈ Kitābu minhāji
- {12} al-mulūki wa-al-salāṭini fī umūri al-salṭanati • ≈ Kitābun fī al-siyāsati wa-
- {13} umūri al-salṭanati • ≈ Mukhtaṣarun fī al-siyāsati al-mulūkiyyati wa-umūri al-salṭanati •
- {14} ≈ Kitābu luṭfi al-tadbīri fī ḥiyali al-mulūki fī umūri al-salṭanati • ≈ Kitābu
- {15} fawā'idi al-sulūki fī faḍā'ili al-mulūki fī umūri al-salṭanati •
- {16} ≈ Munyatu al-ghuzāti bi-al-mughūliyyati fī al-furūsiyyati min qibali umūri al-salṭanati •
- {17} ≈ Kitābun mubārakun fī al-siyāsati wa-ghayrihā li-Aristūṭālīs fī naṣiḥati
- {18} Dhī al-Qarnayn fī umūri al-riyāsati • ≈ Kitābun mubārakun fī al-siyāsati
- {19} wa-ghayrihā li-Aristūṭālīs fī naṣiḥati Dhī al-Qarnayn fī umūri al-riyāsati •

[198]

- {1} ≈ Kitābu al-tāji fī akhlāqi al-mulūki fī umūri al-riyāsati • ≈ Kitābu al-tāji
- {2} fī akhlāqi al-mulūki fī umūri al-riyāsati • ≈ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī
- {3} ādābi al-salṭanati wa-al-wizārati • ≈ Kitābun fī ādābi al-salṭanati wa-
- {4} wa- [sic] ~ Kitābu rāḥati al-insāni bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati fī al-akhlāqi •
- {5} ≈ Kitābu luṭfi al-tadbīri fī tadbīri al-riyāsati ≈ Tarjamatu Kitābi al-siyāsati
- {6} fī tadbīri al-riyāsati al-ma'rūfi bi-Sirri al-asrāri alladhī allafahu Aristūṭālīs
- {7} Kitābu al-siyāsati al-mulūkiyyati • ≈ Majmū'atun min rasā'ila fihā Kitābu al-jawhari
- {8} al-nafisi fī siyāsati al-ra'isi • ≈ Taqwīmu al-siyāsati al-mulūkiyyati •

- {9} ≈ Kitābu umūri al-salṭanati al-marqūmu bi-Miftāḥi al-sa‘ādati •
 {10} ≈ Risālatu siyāsati al-mulūki • ≈ Nihāyatu al-su‘li wa-al-umniyyati fi
 {11} ta‘allumi a‘māli al-furūsiyyati fi umūri al-salṭanati • ≈ Kitābun mubārakun
 {12} fi al-siyāsati li-Aristūṭālīs fi naṣiḥati Dhī al-Qarnayn wa- ~ Risālatu
 {13} Aristūṭālīs ilā al-Iskandar fi umūri al-salṭanati •
 [14–19 are blank]

[199]

[1–3 are blank]

- {4} ≈ Kitābu al-furūsiyyati [*ay al-‘ulūmu al-muta‘alliqati bi-al-fārisi al-muḥāribi*] wa-al-bayṭarati min qibali al-ṭibbi wa-umūri al-salṭanati •
 {5} ≈ Kitābu al-furūsiyyati wa-al-bayṭarati min qibali al-ṭibbi wa-umūri al-salṭanati •
 {6} ≈ Kitābu al-furūsiyyati wa-al-bayṭarati min qibali al-ṭibbi wa-umūri al-salṭanati •
 {7} ≈ Kitābun jāmi‘un fi al-bayṭarati • ≈ Kitābun nafisun fi ‘ilmi al-bayṭarati • ≈ Kitābun
 {8} fi ‘ilmi al-bayṭarati • ≈ Kitābu al-bayṭarati al-ma‘rūfu bi-Bayṭarnāmah • ≈ Risālatun
 {9} fārisiyyatun fi ‘ilmi al-bayṭarati • ≈ Bayṭarnāmah bi-al-fārisiyyati wa-Bayṭarnāmah-
 {10} ākhar wa-Bayṭarnāmah ākhar fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-khayli wa-al-furūsiyyati
 {11} bi-al-‘arabiyyati •
 [12–14 are blank]
 {15} ≈ Kitābu Bāznāmah wa-yūznāmah wa-sagnāmah [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Kitābu
 al-zandi al-wārī
 {16} al-ma‘rūfu bi-Bāznāmah • ≈ Bāznāmah bi-al-‘arabiyyati wa- ~ Risālatu ḥikāyati
 {17} al-ṣayyādi wa- ~ Risālatu ilzāmi al-naṣrānī [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Tarjamatu
 Bāznāmah bi-al-fārisiyyati •
 {18} ≈ Kitābu bāznāmah muṣawwarun bi-al-fārisiyyati min qibali umūri al-riyāsati •
 {19} ≈ Kitābu farasnāmah wa-Bāznāmah wa-Qawsnāmah [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Ṣad
 kalimah-i ‘Alī

[200]

- {1} -raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhu- wa-Kitābu farasnāmah fi mujalladin wāḥidin •
 {2} ≈ Kitābu tafḍili al-kilābi ‘alā kathīrin mimman yalbasu al-thiyāba fi al-tawārīkhi •
 {3} ≈ Shikārnāmah-i ilkhānī • ≈ Kitābu al-ṣaydi fi ‘ilmi al-jawāriḥi •
 [4, 5 are blank]

- {6} ≈ Kitābu ‘ajā’ibi al-makhlūqāti wa-gharā’ibi al-mawjūdāti •
 {7} ≈ Kitābu ‘ajā’ibi al-makhlūqāti wa-gharā’ibi al-mawjūdāti •
 {8} ≈ ‘Ajā’ibu al-makhlūqāti • ≈ ‘Ajā’ibu al-makhlūqāti •
 {9} ≈ Kitābu ‘ajā’ibi al-makhlūqāti wa-gharā’ibi al-mawjūdāti bi-al-turkiyyati •
 {10} ≈ Kitābu ‘ajā’ibi al-makhlūqāti wa-gharā’ibi al-mawjūdāti bi-al-fārisiyyati •
 {11} ≈ Kitābu tuḥfati al-‘ajā’ibi wa-ṭurfati al-gharā’ibi • ≈ Kitābu
 {12} ‘ajā’ibi al-makhlūqāti li-l-Fāḍil al-Qazwīnī • ≈ ‘Ajā’ibu
 {13} al-makhlūqāti bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ ‘Ajā’ibu al-makhlūqāti
 {14} bi-al-‘arabiyyati li-l-Fāḍil al-Qazwīnī • ≈ Jahānnāmah¹²⁴ fī
 {15} ‘ajā’ibi al-barri wa-al-baḥri • ≈ Kitābu tārīkhi al-‘ibādi wa-al-bilādi
 {16} bi-al-‘arabiyyati • ≈ Tarjamatu Kitābi Qusṭanṭīniyya wa-Ayāşūfiyya
 {17} bi-al-turkiyyati fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Tuḥfatu al-gharā’ibi wa-al-‘ajā’ibi
 {18} wa-Tashbīhāt-i Kātībī fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
 {19} ≈ Kitābu ‘ajā’ibi al-Hind • ≈ Tuḥfatu al-‘ajā’ibi min qibali al-tawārīkhi •

[201]

- {1} ≈ Kitābu tuḥfati al-albābi fī ‘ajā’ibi al-bilādi • ≈ Kitābu dhikri qal’ati
 {2} Qusṭanṭīniyya wa-binā’i Ayāşūfiyya fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu athāri al-bilādi
 {3} wa-akhbāri al-‘ibādi min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu taqwīmi al-buldāni
 {4} min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu ‘ajā’ibi al-Hind wa-al-Şīn wa-ghayrihimā
 {5} min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Risālatu ‘ajā’ibi al-buldāni • ≈ Risālatun
 {6} fī bayāni madīnati Fulūrindīn • ≈ Risālatu tuḥfati al-gharā’ibi
 {7} bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Qişşah-i Kādūm al-wāqi’ati fī al-Qusṭanṭīniyya
 {8} fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābun fī madīnati al-Banāṭīqa¹²⁵ wa-riyāsatiḥā
 {9} min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Majmū’atun awwaluhā Riyāḍu al-mulūki wa-ākhiruhā
 {10} Majma’u al-bilādi fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu al-malakūti fī ‘ajā’ibi
 {11} al-maṣnū’āti wa-aḥwālī al-ākhirati wa-ashrāṭi al-sā’ati ‘alā i’tiqādi
 {12} ahli al-sunnati min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Risālatun fī al-Jazā’ir wa-risālatun
 {13} fī tawārīkhi Bayt al-Maqdis fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābun fī nuqūshi

¹²⁴ The manuscript has a *kasra* under the *jīm*.

¹²⁵ Banāḍīqa or Bunduqiyya, for Venice.

- {14} al-ahjāri wa-manāfi‘ihā • ≈ Kitābu al-durrati al-muḍī‘ati fī ‘ajā’ibi al-bariyyati
 {15} min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ ‘Ajā’ibu al-afkāri bi-al-turkiyyati •
 {16} ≈ Kitābu Abī al-‘Izz al-Jazarī fī al-umūri al-‘ajībati wa-al-ḥiyali •
 {17} ≈ Kitābu mufīdi al-‘ulūmi wa-mubīdu al-humūmi fī ‘ajā’ibi al-umūri •
 [18, 19 are blank]

[202]

[1–9 are blank]

- {10} ≈ Kitābu ṣuwari al-mamāliki wa-mullākihā fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu
 {11} ṣuwari al-aqālīmi bi-al-‘arabiyyati li-Abī al-‘Abbās • ≈ Kitābu ṣuwari
 {12} al-aqālīmi bi-al-‘arabiyyati • ≈ Kitābu taṣwīri aqālīmi bilādi al-islāmi •
 {13} ≈ Kitābu muntakhabi Taṣwīri aqālīmi al-islāmi fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu
 {14} ṣuwari al-aqālīmi wa-al-jibālī wa-al-biḥārī wa-al-anhārī wa-al-ṭuruqi¹²⁶ •
 {15} ≈ Kitābu aqālīmi al-arḍi ‘alā al-mamāliki al-islāmiyyati • ≈ Kitābu aqālīmi
 {16} al-arḍi ‘alā al-mamāliki al-islāmiyyati •
 [17–19 are blank]

[203]

[1–3 are blank]

- {4} ≈ Kitābu [‘ilmi, ṣaḥḥ] hay’ati ashkāli al-arḍi fī al-ṭūli wa-al-‘arḍi al-ma’rūfi
 {5} bi-jughrāfiyyā • ≈ Tarjamatu Kitābi Baṭlamyūs fī ‘ilmi al-jughrāfiyyā bi-al-‘arabiyyati
 {6} fī ṣuwari al-aqālīmi • ≈ Tarjamatu Kitābi Baṭlamyūs bi-al-‘arabiyyati fī
 {7} tafṣīli al-aqālīmi al-ma’rūfi bi-‘ilmi al-jughrāfiyyā • ≈ Tarjamatu Kitābi
 {8} Baṭlamyūs bi-al-‘arabiyyati fī tafṣīli al-aqālīmi ma’a ṣuwarihā al-ma’rūfi
 {9} bi-jughrāfiyyā •
 [10–17 are blank]
 {18} ≈ Tafṣīlu al-dawāwīni al-‘arabiyyati
 {19} wa- ~ al-kutubi al-manẓūmati bi-al-‘arabiyyati wa- ~ kutubi al-khuṭabi wa-al-kutubi

¹²⁶ The manuscript seems to have a *kasra*, to read *ṭuriq*.

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{1} al-musajja‘ati wa-kutubi al-amthāli wa-kutubi al-tarassuli wa-al-inshā‘i

{2} • wa-al-siyāqati wa-al-arqāmi wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi •

{3} • wa-‘ilmi al-qawāfi wa-al-shi‘ri wa-al-mu‘ammā •

{4} ≈ Qaṣā‘idu Ḥaḍrat ‘Alī -raḍiya Allāhu ta‘ālā ‘anhu- • ≈ Dīwānu Amīr

{5} al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī -raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhu- al-musammā bi-Anwāri al-‘uqūli •

{6} ≈ Dīwānu Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib -raḍiya Allāhu ta‘ālā ‘anhu- al-musammā

{7} bi-Anwāri al-‘uqūli • ≈ Dīwānu Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib -raḍiya Allāhu

{8} ta‘ālā ‘anhu- al-musammā bi-Anwāri al-‘uqūli • ≈ Dīwānu Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī bin

{9} Abī Ṭālib -raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhu- al-musammā bi-Anwāri al-‘uqūli • ≈ Dīwānu

{10} ash‘āri Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī -raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhu- al-musammā bi-Anwāri al-‘uqūli
ma‘a

{11} tarjamātiḥā bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati •

{12} ≈ Dīwānu al-Mutanabbī • ≈ Dīwānu al-Mutanabbī • ≈ Dīwānu al-Mutanabbī •

{13} ≈ Dīwānu al-Mutanabbī • ≈ Dīwānu al-Mutanabbī • ≈ Muntakhabu Dīwāni al-Mutanabbī

{14} ruqima bi-annahu katabahu Yāqūt • ≈ Dīwānu Abī Nuwās Abū Ṭawq¹²⁷

[15, 16 are blank]

{17} ≈ Sharḥu dīwāni al-Mutanabbī • ≈ Sharḥu dīwāni al-Mutanabbī • ≈ Sharḥu dīwāni

{18} al-Mutanabbī • ≈ Sharḥu dīwāni Abī al-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī • ≈ Sharḥu dīwāni

{19} al-Mutanabbī • ≈ Sharḥu dīwāni al-Mutanabbī • ≈ Sharḥu dīwāni al-Mutanabbī •

[205]

{1} ≈ Sharḥu dīwāni al-Mutanabbī li-l-Wāḥidī • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Sharḥi dīwāni

{2} al-Mutanabbī • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Sharḥi dīwāni al-Mutanabbī • ≈ Mujalladun
awwalu

{3} min Sharḥi dīwāni al-Mutanabbī • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Sharḥi dīwāni
al-Mutanabbī •

{4} ≈ Sharḥu mushkilāti dīwāni al-Mutanabbī • ≈ Mujalladun thānin min Sharḥi dīwāni

{5} al-Mutanabbī wa-huwa ākhiruhu •

[6–8 are blank]

{9} ≈ Dīwānu Ḥassān bin Thābit • ≈ Dīwānu Ḥassān bin Thābit •

¹²⁷ The last entry is in a different ink and not as neatly written.

- {10} ≈ Majmū'un fihi ash'aru Ḥassān .
- {11} ≈ Dīwānu Abī Tammām . ≈ Dīwānu Zuhayr al-Miṣrī . ≈ Sharḥu dīwāni
- {12} Zuhayr al-Muzanī . ≈ Dīwānu Burhān al-Dīn al-Qīrāṭī . ≈ Dīwānu
- {13} Abī al-Muẓaffar al-musammā bi-al-'Irāqīyyāti . ≈ Dīwānu Abī al-Muẓaffar al-musammā bi-al-Najdiyyāti
- {14} Dīwānu Abī al-Muẓaffar al-musammā bi-al-Najdiyyāti wa- ~ Kitābu khulāṣati al-ma'ānī fi
- {15} sharḥi al-qaṣā'idī al-'arabiyyati bi-al-fārisiyyati wa- ~ Kitābu ṭarā'ifi al-ṭurafi .
- {16} ≈ Sharḥu dīwāni Abī al-Muẓaffar al-musammā bi-al-Najdiyyāti . ≈ Kitābu dīwāni
- {17} al-ṣabābati . ≈ Kitābu dīwāni al-ṣabābati . ≈ Kitābu dīwāni
- {18} al-ṣabābati . ≈ Kitābu Abī Hilāl al-mawsūmu bi-Dīwāni al-ma'ānī .
- {19} ≈ Dīwānu Zuhayr al-Ḥijāzī thumma al-Miṣrī . ≈ Dīwānu ash'ari al-Farazdaq

[206]

- {1} alladhī amla'ahu Muḥammad bin Ḥabīb ma'a sharḥi ba'ḍi al-abyāti .
- {2} ≈ Dīwānu Abī al-Muẓaffar al-musammā bi-al-'Irāqīyyāti . ≈ Dīwānu Muhaddhab al-Dīn .
- {3} ≈ Dīwānu Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī fi mujalladayni . ≈ Siqṭu al-zandi wa-huwa
- {4} dīwānu Abī al-'Alā' al-Tanūkhī . ≈ Siqṭu al-zandi wa-huwa dīwānu Abī
- {5} al-'Alā' al-Tanūkhī . ≈ Siqṭu al-zandi wa-huwa dīwānu Abī al-'Alā'
- {6} al-Tanūkhī . ≈ Siqṭu al-zandi wa-huwa dīwānu Abī al-'Alā' al-Tanūkhī .
- {7} ≈ Kitābu al-tanwīri fi sharḥi Siqṭi al-zandi . ≈ Kitābu ḍirāmi al-siqṭi
- {8} fi sharḥi Siqṭi al-zandi . ≈ Kitābu ḍirāmi al-siqṭi fi sharḥi Siqṭi
- {9} al-zandi . ≈ Kitābu al-tanwīri fi sharḥi Siqṭi al-zandi .
- {10} ≈ Kitābu al-tanwīri fi sharḥi Siqṭi al-zandi . ≈ Dīwānu Abī Manṣūr
- {11} al-Kātib . ≈ Dīwānu shī'ri Khuṭay'a . ≈ Dīwānu Majnūn .
- {12} ≈ Ash'aru Majnūn ma'a ba'ḍi aḥwālihi . ≈ Dīwānu ash'ari Majnūn
- {13} ma'a ba'ḍi aḥwālihi wa- ~ Kitābu ash'ari al-Shaykh Abī Ishāq al-Kalbī wa- ~ Kitābu
- {14} khamriyyāti Abī Nuwās wa-Najdiyyāti Abī al-Muẓaffar fi mujalladin wāḥidin .
- {15} ≈ Dīwānu Abī al-Maḥāsīn . ≈ Dīwānu al-Shaykh al-Ajall ≈ Dīwānu al-Ṣāḥib
- {16} al-Wazīr [I]bn Mukānis . ≈ Dīwānu Ibn al-Sā'atī . ≈ Dīwānu Abī

{17} al-Ḥasan al-ma'rūfu bi-Ṣarī' al-Dilā'¹²⁸ • ≈ Dīwānu al-qaṣā'idi al-mukhammasati

{18} 'alā tartībī ḥurūfī al-mu'jami li-Ibn Ḍirghām al-Ṭarā'ifi • ≈ Dīwānu munsha'āti

{19} al-Qāḍī Nizām al-Dīn • ≈ Dīwānu munsha'āti al-Qāḍī Nizām al-Dīn •

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{1} ≈ Dīwānu shi'ri Abī M[i]hjan al-Thaqafi • ≈ Dīwānu al-Ḥādira wa- ~ Lāmiyyatu al-'arab

{2} li-l-Azdī wa- ~ Dīwānu shi'ri Laqīṭ [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Dīwānu shi'ri Abī M[i]hjan al-Thaqafi bi-khaṭṭi

{3} Yāqūt wa- ~ Dīwānu al-Ḥādira bi-khaṭṭi Yāqūt [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Dīwānu Abī Nuwās •

{4} ≈ Dīwānu shi'ri al-Mutalammis wa- ~ Dīwānu shi'ri al-Kh[i]rniq¹²⁹ binti Badr [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Dīwānu Ibn

{5} al-Nabīh • ≈ Dīwānu Majnūn al-Āmirī • ≈ Dīwānu al-Faḍl 'alā

{6} tartībī al-ḥurūfī • ≈ Dīwānu al-Nābigha • ≈ Dīwānu Shams al-Dīn

{7} al-Ṭabasī • ≈ Dīwānu al-Numayrī ta'lifu Abī Ja'far • ≈ Dīwānu

{8} Shams al-Afāḍil Badr al-Dīn • ≈ Dīwānu al-qaṣā'idi al-nafisati •

{9} ≈ Dīwānu Abī Nuwās • ≈ Dīwānu Majnūn al-Āmirī wa- ~ Kitābu al-najdiyyāti

{10} wa- ~ Bābu al-adabi wa-al-nasīb min Kitāb al-ḥamāsati • ≈ Mujalladun akhīrun min

{11} Dīwāni Abī Nuwās • ≈ Dīwānu Majnūn al-Āmirī •

{12} ≈ Najdiyyātun • ≈ Najdiyyātun¹³⁰ •

[13–17 are blank]

{18} ≈ Dīwānu Ibn al-Fāriḍ fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Dīwānu Ibn al-Fāriḍ fī

{19} al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Dīwānu Ibn Fāriḍ muḥtadī'an bi-al-Qaṣīdati al-tā'iiyyati •

[208]

{1} ≈ al-Qaṣīdatu al-tā'iiyyati li-Ibn al-Fāriḍ fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu

{2} qaṣīdati Ibn al-Fāriḍ al-tā'iiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu qaṣīdatin

{3} tā'iiyyatin li-Ibn al-Fāriḍ ma'a naẓmi tarjamatihā bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi •

{4} ≈ Mimiyyatu Ibn al-Fāriḍ ma'a rubā'iiyyāti al-Jāmī fī sharḥihā •

[5–7 are blank]

¹²⁸ The *hamza* is omitted.

¹²⁹ The copyist has vocalized with a *fatha* in place of a *kasra*, also in lines {1, 2}.

¹³⁰ Both have a *kasra* under the *tā'*.

{8} Kitābun fī taṣḥīḥi dīwāni Ibn al-Fāriḍ fī al-taṣawwufi [*wa-huwa ma'rūfun bi-Dīwāni Ibn al-Fāriḍ lākinnaḥu ghalatun mashūrun*] • ≈ Kitābun

{9} fī taṣḥīḥi dīwāni Ibn al-Fāriḍ fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābun fī taṣḥīḥi dīwāni

{10} Ibn al-Fāriḍ fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābun fī taṣḥīḥi dīwāni Ibn al-Fāriḍ

{11} fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābun fī taṣḥīḥi dīwāni Ibn al-Fāriḍ fī

{12} al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābun fī taṣḥīḥi dīwāni Ibn al-Fāriḍ fī al-taṣawwufi

{13} wa- ~ Kitābu sharḥi qaṣīdati Ibn al-Fāriḍ ay al-Tā'īyyati fī al-taṣawwufi •

{14} ≈ Kitābun fī taṣḥīḥi dīwāni Ibn al-Fāriḍ fī al-taṣawwufi •

{15} ≈ Tā'īyyatu Ibn al-Fāriḍ ma'a tarjamatihā bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati fī al-taṣawwufi •

{16} ≈ Kitābun fī taṣḥīḥi dīwāni Ibn al-Fāriḍ fī al-taṣawwufi •

{17–19 are blank]

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{1–3 are blank}

{4} ≈ Kitābu nazmi siyari al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama- bi-al-'arabiyyati min qibali al-tawārīkhi •

{5} ≈ Kitābu qaṣā'idī Abī al-Thanā' al-mawsūmu bi-Ahnā al-manā'iḥi fī asnā al-madā'iḥi •

{6} ≈ Rā'iqu al-adabi fī madḥi Sayyid al-'Arab 'alā tartībī ḥurūfi al-hijā'i •

{7} ≈ Sharḥu Badī'īyyati Abī Bakr al-Ḥanafī fī madḥi al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama-

{8} fī mujalladayni • ≈ Kitābu al-luma'i al-lu'lu'īyyati fī sharḥi al-qaṣā'idī al-'ishrīniyyāti

{9} fī madḥi al-nabī -'alayhi al-ṣalātu wa-al-salāmu- • ≈ al-Qaṣā'idu al-witriyyatu fī

{10} madḥi ashrafi al-bariyyati wa- ~ Kitābun fī al-'ulūmi al-adabiyyati wa-ghayrihā •

{11–19 are blank]

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{1} ≈ Qaṣīdatu Burda • ≈ Qaṣīdatu Burda wa- ~ Qaṣīdatun 'arabiyyatun mukhammasatun [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] •

{2} ≈ Qaṣīdatu Burda mukhammasatun • ≈ Qaṣīdatu Burda ma'a thalāthi qaṣā'ida •

{3} ≈ Qaṣīdatu Burda mukhammasatun • ≈ Qaṣīdatu Burda wa- ~ Qaṣīdatu Ka'b bin Zuhayr •

{4} ≈ Qaṣīdatu Burda • ≈ Qaṣīdatu Burda mukhammasatun • ≈ Qaṣīdatu Burda

{5} mukhammasatun • ≈ Qaṣīdatu Burda fī ḥawāshihā qaṣīdatun fārisiyyatun •

{6} ≈ Qaṣīdatu Burda mukhammasatun • ≈ Qaṣīdatu Burda mukhammasatun • ≈ Qaṣīdatu Burda

{7} mukhammasatun • ≈ Qaṣīdatu Burda wa-qaṣīdatun li-Kaʿb bin Zuhayr •

{8} • ≈ Qaṣīdatu Burda • ≈ Qaṣīdatu Burda mukhammasatun • ≈ Qaṣīdatu Burda

{9} mukhammasatun maʿa tarjamatiḥā bi-al-turkiyyati bi-ghayri takhmīsin • ≈ Burda • ≈ Kitābu

{10} qaṣīdati Burda • ≈ Qaṣīdatu Burda •

[11–17 are blank]

{18} ≈ Sharḥu Qaṣīdatu Burda bi-al-ʿarabiyyati wa- ~ Kitābu al-nafaḥāti fi sharḥi Ḥaqāʾiqi

{19} al-tahlili bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Sharḥu Burda •

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{1} ≈ Sharḥu Qaṣīdati Burda • ≈ Sharḥu Burda bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu

{2} Burda bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Burda bi-al-ʿarabiyyati •

{3} ≈ Jāmiʿu al-takhmīsati al-khamsu li-Qaṣīdati Burda • ≈ Kitābu al-durrati al-yatīmati

{4} fi takhmīsi al-Burda al-ʿasharati fi madḥi al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallama- •

[5 is blank]

{6} ≈ Munājātu¹³¹ Amīr al-Muʿminīn ʿAlī -raḍiya Allāhu ʿanhu- wa- ~ Qaṣīdatun gharrāʾu li-l-Shaykh al-Ḥalabī •

{7} ≈ Risālatu kalimāti Amīr al-Muʿminīn ʿAlī -raḍiya Allāhu ʿanhu- ʿalā tartībī ḥurūfi al-hijāʾi

{8} wa- ~ Abyātun ʿarabiyyatun [fi mujalladin wāḥidin] • ≈ Qaṣīdatu Amīr al-Muʿminīn ʿAlī -raḍiya Allāhu ʿanhu- fi

{9} al-munājāti wa- ~ Rubāʿiyyātu Khwāja Kamāl al-Kāshī [fi mujalladin wāḥidin] •

[10–13 are blank]

{14} ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Dīwāni al-Buḥturī • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Kitābi rawḥi

{15} al-rūḥi • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Dīwāni Rashīd al-Dīn al-Waṭwāṭ •

{16} ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Kitābi aṣḍāfi al-durari • ≈ Kitābu al-durri al-farīdi

{17} fi thalāthi mujalladātin lākin lam yūjad al-mujalladu al-thālithu minhu • ≈ Kitābu

{18} al-abyāti al-munkhariṭati fi silki al-murāsālāti • ≈ Kitābu inshirāḥi

{19} al-ṣadri min mukhtārāti al-qaṣāʾidi wa-al-ashʿari • ≈ Kitābu

¹³¹ There is a *kasra* under the *tāʾ marbūʿa*.

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- {1} al-qaṣā'idi al-sab'i al-ṭiwālī alladhī jama'ahu Abū Bakr al-Anbārī al-Naḥwī .
- {2} ≈ Kitābu al-ḥamāsati al-ṣughrā al-musammā bi-al-Waḥshiyyāti li-Abī Tammām .
- {3} ≈ Kitābu al-ḥamāsati li-Abī Tammām . ≈ Kitābu al-ḥamāsati li-Abī Tammām .
- {4} ≈ Kitābu al-ḥamāsati li-Abī Tammām . ≈ Kitābu al-ḥamāsati li-Abī Tammām .
- {5} ≈ Kitāb al-ḥamāsati li-Abī Tammām . ≈ Sharḥu al-Ḥamāsati . ≈ Sharḥu al-Ḥamāsati .
- {6} ≈ Kitābu ikhtiyārāti al-ash'ārī fī abwābin wa-Kitābu ṭarā'ifi al-ṭurafi
- {7} wa-Kitābu siqṭi al-zandi ma'a al-dir'iyyāti . ≈ Qaṣīdatun li-Ka'b bin Zuhayr .
- {8} ≈ Mukhammasatu qaṣīdati Ka'b bin Zuhayr . ≈ Qaṣīdatu Ka'b bin Zuhayr .
- {9} ≈ Sharḥu qaṣīdati Ka'b bin Zuhayr bi-al-fārsiyyati . ≈ Qaṣīdatun musammātun
- {10} bi-al-Rāmizati wa-sharḥihā al-musammā bi-al-Ghāmizati . ≈ Sharḥu qaṣīdati Ka'b
- {11} bin Zuhayr . ≈ al-Mukhtāru min Dīwāni Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī .
- {12} ≈ Risālatu naẓmi al-Mutanabbī 'alā wafqi qawli ahli al-ḥikmati . ≈ Risālatu naẓmi
- {13} al-Mutanabbī 'alā wafqi qawli ahli al-ḥikmati . ≈ Kitābu sariqāti al-Mutanabbī
- {14} fī naẓmihi . ≈ Sharḥu Lāmiyyati al-Azdī al-ma'rūfati bi-Lāmiyyati al-'arabi
- {15} bi-khaṭṭi Arghūn . ≈ Sharḥu al-qaṣīdati al-mawsūmati bi-Lāmiyyati al-'ajami .
- {16} ≈ Sharḥu al-Najdiyyāti . ≈ Sharḥu al-qaṣīdati al-mawsūmati bi-Lāmiyyati al-'ajami .
- {17} ≈ Sharḥu al-qaṣīdati al-mawsūmati bi-Lāmiyyati al-'ajami fī mujalladayni .
- {18} ≈ Sharḥu al-Najdiyyāti . ≈ Muntakhabu Salwati al-mustahāmi bi-al-'arabiyyati al-manẓūmati .
- {19} ≈ Kitāb al-dhakhā'iri fī al-laṭā'ifi min al-ash'ārī wa-ghayrihā .

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- {1} ≈ Sharḥu al-Najdiyyāti al-musammā bi-Juhdi al-muqillī . ≈ Sharḥu qaṣīdati Ibn Durayd .
- {2} ≈ Majmū'atun min laṭā'ifi ash'ārī al-udabā'i 'alā tartibi al-ḥurūfi .
- {3} ≈ Majmū'atun min ikhtiyārāti dawāwīni al-'arabi . ≈ Sharḥu al-qaṣā'idi
- {4} al-sab'i li-l-Zawzanī . ≈ Sharḥu al-qaṣā'idi al-sab'i li-l-Zawzanī .
- {5} ≈ Qaṣīdatun musammātun bi-al-'Ajā'ibi . ≈ Manẓūmātun 'arabiyyatun 'alā tartibi
- {6} ḥurūfi al-tahajjī . ≈ Ḥirzun manẓūmun wa- ~ Qaṣā'idu Abī al-Ḥasan 'alā
- {7} tartibi ḥurūfi al-tahajjī fī mujalladin wāḥidin . ≈ Munthakhabun min al-ash'ārī
- {8} wa-al-āthāri bi-khaṭṭi Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī . ≈ Abyātun 'arabiyyatun

- {9} mu'tabaratun muḥshātun • ≈ Tā'iyyatu al-Ḥalīmī ma'a sharḥihā • ≈ Naẓmu ādābi
 {10} al-baḥṭhi li-Mawlānā al-marḥūmi al-ma'rūfi bi-Khusraw • ≈ al-Tadhkiratu al-sa'diyyatu
 {11} fi al-ash'āri al-'arabiyyati • ≈ Majmū'atun mushtamilatun 'alā badā'i'i al-āthāri
 {12} wa-rawā'i'i al-ash'āri wa- ~ Kitābu al-mukhtāri min shi'ri al-Shaykh al-Bākhazī •
 {13} ≈ Risālatun fi al-ḥikmiyyāti wa- ~ Majmū'atun min ash'āri fuḍalā'i al-'arabi •
 [14–19 are blank]

[214]

- {1} ≈ Majmū'atun fihā sharḥu khamisi qaṣā'ida mashhūratin 'arabiyyatin •
 {2} ≈ Sharḥu al-qaṣā'idi al-tis'i al-mashhūrati al-mawsūmati bi-al-Mu'allaqāti •
 {3} ≈ al-Qaṣīdatu al-ma'rūfatu bi-Sardi al-lāmi fi maṣāliḥi al-anāmi li-l Shaykh Sharaf
 {4} al-Dīn fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Sharḥu al-qaṣā'idi 'alā tartībi al-ḥurūfi
 {5} al-mawsūmu bi-Khulāṣati al-ma'ānī • ≈ Sharḥu al-qaṣā'idi al-sab'i al-mu'allaqati •
 {6} ≈ Sharḥu qaṣīdatin 'arabiyyatin muṣanna'atin 'ajībatin • ≈ Sharḥu al-qaṣā'idi
 {7} al-murattabati al-mawsūmu bi-Khulāṣati al-ma'ānī • ≈ Sharḥu al-qaṣā'idi
 {8} al-'arabiyyati bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Qaṣīdatun mukhammasatun li-Ka'b bin Zuhayr •
 {9} ≈ Sharḥu qaṣīdati al-Ṭanṭarānī • ≈ Sharḥu al-qaṣā'idi al-tis'i al-mashhūrati •
 {10} ≈ Qaṣīdatu Laqīṭ • ≈ Kitābu ṭarā'ifi al-ṭurafi wa- ~ Kitābu al-najdiyyāti
 {11} fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatu naẓmi al-Mutanabbī 'alā wafqi qawli ahli al-ḥikmati
 {12} ma'a tarjamatin bi-al-fārisiyyati wa- ~ Ṣad kalimah-i 'Alī -raḍiya Allāhu 'anhu- ma'a
 tarjamatihā bi-al-fārisiyyati
 {13} wa- ~ Kitābu nathr al-la'ālī min kalimāti Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī -raḍiya Allāhu 'anhu- 'alā
 tartībi
 {14} ḥurūfi al-tahajji fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu taḥṣīli 'ayni al-dhahabi
 {15} fi sharḥi shawāhidi Kitābi Sībawayh • ≈ Risālatu Sulṭān al-Salāṭin
 {16} Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khan -zīdat sa'ādatahu fi al-dārayni- muṣanna'atan fi
 {17} al-jihādi • ≈ Risālatu naẓmi al-Mutanabbī 'alā wafqi qawli ahli al-ḥikmati •
 {18} ≈ Risālatu naẓmi al-Mutanabbī 'alā wafqi qawli ahli al-ḥikmati • ≈ Sharḥu qaṣīdati
 {19} Ibn Sīnā • ≈ Kitābun bi-al-'arabiyyati al-manẓūmati fi al-ādābi wa-al-faḍā'ili •

[215]

- {1} ≈ Kitābu ḥalbatī al-kumayti fi al-khamriyyāti • ≈ Risālatu naẓmi al-Mutanabbī 'alā wafqi

- {2} qawli ahli al-ḥikmatī • ≈ Asmā'u shu'arā'i al-Ḥamāsati • ≈ Majmū'atun min
- {3} rasā'ili 'ulūmi al-adabi fihā Kitābu 'arḍu al-mīdāni fī al-tagħazzuli bi-al-ghilmāni
- {4} ≈ Kitābu manẓūmāti Abī al-Rabī' bi-al-'arabiyyati • ≈ Qaṣīdatu Ibn Sīnā bi-al-'arabiyyati
- {5} ma'a sharḥin fārisiyyin fī al-ḥawāshī wa-Risālatu al-su'ālī wa-al-jawābi lahu •
- {6} ≈ Kitābu i'rābi al-qaṣā'idi al-thalāthi wa-idāḥi ghawāmiḍi al-abḥāthi wa- ~ Risālatun
- {7} fī 'ilmi al-muḥaḍarāti • ≈ Risālatun fī abyāti Talkhīši al-miftāḥi •
- {8} ≈ Majmū'atu al-ash'āri wa-al-qaṣā'idi al-'arabiyyati • ≈ Ḥirzun mubārakun bi-al-'arabiyyati
- {9} al-manẓūmati • ≈ Majmū'atu al-qaṣā'idi al-'arabiyyati wa- ~ Risālatu al-Imām al-Rāzī
- {10} fī al-naṣīḥati fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Naẓmu Kalīla wa-Dimna bi-al-'arabiyyati fī al-tawārīkhi •
- {11} ≈ Kitābu muntakhabi al-qaṣā'idi wa-al-ash'āri li-fuḍalā'i ahli al-a'sāri •
- {12} ≈ Risālatu al-qaṣā'idi al-'arabiyyati 'alā tartībī al-ḥurūfi al-musammātu bi-al-Wasā'ili
- {13} al-ilāhiyyati • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Kitābi yatīmāti al-dahri fī maḥāsini
- {14} al-ash'āri • ≈ Qaṣīdatun li-l-shaykh al-shahīr bi-Ibn al-'Ibrī bi-khaṭṭin suryāniyyin
- {15} muḥashshan bi-al-'arabiyyati wa-ghayrihā • ≈ Majmū'atun min al-qaṣā'idi al-'arabiyyati •
- {16} ≈ Majmū'atu ash'āri al-nisā'i al-makhṣūṣati wa- ~ Risālatu qawā'idi lughati al-fursi
- {17} fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- [18, 19 are blank]

[216]

- {1} ≈ Kitābu nahji al-balāghati fī khuṭabi Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī -raḍiya Allāhu 'anhu- wa-mukātabātihi •
- {2} ≈ Kitābu nahji al-balāghati fī khuṭabi Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī -raḍiya Allāhu 'anhu- wa-mukātabātihi •
- {3} ≈ Kitābu nahji al-balāghati fī khuṭabi Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī -raḍiya Allāhu 'anhu- wa-mukātabātihi •
- {4} ≈ Kitābu nahji al-balāghati fī khuṭabi Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī -raḍiya Allāhu 'anhu- wa-mukātabātihi •
- {5} ≈ Kitābu nahji al-balāghati fī khuṭabi Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī -raḍiya Allāhu 'anhu- wa-mukātabātihi •
- {6} ≈ Kitābun fī khuṭabi Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī -raḍiya Allāhu 'anhu- wa-mawā'izi al-ḥukamā'i
- {7} wa-al-ash'āri wa-al-ḥikāyāti wa-al-nawādiri wa-al-muwashshahāti wa-al-mukhammasāti

- {8} wa-ghayrihā min kutubin shattā fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu nahji al-balāghati
 {9} fī khuṭabi Amīr al-Mu'minīn [ʿAlī] -raḍiya Allāhu taʿālā ʿanhu- • ≈ Kitābu nahji al-balāghati
 {10} fī khuṭabi Amīr al-Mu'minīn ʿAlī -raḍiya Allāhu taʿālā ʿanhu- •
 [11–13 are blank]
 {14} ≈ Nathru al-laʿālī min kalāmi Amīr al-Mu'minīn ʿAlī -raḍiya Allāhu taʿālā ʿanhu- ʿalā tartībī
 {15} ḥurūfi al-hijāʾi • ≈ Nathru al-laʿālī min kalāmi Amīr al-Mu'minīn ʿAlī -raḍiya
 {16} Allāhu taʿālā ʿanhu- ʿalā tartībī ḥurūfi al-tahajjī • ≈ Nathru al-laʿālī min kalāmi
 {17} Amīr al-Mu'minīn ʿAlī -raḍiya Allāhu taʿālā ʿanhu- ʿalā tartībī ḥurūfi al-muʿjami •
 {18} ≈ Ṣad kalimah-i ʿAlī -raḍiya Allāhu taʿālā ʿanhu- wa- ~ Nathru al-laʿālī li-ʿAlī -raḍiya Allāhu
 taʿālā
 {19} ʿanhu- [fī mujalladin wāḥidin] • ≈ Nathru al-laʿālī li-Amīr al-Mu'minīn ʿAlī -raḍiya Allāhu
 taʿālā ʿanhu- maʿa

[217]

- {1} tarjamatihi bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manzūmati wa- ~ Qaṣīdatu Ibn Sīnā maʿa sharḥihā fī
 {2} mujalladin wāḥidin •
 [3, 4 are blank]
 {5} ≈ Maqāmātu al-Ḥarīrī • ≈ Maqāmātu al-Ḥarīrī • ≈ Maqāmātu
 {6} al-Ḥarīrī • ≈ Kitābu maqāmāti al-Ḥarīrī maʿa sharḥihi fī ḥawāshīhi •
 {7} ≈ Kitābu maqāmāti al-Ḥarīrī al-muḥashshā • ≈ Maqāmātu al-Ḥarīrī •
 {8} ≈ Kitābu maqāmāti al-Ḥarīrī • ≈ Kitābu maqāmāti al-Ḥarīrī maʿa
 {9} sharḥin fī ḥawāshīhi • ≈ Kitābu maqāmāti al-Ḥarīrī al-muḥashshā
 {10} bi-al-fārisiyyati •
 [11–14 are blank]
 {15} ≈ Sharḥu Maqāmāti al-Ḥarīrī • ≈ Sharḥu Maqāmāti al-Ḥarīrī •
 {16} ≈ Sharḥu Maqāmāti al-Ḥarīrī • ≈ Sharḥu Maqāmāti al-Ḥarīrī •
 {17} ≈ Sharḥu Maqāmāti al-Ḥarīrī •
 [18, 19 are blank]

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- {1} ≈ Maqāmātu Badīʿ al-Zamān • ≈ Kitābu al-Maqāmāti al-badīʿiyyati
 {2} bi-khaṭṭi Ibn al-Suhrawardī •

[3–5 are blank]

{6} ≈ Risālatu qānūni jawābi al-aḥmaqi fī iṣlāhi al-khaṭī'ati fī al-amthāli •

{7} ≈ Majmū'atun fī al-nawādiri wa-al-fawā'idi bi-khaṭṭi al-Sulṭān al-maghfūri al-marḥūmi Meḥmed

{8} Khān -ṭāba tharāhu- • ≈ Kitābu mukātabāti al-wazīri al-Jazarī fī al-tarassuli •

{9} ≈ Kitābu al-khuṭabi al-nubātiyyati • ≈ Kitābu majma'i al-balāghati min qibali al-inshā'āti

{10} wa-al-iṭlāqāti al-badī'ati • ≈ Kitābu rusūmi al-balāghati wa- ~ Kitābu

{11} nathri al-naẓmi wa-ḥalli al-'aqdi wa- ~ Risālatu saǧ'iyyāti al-Tha'ālibi

{12} al-nāfi'ati fī al-mukātabāti wa-al-mukhāṭabāti • ≈ Kitābu alḥāni

{13} al-sawāji'i bayna al-bādī wa-al-marāji'i li-l-Ṣafadī fī mujalladayni •

{14} ≈ Kitābu majma'i al-balāghati fī funūni al-kalimāti al-balīghati min qibali al-inshā'i •

{15} ≈ Kitābu nathri al-naẓmi wa-ḥalli al-'aqdi wa- ~ Rasā'ilu ukhrā fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{16} ≈ Kitābu nathri al-naẓmi wa-ḥalli al-'aqdi wa-risālatāni ukhrayāni fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{17} ≈ Kitābu rawḍati al-nāziri • ≈ Kitābun fī al-amthāli 'alā tartibi ḥurūfi

{18} al-tahajji • ≈ Kitābu majma'i al-amthāli • ≈ Kitābu nafā'isi al-funūni

{19} fī al-adabiyyāti wa-ghayrihā • ≈ Kitābu rasā'ili baghdādiyyin¹³² al-mawsūmu

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{1} bi-Majmū'i al-tawassuli ilā al-tarassuli • ≈ Kitābu rasā'ili baghdādiyyin al-mawsūmu

{2} bi-Majmū'i al-tawassuli ilā al-tarassuli • ≈ Sa'ādatnāmah fī al-tarassuli wa-

{3} qawā'idi al-daftari • ≈ Nafā'isu al-kalāmi fī al-tarassuli •

{4} ≈ al-Risālatu al-ṣāḥibiyyatu fī al-tarassuli wa-qawā'idi al-daftari • ≈ Kitābu

{5} al-miṣbāḥi fī al-tarassuli • ≈ Tarassulun fārisiyyun • ≈ Gulshan-i inshā' bi-al-turkiyyati

{6} fī al-tarassuli • ≈ Rasā'ilu al-Qāḍi 'Abd al-Raḥīm fī al-tarassuli wa- ~ Kitābu

{7} al-alfāzi fī al-lughati al-'arabiyyati wa-kitābun laṭifun fī al-tarassuli fī mujalladin wāḥidin

{8} ≈ Sa'ādatnāmah fī al-tarassuli wa-qawā'idi al-daftari • ≈ Risālatu al-siyāqati

{9} al-'imādiyyati • ≈ Risālatun falakiyyatun fī al-siyāqati • ≈ Rasā'ilu al-'ushshāqi

{10} fī al-tarassuli • ≈ Kitābu ṭarā'ifi al-ṭurafi • ≈ Kitābun fī ikhtiyārāti

{11} al-abyāti wa-al-asjā'i fī al-mukātabāti • ≈ Kitābu adabi al-kātibi •

¹³² Thus in the manuscript.

- {12} ≈ Kitābu adabi al-kātibi • ≈ Kitābu Rashīd al-Dīn fī al-tarassuli wa-Kitābu
- {13} Abī Bakr al-Qunawī fī al-tarassuli • ≈ Kitābu al-wasā'ili al-ilāhiyyati wa-al-rasā'ili
- {14} al-muḥammadiyyati 'alā tartībī ḥurūfī al-mu'jami wa- ~ Kitābu al-shajaratī fī dhikri nasabī al-nabī
- {15} -'alayhi al-salāmu¹³³ wa-al-'asharati [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Kitābu al-makātibi li-Rashīd al-Dīn al-Waṭwāṭ •
- {16} ≈ Dustūru al-kātibi fī ta'yīni¹³⁴ al-marātibi fī al-inshā'i • ≈ Kitābu bayāḍi
- {17} al-nabāti fī al-makātibi al-naẓmiyyati • ≈ Dustūru al-kātibi fī ta'yīni al-marātibi
- {18} fī al-inshā'i • ≈ Kitābu al-tadhkirati fī al-siyāqati wa-al-inshā'i wa- ~ Kitābu
- {19} sharḥi abyāti Kalīla fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābun fī al-inshā'i
- [*Bahrāmī wa-tabī'ahu al-Zamakhsharī, Ḥātami*]¹³⁵

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- {1} ≈ Tarjamatu Miftāḥi al-inshā'i bi-al-turkiyyati • ≈ Kitābu 'arā'isi al-khawāṭiri fī
- {2} al-inshā'i • ≈ Kitābu zahri al-ādābi fī arba'i mujalladātin •
- {3} ≈ Kitābu nathri al-ṣāḥibi fī al-makātibi wa- ~ Kitābu ādābi al-jalīsi [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] •
- {4} ≈ Kitābun fī al-rubā'īyyāti al-fārisiyyati fī al-aḥwālī al-mutafarriqati marqūmun
- {5} bi-qunyati al-inshā'i • ≈ Kitābu farā'id-i ghiyāthī fī al-makātibi wa-al-inshā'i •
- {6} ≈ Kitābu farā'id-i ghiyāthī fī al-makātibi wa-al-inshā'i • ≈ Kitābu farā'id-i ghiyāthī
- {7} fī al-makātibi wa-al-inshā'i wa- ~ Risālatun ukhrā fī al-inshā'i fī [sic] •
- {8} ≈ 'Arā'isu al-khawāṭiri fī al-makātibi wa-al-inshā'i • ≈ Kitābu uṣūli
- {9} al-khuṭabi [*li-Mawlānā al-Khaṭīb, ṣaḥḥ*] bi-al-'imārati al-murād-khāniyyati • ≈ Kitābu al-tashīli bi-al-tamthīl fī
- {10} al-inshā'i • ≈ Risālatun falakiyyatun fī al-siyāqati wa-qawā'idi al-daftari •
- {11} ≈ Dustūru al-kātibi fī ta'yīni al-marātibi fī al-inshā'i • ≈ Kitābun mawsūmun
- {12} bi-al-Durrati al-fākhirati fī al-amthālī al-sā'irati • ≈ Jawharatu al-sharafi fī
- {13} al-makātibi wa-al-inshā'i • ≈ Risālatu al-musajja'āti fī al-inshā'i •
- {14} ≈ Kitābu riyāḍi al-inshā'i [*fārisī*] li-Maḥmūd al-Gilānī • ≈ Kitābu al-balighi

¹³³ The manuscript has a *kasra* under the *mīm*.

¹³⁴ A *fī* was added between *ta'yīn* and *al-marātib* but it is out of place; it was perhaps meant to be the second *fī* (also added, after *al-marātib*) and just never erased.

¹³⁵ Written in a different hand with lighter ink in the right margin between lines {10} and {11}.

{15} al-muntakhabi min kalāmi al-‘ajami wa-al-‘arabi • ≈ Tarassulun bi-khaṭṭ-i dīwānī bi-al-fārisiyyati •

{16} ≈ Jawāhiru al-qalā’idi min qibali al-inshā’i wa- ~ Risālatu mafātiḥi al-ḥikmati [fi mujalladin wāḥidin] •

{17} ≈ Kitābu manāẓiri al-inshā’i li-Khw[ā]jah-i Jahān • ≈ Risālatu al-asrāri al-ilāhiyyati

{18} fi al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Miftāḥu al-inshā’i bi-al-fārisiyyati fi mujalladin wāḥidin •
≈ al-Tadhkiratu al-fakhriyyatu

{19} li-l-ṣāḥibi Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Munshī -raḥimahu Allāhu- • ≈ Risālatu al-ṭayfi min

[221]

{1} inshā’i Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Munshī • ≈ Kitābu rawḍi al-ādāb •

{2} ≈ Kitābu al-tawassuli ilā al-tarassuli fi al-inshā’i • ≈ Kitābun fi al-musajja’āti

{3} wa-al-manẓūmāti ‘alā ṭarīqi al-tarassuli • ≈ Kitābu manāḥiji al-tawassuli fi mabāḥiji

{4} al-tarassuli • ≈ Kitābu rawḍati al-‘āshiqi • ≈ Qurratu al-‘ayni fi al-amthāli

{5} wa-ghayrihā • ≈ Kitābu fātiḥati al-kamāli fi al-tarassuli wa-al-inshā’i •

{6} ≈ Kitābu al-ṣalāḥi bayna al-qarīdi wa-al-khuṭabi • ≈ Kitābu jawharati al-sharafi

{7} min qibali al-inshā’i • ≈ Kitābu yawāqīti al-mawāqīti min qibali al-inshā’i •

{8} ≈ Ta’līmu kitābati ḥurūfi al-tahajjī • ≈ Rawḍatu al-nāẓiri fi al-tarassuli wa-al-inshā’i •

{9} ≈ Rawḍatu al-nāẓiri fi al-tarassuli wa-al-inshā’i • ≈ Kitābu saji al-muṭawwaqi

{10} min qibali al-inshā’i • ≈ Kitābu ‘umdati al-bulaghā’i wa-‘uddati al-fuṣaḥā’i li-Rashīd

{11} al-Dīn al-Waṭwāt • ≈ Sharḥu khuṭbati Ibn Sīnā min qibali al-ḥikmati •

{12} ≈ Risālatu al-amthāli al-baghdādiyyati ‘alā tartībi al-ḥurūfi¹³⁶ al-tahajjī •

{13} ≈ Risālatun shawqiyyatun li-Mawlānā Ḥusām-zādah fi al-inshā’i • ≈ Abkāru al-afkāri

{14} fi al-rasā’ili wa-al-ash‘āri li-Muḥammad al-Rashīd • ≈ Kitābu bahjati al-majālisi

{15} fi al-abyāti wa-nawādiri al-ḥikāyāti • ≈ Mujalladun khāmisun min Kitābi nathri

{16} al-durri • ≈ Risālatu ‘Alī al-Munshī fi al-inshā’i • ≈ Nuzhatu al-qulūbi

{17} bi-al-turkiyyati fi al-tarassuli wa-al-inshā’i • ≈ Risālatu al-ḥurūfi al-mufradati

{18} wa-al-murakkabati bi-al-khaṭṭi al-mughūli • ≈ Kitābu zahri al-manshūri fi tarassuli Ibn

{19} Nubāta • ≈ Risālatu mukātabāti ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwān ma’a al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī •

¹³⁶ The manuscript should read *tartibi ḥurūfi al-tahajjī*.

[222]

- {1} ≈ Risālatu al-ta'ziyati bi-al-'arabiyyati min qibali al-inshā'i • ≈ Risālatu al-ṭayfi
 {2} li-Bahā' al-Dīn al-Munshī • ≈ Risālatun gharībatun fī al-laṭā'ifi •
 {3} ≈ Kitābun huwa 'umdatun li-l-kuttābi min qibali al-inshā'i • ≈ Risālatun min munsha'āti
 {4} Mawlānā 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī • ≈ Risālatu Bahā' al-Dīn al-Munshī al-mawsūmatu
 {5} bi-Risālati al-ṭayfi • ≈ Risālatun fī ta'ziyati Abī 'Alī bin Abī al-Rijāl min
 {6} qibali al-inshā'i • ≈ Kitābun fī al-munsha'āti ma'a nuqṣāni al-awā'ili bi-al-fārisiyyati •
 {7} ≈ al-Qidmatu al-sa'īdatu fī al-inshā'i • ≈ Jawāhir-i¹³⁷ zawāhir fī al-tarassuli •
 {8} ≈ Miṣbāḥu al-rasā'ili fī al-inshā'i wa-al-tarassuli • ≈ Kitābu majmū'atin jalāliyyatin
 {9} fī al-mukātabati wa-al-tarassuli • ≈ Kitābu al-thamarāti al-shahiyyati fī al-fawākihi
 {10} al-ḥamawīyyati fī al-qaṣā'idi wa-al-inshā'i • ≈ Kitābu kanzi al-balāghati fī al-inshā'i •
 {11} ≈ Risālatu tawqī'āti Anūshirwāni min qibali al-inshā'i • ≈ Abkāru al-afkāri
 {12} fī al-rasā'ili wa-al-ash'āri • ≈ Risālatu al-Ṭabarī bi-al-fārisiyyati fī
 {13} al-inshā'i wa-al-tarassuli • ≈ Kitābu adabi al-kātibi fī al-inshā'i •
 {14} ≈ Kitābu al-farīdati fī al-amthāli wa-al-ādābi • ≈ Risālatun musajja'atun fī al-inshā'i •
 {15} ≈ Risālah-i¹³⁸ Fattāḥī min qibali al-inshā'i • ≈ Risālah-i Fattāḥī min qibali al-inshā'i •
 {16} ≈ Risālatun fī khamsīna rasā'ila fī al-inshā'i wa- ~ Risālatu nuzhati al-kuttābi fī
 {17} al-inshā'i fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Rawḍatu al-kuttābi fī al-inshā'i •
 {18} ≈ Majmū'atun fihā risālatāni li-l-'Ubayd al-Zākānī fī al-laṭā'ifi •
 {19} ≈ Risālatun fī ta'ziyati Abī 'Alī bin Abī al-Rijāl min qibali al-inshā'i •

[223]

- {1} ≈ Kitābun fī al-tarassuli wa-al-inshā'i • ≈ Kitābu al-nawādiri •
 {2} ≈ Kitāb al-amthāli wa-al-ḥikami • ≈ Kitābu rawḍati al-nāẓiri •
 {3} ≈ Ṭarā'ifu al-ṭurafi • ≈ Kitābu al-abyāti al-munkhariṭati fī silki
 {4} al-murāsālāti wa-al-tarassuli • ≈ Risālatu madārijī al-wujūdi li-l-Ḥakīm al-Muta'allih
 {5} Muḥammad al-Maraqī wa-risālatun fī sharḥihā fī al-ḥikmatī [.]

[6–13 are blank]

137 The manuscript has a *ḍamma* above the *rā'*, but if not Persian, the second word would have to be indefinite, which is not given.

138 The manuscript has a *ḍamma* above the *tā'* *marbūṭa*, but *Fattāḥī*, without a definite article, would not seem to be an Arab.

- {14} ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Kitābi al-‘iqdi fi ‘ilmi al-adabi fihi kitābu al-lu’lu’ati
 {15} wa- ~ [sic] kitābu al-farīdati wa- ~ [sic] kitābu al-zabarjadati . . . ≈ Mujalladun thānin
 {16} min Kitābi al-‘iqdi fi ‘ilmi al-adab fihi kitābu al-marjānati wa-kitābu al-yāqūtati
 {17} wa-kitābu al-jawharati . . . ≈ Mujalladun thālithun min Kitābi al-‘iqdi
 {18} fi ‘ilmi al-adabi fihi kitābu al-durrati wa-kitābu al-yatīmati wa-kitābu al-‘asjadati
 {19} . . . ≈ Mujalladun rābi‘un min Kitābi al-‘iqdi fi ‘ilmi al-adabi

[224]

- {1} fihi kitābu al-wāsiṭati wa-kitābu al-majnabati al-thāniyati fi mujalladin wāḥidin .
 {2} ≈ Mujalladun akhīrun min Kitābi al-‘iqdi fi ‘ilmi al-adab fihi kitābu al-jamānati al-thāniyati
 {3} wa-kitābu al-zabarjadati al-thāniyati wa-kitābu al-farīdati al-thāniyati wa-kitābu
 {4} al-lu’lu’ati al-thāniyati ~~fi mujalladin wāḥidin~~ . ≈ Mujalladun khāmisun min Kitābi
 {5} al-‘iqdi fi ‘ilmi al-adabi fihi al-‘asjadatu al-thāniyatu . ≈ Mujalladun sādisun
 {6} min Kitābi al-‘iqdi fihi baqiyyatu al-durrati al-thāniyati [*wa-al-zumurrudatu al-thāniyatu, ṣaḥḥ*]
 wa-ba‘ḍu al-jawharati al-thāniyati [.]
 {7} ≈ Mujalladun sābi‘un min Kitābi al-‘iqdi fi ‘ilmi al-adabi fihi baqiyyatu kitābi al-jawharati
 {8} al-thāniyati wa-kitābu al-yāqūtati al-thāniyati wa-kitābu al-marjānati al-thāniyati
 {9} wa-kitābu al-jamānati al-thāniyati .

[10–19 are blank]

[225]

- {1} ≈ Sharḥu al-Qaṣīdati al-lāmiyyati li-‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Khujandī fi ‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi .
 {2} ≈ Risālatāni fi ‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi . ≈ Kitābu al-mu‘jami fi ma‘āyibi¹³⁹ ash‘ārī
 {3} al-‘ajami fi ‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi . ≈ Kitābun fi ‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi bi-al-turkiyyati wa-al-fārisiyyati
 {4} li-l-Ḥalīmī al-marḥūmī . ≈ Kitābu mi‘yār-i Jamālī fi ‘ilmi al-shi‘ri . ≈ Kitābu
 {5} mi‘yār-i Jamālī fi ‘ilmi al-shi‘ri . ≈ Kitābu mi‘yār-i Jamālī fi ‘ilmi al-shi‘ri .
 {6} ≈ Risālatun fi ‘ilmi al-badī‘i wa- ~ Risālatun fi ‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] .
 ≈ Shifā’u al-‘alili
 {7} fi ‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi . ≈ Shifā’u al-‘alili fi ‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi wa- ~ Qaṣīdatāni fihi
 {8} ayḍan [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] . ≈ Sharḥu qaṣīdati al-Ḥillī ‘alā ṣanā’i‘i ‘ilmi al-badī‘i .
 {9} ≈ Risālatu al-mu‘ammā . ≈ Risālatu Mawlānā Jāmī fi al-mu‘ammā . ≈ Risālatu

¹³⁹ This may be a mistranscription of *ma‘āyir*.

- {10} al-mu‘ammā li-‘Aligar • ≈ Risālatu al-mu‘ammā al-mawsūmatu bi-al-Manāẓiri •
- {11} ≈ Risālatu al-mu‘ammā al-mawsūmatu bi-al-Manāẓiri • ≈ Muntakhabu Kitābi ḥulalin fi
- {12} al-mu‘ammā • ≈ Risālatu Maḥmūd al-‘Ajāmī fi al-mu‘ammā • ≈ Risālatu mu‘amayāt-i
- {13} Mawlānā Jāmī • ≈ Anīsu al-‘ushshāqi li-l-Sharaf al-Rāmī fi al-ṣanā’i
- {14} al-shi‘riyyati • ≈ al-Iḥyā’u fi ‘ilmi ḥalli mu‘amman li-l-Badī‘ al-Tabrīzī wa- ~ Anīsu
- {15} al-‘ushshāqi li-l-Sharaf al-Rāmī fi al-ṣanā’i al-shi‘riyyati [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] •
≈ Risālatu majmū‘ati
- {16} mu‘amayāt-i Sharaf al-Dīn al-Yazdī ‘alā tartībī al-ḥurūfi • ≈ Kitābu al-ḥulali
- {17} fi al-mu‘ammā li-l-Sharaf al-Yazdī • ≈ Kitābu ḍābiṭat-i ḥall-i mu‘ammā wa- ~ Dīwān-i
Kāmī [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] •
- {18} Kitābun kathīru al-naḥḥi fi ‘ilmi al-mu‘ammā mawsūmun bi-Kitābi al-ḥulali • ≈ Kitābu
al-mawāṭini
- {19} fi ‘ilmi al-mu‘ammā • ≈ Kitābu al-manāẓiri fi al-mu‘ammā • ≈ Mukhtaṣarun mufidun fi
al-mu‘ammā •

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- {1} ≈ Risālatu al-mu‘ammā • ≈ Mukhtaṣarun fi al-mu‘ammā • ≈ Risālatu al-taqwīmi wa-Risālatu
- {2} al-‘ishqi wa-risālatāni li-l-Jāmī fi al-mu‘amayāti • ≈ Kitābu al-shāfiyati
- {3} fi al-‘arūḍi wa-al-qāfiyati • ≈ Ḥulalu Sharaf al-Dīn al-Yazdī fi al-mu‘ammā •
- {4} ≈ Mir’ātu al-arwāḥi li-Abī Wardī fi al-ḥusni min qibali rasā’ili ‘ilmi al-shi‘ri •
- {5} ≈ Shāfiyatun fi ma‘rifati al-‘arūḍi wa-al-qāfiyati li-l-Shirwānī bi-khaṭṭihi •
- {6} ≈ Anīsu al-‘ushshāqi li-l-Sharaf al-Rāmī fi al-ṣanā’i al-shi‘riyyati wa- ~ Mukhtaṣarun fi
- {7} qawā’idi al-ḥisābi [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Kitābu al-Waḥīd al-Tabrīzī fi ‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi
wa-
- {8} al-qāfiyati wa-ṣanā’i al-shi‘ri • ≈ Kitābu al-Waḥīd al-Tabrīzī al-mawsūmu bi-Jam‘-i
- {9} mukhtaṣar¹⁴⁰ fi ‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi wa- ~ Kitābu al-Waḥīd al-Tabrīzī al-mawsūmi bi-Jam‘-i
mukhtaṣar
- {10} fi ‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi • ≈ Sharḥu al-Qaṣīdati al-lāmiyyati fi ‘ilmay al-arūḍi
- {11} wa-al-qāfiyati • ≈ Qaṣīdatu al-Andalusī fi ‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi wa- ~ Rasā’ilu ukhrā
- {12} fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Majmū‘atun fi al-qasā’idi wa-‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi wa-ghayrihimā •
- {13} ≈ Majmū‘atun fihā ‘Arūḍu Ibn al-Ḥājib wa- ~ ‘Arūḍu al-Andalusī wa- ~ Quṣṣāsu

¹⁴⁰ The manuscript has *tanwīn* but both the author (who should not have the two definite articles) and the book are Persian.

- {14} al-Zamakhsharī fi al-‘arūḍi wa- ~ Dawā’iru Ibn al-Janẓī fi al-‘arūḍi wa- ~ Risālatun
- {15} fi ‘ilmi al-qāfiyati fi mujalladin¹⁴¹ • ~ Kitābu ḥulalin fi al-mu‘ammā • ~ Risālatu Bīkr-i Khuld
- {16} bi-al-fārisiyyati fi ṣanā’i’i al-shi’ri • ~ Mi’yāru al-ash‘ārī fi ‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi
- {17} wa-al-qawāfi li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī • ~ Muntakhabun min Kitābu ḥulalin wa-min muntakhabihi
- {18} li-l-Jāmī fi al-mu‘ammā • ~ Kitābu anīsi al-‘ushshāqi min qibali ṣanā’i’i al-shi’ri •
- {19} ~ Risālatu ḥaqā’iqi al-ḥadā’iqi fi ṣanā’i’i al-shi’ri • ~ Risālatu ḥaqā’iqi

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- {1} al-ḥadā’iqi fi ṣanā’i’i al-shi’ri • ~ Kitābu anīsi al-‘ushshāqi wa-Risālatu
- {2} al-iḥyā’i fi ‘ilmi ḥalli al-mu‘ammā [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ~ Risālatu al-mu‘ammayāti • ~ Anīsu al-‘ushshāqi
- {3} min qibali ‘ilmi al-shi’ri • ~ Kitābu zahri al-rabī’i fi shawāhidi al-badī’i •
- {4} ~ Qaṣīdatun fārisiyyatun mushtamilatun ‘alā ṣanā’i’i al-shi’ri • ~ Risālatun fi al-mu‘ammā •
- {5} ~ Kitābun nafīsun mūjazun fi al-mu‘ammā • ~ Kitābu al-ḥusni al-ṣarīḥi fi mi’ati
- {6} malīḥin wa- ~ Qaṣīdatun nūniyyatun muṣanna‘atun bi-ṣanā’i’i al-shi’ri • ~ Sharḥu su‘ālī
- {7} Kumayl bin Ziyād wa- ~ Risālatu al-‘arūḍi [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ~ Munsha’ātu al-Waḥīd al-Tabrīzī
- {8} fi ‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi wa-al-qāfiyati wa-ṣanā’i’i al-shi’ri • ~ Risālatu tāj-i Ḥalwā’i
- {9} fi ṣanā’i’i al-shi’ri wa- ~ Risālatun fi ‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi wa- ~ Kitābu qāfiyati al-‘Aṣṣār min
- {10} qibali ‘ilmi al-shi’ri [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ~ Risālatu al-iṣṭilāḥi wa- ~ Munāzarati guli wa-muli wa- ~ Qaṣīdatun
- {11} muṣanna‘atun li-Salmān wa- ~ Munsha’ātu al-Waḥīd al-Tabrīzī fi ‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi wa-
- {12} al-qāfiyati [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ~ Qaṣīdatu Salmān al-muṣanna‘atu wa- ~ Munsha’ātu al-Waḥīd al-Tabrīzī
- {13} fi ‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi wa- al-qāfiyati wa-ṣanā’i’i al-shi’ri wa- ~ Risālatu al-madkhali al-manẓūmi
- {14} fi al-nujūmi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ~ Risālatun fi al-‘arūḍi wa-Sharḥu al-Andalusī
- {15} fi al-‘arūḍi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ~ Ḥadā’iqu al-ḥaqā’iqi fi ‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi wa-
- {16} ~ Anīsu al-‘ushshāqi min qibali ‘ilmi al-shi’ri wa- ~ Kitābu manāqibi al-Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn
- {17} -quddisa sirruhu- wa-rasā’ilu ukhrā fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ~ Majmū‘atun fihā Anīsu
- {18} al-‘ushshāqi min qibali ṣanā’i’i al-shi’ri • ~ Risālatun fi al-barkār wa- ~ Risālatu

¹⁴¹ An erased *wāḥid* above *mujallad* is slightly visible.

{19} Mawlānā Jāmī fi al-mu‘ammā wa- ~ Muntakhabu Kitābu al-ḥulali fi al-mu‘ammā wa-Dīwānu Maghribī [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] •

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{1} ≈ Majmū‘atun awwaluhā Tuḥfatu al-ṣudūri fi al-ḥisābi wa-awākhiruhā Rawḍatu

{2} al-faṣāḥati fi al-ṣanā’i’i al-badī’iyyati al-shi’riyyati wa- ~ Qurratu al-‘uyūni fi al-nawādiri [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] •

{3} ≈ Majmū‘atun fihā risālatāni fi al-farqi bayna al-ḍādi wa-al-zā’i wa-ākhirī

{4} Tarjumāni al-balāghati fi al-ṣanā’i’i al-shi’riyyati • ≈ Sharḥu qaṣīdati al-Ḥillī ‘alā

{5} ṣanā’i’i ‘ilmi al-badī’i • ≈ Kitābu ḥadā’iqi al-siḥri fi daqā’iqi al-shi’ri •

{6} ≈ Mi’yār-i Jamālī fi ‘ilmi al-shi’ri wa-lughati al-fursi • ≈ Risālatu qaṣīdatin

{7} mushtamilatin ‘alā al-ṣanā’i’i al-shi’riyyati • ≈ Badā’i’u al-tarṣī‘āti bi-al-‘arabiyyati

{8} wa-al-fārisiyyati wa-Abkāru al-afkāri fi al-rasā’ili wa-al-ash‘āri li-Rashīd

{9} al-Dīn al-Waṭwāt •

[10–19 are blank]

[229 is blank]

[230]

[1–9 are blank]

{10} Tafṣīlu al-dawāwīni al-fārisiyyati

{11} • wa-al-kutubi al-manẓūmati bi-al-fārisiyyati •

{12} ≈ Kitābu al-mathnawī li-Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī -quddisa sirruhu- • ≈ Kitābu

{13} al-mathnawī li-Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī -quddisa sirruhu- • ≈ Kitābu al-mathnawī li-Jalāl

{14} al-Dīn al-Rūmī -quddisa sirruhu- • ≈ Kitābu al-mathnawī li-Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī

{15} -quddisa sirruhu- • ≈ Kitābu al-mathnawī li-Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī -quddisa sirruhu- •

{16} ≈ Kitābu al-mathnawī li-Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī -quddisa sirruhu- •

{17} ≈ Kitābu al-mathnawī li-Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī -quddisa sirruhu- • ≈ Kitābu al-mathnawī

{18} li-Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī -quddisa sirruhu- • ≈ Kitābu al-mathnawī li-Jalāl al-Dīn

{19} al-Rūmī -quddisa sirruhu- • ≈ Kitābu al-mathnawī • ≈ Kitābu al-mathnawī li-Jalāl al-Dīn

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{1} al-Rūmī -quddisa sirruhu- • ≈ Kitābu al-mathnawī li-Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī

- {2} -quddisa sirruhu- • ≈ Kitābu al-mathnawī li-Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī -quddisa
 {3} sirruhu- • ≈ Kitābu al-mathnawī li-Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī -quddisa sirruhu- •
 {4} ≈ Kitābu al-mathnawī li-Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī -quddisa sirruhu- wa- ~ Manṭiqu al-ṭayri
 {5} wa- ~ Asrār-nāmah wa- ~ Intikhāb-i mukhtār-nāmah wa- [*kitābu, ṣaḥḥ*] Kulliyāt-i Shaykh Sa'di fi
 {6} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-mathnawī li-Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī
 {7} -quddisa sirruhu- • ≈ Kitābu al-mathnawī wa- ~ Kitābu sittah-i 'Aṭṭār wa- ~ Kitābu
 {8} Khamsah-i Nizāmī wa- ~ Kitābu iskandarnāmah wa- ~ Kitābu tadhkirati al-awliyā'i
 {9} wa-rasā'ilu ukhrā fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu intikhābi al-Mathnawī •
 {10} ≈ Kitābu muntakhabi al-Mathnawī • ≈ Kitābu muntakhabi al-Mathnawī li-l-Amīr Qāsim •
 {11} ≈ Kitābu jawāhiri mawlawī [wa-] Muntakhabu [al-]Mathnawī wa- ~ Ikhtiyārātu ash'ari fuḍalā'i fi
 {12} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu intikhāb-i Mathnawī • ≈ Dīwān-i Mawlānā
 {13} Jalāl al-Dīn alladhī fi ba'di ghazaliyyātihi ismu Shams-i Tabrizī •
 {14} ≈ Kitābu al-mathnawī • ≈ Mathnawī •
 [15–19 are blank]

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- {1} ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Kitābi jawāhiri al-asrāri fi sharḥi al-Mathnawī •
 {2} ≈ Dīwān-i Sulṭān Walad • ≈ Dīwān-i Sulṭān Walad • ≈ Kitāb-i
 {3} Sulṭān Walad bin Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī •
 [4 is blank]
 {5} ≈ Kitābu kulliyāt-i 'Aṭṭār wa-hiya 'asharu kutubin fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu
 {6} jawhari al-dhāt li-l-Shaykh al-'Aṭṭār • ≈ Kitābu sittah-i 'Aṭṭār •
 {7} ≈ Manṭiqu al-ṭayri • ≈ Kitābu Gul u Khusraw alladhī yuqālu lahu Gul u Hurmuz
 {8} ayḍan • ≈ Kitābu Ashtarnāmah li-l-'Aṭṭār • ≈ Kitābu muṣibatnāmah li-l-'Aṭṭār •
 {9} ≈ Kitābu ilāhīnāmah li-l-'Aṭṭār • ≈ Kitābu ilāhīnāmah li-l-'Aṭṭār •
 {10} ≈ Kitābu manṭiqi al-ṭayr li-l-'Aṭṭār • ≈ Naẓmu ḥikāyat-i Khusraw u Gul li-l-'Aṭṭār
 {11} al-ma'rūfu bi-Khusrawnāmah • ≈ Kitābu intikhābi Manṭiqi al-ṭayr •
 {12} ≈ Kitābun fihī Kulliyātu ash'ar-i 'Aṭṭār wa- ~ Sināmah-i Ḥusaynī wa- ~ Dīwān-i Nizārī
 {13} wa- ~ Ash'arun mutafarriqatun li-afāḍili al-shu'arā'i fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Majmū'atu

- {14} rasā'ila fihā Manṣūrnāmah-i Shaykh-i 'Aṭṭār wa- ~ Tarjī'band-i Mīr Qāsim wa-
 {15} ~ Gulshan-i rāz bi-al-fārisiyyati wa- ~ Dah-bāb-i Kātibi fī mujalladin wāḥidin .
 {16} ≈ Dīwān-i 'Aṭṭār . ≈ Jawharu al-dhāti li-l-Shaykh [a]l-'Aṭṭār -quddisa sirruhu- .
 {17} ≈ Kitābu ba'ḍi kulliyāt-i 'Aṭṭār . ≈ Kitābu khamsah-i 'Aṭṭār .
 {18} ≈ Risālatu tarjī'āti afāḍili al-shu'arā'i wa-Rawshanā'ināmah¹⁴² li-l-Sanā'i
 {19} wa-Bulbulnāmah li-'Aṭṭār wa-Naẓm-i ḥikāyat-i Gul u Bulbul li-'Aṭṭār wa-Asrār-nāmah

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- {1} li-'Aṭṭār fī mujalladin wāḥidin . ≈ Kitābu intikhābi Manṭiqi al-ṭayri .
 {2} ≈ Risālatu dah-qā'ida wa-Risālatu ikhtiyārāti Manṭiqi al-ṭayri fī mujalladin wāḥidin .
 [3–5 are blank]
 {6} ≈ Kitābu kulliyāt-i Sa'dī . ≈ Kitābu kulliyāt-i Sa'dī .
 {7} ≈ Kitābu kulliyāt-i Sa'dī . ≈ Kitābu kulliyāt-i al-Shaykh [a]l-Sa'dī¹⁴³ .
 {8} ≈ Kitābu kulliyāt-i Sa'dī . ≈ Kitābu kulliyāt-i Sa'dī .
 {9} ≈ Kitābu kulliyāt-i Sa'dī . ≈ Kitābu kulliyāt-i Sa'dī .
 {10} ≈ Kitābu kulliyāt-i Sa'dī wa- ~ Kitābu kulliyāt-i 'Imād fī mujalladin wāḥidin .
 {11} ≈ Kitābu Gulistān wa-Būstān fī mujalladin wāḥidin . ≈ Kitābu Gulistān .
 {12} ≈ Kitābu Bustān wa- ~ Kitābu Gulistān kilāhumā li-l-Sa'dī fī mujalladin wāḥidin .
 {13} ≈ Abyāt-i Gulistān . ≈ Muntakhab-i Gulistān . ≈ Gulistān .
 {14} ≈ Gulistān-i Sa'dī . ≈ Bustān-i Sa'dī . ≈ Gulistān-i Sa'dī .
 {15} ≈ Bustān-i Sa'dī . ≈ Bustān-i Sa'dī . ≈ Kitāb-i intikhābi Bustān .
 {16} ≈ Kitābu intikhābi Bustāni al-Sa'dī -quddisa sirruhu- .
 [17–19 are blank]

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- [1–4 are blank]
 {5} ≈ Kitābu khamsah-i Niẓāmī . ≈ Kitābu khamsah-i Niẓāmī . ≈ Kitābu khamsah-i
 {6} Niẓāmī . ≈ Kitābu khamsah-i Niẓāmī . ≈ Kitābu khamsah-i Niẓāmī .
 {7} ≈ Kitābun fī awwalihi Khamsah-i Niẓāmī wa- ~ Fī awsaṭihi rasā'ilu al-afāḍili wa-fī

¹⁴² The manuscript has a *ḍamma*, to read *rū*.

¹⁴³ The manuscript repeats the oddly placed *li-*, as in 232 {16}, which has been considered the definite article with omission of *alif*.

- {8} ākhirihī ghazaliyyātu al-akābiri wa-rubā'īyyātuhum • ≈ Khamsah-i Nizāmī •
- {9} ≈ Kitābu haft paykar fī hikāyati Bahrām Gūr li-l-Nizāmī • ≈ Kitābu makhzani
- {10} al-asrāri li-l-Nizāmī • ≈ Kitābu makhzani al-asrāri li-l-Nizāmī •
- {11} ≈ Naẓmu Khusraw [u]¹⁴⁴ Shīrin li-l-Nizāmī • ≈ Khamsah-i Nizāmī • ≈ Kitābu
- {12} Iskandarnāmah li-l-Nizāmī • ≈ Kitābu Iskandarnāmah li-l-Nizāmī •
- {13} ≈ Naẓmu Khusraw [u] Shīrin li-l-Nizāmī • ≈ Kitābu naẓmi Khusraw [u] Shīrin
- {14} li-l-Nizāmī • ≈ Kitābu makhzani al-asrāri li-l-Nizāmī • ≈ Majmū'atun fihā
- {15} sittatun wa-thalāthūna kitāban awwaluhā muntakhabu Khamsah-i Nizāmī • ≈ Kitābu makhzani
- {16} al-asrāri li-l-Nizāmī wa- ~ Kitābu Gulshan-i rāz wa- ~ Lama'āt-i 'Irāqī wa- ~ Muqaṭa'āti
- {17} Ibn Yamīn fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu khamsah-i Nizāmī •
- {18} ≈ Khamsah-i Nizāmī wa- ~ Khamsah-i Khusraw fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Naẓmu Laylā wa
- {19} Majnūn bi-al-fārisiyyati li-l-Nizāmī •

[235]

[1–7 are blank]

- {8} ≈ Kitābu dīwān-i Khusraw • ≈ Dīwān-i Khusraw wa-Dīwān-i Ḥasan fī
- {9} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Dīwān-i Khusraw • ≈ Dīwān-i Khusraw •
- {10} ≈ Dīwān-i Khusraw wa- ~ Dīwān-i Ḥasan wa- ~ Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ wa- ~ Dawāwīnu
- {11} ghayrihim fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu khamsah-i Khusraw • ≈ Kulliyyāt-i
- {12} Khusraw • ≈ Dīwān-i Khusraw • ≈ Kitābu dīwān-i Khusraw •
- {13} ≈ Dīwān-i Khusraw • ≈ Khamsah-i Khusraw • ≈ Khamsah-i Khusraw •
- {14} ≈ Khamsah-i Khusraw • ≈ Kitābu khamsah-i Khusraw • ≈ Kitābu khamsah-i Khusraw •
- {15} ≈ Dīwān-i Khusraw wa- ~ Ba'ḍu dīwān-i Kātibī [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Kitābu kham-sah-i Khusraw •
- {16} ≈ Kitābu khamsah-i Khusraw • ≈ Dīwān-i Khusraw wa- ~ Dīwān-i Kamāl wa- ~ Dīwān-i
- {17} Ḥāfiẓ fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu khamsah-i Khusraw • ≈ Dīwān-i
- {18} Khusraw wa-Dīwān-i Ḥasan fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu hasht bahisht
- {19} li-Khusraw • ≈ Dīwān-i Khusraw • ≈ Kitābu khamsah-i Khusraw

¹⁴⁴ Unless an *eẓāfe* is intended, the manuscript seems to be missing the conjunction, possibly because the *wāw* at the end of Khusraw was mistakenly seen as being the conjunction. See also line {13}.

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{1} ≈ Kitābu khamsah-i Khusraw • ≈ Dīwān-i Khusraw wa- ~ Dīwān-i Kātibī wa- ~ Dīwān-i

{2} Ṭūsī fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu khamsah-i Khusraw •

[3–8 are blank]

{9} ≈ Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ • ≈ Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ • ≈ Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ •

{10} ≈ Sharḥu ghazali Ḥāfiẓ al-Shīrāzī • ≈ Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ • ≈ Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ •

{11} ≈ Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ • ≈ Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ • ≈ Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ •

{12} ≈ Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ • ≈ Mukhammasāt-i ghazaliyyāt-i Ḥāfiẓ • ≈ Mukhammasāt-i

{13} ghazaliyyāt-i Ḥāfiẓ • ≈ Muntakhab-i Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ • ≈ Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ •

{14} ≈ Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ •

[15–17 are blank]

{18} ≈ Kitābu kulliyāt-i Jāmī • ≈ Kulliyāt-i¹⁴⁵ Jāmī • ≈ Kulliyāt-i

{19} Jāmī • ≈ Kitābu kulliyāt-i Jāmī • ≈ Dīwān-i Jāmī wa- ~ Dīwān-i

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{1} Kamāl wa- ~ Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ wa- ~ Dīwān-i Khayālī wa- ~ Dīwān-i Salmān fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{2} ≈ Dīwān-i Jāmī • ≈ Dīwān-i Jāmī ma‘a risālatayni li-l-Jāmī^c • ≈ Dīwān-i Jāmī •

{3} ≈ Kitābu muntakhabi Dīwān-i Jāmī • ≈ Dīwān-i Jāmī • ≈ Dīwān-i Jāmī •

{4} ≈ Dīwān-i Jāmī wa- ~ Risālatun fi waḥdati al-wujūdi li-l-Jāmī fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{5} ≈ Dīwān-i Jāmī • ≈ Dīwān-i Jāmī • ≈ Kitāb-i kulliyāt li-l-Jāmī •

{6} ≈ Kitābu khamsah-i Jāmī • ≈ Kitābu khamsah-i Jāmī bi-naqṣi Subḥati al-abrār •

{7} ≈ al-Daftar al-awwalu min Kitābi silsilati al-dhahab li-l-Jāmī [*fī al-taṣawwufi*] • ≈ Kitābu

{8} khamsah-i Jāmī • ≈ Kitābu tuḥfati al-aḥrār li-l-Jāmī • ≈ Kitābu subḥati

{9} al-abrār li-l-Jāmī • ≈ Kitābu khamsah-i Jāmī • ≈ Kitābu haft awrang

{10} li-l-Jāmī • ≈ Kitābu naẓmi Layla wa-Majnūn li-l-Jāmī • ≈ Naẓmu qīṣṣah-i Yūsuf

{11} -‘alayhi al-salāmu- li-l-Jāmī • ≈ Kitābu bahāristān li-l-Jāmī • ≈ Qaṣīdatu

{12} al-Jāmī bi-khaṭṭi Sulṭān ‘Alī • ≈ Tuḥfatu al-aḥrār li-Mawlānā Jāmī bi-al-fārisiyyati

{13} al-manẓūmati • ≈ Tuḥfatu al-aḥrār li-Mawlānā Jāmī bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati •

{14} ≈ Dīwān-i Jāmī • ≈ Khamsah-i Jāmī • ≈ Kitābu [*dīwān-i*] Jāmī •¹⁴⁵ The manuscript has both a *ḍamma* and a *kasra* under the *tā*.

{15} ≈ Kitābu bahāristān-i Jāmī •

[16–19 are blank]

[238]

[1, 2 are blank]

{3} ≈ Dīwān-i Kamāl • ≈ Dīwān-i Kamāl wa- ~ Dīwān-i Ḥasan wa- ~ Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ

{4} wa- ~ dawāwīnu ghayrihim fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Dīwān-i Kamāl wa- ~ Dīwān-i Humām fī

{5} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Dīwān-i Kamāl • ≈ Dīwān-i Kamāl • ≈ Dīwān-i Kamāl •

{6} ≈ Dīwān-i Kamāl • ≈ Dīwān-i Kamāl wa- ~ Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{7} • ≈ Dīwān-i Kamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl • ≈ Dīwān-i Kamāl-i

{8} Rūmī •

[9 is blank]

{10} ≈ Dīwān-i Anwarī • ≈ Dīwān-i Anwarī wa- ~ Dīwān-i Ṣāḥib fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{11} ≈ Dīwān-i Anwarī • ≈ Dīwān-i Anwarī • ≈ Dīwān-i Anwarī •

{12} ≈ Dīwān-i Anwarī wa- ~ Dīwān-i Khwāja Salmān wa- ~ Dīwān-i Sayf-i Isfaranjānī

{13} wa- ~ Dīwān-i Amīr Khusraw fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥ-i mushkilāt-i Dīwān-i

{14} Anwarī •

[15, 16 are blank]

{17} ≈ Dīwān-i Salmān wa- ~ Dīwān-i Kamāl fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Dīwān-i Salmān

{18} wa- ~ Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ wa- ~ Dīwān-i Kamāl fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitāb-i firāq-

{19} nāmah-i Salmān • ≈ Dīwān-i Salmān wa- ~ Dīwān-i Khusraw wa- ~ Khulāṣatu Dīwān-i

[239]

{1} Kamāl fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu firāqnāmah-i Salmān •

[2 is blank]

{3} ≈ Kitābu kulliyāt-i ʿImād • ≈ Kitābu kulliyāt-i ʿImād • ≈ Kitābu

{4} kulliyāt-i ʿImād • ≈ Kitābu kulliyāt-i ʿImād • ≈ Kitābu kulliyāti

{5} li-ʿImād • ≈ Kitābu kulliyāt-i ʿImād •

[6 is blank]

{7} ≈ Dīwān-i Qāsim • ≈ Dīwān-i Qāsim wa- ~ Risālatun manẓūmatun fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{8} ≈ Dīwān-i Qāsim ma‘a ~ Rasā‘ila wa- ~ Dīwān-i Ibn Yamīn fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{9} ≈ Dīwān-i Qāsim wa- ~ Risālatun li-Qāsim fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Dīwān-i Qāsim

{10} wa- ~ Rasā‘ilu ukhrā fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Dīwān-i Qāsim • ≈ Dīwān-i

{11} Qāsim ma‘a ~ Risālatu anīsi al-‘āshiqīna wa-al-‘ārifīna • ≈ Dīwān-i Qāsim •

{12} ≈ Dīwān-i Qāsim • ≈ Risālatu majma‘i al-baḥrayni li-l-Kātibī •

[13–15 are blank]

{16} ≈ Kitābu dīwān-i Amīr Ḥasan al-Dahlawī • ≈ Dīwānu Ḥasan •

{17} ≈ Dīwānu Ḥasan Dahlawī •

[18–19 are blank]

[240]

[1, 2 are blank]

{3} ≈ Dīwān-i Najm al-Dīn Qalandar • ≈ Dīwān-i Qalandar • •

{4} • • • ≈ Qalandarnāmah wa- ~ Rubā‘iyyāt •

[5, 6 are blank]

{7} ≈ Kitāb-i shāhnāmah • ≈ Kitāb-i shāhnāmah • ≈ Kitāb-i shāhnāmah •

{8} ≈ Kitāb-i shāhnāmah • ≈ Kitāb-i ikhtiyārāt-i Shāhnāmah • ≈ Kitāb-i

{9} ikhtiyārāt-i Shāhnāmah • ≈ Kitāb-i shāhnāmah-i muṣawwar •

[10, 11 are blank]

{12} ≈ Dīwān-i Kātibī wa- ~ Risālatu dah-bāb li-l-Kātibī fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{13} ≈ Kitāb-i kulliyāt-i Kātibī • ≈ Risālatun manẓūmatun li-l-Kātibī • ≈ Kitāb-i

{14} kulliyāt-i Kātibī wa- ~ Ghazaliyyātu Shāmī [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Risālatu tajnīsāt-i Kātibī •

{15} ≈ Risālatu tajnīsāt-i Kātibī wa-qaṣīdatun muṣanna‘atun fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{16} ≈ Kitābu kulliyāt-i Kātibī • ≈ Dah-bāb-i Kātibī bi-al-fārisiyyati •

{17} ≈ Dīwān-i Kātibī •

[18 is blank]

{19} ≈ Dīwānu ‘Iṣmat • ≈ Dīwānu ‘Iṣmat wa- ~ Dīwānu Nāṣir fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

[241]

{1} ≈ Dīwānu ‘Iṣmat •

[2 is blank]

- {3} ≈ Dīwān-i Ibn Yamīn • ≈ Dīwān-i Ibn Yamīn • ≈ Muqatta‘āt-i Ibn
 {4} Yamīn • ≈ Dīwān-i Ibn Yamīn wa- ~ Naẓmu naṣā’ihī Anūshirwān allatī fī
 {5} al-Tāj fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
 [6, 7 are blank]
 {8} ≈ Dīwān-i Bisāṭī wa- ~ Dīwān-i Khayālī fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
 {9} ≈ Dīwān-i Bisāṭī • ≈ Dīwān-i Bisāṭī • ≈ Dīwān-i Bisāṭī •
 {10} ≈ Kitābu rawḍati al-anwāri li-l-Kirmānī wa-
 {11} Abkārū al-afkāri li-l-Sharaf al-Rāmī wa-risālatun ukhrā wa-Dīwān-i Ṭūsī [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*].
 {12} ≈ Kitābu khamsah-i Khwājū • ≈ Dīwān-i Badr li-Khwājū¹⁴⁶ Badr al-Dīn •
 {13} ≈ Dīwān-i Khwājū • ≈ Kitābu kulliyāt-i Khwājū al-Kirmānī alladhī summiya
 {14} al-qismu al-awwalu minhu bi-Ṣanā’ī al-kamālī wa-al-qismu al-thānī minhu bi-Badā’ī
 {15} al-jamālī • ≈ al-Qismu al-awwalu al-mawsūmu bi-Ṣanā’ī al-kamālī min Dīwān-i
 {16} Khwājū al-Kirmānī • ~ Kitābu kulliyāt-i Khwājū al-Kirmānī alladhī summiya
 {17} al-qismu al-awwalu minhu bi-Ṣanā’ī al-kamālī wa-al-qismu al-thānī minhu bi-Badā’ī
 {18} al-jamālī • ≈ Kitābu kamāl-nāmah li-Khwājū wa- ~ Kitābu rawḍati al-anwāri li-Khwājū
 {19} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu rawḍati al-anwāri li-Khwājū wa- ~ Kamāl-nāmah
 [242]
 {1} li-Khwājū wa- ~ Humāy-i Humāyūn li-Khwājū wa- ~ Gul u Nawrūz li-Khwājū [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*].
 {2} ≈ Kitābu rawḍati al-anwāri li-Khwājū al-Kirmānī • ≈ Dīwān-i Badr li-Khwājū
 {3} Badr al-Dīn •
 {4} ≈ Kitābu ilāhīnāmah li-l-Sanā’ī wa- ~ Sayru al-‘ibādi ilā al-ma‘ādi li-l-Sanā’ī [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*].
 {5} ≈ Kitābu kulliyāt-i Sanā’ī fī awwalihi ilāhīnāmah • ≈ Ḥadīqatu al-ḥaqīqati
 {6} li-l-Ḥakīm al-Sanā’ī • ≈ Kitābu ḥadīqati al-ḥaqīqati li-l-Sanā’ī wa- ~ Kitābu
 {7} al-Khāqānī fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ilāhīnāmah [*alladhī yuqālu lahu aydan Fakhrīnāmah wa-al-Ḥadīqatu*] li-l-Sanā’ī wa- ~ Sayru
 {8} al-‘ibādi ilā al-ma‘ādi li-l-Sanā’ī fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ba‘ḍi kulliyāt-i

¹⁴⁶ The manuscript omitted the *alif* in Khwājū and has both a *kasra* and a *damma* above the *khā*. With generally consistently a *damma* above the *khā* and no *alif*, the Persian title here and in the following lines reads Khūjū.

- {9} Sanā'ī • ≈ Kitābu fakhrīnāmah alladhī yuqālu lahu Ilāhīnāmah ayḍan
 {10} li-l-Sanā'ī • ≈ Risālatun mawsūmatun bi-Salwatnāmah li-l-Sanā'ī fī al-taṣawwufi •
 {11} ≈ Risālatun mawsūmatun bi-Salwatnāmah li-l-Sanā'ī fī al-taṣawwufi •
 {12} ≈ Kitābu al-ḥadīqati alladhī yuqālu lahu Ilāhīnāmah wa-Fakhrīnāmah li-l-Sanā'ī •
 {13} ≈ Kitābu salwatnāmah li-l-Sanā'ī fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatu rūshanā'ī-
 {14} nāmah li-l-Sanā'ī wa- ~ Risālatu qaṣā'idī Nāṣir Khusraw wa- ~ Risālatu sa'ādat-
 {15} nāmah wa- ~ Risālatu futuwatnāmah li-Nāṣir fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
 {16} ≈ Kitābu al-ḥadīqati al-madhkūru bi-Ilāhīnāmah wa-bi-Fakhrīnāmah ayḍan li-l-Sanā'ī •
 {17} ≈ Kitābu al-ḥadīqati li-l-Sanā'ī • ≈ Dīwān-i Sanā'ī • ≈ Dīwān-i Sanā'ī
 {18} bi-naqṣin min al-ākhir •
 [19 is blank]

[243]

[1–4 are blank]

- {5} ≈ Kitābu khamsah-i Ḥusaynī • ≈ Kitābu khamsah-i Ḥusaynī •
 {6} ≈ Sīnāmah-i Ḥusaynī • ≈ Ash'āru Ḥusaynī • ≈ Kitābu khamsah-i Ḥusaynī
 {7} fī awwalihi Nuzhatu al-arwāḥi min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Kitābu sittah-i
 {8} Ḥusaynī fī awwalihi Nuzhatu al-arwāḥi fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ • Risālatu tarjī'āt-i
 {9} Ḥusayn •
 [10–12 are blank]
 {13} ≈ Kitābu naṣā'ihī Awḥadī al-musammā bi-Jām-i jam • ≈ Rubā'īyyāt-i Awḥad al-Dīn
 {14} al-Kirmānī • ≈ Kitābu jām-i jam li-Awḥadī • ≈ Kitābu jām-i jam
 {15} li-Awḥadī • ≈ Dahnāmah li-Awḥadī • ≈ Risālatu tuḥfati al-mulūki
 {16} wa- ~ Risālatu dahnāmah kilāhumā li-l-Awḥadī fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
 {17} ≈ Kitābu jām-i jam li-Awḥadī wa- ~ Gulshan-i rāz fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
 {18} ≈ Kitābu jām-i jam li-Awḥadī fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Nazmu Sindubādnāmah fī
 {19} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Tarjī'u Awḥadī • ≈ Kitābu miṣbāḥi al-arwāḥi [*bi-al-fārisiyyati*]

[244]

- {1} li-Awḥad al-Dīn al-Kirmānī min qibali al-taṣawwufi •
 [2–5 are blank]

{6} ≈ Kitābu kullīyyāt-i ‘Ubayd al-Zākānī bi-khaṭṭihi • ≈ Kitābu kullīyyāt-i ‘Ubayd [al-Zākānī] •

{7} ≈ Kitābu kullīyyāt-i ‘Ubayd al-Zākānī • ≈ Kitābu kullīyyāt-i ‘Ubayd al-Zākānī •

{8} ≈ Kitābu nawādiri al-amthāli li-‘Ubayd al-Zākānī •

[9, 10 are blank]

{11} ≈ Dīwān-i Sulṭān Aḥmad • ≈ Dīwān-i Sulṭān Aḥmad •

{12} ≈ Dīwān-i Sulṭān Aḥmad •

[13, 14 are blank]

{15} ≈ Kitābu kullīyyāt-i Fattāhī • ≈ Kitābu asrārnāmah li-l-Fattāhī •

[16–18 are blank]

{19} ≈ Dīwānu al-marḥūmi Jam (Cem) bin Sulṭān Meḥmed Khān -ṭayyaba Allāhu ta‘ālā tharāhumā- •

[245]

{1} ≈ Dīwānu Khusraw al-Dahlawī • ≈ Kitābu qirāni al-sa‘dayni li-Khusraw

{2} al-Dahlawī • ≈ Kitābu qirāni al-sa‘dayni li-Khusraw al-Dahlawī •

{3} ≈ Naẓm-i Laylā wa Majnūn bi-al-fārisiyyati li-Khusraw al-Dahlawī •

{4} ≈ Kitābu qirāni sa‘dayni •

[5–11 are blank]

{12} ≈ Dīwān-i ‘Irāqī wa- ~ Dīwān-i Awḥadī [fi mujalladin wāḥidin] • ≈ Kitābu khamsah-i Ashraf •

{13} ≈ Kitābu kullīyyāt-i Sharaf al-Rāmī • ≈ Dīwān-i Khāqānī •

{14} ≈ Dawāwīnu al-ḥudālā’i wa-qaṣā’iduhum¹⁴⁷ wa-ghazaliyyātuhum maktūbatan asmā’uhum

{15} fi al-fihristi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Dīwān-i Sayf al-Dīn al-Isfarangī •

{16} ≈ Kitābun fihi kutubun awwaluhā Dīwān-i Sayf al-Dīn al-Isfarangī wa-ākhiruhā

{17} Dīwānu al-Khāqānī • ≈ Kitābu dīwān-i¹⁴⁸ Sirāj al-Dīn Qumrī •

{18} ≈ Dīwān-i ‘Atīqī • ≈ Dīwān-i Sayyid Ni‘mat Allāh • ≈ Dīwān-i Nizārī •

{19} ≈ Dīwān-i maqālātin wa-ash‘arin [li]-Mu‘izzī • ≈ Dīwān-i Faṭḥ • ≈ Dīwānu

¹⁴⁷ The manuscript has an erroneous *kasra* for the pronominal suffix, which has been erased in *ghazaliyyātuhum*.

¹⁴⁸ The manuscript has a *ḍamma*, reading *dīwānu*. Despite the Arabic nominative given by the catalogue, at times Persian or Turkish *eẓāfe* has been preferred in rendering the entry title.

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- {1} al-marḥūmi Shaykh Wafā['] fi al-taşawwufi • ≈ Dīwān-i Shāhī •
- {2} ≈ Dīwān-i Jihān Khātūn • ≈ Kitābu kulliyyāt-i Ḥamidī •
- {3} ≈ Dīwān-i Dhu al-Fiqr [ismu rajulin] • ≈ Dīwān-i Ashraf • ≈ Dīwān-i Hawā'ī
- {4} wa- ~ Dīwān-i Fattāhī wa- ~ Dīwān-i Nadīmī fi mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {5} ≈ Dīwān-i Mujir Bilqānī • ≈ Dīwān-i 'Irāqī • ≈ Dīwān-i Nāşir-i
- {6} Khusraw • ≈ Dīwān-i Zahir • ≈ Dīwān-i Humām • ≈ Dīwān-i Ḥaydar •
- {7} ≈ Dīwān-i 'Abd al-Wāsi' al-Jabalī • ≈ Dīwān-i Mawlānā Sūzanī •
- {8} ≈ Dīwān-i 'Abd al-Wāsi' al-Jabalī • ≈ Dīwān-i 'Abd al-Wāsi' al-Jabalī •
- {9} ≈ Dīwān-i Maghribī wa- ~ Risālatun fi kulliyyāti 'ilmi al-tawḥīdi wa- ~ Risālatun ukhrā
- {10} wa- ~ Dīwān-i Mashriqī fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Dīwān-i Shihāb •
- {11} ≈ Dīwān-i Dhātī • ≈ Dīwān-i Kahjī • ≈ Dīwān-i Ibn Sayyid wa- ~ Dīwān-i
- {12} Bulbul fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Dīwān-i Amīrī • ≈ Dīwān-i Humām •
- {13} ≈ Dīwān-i Maghribī wa- ~ Risālatu jām-i jahānnumāy fi kulliyyāti 'ilmi al-tawḥīdi
- {14} wa- ~ Risālatun ukhrā fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Dīwān-i Nizārī •
- {15} ≈ Dīwān-i Shāhī • ≈ Dīwān-i Shams-i Mashriqī • ≈ Dīwān-i Şābir •
- {16} ≈ Dīwān-i Durduzd • ≈ Dīwān-i La'li • ≈ Dīwān-i Tūsī •
- {17} ≈ Dīwān-i Tūsī • ≈ Dīwān-i Kāshifi • ≈ Dīwān-i Firāqī •
- {18} ≈ Dīwān-i Ādharī • ≈ Dīwān-i La'ālī fārisiyyun wa-turkiyyun fi mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {19} ≈ Dīwān-i Qabūli • ≈ Dīwān-i Āhī • ≈ Dīwān-i Sharīf •

[247]

- {1} ≈ Dīwān-i Sūzanī • ≈ Dīwān-i Kāshī fi manqabat-i 'Alī -karrama Allāhu wajhahu-
- {2} wa- ~ Abyātun mutafarriqatun fi manqabatihi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Dīwān-i Qiwām
- {3} al-Şā'inī • ≈ Dīwān-i Mas'ūd • ≈ Dīwān-i Jihān Khātūn •
- {4} ≈ Dīwān-i Nāşir-i Khusraw • ≈ Dīwān-i Bahā' al-Dīn wa- • ≈ Rubā'iyāt-i
- {5} Majd al-Dīn fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Dīwān-i ghazaliyyāt-i Ashraf •
- {6} ≈ Dīwān-i Nāşir al-Bukhārī • ≈ Dīwān-i Khalīl • ≈ Dīwān-i Sanjarī •
- {7} ≈ Dīwān-i Fathī • ≈ Dīwān-i Khayālī • ≈ Dīwān-i ash'ār-i Khayālī wa- ~ Dīwān-i
- {8} ash'ār-i Bisāṭī fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Dīwān-i Başirī • ≈ Dīwān-i
- {9} Asrārī wa- ~ Risālatu ḥālnāmah fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Ghazaliyyāt-i Riyāḍī •

- {10} ≈ Kitābu lama‘āt-i ‘Irāqī wa- ~ Dīwān-i ‘Irāqī wa- ~ Dīwān-i Jāmī fi mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {11} ≈ Dīwān-i ‘Aḍud • ≈ Dīwān-i Shāhī • ≈ Rūshanā’ī¹⁴⁹nāmah-i Nāṣir-i
- {12} Khusraw wa- ~ Dīwān-i Ṣāḥir fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Dīwān-i Yūsuf •
- {13} ≈ Dīwān-i Dā’ī bi-khaṭṭihi • ≈ Dīwān-i Shāhi wa- ~ Risālatu [al-]mu‘ammā fi mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {14} ≈ Dīwān-i Shams • ≈ Majmū‘atu ash‘ārīn muntakhabatin min al-dawāwīni al-mu‘tabarati •
- {15} ≈ Kitābu kullīyyāt-i Kāshifi • ≈ Dīwānu-i Ṣāḥir • ≈ Dīwān-i Nāṣir •
- {16} ≈ Dīwān-i Ṣāḥir • ≈ Dīwān-i Sharaf • ≈ Dīwān-i Āhī •
- {17} ≈ Dīwān-i Sayf al-Dīn al-Isfarangī • ≈ Dīwān-i ‘Atiqī •
- {18} ≈ Dīwān-i Ṭāwusi al-shu‘arā’i wa- ~ Risālatu murāsālātīn fi mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {19} ≈ Dīwān-i Sūzanī • ≈ Dīwān-i Sayfī wa- ~ Dīwān-i Suhaylī fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

[248]

- {1} ≈ Dīwān-i Jihānshāh-i Ḥaqīqī • ≈ Dīwān-i Ṭālī’ī • ≈ Dīwānu al-marḥūmi
- {2} Shaykh Wafā[’] fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Dīwān-i Shāhī • ≈ Dīwān-i Wiṣālī •
- {3} ≈ Dīwān-i Maghribī • ≈ Risālatun fi al-mu‘ammā wa-Dīwān-i Khayālī •
- {4} ≈ Dīwān-i Ḥamidī • ≈ Kitābu dīwān-i Nāṣir al-Bukhārī •
- {5} ≈ Kitābu sittah-i Dā’ī • ≈ Kitābu kullīyyāt-i Jamālī • ≈ Kitābu intikhābātī
- {6} dawāwīni al-fuḍalā’i • ≈ Qābūsnāmah wa-Dīwān-i Mu‘izzī •
- {7} ≈ Qaṣā’idu wa-ghazaliyyātun li-Nishānī • ≈ Qaṣā’id-i Hawā’ī wa-Kitābu khayāl
- {8} wa-wisāl li-l-Hawā’ī fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Qaṣīdatāni li-l-Riyāḍī fi madḥi
- {9} Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān -a‘ānahu al-musta‘ānu •
- {10} ≈ Risālatu ghazaliyyāt-i Yārī •

[11–19 are blank]

[249]

[1–9 are blank]

- {10} ≈ Kitābu safinati baḥri al-‘ulūmi wa-hiya ‘ashru kutubin fi mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {11} ≈ Kitābu intikhābi Makhzani al-asrārī wa- ~ Kitābu intikhābi Khusraw u Shīrīn wa-
- {12} ~ Kitābu intikhābi Shāhnāmah fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitāb-i Garshāsbnāmah •

¹⁴⁹ The manuscript has a *kasra* under the *shīn*; see also 254 {16}.

- {13} ≈ Kitāb-i Khusraw u Shīrīn wa- ~ Kitāb-i Bahrām Gūr wa- ~ Kitāb-i Khurshīd u Jamshīd
 {14} wa- ~ Kitāb-i Humā-yi Humāyūn wa- ~ Kitāb-i Gul u Nawrūz fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
 {15} ≈ Kitāb-i Nigāristān • ≈ Kitābun fihi kutubun manẓūmatun awwaluhā Maṭla‘u
 {16} al-anwāri li-Khusraw wa-ākhiruhā Marzūbānnāmah • ≈ Kitāb-i ‘ishqnāmah
 {17} al-mashhūru bi-Mihr u Mushtarī • ≈ Kitābu mihri al-qulūbi li-l-Jamālī wa- ~ Kitābu
 {18} kashfi al-arwāḥi fī qiṣṣati Yūsuf -‘alayhi al-salāmu- li-l-Jamālī fī mujalladin
 {19} wāḥidin • ≈ Naẓmu Qiṣṣah-i Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān -khallada Allāhu ta‘ālā khilāfatahu •

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- {1} ≈ Kitāb-i ‘ishqnāmah al-mashhūru bi-Mihr u Mushtarī • ≈ Mukhtaṣaru naẓm-i Khusraw
 [u]
 {2} Shīrīn bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Qiṣṣah-i Ḥallāj bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati •
 {3} ≈ Risālatu munāẓarat-i Gul u Bulbul wa- ~ Riṣālatu munāẓarat-i Bulbul u Sham‘ wa-
 ~ Dah-
 {4} nāmah-i Mawlānā ‘Imād al-Dīn kulluhā bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati fī mujalladin
 wāḥidin •
 {5} ≈ Hidāyatu al-raḥmati bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati • ≈ Pandnāmah-i tāj-i Anūshirwān
 {6} bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati • ≈ Risālat-i bahāriyyāt • ≈ Risālatun fī
 {7} al-sham‘i bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmi aktharuhā • ≈ Risālatun min manẓūmāti
 {8} Shaykh Wafā[’] • ≈ Risālatun fārisiyyatun fī madḥi Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn
 {9} Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khan -zīdat sa‘ādatuhu fī al-dārayni- • ≈ Naẓīrah-i aṭ‘imah-i
 {10} Abī Ishāq bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati • ≈ Dāstān-i Bulbulnāmah •
 {11} ≈ Majmū‘atu ash‘āri al-shu‘arā’i • ≈ Munāẓaratu al-jawāhiri bi-al-fārisiyyati
 al-manẓūmati •
 {12} ≈ Rāḥatu al-‘ushshāqi li-l-Ṣabā’i ma‘a ash‘ārihi • ≈ Majmū‘atun ākhiruhā Gulshan-i
 {13} rāz bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati • ≈ Rubā‘iyyātu al-Khayyām wa- ~ Tarjī‘ātu
 {14} Awḥādī wa-ghayrihumā al-manẓūmāti al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Kitābu al-tajallī al-manẓūmu
 {15} min qibali al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Naẓm-i ghazānāmah-i Rūm fī tawārīkh-i Meḥmed Khān
 bin
 {16} Murād Khān -ṭāba tharāhumā- • ≈ Kitābu kashfi al-arwāḥi bi-al-fārisiyyati
 {17} al-manẓūmati fī al-tawārīkhi Qiṣṣah-i Yūsuf -‘alayhi al-salāmu- fī al-tawārīkhi •
 {18} ≈ Kitāb-i Bakhtiyār-nāmah al-musammā bi-Anīsī al-mulūki fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu
 {19} Kalīla wa-Dimna bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati fī al-tawārīkhi •

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- {1} ≈ Kitāb-i Khurshīd u Nāhīd bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati fī al-tawārīkhi •
- {2} ≈ Qiṣṣah-i Yūsuf -‘alayhi al-salāmu- bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati fī al-tawārīkhi •
- {3} ≈ Kitāb-i ẓafarnāmah bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati fī al-tawārīkhi •
- {4} ≈ Kitāb-i ẓafarnāmah bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati fī al-tawārīkhi •
- {5} ≈ Nazm-i tawārīkh-i Sulṭān Meḥemmed Khān bin Murād Khān -khullidat khilāfatuhum [sic]- wa-
- {6} ghayruhu bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Kitābu maṭla‘i al-anwāri • ≈¹⁵⁰ Mūnisi al-aḥrāri
- {7} fī daqā‘iqi al-ash‘āri • ≈ Kitāb-i ‘ishqnāmah al-mashhūru bi-Mihr u Mushtarī •
- {8} ≈ Kitāb-i farhād-nāmah-i ‘Ārif bi-khaṭṭi mu‘allifihi • ≈ Kitāb-i farhād-nāmah-i
- {9} ‘Ārif • ≈ Kitābu Humāy-i Humāyūn • ≈ Kitābu anīsi al-qulūbi
- {10} fī qaṣaṣi al-anbiyā‘i wa-ghayrihim • ≈ Kitāb-i Uways wa-Rāmīn •
- {11} ≈ Kitāb-i Uways wa-Rāmīn • ≈ Kitāb-i Uways wa-Rāmīn • ≈ Kitābun fī al-‘ajā‘ibi
- {12} wa-al-gharā‘ibi • ≈ Kitābu khatmi al-gharā‘ibi li-l-Khāqānī • ≈ Kitābu al-rubā‘iyyā[ti] •
- {13} ≈ Sharafnāmah min Iskandarnāmah • ≈ Kitāb-i āyīnah-i iskandarī •
- {14} ≈ Kitāb-i Mihr u Mushtarī • ≈ Risālatu al-mukātabati • ≈ Kitāb-i naẓm-i
- {15} tawārīkh-i Sulṭān Meḥemmed Khān -ṭāba tharāhu- • ≈ Kitābu nuzhati al-arwāḥi •
- {16} ≈ Kitāb-i Ghāzānnāmah • ≈ Kitābu ṭarabi al-majālisi •
- {17} ≈ Kitāb-i Mihr u Mushtarī muṣawwarun • ≈ Kitābu kashfi al-arwāḥi fī
- {18} qīṣṣati Yūsuf -‘alayhi al-salāmu- • ≈ Risālat-i Sham‘ u Parwāna •
- {19} ≈ Kitāb-i Mihr u Mushtarī • ≈ Dastān-i Gul u Bulbul • ≈ Kitāb-i kashfi

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- {1} al-arwāḥi fī qīṣṣati Yūsuf -‘alayhi al-salāmu- • ≈ Kitāb-i Khusraw u Shīrīn •
- {2} ≈ Kitāb-i qalandarnāmah •
- [3–6 are blank]
- {7} ≈ Gulshan-i rāz • ≈ Kitāb-i gulshan-i rāz • ≈ Kitāb-i gulshan-i rāz •
- {8} ≈ Kitāb-i gulshan-i rāz • ≈ Gulshan-i rāz • ≈ Kitāb-i gulshan-i rāz •
- {9} ≈ Gulshan-i rāz • ≈ Sharḥ-i Gulshan-i rāz li-Mawlānā Qirīmī •
- {10} ≈ Sharḥ-i Gulshan-i rāz fī al-taṣawwufi •

¹⁵⁰ The manuscript has three dots above the *butta*, not seen earlier.

[11–16 are blank]

{17} ≈ Kitāb-i Humāy-i Humāyūn • ≈ Kitāb-i Humāy-i Humāyūn • ≈ Kitāb-i ḥusn

{18} u dil • ≈ Kitābu na'ti al-ḥabibi -'alayhi al-salāmu- li-l-Jamālī wa- ~ Kitāb-i intikhābi

{19} Fathī al-abwābi li-l-Jamālī fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu kanzi al-sālikīna •

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{1} ≈ Kitāb-i rūh wa-rāḥat • ≈ Kitāb-i Humāy-i Humāyūn • ≈ Kitāb-i

{2} ≈ [sic] ḥikāyat-i Ḥusayn wa-Yazīd li-Aḥmadī • ≈ Kitāb-i qışşah-i Yūsuf •

{3} ≈ Kitābu Mihr [u] Wafā • ≈ Kitāb-i furşatnāmah wa-ghayrihi min rasā'ila •

{4} • ≈ Qışşah-i Sultān Bāyezīd Khān -a'ānahu Allāhu al-musta'ānu- • ≈ Nazm-i Khusraw [u]

{5} Shīrīn li-l-Hātifi • ≈ Kitāb-i ḥusn u dil • ≈ Kitābu fathī al-abwābi

{6} li-l-Jamālī • ≈ Nashātnāmah li-l-Quṭbī • ≈ Majmū'atu qaşā'idi afāḍila •

{7} ≈ Kitāb-i Humāyūn wa-muzakhraf wa- ~ Kitāb-i jāṃ u rāḥ fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{8} ≈ Kitāb-i dahnāmah • ≈ Kitābu rāḥati al-insāni • ≈ Kitābu Qışşah-i

{9} Yūsuf al-mawsūmu bi-Ḥusni al-maqālī • ≈ Nazm-i Khusraw [u] Shīrīn li-l-Hātifi •

{10} ≈ Kitābu makhzani al-abrāri li-l-Ma'nawī • ≈ Majmū'atu ash'āri afāḍili al-shu'arā'i •

{11} ≈ Nazm-i qışşah-i Jamshīd wa-Khūrshīd wa- ~ Nazm-i Gul u Nawrūz fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{12} ≈ Dastān-i Warqa¹⁵¹ wa-Gulshāh • ≈ Nazm-i ḥikāyati Gul u Nawrūz •

{13} ≈ Kitābu dahnāmah • ≈ Kitābun fi anwā'i al-'ulūmi bi-ismi Sultān

{14} al-Wuzarā'i Şadr al-Dīn min ta'lifāti Muḥammad al-Farghānī •

{15} ≈ Kitābu kunūzi al-ḥaqā'iqi min qibali al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitāb-i Mihr [u] Wafā['] •

{16} ≈ Nazm-i ḥikāyati Gul u Bulbul li-l-Badī' mawsūmun¹⁵² bi-Dilsūznāmah •

{17} ≈ Nazm-i ḥikāyati Mihr u Mushtarī • ≈ Kitāb-i pandnāmah-i Sultān Maḥmūd

{18} Ghaznawī • ≈ Kitābu rayāḥini¹⁵³ al-qulūbi [wa- ~] Nazm-i Gulistān-i Sa'dī •

{19} ≈ Fathnāmah-i Eğriboz li-l-Kāshifi • ≈ Nazm-i ḥikāyati Shayb wa-Ḥabīb

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{1} li-l-Kāshifi • ≈ Kitāb-i Iqbāl-nāmah • ≈ Kitābu al-rubā'īyyāti bi-tartibi

¹⁵¹ The manuscript has a sign for the *ezāfe*: Warqah-i.

¹⁵² It should not be indefinite as it qualifies *Nazmu*.

¹⁵³ The manuscript seems to have an erroneous *kasra* to vocalize the *rā'*.

- {2} al-abwābi fī al-faḍā'ili • ≈ Kitābu tuḥfati al-raḥmati • ≈ Kitābu kunūzi
- {3} al-asrāri fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Naẓm-i ḥikāyati Mihr u Mushtarī wa-ash'āri
- {4} afāḍili al-shu'arā'i • ≈ Naẓm-i ḥikāyati Warqa wa-Gulshāh bi-al-fārisiyyati •
- {5} Naẓm-i Qiṣṣah-i 'Abd al-Razzāq • ≈ Risālatu manṭiqi al-'ushshāqi •
- {6} ≈ Majmū'atu ash'āri afāḍili al-shu'arā'i • ≈ Majmū'atu ash'āri afāḍili
- {7} al-shu'arā'i • ≈ Majmū'atu ash'āri afāḍali al-shu'arā'i • ≈ Majmū'atu
- {8} ash'āri afāḍili al-shu'arā'i • ≈ Majmū'atu ash'āri afāḍili al-shu'arā'i •
- {9} ≈ Majmū'atu ash'āri afāḍili al-shu'arā'i • ≈ Majmū'atu ash'āri afāḍili al-shu'arā'i •
- {10} ≈ Majmū'atu ash'āri afāḍili al-shu'arā'i • ≈ Majmū'atu ash'āri afāḍili al-shu'arā'i •
- {11} ≈ Majmū'atu ash'āri afāḍili al-shu'arā'i • ≈ Rubā'iyātu Khayyām wa- ~ Majmū'atu
- {12} tarjī'āti afāḍili al-shu'arā'i • ≈ Majmū'atu ash'āri afāḍili al-shu'arā'i •
- {13} ≈ Majmū'atu ash'āri afāḍili al-shu'arā'i • ≈ Majmū'atu ash'āri afāḍili al-shu'arā'i
- {14} allatī hiya safīnatun li-amwāji al-humūmi • ≈ Majmū'atu ash'āri afāḍili al-shu'arā'i •
- {15} ≈ Majmū'atu ash'āri afāḍili al-shu'arā'i •
- {16} ≈ Kitābu nuzhati al-arwāhi fī al-taṣawwufi wa- ~ Rūshanā'ināmah fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {17} ≈ Naẓm-i Sharḥi al-arba'ina • ≈ Kitāb-i firāqnāmah wa- ~ Naẓm-i Khūrshīd
- {18} wa-Jamshīd fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Naẓm-i qīṣṣah-i ibtidā'-i khilāfat-i Sulṭān
- {19} al-Salāṭin Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān -a'ānahu al-musta'ānu- •

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- {1} ≈ Naẓm-i Khusraw [u] Shīrin • ≈ Kitābu mūnisi al-abrāri li-l-'Imādī al-marqūmi
- {2} bi-Ṣafānāmah • ≈ Midḥatu Sulṭān al-Salāṭin Sulṭān Bāyezīd
- {3} Khān -a'ānahu al-musta'ānu- • ≈ Risālatu munāẓarātin arba'in •
- {4} ≈ Risālatu khuṣūmati al-sayfi wa-al-qalami li-Mas'ūd wa- ~ Ash'ār-i Mas'ūd
- {5} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatu khuṣūmati al-sayfi wa-al-qalami li-Mas'ūd •
- {6} ≈ Kitāb-i naẓm-i Pandnāmah-i Anūshirwān ~ al-Mawsūmu bi-Rāḥati al-insāni •
- {7} ≈ Kitāb-i shikāyatnāmah li-l-Dhātī • ≈ Kitāb-i baḥṭhi Kūn wa Kus¹⁵⁴ li-l-Qabūli •
- {8} ≈ Kitāb-i munāẓarah-i bahār wa-arghuwān • ≈ Rubā'iyāt-i Khayyām •
- {9} ≈ Kitābun marqūmun bi-Tuḥfati al-akhbāri fī al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Naẓmu al-Farā'idī

{10} bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-fiqhi wa- ~ Risālatun fī maʿrifati ṣafḥati al-muqanṭarāti

{11} bi-al-fārisiyyati wa- ~ Risālatu al-rubʿi al-mujayyabi bi-al-ʿarabiyyati fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{12} ~ Pandnāmah-i¹⁵⁵ Kunkurah-i Nūshirwān • ~ Kitāb-i Gul u Nawrūz wa- ~ Dah-

{13} nāmah-i Ibn ʿImād fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ~ Kitāb-i naẓm-i ḥikāyāti

{14} gharībati bi-al-fārisiyyati • ~ Kitāb-i ḥālnāmah • ~ Qaṣāʾid-i Qādirī

{15} wa- ~ Risālatu ʿishqnāmah li-l-Qādirī fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ~ Kitāb-i ḥāl-

{16} nāmah • ~ Kitāb-i dah-bāb • ~ Kitāb-i pandnāmah-i Kunkurah-i Nūshirwān •

{17} ~ Kitāb-i naẓmi Pandnāmah-i Nushirwān al-mawsūmu bi-Rāḥati al-insāni

{18} wa-Rūshanāʾināmah-i¹⁵⁶ Nāṣir fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ~ Kitāb-i Rūḥ-fazāy¹⁵⁷ •

{19} ~ Kitāb-i ḥālnāmah • ~ Kitābun fihi daʿawātun wa-ashʿārun wa-Qaṣīdatu

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{1} Burda wa- ~ Rasāʾilu wa-taṣāwīru gharībatun bi-al-tadhhībi • ~ Kitābun fihi

{2} al-kutubu wa-al-rasāʾilu min al-ʿulūmi al-mutafarriqati allatī ruqimat asmāʾuhā fī

{3} jadāwili ṣahrihi • ~ Kitāb-i ḥālnāmah • ~ Kitāb-i ḥālnāmah •

{4} ~ Kitāb-i juzʾiyyāt wa-kulliyyāt-i Ḍiyāʾ-i Nakhshabī -raḥimahu Allāhu taʿālā •

{5} ~ Kitābu tuḥfati al-raḥmati • ~ Kitābun fihi al-rasāʾilu li-l-Jamālī wa- ~ Fīhi al-qaṣāʾidu

{6} li-l-Jamālī ayḍan • ~ Risālatu naẓmi tarjamati aḥādītha qudsiyyatin •

{7} ~ Qiṣṣah-i wāqīʾāt-i Amīr Aḥmad u Muhastī • ~ Risālatun nafisatun

{8} manẓūmatun fī al-taṣawwufi • ~ Ashʿār-i Fayḍī • ~ Naẓmu al-Farāʾiḍi

{9} bi-al-fārisiyyati • ~ Risālatu munāẓarati al-ʿaqli wa-al-ʿishqi •

{10} ~ Majmūʿatun musammātun bi-Anīsi al-khalwati wa-jalīsi al-salwati shāmilatun ʿalā al-naṣāʾiḥi

{11} wa-al-mawāʾizi wa-al-ḥikāyāti min al-naẓmi wa-al-nathri al-ʿarabī wa-al-ʿajamī •

{12} ~ Tarjīʿun nafisun li-Shams-i Tabrīzī • ~ Kitābu natāʾiji al-afkāri fī

{13} laṭāʾif al-ashʿārī • ~ Risālat-i rubāʾiyyāt • ~ Safīnatun ʿaẓīmatun

{14} bi-sababi anwāʾi laṭāʾifihā tanjū al-arwāḥu min al-humūmi •

¹⁵⁵ Although the manuscript has earlier denoted a /p/ with three dots (and in line {16} below), here there is only one.

¹⁵⁶ The manuscript has consistently a *kasra* under the *shīn* but heretofore transliterated as if it were a *fatha*.

¹⁵⁷ Should be: Rūḥ-Afzāy.

- {15} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Wāṣilīna li-l-Jamālī • ≈ Risālat-i furqatnāmah-i ‘Alī •
 {16} ≈ Safīnatun bi-naqṣi al-awwālī wa-awwalu al-maktūbi fihā ḥadīthu al-budalā’i •
 {17} ≈ Rubā’iyyātun muntakhabatun min al-safā’ini wa-al-dawāwīni maqsūmatun ‘alā arba’ati
 {18} aqsāmin • ≈ Intikhābu makhzani al-asrāri wa- ~ Intikhābu ḥadiqatin wa- ~ Kitāb-i
 {19} sa’adatnāmah fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitāb-i mushtarīnāmah li-l-Ḥāfiẓī

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- {1} wa-Kitāb-i ṭilsimnāmah li-l-Ḥāfiẓī fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Rubā’iyyātun nafisatun •
 {2} ≈ Risālatun fi ādābi ṣuḥḥati al-sharābi li-l-Nizārī wa- ~ Risālatun fi a’dādi
 {3} al-aṣābi’i wa- ~ Hazliyyāt-i Kāshifi wa- ~ Fālnāmah-i ‘Ubayd al-Zākānī •
 {4} ≈ Muḥabbatnāmah li-Ibn Naṣūḥ • ≈ Risālatu manṭiqi al-‘ushshāqi wa- ~ Risālatu
 {5} munāzarati al-khamri wa-al-ḥashīshi [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Kitābun kabīrun fi
 awwalihi qaṣā’idu wa-fihi
 {6} taṣāwīru kathīratun ‘ajībatun • ≈ Kitābu nazmi tarjamati qaṣīdati Ibn al-Fāriḍ
 {7} bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-taṣawwufi • ≈ Risālatun fi madḥi Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn
 {8} Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān -a’ānahu al-musta’ānu- wa- ~ Risālatun fi al-ta’ziyati fi mujalladin
 {9} wāḥidin • ≈ Safīnatun fihā khuṭūṭun nafisatun wa- ~ Rasā’ilu fi mujalladin a’zama •
 {10} ≈ Kitābu kulliyyāti Abī Ishāq fi al-aṭ’imati bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmi aktharuhā •
 {11} ≈ Kitābu kulliyyāti Abī Ishāq fi al-aṭ’imati bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmi aktharuhā •
 {12} ≈ Qiṣṣah-i wāqi’āti Amīr Aḥmad u Muhastī • ≈ Kitābu al-lama’āti bi-al-fārisiyyati
 {13} fi al-‘ishqi wa- ~ Majmū’atun min ash‘āri fuḍalā’i al-fursi • ≈ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati
 {14} al-manẓūmati fi al-aḥwālī al-falakiyyati min qibali al-nujūmi wa- ~ Risālatun manẓūmatun
 fi
 {15} awṣāfi al-azhāri fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu kulliyyāti Abī Ishāq
 {16} fi al-aṭ’imati bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmi aktharuhā wa- ~ Dāstān-i Mīr Aḥmad u Muhastī
 [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] •
 {17} ≈ Afrāsiyābnāmah bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati • ≈ Tārīkh-i Ghāzān bi-al-fārisiyyati
 {18} al-manẓūmati wa- ~ Tārīkh-i Ghāzān bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati fi mujalladin
 wāḥidin •
 {19} ≈ Maqāmātu al-Ḥamīdī bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Maqāmātu al-Ḥamīdī bi-al-fārisiyyati •

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- {1} ≈ Maqāmātu al-Ḥamīdī bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Maqāmātu al-Ḥamīdī bi-al-fārisiyyati •

{2} ≈ Maqāmātu al-Ḥamīdī bi-al-fārisiyyati •

[3–10 are blank]

{11} ≈ Kitābun fi ḥaqā'iqi aḥwālī al-Muṣṭafā -'alayhi al-salāmu- bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati

{12} li-l-Jamālī 'alā khamsati aqsāmin • ≈ al-Qismu al-khāmisu min ḥaqā'iqi al-nabī -'alayhi

{13} al-salāmu- al-musammā bi-Hidāyati al-ma'rifati min qibali al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu nazmi siyari

{14} al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama- bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati fi al-tawārīkhi •

{15} ≈ Kitābu miṣbāḥi al-arwāḥi wa-huwa al-mujalladu al-awwalu min kitābin fi bayāni

{16} aḥwālī Sayyid al-Mursalīn • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Wāṣilīna wa-huwa al-qismu

{17} al-sābi'u min kitābin fi bayāni ḥaqā'iqi al-Muṣṭafā -'alayhi al-salāmu- •

{18} ≈ Kitābu miṣbāḥi al-arwāḥi wa-huwa al-qismu al-awwalu min kitābin fi bayāni

{19} ḥaqā'iqi al-Muṣṭafā -'alayhi al-salāmu- • ≈ Nazmu siyari al-nabī -'alayhi al-salāmu-

[259]

{1} al-mawsūmu bi-Nabīnāmah •

[2 is blank]

{3} • ≈ Nazm-i tarjumah-i

{4} Ṣad kalimah-i 'Alī -karrama Allāhu wajhahu- • ≈ Nazm-i tarjumah-i Ṣad kalimah-i 'Alī -karrama Allāhu

{5} wajhahu- • ≈ Nazm-i tarjumah-i Ṣad kalimah-i 'Alī -karrama Allāhu wajhahu- • ≈ Nazm-i tarjumah-i

{6} Ṣad kalimah-i 'Alī -karrama Allāhu wajhahu- •

[7–19 are blank]

[260 is blank]

[261]

[1–11 are blank]

{12} Tafṣīlu al-dawāwīni al-turkiyyati

{13} • wa-al-mughūliyyati wa-al-kutubi al-manẓūmati •

{14} • bi-al-turkiyyati wa-al-mughūliyyati •

{15} ≈ Dīwān-i Aḥmad Pāshā wa- ~ Majmū'atu al-ash'āri al-turkiyyati [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*]
• ≈ Dīwān-i Aḥmad

{16} Pāshā bi-al-turkiyyati •

{17} ≈ Dīwān-i Aḥmadī • ≈ Dīwān-i Aḥmadī • ≈ Dīwān-i Aḥmadī •

{18} ≈ Dīwān-i Luṭfī • ≈ Dīwān-i Khafī bi-al-turkiyyati • ≈ Dīwān-i Ḥaḳīqī bi-al-fārisiyyati

{19} wa-al-turkiyyati • ≈ Dīwān-i Mubārak bi-al-turkiyyati fī al-taṣawwufi •

[262]

{1} ≈ Dīwān-i Munīrī bi-al-fārisiyyati wa-al-turkiyyati • ≈ Dīwān-i Rūṣenī

{2} bi-al-turkiyyati • ≈ Dīwān-i Ṣafī bi-al-turkiyyati • ≈ Dīwān-i ‘Alī bi-al-turkiyyati •

{3} ≈ Dīwān-i Kātībī bi-al-turkiyyati •

[4, 5 are blank]

{6} ≈ Dīwān-i Nawā’ī • ≈ Dīwān-i Nawā’ī • ≈ Dīwān-i Nawā’ī •

{7} ≈ Dīwān-i Nawā’ī • ≈ Dīwān-i Nawā’ī bi-al-mughūliyyati • ≈ Khamsah-i Nawā’ī

{8} bi-al-mughūliyyati • ≈ Khamsah-i Nawā’ī bi-al-mughūliyyati •

[9, 10 are blank]

{11} ≈ Dīwān-i Seyf-i Sarāyī bi-al-mughūliyyati • ≈ Dīwān-i Luṭfī bi-al-mughūliyyati •

{12} ≈ Dīwān-i Luṭfī bi-al-mughūliyyati wa- ~ Dīwān-i Kadhā bi-al-mughūliyyati fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{13} ≈ Dīwān-i Mīr-Hidāyat bi-al-mughūliyyati • ≈ Dīwān-i Luṭfī bi-al-mughūliyyati •

[14–17 are blank]

{18} ≈ Majmū‘atun bi-khaṭṭin turkiyyin • ≈ Majmū‘atun min ash‘ārī al-shu‘arā’i bi-al-turkiyyati •

{19} ≈ Jarīdatu majmū‘ati al-ash‘ārī al-turkiyyati • ≈ Majmū‘atun bi-khaṭṭin turkiyyin qadīmin •

[263]

{1} ≈ Majmū‘atu al-naẓā’iri bi-al-turkiyyati al-manẓūmati •

[2–4 are blank]

{5} ≈ Risālatun fī aḥkāmi al-khusūfi wa-al-kusūfi bi-al-turkiyyati al-manẓūmati •

{6} ≈ Kitābu tuḥfati al-mu‘mini bi-al-turkiyyati al-manẓūmati • ≈ ‘Ibratnāmah bi-al-turkiyyati

{7} al-manẓūmati • ≈ Tarjamatu matni al-‘Aqā’idi bi-al-turkiyyati al-manẓūmati fī ‘ilmi al-kalāmi •

{8} ≈ Durju al-naṣā’iḥi li-‘Abd al-Raḥīm bi-al-turkiyyati al-manẓūmati • ≈ Kitābu sāzi

- {9} al-‘irfāni li-l-Shaykh Wafā[?] bi-al-turkiyyati al-manzūmati fī al-taşawwufi •
- {10} ≈ Dāstān-i bulbulnāmah bi-al-turkiyyati al-manzūmati • ≈ Kitābu sāz-i ‘irfān
- {11} bi-al-turkiyyati al-manzūmati li-l-Shaykh Wafā[?] -quddisa sirruhu- • ≈ Risālatu manzūmāti
- {12} Wişālī bi-al-turkiyyati • ≈ Dāstān-i ‘ushshāqnāmah bi-al-turkiyyati al-manzūmati •
- {13} ≈ Qişşah-i Ḥamza bi-al-turkiyyati al-manzūmati • ≈ Mathnawiyyāt-i Aḳbıyık -raḥimahu Allāhu- [*bi-al-turkiyyati*] •
- {14} ≈ Manzūmātu Rūşeni bi-al-turkiyyati • ≈ Kitāb-i Humā wa-Humāyūn bi-al-turkiyyati
- {15} al-manzūmati • ≈ Dāstān-i Suhayl u Nawbahār bi-al-turkiyyati al-manzūmati •
- {16} ≈ Kitābu al-irshādi bi-al-turkiyyati al-manzūmati fī al-taşawwufi • ≈ Risālatun turkiyyatun
- {17} manzūmatun fī al-taşawwufi • ≈ Gulzāru al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm -quddisa sirruhu- fī
- {18} al-taşawwufi • ≈ Kitābu tarjamati Waşāyā Shaykh Wafā[?] -quddisa sirruhu- bi-al-turkiyyati
- {19} al-manzūmati wa- ~ Risālatun fī faḍli Makka -sharrafahā Allāhu ta‘ālā- fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

[264]

- {1} ≈ Kitābu daqā’iqi al-ḥaqā’iqi bi-al-turkiyyati al-manzūmati min qibali al-naşīḥati wa-siyari
- {2} al-nabī -‘alayhi al-salāmu- • ≈ Kitāb-i khurshīdnāmah bi-al-turkiyyati al-manzūmati
- {3} fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Bakhtiyārnāmah bi-al-turkiyyati al-manzūmati fī al-tawārīkhi •
- {4} ≈ Kitāb-i sh[ā]hinshāhnāmah bi-al-turkiyyati al-manzūmati fī al-tawārīkhi •
≈ Iskandarnāmah
- {5} bi-al-turkiyyati al-manzūmati fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Dāstān-i Khurshīd u Farahshād
- {6} bi-al-turkiyyati al-manzūmati fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitāb-i Khusraw [u] Shīrīn bi-al-turkiyyati
- {7} al-manzūmati fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitāb-i Mihr u Mushtarī bi-al-turkiyyati al-manzūmati
- {8} fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Tarjumah-i qişşah-i Laylā wa Majnūn-i Nizāmī bi-al-turkiyyati al-manzūmati
- {9} li-l-Balāyī •
- [10–17 are blank]
- {18} ≈ Risālatun bi-al-lughati al-mughūliyyati al-manzūmati wa-al-khaṭṭi al-mughūli min qibali al-naşā’ihī
- {19} wa- ~ Kitābu makhzani al-asrārī bi-al-lughati al-mughūliyyati wa-al-khaṭṭi al-mughūli kullun minhumā

[265]

{1} muḥashshan bi-al-turkiyyati • ≈ Kitāb-i Gul [u] Nawrūz bi-al-mughūliyyati al-manẓūmati •

{2} ≈ Dāstān-i Khusraw [u] Shīrīn bi-al-mughūliyyati al-manẓūmati fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Risālatu

{3} tarjamati al-Burda bi-naẓmi lughati tātār •

[4–6 are blank]

{7} ≈ Irshādun fī mawlidī al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama- bi-al-turkiyyati al-manẓūmati •

{8} ≈ Mawlidu al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama- bi-al-turkiyyati al-manẓūmati li-l-Munīrī •

{9} ≈ Naẓmu Kitābi mawlidī al-nabī -‘alayhi al-salāmu- fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Siyaru al-nabī

{10} -‘alayhi al-salāmu- bi-al-turkiyyati al-manẓūmati fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu mawlidī al-nabī

{11} -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama- bi-al-turkiyyati al-manẓūmati min qibali al-tawārīkhi •

{12} ≈ Mawlidu Fakhr al-Kawnayn wa-Sayyid al-Thaqalayn sayyidinā wa-sanadinā Ḥaḍrati Muḥammad -‘alayhi

{13} al-salātu wa-al-salāmu- bi-al-turkiyyati al-manẓūmati fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu siyari

{14} al-nabī -ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallama- bi-al-turkiyyati al-manẓūmati fī mujalladayni fī al-tawārīkhi •

{15} ≈ Kitāb-i ilāhīnāmah bi-al-turkiyyati al-manẓūmati fī qışṣati Yūsuf al-nabī -‘alayhi al-salāmu-

{16} fī al-tawārīkhi •

[17–19 are blank]

[266]

[1, 2 are blank]

{3} ≈ Kitābu fatḥi Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān bin Meḥemmed Khān

{4} -‘azza naşruhu- bi-al-turkiyyati al-manẓūmati fī tawārīkhi fatḥi qilā‘i Mora •

{5} ≈ Kitābu tawārīkhi al-salāṭīni al-‘uthmāniyyati -ṭayyaba Allāhu ta‘ālā tharāhum- ilā dhikri

{6} Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān bin Meḥemmed Khān -zāda Allāhu ta‘ālā

{7} sa‘ādatahum fī al-dārayni- bi-al-turkiyyati al-manẓūmati • ≈ Ghazawātu¹⁵⁸ Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn

¹⁵⁸ The manuscript has the erroneous spelling *Ghazāwatu*.

- {8} Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān bin Meḥemmed Khān -zāda Allāhu ta‘ālā sa‘ādatahu fī al-dārayni-
 {9} bi-al-turkiyyati al-manẓūmati fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Kitābu fathī ba‘ḍi wilāyati afranj
 {10} fī yadi Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān bin Meḥemmed Khān -zāda Allāhu
 {11} ta‘ālā sa‘ādatahu fī al-dārayni- bi-al-turkiyyati al-manẓūmati fī al-tawārīkhi •
 {12} ≈ Fath-i Eyne-Bakhti wa-Mothon bi-al-turkiyyati al-manẓūmati fī al-tawārīkhi •
 {13} ≈ Munāẓarāt-i Gul wa-Mul bi-madḥi Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn Sulṭān Bāyezīd
 {14} Khān -zāda Allāhu ta‘ālā sa‘ādatahu fī al-dārayni- min qibali al-tawārīkhi •
 {15} ≈ Risālatun fī madḥi Meḥemmed Khān -ṭāba tharāhu- wa-madḥu al-jāmi‘i al-jadīdi bi-
 al-turkiyyati
 {16} al-manẓūmati • ≈ Risālatun ‘ajībatun fihā qaṣīdatun fī madḥi Meḥemmed Khān bin
 {17} Murād Khān -ṭāba tharāhumā- wa-hiya muṣanna‘atun bi-ṣanā’i‘i al-shi‘ri turkiyyatun •
 {18} ≈ Kitābu tawārīkhi al-salāṭīni al-‘uthmāniyyati -khullīdat khilāfatuhum- bi-al-turkiyyati
 {19} al-manẓūmati • ≈ Sulṭānnāmah fī tārikhi Sulṭān Meḥemmed bin Murād

[267]

- {1} Khān bi-al-turkiyyati al-manẓūmati fī al-tawārīkhi • ≈ Dīwān-i Dā‘ī wa- ~ ‘Ushshāq-
 {2} nāmah fī tārikhi Amīr Sulaymān bin Yıldırım Bāyezīd Khān -khullīdat khilāfatuhum- [fī
mujalladīn wāḥidīn] •
 {3} ≈ Kitābun fī tawārīkhi Meḥemmed Khān bin Murād Khān -ṭāba tharāhumā- bi-al-
 turkiyyati al-manẓūmati •

[4–19 are blank]

[268]

[1–6 are blank]

{7} Tafṣīlu kutubi ‘ilmi al-ma‘ānī

- {8} ≈ Kitābu matni al-Miftāḥi al-mukammali fī ‘ilmi al-adabi ay al-‘arabiyyati min ‘ilmi
 al-ma‘ānī
 {9} wa-ghayrihi li-l-Sakkākī • ≈ Kitābu matni al-Miftāḥi al-mukammali fī ‘ilmi al-adabi
 {10} ay al-‘ulūmi al-‘arabiyyati ka-‘ilmi al-ma‘ānī wa-ghayrihi li-l-Sakkākī •
 {11} ≈ Kitābu matni al-Miftāḥi al-mukammali fī ‘ilmi al-adabi ay al-‘arabiyyati ka-‘ilmi
 al-ma‘ānī
 {12} wa-ghayrihi li-l-Sakkākī • ≈ Kitābu matni al-Miftāḥi al-mukammali fī ‘ilmi al-adabi
 {13} ay al-‘arabiyyati ka-‘ilmi al-ma‘ānī wa-ghayrihi li-l-Sakkākī • ≈ Kitābu matni al-Miftāḥi

{14} al-mukammali fi 'ilmi al-adabi ay al-'arabiyyati ka-'ilmi al-ma'anī wa-ghayrihi li-l-Sakkākī •

{15} ≈ Kitābu matni al-Miftāḥi al-mukammali fi 'ilmi al-adabi ay al-'arabiyyati ka-'ilmi

{16} al-ma'anī wa-ghayrihi li-l-Sakkākī • ≈ Kitābu matni al-Miftāḥi al-mukammali

{17} fi 'ilmi al-adabi ay al-'arabiyyati ka-'ilmi al-ma'anī wa-ghayrihi li-l-Sakkākī •

{18} ≈ Kitābu matni al-Miftāḥi al-mukammali fi 'ilmi al-adabi ay al-'arabiyyati ka-'ilmi

{19} al-ma'anī wa-ghayrihi li-l-Sakkākī • ≈ Matnu al-Miftāḥi fi

[269]

{1} al-ṣarfi wa-al-naḥwi wa-al-ma'anī •

[2–4 are blank]

{5} ≈ Kitābu matni al-Miftāḥi ya'nī al-qisma al-thālitha minhu fi al-ma'anī •

{6} ≈ Kitābu matni al-Miftāḥi ya'nī al-qisma al-thālitha minhu fi al-ma'anī •

[7, 8 are blank]

{9} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Miftāḥi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf bi-khaṭṭihi wa- ~ Ḥāshiyatu sharḥi

{10} al-Miftāḥi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fi 'ilmi al-ma'anī fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{11} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Miftāḥi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fi 'ilmi al-ma'anī •

{12} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Miftāḥi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fi 'ilmi al-ma'anī •

{13} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Miftāḥi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fi 'ilmi al-ma'anī •

{14} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Miftāḥi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fi 'ilmi al-ma'anī •

{15} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Miftāḥi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fi 'ilmi al-ma'anī •

{16} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Miftāḥi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fi 'ilmi al-ma'anī •

{17} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Miftāḥi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fi 'ilmi al-ma'anī •

{18} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Miftāḥi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fi 'ilmi al-ma'anī •

{19} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Miftāḥi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fi 'ilmi al-ma'anī •

[270]

{1} ≈ Sharḥu al-qismi al-thālithi min al-Miftāḥi li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fi 'ilmi al-ma'anī •

[2–6 are blank]

{7} ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati sharḥi al-Sayyid al-Sharīf li-l-Miftāḥi fi al-ma'anī •

{8} ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati sharḥi al-Sayyid al-Sharīf li-l-Miftāḥi fi al-ma'anī •

[9–12 are blank]

- {13} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Miftāḥi li-Sa'd al-Dīn fi 'ilmi al-ma'ānī •
 {14} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Miftāḥi li-Sa'd al-Dīn fi 'ilmi al-ma'ānī •
 {15} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Miftāḥi li-Sa'd al-Dīn fi 'ilmi al-ma'ānī •
 {16} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Miftāḥi li-Sa'd al-Dīn fi 'ilmi al-ma'ānī •
 {17} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Miftāḥi ya'nī al-qisma al-thālitha minhu li-Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī
 {18} fi 'ilmi al-ma'ānī •
 [19 is blank]

[271]

[1–4 are blank]

- {5} ≈ Kitābu kashfi al-rumūzi wa-huwa Ḥāshiyatu sharḥi al-Miftāḥi li-Sa'd al-Dīn
 {6} fi al-ma'ānī • ≈ Kitābu kashfi al-rumūzi wa-huwa Ḥāshiyatu sharḥi
 {7} al-Miftāḥi li-Sa'd al-Dīn fi al-ma'ānī • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu al-sharḥi al-sa'dī
 {8} li-l-Miftāḥi wa- ~ Ḥāshiyatu al-sharḥi al-sharīfi li-l-Miftā[ḥi] fi 'ilmi al-ma'ānī [*ft mujalladin wāḥidin*] •
 {9–13 are blank}
 {14} ≈ Kitābu miftāḥi al-miftāḥi fi sharḥi al-Miftāḥi li-l-Quṭb al-Shīrāzī bi-khaṭṭiḥi fi
 {15} al-ma'ānī • ≈ Kitābu miftāḥi al-miftāḥi fi sharḥi al-Miftāḥi li-l-Quṭb
 {16} al-Shīrāzī fi 'ilmi al-ma'ānī • ≈ Kitābu miftāḥi al-miftāḥi fi sharḥi
 {17} al-Miftāḥi li-l-Quṭb al-Shīrāzī fi 'ilmi al-ma'ānī •
 [18, 19 are blank]

[272]

[1–3 are blank]

- {4} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Miftāḥi li-l-Imād al-Kāshī fi al-ma'ānī •
 {5} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Miftāḥi li-l-Imād al-Kāshī fi al-ma'ānī •
 [6, 7 are blank]
 {8} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Miftāḥi al-marqūmu bi-annah li-l-Kātibī fi 'ilmi al-ma'ānī •
 {9} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Miftāḥi al-marqūmu bi-annah li-l-Kātibī fi 'ilmi al-ma'ānī •
 [10–14 are blank]
 {15} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Miftāḥi fi 'ilmi al-ma'ānī • ≈ Kitābu
 {16} sharḥi al-Miftāḥi fi 'ilmi al-ma'ānī • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi

{17} abyāti al-Miftāḥi fi al-‘arabiyyati min qibali ‘ilmi al-ma‘ānī¹⁵⁹ .

[18, 19 are blank]

[273]

[1, 2 are blank]

{3} ≈ Ḥāshiyatu sharḥi al-Miftāḥi fi ‘ilmi al-ma‘ānī • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu

{4} sharḥi al-Miftāḥi fi ‘ilmi al-ma‘ānī • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu

{5} sharḥi al-Miftāḥi li-Mawlānā Baldir-zādah ‘Alā’ al-Dīn [-*rahimahu Allāhu*-¹⁶⁰]

{6} fi ‘ilmi al-ma‘ānī •

[7–12 are blank]

{13} ≈ Matnu al-talkhīši fi ‘ilmi al-ma‘ānī • ≈ Matnu al-talkhīši fi

{14} ‘ilmi al-ma‘ānī • ≈ Kitābu talkhīši al-Miftāḥi fi ‘ilmi al-ma‘ānī wa-

{15} ~ Kitābu al-lubābi fi al-naḥwi wa- ~ Kitābu lubbi al-albābi fi

{16} al-naḥwi wa- ~ Risālatu al-Zamakhsharī¹⁶¹ fi al-‘arūḍi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{17} ≈ Kitābu talkhīši al-Miftāḥi fi al-ma‘ānī • ≈ Kitābu

{18} talkhīši al-Miftāḥi fi ‘ilmi al-ma‘ānī •

{19} ≈ Kitābu talkhīši al-Miftāḥi fi ‘ilmi al-ma‘ānī •

[274]

{1} ≈ Kitābu talkhīši al-Miftāḥi fi al-ma‘ānī • ≈ Kitābu talkhīši al-Miftāḥi fi

{2} al-ma‘ānī • ≈ Kitābu talkhīši al-Miftāḥi fi ‘ilmi al-ma‘ānī • ≈ Kitābu

{3} talkhīši al-Miftāḥi fi ‘ilmi al-ma‘ānī • ≈ Kitābu talkhīši al-Miftāḥi fi al-ma‘ānī [.]

{4} ≈ Kitābu talkhīši al-Miftāḥi fi ‘ilmi al-ma‘ānī • ≈ Kitābu talkhīši al-Miftāḥi

{5} fi al-ma‘ānī wa- ~ Kitābu minhāji al-wuṣūli ilā ‘ilmi al-uṣūli fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{6} ≈ Kitābu talkhīši al-Miftāḥi fi ‘ilmi al-ma‘ānī • ≈ Kitābu naẓmi Talkhīši al-Miftāḥi

{7} al-mawsūmu bi-Khulāṣati al-amānī fi al-ma‘ānī wa- ~ Kitābu naẓmi al-Kāfiyati al-mawsūmu

{8} bi-al-Wāfiyati wa- ~ Kitābun manẓūmun fi ‘ilmi al-naḥwi wa- ~ Kitābu ‘uqūdi al-jawāhiri fi

{9} al-taṣrīfi wa- ~ Kitābun manẓūmun fi al-taṣrīfi wa- ~ Kitābun manẓūmun fi al-taṣrīfi

¹⁵⁹ This last entry seems to have been added later by the same or a different hand.

¹⁶⁰ Added later in a different hand.

¹⁶¹ The manuscript vocalizes the *zā’* erroneously with a *kasra*; see also 286 {12}.

{10} fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{11} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Talkhīši al-Miftāḥi al-ma'rūfu bi-Muṭawwalin fi 'ilmi al-ma'ānī •

{12} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Talkhīši al-Miftāḥi al-ma'rūfu bi-Muṭawwalin fi 'ilmi al-ma'ānī •

{13} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Talkhīši al-Miftāḥi al-ma'rūfu bi-Muṭawwalin fi 'ilmi al-ma'ānī •

{14} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Talkhīši al-Miftāḥi al-ma'rūfu bi-Muṭawwalin fi al-ma'ānī •

{15} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Talkhīši al-Miftāḥi al-ma'rūfu bi-Muṭawwalin fi al-ma'ānī •

{16} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi naẓmi Talkhīši al-Miftāḥi al-musammā bi-Khulāṣati al-amānī li-talkhīši al-ma'ānī •

{17} ≈ Muṭawwalun fi sharḥi Talkhīši al-Miftāḥi fi 'ilmi al-ma'ānī • ≈ Muṭawwalu sharḥi

{18} al-Talkhīši fi al-ma'ānī •

[19 is blank]

[275]

{1} ≈ Kitābu mukhtaṣari sharḥi Talkhīši al-Miftāḥi fi al-ma'ānī • ≈ Kitābu mukhtaṣari

{2} sharḥi Talkhīši al-Miftāḥi fi al-ma'ānī • ≈ Kitābu mukhtaṣari sharḥi Talkhīši

{3} al-Miftāḥi fi al-ma'ānī • ≈ Kitābu mukhtaṣari sharḥi Talkhīši al-Miftāḥi fi

{4} al-ma'ānī • ≈ Kitābu tarjamati Mukhtaṣari sharḥi Talkhīši al-Miftāḥi bi-al-fārisiyyati

{5} fi 'ilmi al-ma'ānī •

[6–9 are blank]

{10} ≈ Kitābu al-īdāḥi fi al-ma'ānī • ≈ Kitābu al-īdāḥi fi 'ilmi al-ma'ānī •

{11} ≈ Kitābu al-īdāḥi fi al-ma'ānī •

[12 is blank]

{13} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-īdāḥi fi al-ma'ānī • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi abyāti al-īdāḥi

{14} fi 'ilmi al-ma'ānī • ≈ Sharḥu īdāḥi al-ma'ānī li-Mawlānā Jamāl al-Dīn

{15} al-Aqsarā'ī fi 'ilmi al-ma'ānī •

[16–19 are blank]

[276]

{1} ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Muṭawwali li-Mawlānā Khusraw fi al-ma'ānī • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati

{2} al-Muṭawwali fi 'ilmi al-ma'ānī • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Muṭawwali li-Mawlānā Khusraw

{3} fi al-ma'ānī • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Muṭawwali fi al-ma'ānī •

{4} ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Muṭawwali fi al-ma'ānī • ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Muṭawwali

- {5} 'alā al-bayāni li-Mawlānā al-Kirmāstī fī al-ma'ānī . ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Muṭawwali
- {6} li-Mawlānā-zādah al-Khiṭā'ī fī al-ma'ānī . ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Muṭawwali
- {7} li-Mawlānā-zādah al-Khiṭā'ī fī al-ma'ānī . ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-mukhtaṣari
- {8} li-Mawlānā-zādah al-Khiṭā'ī fī al-ma'ānī . ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Muṭawwali
- {9} li-Mawlānā-zādah al-Khiṭā'ī fī al-ma'ānī . ≈ Kitābu mukhtaṣari ḥāshiyati
- {10} al-Muṭawwali li-Mawlānā al-Kirmāstī fī al-ma'ānī . ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati
- {11} ḥāshiyati al-Sayyid al-Sharīf 'alā al-Muṭawwali fī al-ma'ānī . ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati
- {12} al-Muṭawwali li-l Sayyid al-Sharīf fī al-ma'ānī . ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Muṭawwali
- {13} li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fī al-ma'ānī . ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Muṭawwali li-l Sayyid al-Sharīf
- {14} fī al-ma'ānī . ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Muṭawwali li-l Sayyid al-Sharīf fī al-ma'ānī .
- {15} ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati al-Muṭawwali fī al-ma'ānī . ≈ Ḥāshiyati al-Muṭawwali
- {16} li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fī 'ilmi al-ma'ānī . ≈ Ḥāshiyatu al-Sayyid al-Sharīf 'alā
- {17} al-Muṭawwali fī 'ilmi al-ma'ānī . ≈ Risālatu sharḥi dībājati al-Ḥāwī wa- ~ Risālatu
- {18} sharḥi dībājati al-Mutawassīṭi wa- ~ Ḥāshiyatu al-mukhtaṣari li-Mawlānā-zādah al-Khiṭā'ī
- {19} fī al-ma'ānī wa- ~ Kitābu al-ma'ābi fī sharḥi al-ādābi fī 'ilmi al-jadali wa- ~ Kitābu

[277]

- {1} al-ajwibati li-Sharḥi al-Shamsiyyati fī al-mantiqi fī mujalladin wāḥidin .

[2–5 are blank]

- {6} ≈ Kitābu al-fawā'idi al-ghiyāthiyyati fī al-ma'ānī . ≈ Kitābu al-fawā'idi al-ghiyāthiyyati
- {7} fī al-ma'ānī wa- ~ Kitābu sharḥi al-Fawā'idi al-ghiyāthiyyati fī 'ilmi al-ma'ānī fī mujalladin wāḥidin .
- {8} ≈ Kitābu al-fawā'idi al-ghiyāthiyyati fī al-ma'ānī .

[9 is blank]

- {10} ≈ Kitābu ḥāshiyati sharḥi al-Fawā'idi al-ghiyāthiyyati fī al-ma'ānī .

[11, 12 are blank]

- {13} ≈ Kitābu nihāyati al-ijāzi fī dirāyati al-i'jāzi fī al-ma'ānī . ≈ Kitābu
- {14} al-tibyāni fī sharḥi al-Tabyīni li-Mawlānā al-Kirmāstī fī al-ma'ānī .
- {15} ≈ Kitābu al-mukhtārī li-Mawlānā al-Kirmāstī fī al-ma'ānī . ≈ Kitābu al-muntakhabī
- {16} li-Mawlānā al-Kirmāstī fī al-ma'ānī . ≈ Kitābu al-mathali al-sā'iri fī 'ilmi al-ma'ānī .
- {17} ≈ Durju al-farā'idi fī 'ilmi al-badī'i . ≈ Kitābun fī 'ilmi al-balāghati wa- ~ Kitābu 'uqūdi

{18} al-jawāhiri fī al-taṣrīfī wa-Nihāyatu al-ijāzi fī ‘ilmi al-balāghati • ≈ Dalā’ilu

{19} al-i’jāzi fī ‘ilmi al-balāghati •

[278, 279 are blank]

[280]

[1–8 are blank]

{9} Tafṣīlu kutubi ‘ilmi al-ṣarfi wa-al-naḥwi

{10} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi qismi al-taṣrīfī min Kitābi miftāḥi al-Sakkākī •

{11} ≈ Kitābu al-shāfiyati alladhī ṣannafahu Ibn al-Ḥājib wa- ~ Kitābu sharḥi al-Shāfiyati

{12} li-Aḥmad al-Chārpurdī¹⁶² fī al-taṣrīfī fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-shāfiyati

{13} fī al-taṣrīfī • ≈ Kitābu al-shāfiyati fī al-taṣrīfī •

{14} ≈ Kitābu al-shāfiyati fī al-taṣrīfī wa- ~ Kitābu kifāyati al-adabi fī al-taṣrīfī

{15} wa- ~ Risālatun manẓūmatun fī al-asmā’i al-samā’iyyati wa- ~ Kitābu kashfi

{16} al-daḡā’iqi fī sharḥi al-Risālati al-zayniyyati fī al-naḥwi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

[17–19 are blank]

[281]

[1–3 are blank]

{4} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Kitābi al-shāfiyati alladhī ṣannafahu Ibn al-Ḥājib fī al-taṣrīfī •

{5} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Kitābi al-shāfiyati alladhī ṣannafahu Ibn al-Ḥājib li-l-Raḡī fī

{6} al-taṣrīfī • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Shāfiyati li-l-Chārpirdī fī al-taṣrīfī •

{7} ≈ Kitābu al-shāfiyati fī sharḥi al-Shāfiyati li-Yūsuf bin ‘Abd al-Malik wa- ~ Kitābu

{8} rawāḥi al-arwāḥi fī sharḥi al-Marāḥi li-Yūsuf bin ‘Abd al-Malik wa- ~ Kitābu

{9} al-maḡbūṭi fī sharḥi al-Maḡṣūdi li-Yūsuf bin ‘Abd al-Malik fī al-taṣrīfī [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] •

{10} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Shāfiyati li-l-Chārpirdī fī al-taṣrīfī •

{11} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Kitābi al-shāfiyati alladhī ṣannafahu Ibn al-Ḥājib li-Aḥmad

{12} al-Chārpirdī¹⁶³ fī al-taṣrīfī • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Kitābi al-shāfiyati

¹⁶² The *ḍamma* above the /p/ or /b/ has been erased. Birdī as in [Taghrī]birdī? See Khwāndamīr, *Habib-us Siyar, Tome Three, The Reign of the Mongol and the Turk*, trans. W. Thackston (Cambridge, MA: NELC, Harvard University, 1994), 132 (= Abu l-Makarim Fakhruddin Ahmad b. al-Hasan al-Jar-birdi). See also 281 {6, 10, 12, 13, 14}; 290 {6}.

¹⁶³ The definite article is mistakenly connected and there is a *kasra*, reading *li-l-*; compare line {13}.

{13} alladhī ṣannafahu Ibn al-Hājib li-Aḥmad al-Chārpirdī fi al-taṣrīfi •

{14} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Shāfiyati li-l-Chārpirdī fi al-taṣrīfi •

[15–19 are blank]

[282]

{1} ≈ Kitābu al-maqṣūdi wa- ~ Kitābu [al-]‘izzī wa- ~ Kitābu al-marāḥi fi al-taṣrīfi fi

{2} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu [al-]‘izzī fi al-taṣrīfi wa- ~ Kitābu marāḥi al-arwāḥi

{3} fi al-taṣrīfi wa- ~ Kitābu al-anmūdḥajī¹⁶⁴ fi al-naḥwi wa- ~ Kitābu al-kāfiyati fi al-naḥwi

{4} wa- ~ Kitābu talkhīši al-Miftāḥi fi ‘ilmi al-ma‘ānī fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{5} ≈ Kitābu [al-]‘izzī fi al-taṣrīfi wa- ~ Sharḥu abyāti ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib -raḍiya Allāhu

{6} ‘anhu- fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu [al-]‘izzī fi al-taṣrīfi wa- ~ Kitābu al-miṣbāḥi

{7} fi al-naḥwi wa- ~ Kitābu al-jumali fi al-manṭiqi wa- ~ Kitābu talkhīši al-Miftāḥi fi ‘ilmi al-ma‘ānī

{8} wa- ~ Qaṣīdatun ma‘rūfatun bi-Yaḳūlu al-‘abdu fi ‘ilmi al-kalāmi wa- ~ Kitābu al-‘arūḍi

{9} li-l-Andalusī fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

[10–15 are blank]

{16} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Marāḥi fi al-taṣrīfi • ≈ Kitābu al-munṣifi fi sharḥi

{17} taṣrīfi Abī ‘Uthmān Bakr bin Muḥammad al-Māzinī li-Abī al-Faṭḥ bin Jinnī fi

{18} al-taṣrīfi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi [al-]‘Izzī wa- ~ Kitābu sharḥi al-Anmūdḥajī

{19} fi al-naḥwi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Marāḥi fi al-taṣrīfi •

[283]

{1} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Marāḥi fi al-taṣrīfi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Marāḥi wa- ~ Kitābu

{2} sharḥi al-Mukhtaṣari fi al-taṣrīfi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi [al-]‘Izzī

{3} fi al-taṣrīfi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi [al-]‘Izzī bi-al-fārisiyyati •

{4} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi [al-]‘Izzī bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-taṣrīfi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi

{5} [al-]‘Izzī fi al-taṣrīfi • ≈ Kitābu tarjumah-i Sharḥ-i ‘Izzī bi-al-turkiyyati li-Muḥammad bin

{6} al-Khaṭīb al-Lādhīqī • ≈ Kitābu sharḥ-i ‘Izzī fi al-taṣrīfi wa- ~ Kitābu

{7} al-fāli [fi mujalladin wāḥidin] • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mukhtaṣari al-marūfu bi-[al-]‘Izzī li-l-Taftāzānī •

[8–11 are blank]

¹⁶⁴ The manuscript has a *fatḥa* instead of a *ḍamma* for this title throughout.

- {12} ≈ Kitābu ta'sīsi al-qawā'idi fī sharḥi asāsi al-ṣarfi fī 'ilmi al-taṣrifi .
- {13} ≈ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣrifi wa- ~ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣrifi
- {14} wa- ~ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-mantiqi fī mujalladin wāḥidin .
- {15} ≈ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣrifi wa- ~ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣrifi
- {16} wa- ~ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-mantiqi fī mujalladin wāḥidin .
- {17} ≈ Kitābu amthilatin fī al-taṣrifi wa- ~ Kitābu al-i'rābi 'an qawā'idi al-i'rābi
- {18} al-ma'rūfu bi-Qawā'idi [al-]i'rābi fī al-naḥwi wa- ~ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-taṣrifi
- {19} fī mujalladin wāḥidin .

[284]

[1–9 are blank]

- {10} ≈ Kitābu al-kāfiyati fī al-naḥwi . ≈ Kitābu al-kāfiyati ma'a sharḥin fī
- {11} ḥawāshīhi fī al-naḥwi . ≈ Kitābu al-kāfiyati fī al-naḥwi wa- ~ Sharḥu Īsāghūjī
- {12} fī al-mantiqi wa- ~ Hashiyatu Kitābi al-wāfiyati al-ma'rūfu bi-al-Mutawassiṭi fī al-naḥwi
- {13} fī mujalladin wāḥidin . ≈ Kitābu al-kāfiyati fī al-naḥwi wa- ~ Kitābu al-maqṣūdi
- {14} fī al-ṣarfi fī mujalladin wāḥidin . ≈ Kitābu al-kāfiyati fī al-naḥwi wa- ~ Kitābu
- {15} matni al-'Aqā'idi fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi fī mujalladin wāḥidin . ≈ Kitābu al-kāfiyati
- {16} fī al-naḥwi wa- ~ Kitābu al-miṣbāḥi fī al-naḥwi wa- ~ Kitābu al-'awāmili fī al-naḥwi wa- ~ Kitābu
- {17} al-marāḥi fī al-taṣrifi wa- ~ Kitābu [al-]'Izzī fī al-taṣrifi wa- ~ Kitābu al-maqṣūdi fī
- {18} al-taṣrifi fī mujalladin wāḥidin .
- {19} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Kāfiyati fī al-naḥwi . ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Kāfiyati

[285]

- {1} bi-al-fārisiyyati wa- ~ Kitābu al-amthilati fī sharḥi al-Kāfiyati fī al-naḥwi fī mujalladin
- {2} wāḥidin . ≈ Kitābu kashfi al-wāfiyati fī sharḥi al-Kāfiyati li-l-Ḥalabi fī
- {3} al-naḥwi . ≈ Kitābu manābi'i al-ghurabā'i fī sharḥi al-Kāfiyati fī al-naḥwi .
- {4} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Kāfiyati fī al-naḥwi . ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Kāfiyati li-l-Raḍī
- {5} fī al-naḥwi . ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Kāfiyati li-l-Raḍī fī al-naḥwi .
- {6} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Kāfiyati li-l-Raḍī fī al-naḥwi . ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Kāfiyati
- {7} li-l-Raḍī fī al-naḥwi . ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Kāfiyati li-l-Raḍī fī al-naḥwi .
- {8} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Kāfiyati li-l-Raḍī fī al-naḥwi . ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Kāfiyati

- {9} li-l-Raḍī fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu al-wāfiyati fi sharḥi al-Kāfiyati al-ma'rūfu
- {10} bi-[al-]Mutawassiṭi fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu al-wāfiyati fi sharḥi al-Kāfiyati al-ma'rūfu
- {11} bi-[al-]Mutawassiṭi fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu al-wāfiyati fi sharḥi al-Kāfiyati al-ma'rūfu
- {12} bi-[al-]Mutawassiṭi fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu al-wāfiyati fi sharḥi al-Kāfiyati al-ma'rūfu
- {13} bi-[al-]Mutawassiṭi fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi risālatin fi 'ilmi al-ḥisābi wa- ~ Risālatu
- {14} kāshifati al-mushkilāti al-'alā'iyati wa- ~ Ḥāshiyati [*Kitāb*] al-wāfiyati al-ma'rūfu bi-[al-] Mutawassiṭi
- {15} fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Kāfiyati li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf bi-al-fārisiyyati
- {16} fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Kāfiyati li-l-Khabīṣi • ≈ Kitābu
- {17} sharḥi al-Kāfiyati li-l-Khabīṣi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Kāfiyati li-l-Khabīṣi •
- {18} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Kāfiyati li-l-Ghujduwānī fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Kāfiyati
- {19} al-mawsūmu bi-al-Kabīri fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu al-shāmili fi sharḥi al-Kāfiyati

[286]

- {1} bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Kāfiyati li-l-muṣannifi Ibn al-Ḥājib
- {2} -ṭāba tharāhu- • ≈ al-Mujalladu al-akhīri min Sharḥi al-Kāfiyati li-l-Raḍī al-ma'rūfi
- {3} bi-al-sharḥi al-Raḍī ruqima bi-annahu ṣaḥḥaḥahu al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī -ṭāba tharāhu- fi al-naḥwi wa-lam¹⁶⁵
- {4} yujad al-mujalladu al-awwalu • ≈ Kitābu i'rābi al-Kāfiyati fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu
- {5} i'rābi al-Kāfiyati fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Risālatu ghurrati al-mantiqi wa-Ḥāshiyatu Kitābi
- {6} al-wāfiyati al-ma'rūfu bi-al-Mutawassiṭi wa-Kitābu sharḥi al-Anmūdḥaji fi al-naḥwi fi
- {7} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu [al-]Mutawassiṭi li-l-Sayyid fi al-naḥwi •
- [8–11 are blank]
- {12} ≈ Kitābu al-mufaṣṣali li-l-Zamakhsharī fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu al-mufaṣṣali li-l-Zamakhsharī
- {13} fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu al-mufaṣṣal bi-khaṭṭi Yāqūt fi al-naḥwi •
- {14} ≈ Kitābu al-mufaṣṣali fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu al-mufaṣṣali fi al-naḥwi •
- {15} ≈ Kitābu al-mufaṣṣali fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu al-mufaṣṣali fi al-naḥwi •
- {16} ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Kitābi al-mufaṣṣali fi al-naḥwi •
- [17–19 are blank]

¹⁶⁵ A note in the left margin reads *ruqima bi-annahu*.

[287]

[1, 2 are blank]

{3} ≈ Kitābu al-mukammali fī sharḥi al-Mufaṣṣali fī al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu al-mukammali fī sharḥi

{4} al-Mufaṣṣali fī al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu al-mukammali fī sharḥi al-Mufaṣṣali fī al-naḥwi •

{5} ≈ Kitābu al-mukammali fī sharḥi al-Mufaṣṣali fī al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mufaṣṣali

{6} li-Abī Muḥammad al-Khwārazmī fī al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mufaṣṣali al-mawsūmu

{7} bi-al-Īdāḥi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mufaṣṣali al-mawsūmu bi-al-Īdāḥi fī al-naḥwi •

{8} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mufaṣṣali al-mawsūmu bi-al-Īdāḥi fī al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi

{9} al-Mufaṣṣali al-mawsūmu bi-al-Īdāḥi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi abyāti al-Mufaṣṣali •

{10} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi abyāti al-Mufaṣṣali • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mufaṣṣali al-mawsūmu

{11} bi-al-Īdāḥi wa- ~ Ḥāshiyatu sharḥi Talkhīṣi al-Miftāḥi li-l Sayyid al-Sharīf fī ‘ilmi

{12} al-ma‘ānī wa- ~ Sharḥu abyāti al-Mufaṣṣali wa- ~ Risālatun fī taḥqīqi mabāḥithi al-kuḥli

{13} wa- ~ al-Risālatu al-farīdatu fī al-mantiqi wa- ~ Risālatu al-mudhakkari wa-al-mu’annathi wa- ~ Ḥāshiyatu

{14} sharḥi Talkhīṣi al-Miftāḥi li-ghayri al-Sayyid al-Sharīf fī ‘ilmi al-ma‘ānī fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{15} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mufaṣṣali li-Ibn Ya‘īsh fī al-naḥwi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{16} ≈ Thalāthu mujalladātin min Kitābi sharḥi al-Mufaṣṣali li-Ibn Ya‘īsh mujalladun awwalu

{17} wa-mujalladun thālithun wa-mujalladun rābi‘un wa-lam yūjad al-mujalladu al-thānī •

{18} ≈ al-Mujalladu al-thānī min sharḥi al-Mufaṣṣali al-musammā bi-al-Mustarshidi fī al-naḥwi wa-lam

{19} yūjad sā’iru al-mujalladāti • ≈ al-Mujalladu al-akhīru min sharḥi al-Mufaṣṣali

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{1} [fi]¹⁶⁶ al-naḥwi wa-lam yūjad ghayruhu ibtidā’u min al-ḥurūfi al-mushabbahati bi-al-fi’li •

{2} ≈ Kitābu al-iqlīdi fī sharḥi al-Mufaṣṣali fī al-naḥwi •

[3–6 are blank]

{7} ≈ Kitābu al-īdāḥi li-Abī ‘Alī al-Fārisī fī al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Īdāḥi

{8} fī al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Īdāḥi wa- ~ Kitābu īdāḥi shawāhidi al-Īdāḥi

¹⁶⁶ The catchword on the previous page is *fī* but it is omitted at the top of the page.

{9} fi al-naḥwi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

[10, 11 are blank]

{12} ≈ Kitābu Sībawayh fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu Sībawayh fi al-naḥwi •

[13, 14 are blank]

{15} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Kitābi Sībawayh li-Abī Saʿīd fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi

{16} Kitābi Sībawayh li-Abī Saʿīd fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi abyāti

{17} Kitābi Sībawayh li-l-Shaykh Abī Jaʿfar fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi [*abyāti, ṣaḥḥ*] Kitābi

{18} Sībawayh li-Abī Muḥammad al-Sayrāfi fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi abyāti

{19} Kitābi Sībawayh li-Abī Muḥammad al-Sayrāfi fi al-naḥwi •

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[1, 2 are blank]

{3} ≈ Kitābu lubbi al-albābi fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu lubbi al-albābi fi

{4} al-naḥwi •

[5 is blank]

{6} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Lubbi al-albābi fi al-naḥwi al-maʿrūfu bi-Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh fi

{7} al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Lubbi al-albābi al-maʿrūfu bi-Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh

{8} fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Lubbi al-albābi al-maʿrūfu bi-Sayyid ʿAbd

{9} Allāh fi al-naḥwi •

[10, 11 are blank]

{12} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Lubābi li-l-Zawzanī fi al-naḥwi •

{13} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Lubābi li-l-Zawzanī fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Lubābi

{14} li-l-Zawzanī fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Lubābi li-l-Quṭb al-Fālī fi [al-naḥwi •]

{15} [≈] Kitābu sharḥi al-Lubābi li-l-Quṭb al-Fālī fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi

{16} al-Lubābi li-l-Quṭbi al-Fālī fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Lubābi

{17} li-l-Quṭbi al-Fālī fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Lubābi fi al-naḥwi [•]

{18} [≈] Kitābu sharḥi al-Lubābi fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Sharḥu al-Lubābi fi al-naḥwi •

[19 is blank]

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[1, 2 are blank]

- {3} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Anmūdḥajī fī al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu al-rashādi fī sharḥi al-Irshādi
- {4} fī al-naḥwi • ≈ Mujalladun akhīrun min Kitābi al-mughnī li-Manṣūr bin Fallāḥ al-Yamanī fī
- {5} fī [sic] al-naḥwi • ≈ Risālatu sharḥi Īsāghūjī fī al-mantiqi wa- ~ Kitābu sharḥi Kitābi
- {6} al-mughnī alladhī ṣannafahu Aḥmad al-Chārpirdī fī al-naḥwi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {7} ≈ Kitābu irshādi al-sāliki fī sharḥi Alfīyyati Ibn Mālik fī al-naḥwi •
- {8} ≈ Kitābu al-kāfi fī sharḥi al-Hādī fī al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu al-miṣbāḥi fī al-naḥwi •
- {9} ≈ Kitābu tashīli al-fawā'idī fī al-naḥwi wa- ~ Risālatun fī bayāni ṭuruqi al-ḥadīthi wa-
- {10} ~ al-Risālatu al-'alā'iyyatu fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābi wa- ~ Kitābu tarjamati al-Zubdati fī 'ilmi al-hay'ati
- {11} li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī bi-al-'arabiyyati wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-ḥadīthi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {12} ≈ Risālatun fī al-ṣalāti wa- ~ Risālatu āyāti al-ḥirzi wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-sulūki
- {13} wa- ~ Kitābu al-'awāmili fī al-naḥwi [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Kitābu al-'awāmili wa- ~ Kitābu i'rābi
- {14} al-'Awāmili fī al-naḥwi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-'awāmili fī al-naḥwi •
- {15} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Mulūkī alladhī ṣannafahu Abū al-Faṭḥ bin Jinnī li-Ya'īsh bin 'Alī bin
- {16} Ya'īsh al-naḥwī • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Miṣbāḥi al-ma'rūfu bi-[al-]Ḍaw'i¹⁶⁷ fī al-naḥwi •
- {17} ≈ Kitābu asrārī al-'arabiyyati fī al-naḥwi wa- ~ Risālatu al-masā'ili al-'ashri min al-Qur'āni
- {18} al-'aẓīmi wa- ~ al-Masā'ilu al-'ashru min 'awīṣāti al-shi'ri fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {19} ≈ Kitābu qawā'idī al-i'rābi fī al-naḥwi wa- ~ Kitābu sharḥi dībājati al-Miṣbāḥi

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- {1} fī al-naḥwi wa- ~ Kitābu al-iftitāḥi fī sharḥi al-Miṣbāḥi fī al-naḥwi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {2} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Anmūdḥajī wa- ~ Kitābu al-anmūdḥajī fī al-naḥwi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {3} ≈ Kitābun fī al-naḥwi ismuḥu Kitābu al-luma'i li-Abī al-Faṭḥ bin Jinnī al-naḥwī •
- {4} ≈ Risālatun fī al-naḥwi • ≈ Risālatun fī al-naḥwi • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu [*ya'nī Ḥāshiyatu al-Mutawassīti*] al-Wāfiyyati li-l-Sayyid
- {5} al-Sharīf fī al-naḥwi wa- ~ Kitābu i'rābi al-'Awāmili fī al-naḥwi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {6} ≈ Kitābu al-wāfiyyati alladhī naẓamahu Ibn al-Ḥājib -ṭāba tharāḥu- fī al-naḥwi •
- {7} ≈ Mujalladun akhīrun min Sharḥi kitābi Abī al-Faṭḥ bin Jinnī fī al-naḥwi • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu

¹⁶⁷ Ḍaw'i al-Miṣbāḥi or al-Ḍaw'i.

{8} al-sharḥi al-musammā bi-al-Muwashshaḥ al-mansūbi ilā al-Khabīṣi al-Kirmānī ruqima bi-anna isma

{9} hādhihi al-ḥāshiyati Kitābu al-targhībi li-ahli al-baṣīrati fi al-naḥwi •

{10} ≈ Tanwīru al-dayājī fi tafsīri al-aḥājī fi ‘ilmi al-naḥwi • ≈ Sharḥu al-khulāṣati

{11} al-musammā bi-Irshādi al-sāliki ilā ḥalli Alfīyyati Ibn Mālik fi al-naḥwi •

{12} ≈ Majmū‘atun fiḥā abyātun ‘arabiyyatun wa-qaṣā’idu ‘arabiyyatun wa-~ Kitābu al-wāfiyati bi-al-‘arabiyyati

{13} al-manẓūmati li-Ibn al-Ḥālib fi al-naḥwi • ≈ Kitābu matni al-‘Aqā’idi fi ‘ilmi

{14} al-kalāmi wa-~ Kitābu al-jumali fi al-naḥwi wa-~ Kitābu al-muḥājāti li-l-Zamakhsharī fi al-naḥwi •

{15} ≈ Risālatu al-waḍ‘i li-‘Aḍuḍ al-Dīn wa-~ Risālatun fi ma’nā al-ḥarfī min qibali

{16} al-naḥwi wa-~ Risālatu al-mir’āti fi ḥaqīqati al-ṣūrati al-dhihniyyati li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf •

{17} ≈ Muqaddimatun fi lughazi al-i’rābi al-wāqī’i fi abyātin ‘alā tartībi ḥurūfi al-tahajjī

{18} min qibali al-naḥwi • ≈ Sharḥu al-Risālati al-waḍ‘iyyati fi al-naḥwi •

{19} ≈ Majmū‘atun min rasā’ila awwaluhu risālatun fi al-naḥwi bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati •

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{1} ≈ Kitābu kāfiyatin fi al-naḥwi wa-~ Kitābu al-mughnī fi al-naḥwi wa-~ Kitābu al-irshādi

{2} fi al-naḥwi wa-~ Kitābu al-miṣbāḥi fi al-naḥwi wa-~ Risālatu al-taṣrīfi bi-al-fārisiyyati

{3} wa-~ al-‘Awāmilu fi al-naḥwi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

[4–19 are blank]

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[1–7 are blank]

{8} Tafṣīlu kutubi al-lughati

{9} • al-‘arabiyyati wa-al-fārisiyyati wa-ghayrihimā •

{10} ≈ Kitābu al-qāmūsi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-qāmūsi

{11} fi al-lughati al-‘arabiyyati fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

[12 is blank]

{13} ≈ Kitābu ṣiḥāḥi al-Jawharī fi al-lughati al-‘arabiyyati fi mujalladayni •

{14} [‘*aṭā*’ *olundu*] ≈ Kitābu ṣiḥāḥi al-Jawharī fi al-lughati al-‘arabiyyati fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{15} ≈ Kitābu ṣiḥāḥi al-Jawharī fi al-lughati al-‘arabiyyati fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{16} ≈ Kitābu ṣiḥāḥi al-Jawharī fi al-lughati al-‘arabiyyati fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{17} ≈ Kitābu mukhtaṣari Ṣiḥāḥi al-Jawharī al-mutarjamu bi-al-fārisiyyati •

{18} [‘*aṭā*’ *olundu*] ≈ Kitābu ṣiḥāḥi al-Jawharī fi al-lughati al-‘arabiyyati fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{19} ≈ Kitābu mukhtārī al-Ṣiḥāḥi fi al-lughati al-‘arabiyyati • ≈ Kitābu al-ṣurāḥi fi al-lughati •

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{1} ≈ Kitābu ṣurāḥi al-ṣiḥāḥi fi al-lughati • ≈ Risālatu muqaddimati fiqhi

{2} al-lughati • ≈ Risālatu muqaddimati fiqhi al-lughati • ≈ Kitābu al-takmilati

{3} fi ‘ilmi al-lughati fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-takmilati fi al-lughati

{4} al-‘arabiyyati fi mujalladayni • ≈ Kitābun fi al-lughati wa-al-‘arūḍi marqūmun

{5} bi-anna ismahu al-Ḥadā’iqu • ≈ Kitābu baḥri al-la’ālī manzūmun ‘alā tartībi

{6} al-ḥurūfi • ≈ Kitābu dānistan wa- ~ Risālatun fi al-lughati al-yūnāniyyati

{7} mutarjamatun bi-al-fārisiyyati fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatun fi al-lughati

{8} al-yūnāniyyati mutarjamatun bi-al-turkiyyati • ≈ Kitābu ḥadiqati al-adabi •

{9} ≈ Kitābu al-tuḥfati fi al-adabi • ≈ Kitābu majma’i al-biḥāri [*fi al-lughati*] fi mujalladayni •

{10} ≈ Risālatun manzūmatun bi-al-‘arabiyyati wa-al-fārisiyyati wa-al-turkiyyati •

{11} ≈ Kitābu muqaddimati al-adabi fi al-lughati al-mutarjamu bi-al-fārisiyyati wa-bi-al-afrānijiyyati •

{12} ≈ Kitābu muqaddimati al-adabi fi al-lughati al-mutarjamu bi-al-fārisiyyati wa-bi-al-turkiyyati •

{13} Kitābu muqaddimati al-adabi fi al-lughati al-mutarjamu bi-al-fārisiyyati wa-bi-al-turkiyyati •

{14} ≈ Kitābu muqaddimati al-adabi fi al-lughati al-mutarjamu bi-al-fārisiyyati •

{15} ≈ Kitābu al-af’ālī fi al-lughati al-mutarjamu bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Kitābu

{16} muqaddimati al-adabi fi al-lughati al-mutarjamu bi-al-fārisiyyati •

{17} ≈ Kitābu majma’i al-amthālī wa- ~ Kitābun marqūmun bi-anna ismahu al-Durratu al-fākhiratu

{18} fi al-amthālī al-sā’irati fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ [‘*aṭā*’ *olundu*] Kitābu majma’i al-amthālī •

{19} ≈ Kitābu majma‘i al-amthāli • ≈ Kitābu majma‘i al-amthāli • ≈ Kitābu majma‘i

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{1} al-amthāli • ≈ Kitābu maṣādirī al-Zawzanī wa- ~ Kitābu al-sāmī

{2} fī al-asāmī fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu tāji al-maṣādirī li-l-Bayhaqī •

{3} ≈ Kitābu tāji al-maṣādirī li-l-Bayhaqī • ≈ Kitābu tāji al-maṣādirī li-l-Zawzanī •

{4} ≈ Kitābu al-fā‘iqi li-l-‘Allāma al-Zamakhsharī [*fī al-lughati*] fī mujalladayni • ≈ al-Mujalladu al-awwalu

{5} min Kitābi al-fā‘iqi li-l-Zamakhsharī [*fī al-lughati*] wa-lam yūjad thānin minhu • ≈ Kitābu

{6} al-sāmī fī al-asāmī fī al-lughati • ≈ Kitābu tāji al-asāmī fī al-lughati • ≈ Kitābu tāji

{7} al-asāmī fī al-lughati • ≈ Kitābu mujmali al-lughati • ≈ Kitābu mujmali al-lughati •

{8} ≈ Kitābu mujmali al-lughati • ≈ Kitābu qānūni al-adabi [*fī al-lughati*] • ≈ Kitābu tarājimi [*fī lughati al-Qur‘āni al-‘aẓīmī*]

{9} al-a‘ājimi wa- ~ Sharḥu qaṣīdatin fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu asāsi

{10} al-balāghati li-l-‘Allāma al-Zamakhsharī • ≈ Kitābu asāsi al-balāghati

{11} li-l-‘Allāma al-Zamakhsharī • ≈ Kitābu dīwāni al-adabi [*fī al-lughati*] • ≈ Kitābu

{12} dīwāni al-adabi [*fī al-lughati*] • ≈ Kitābu al-ṣaḥīfati al-‘adhrā‘i • ≈ Kitābu al-tarjumāni •

{13} ≈ Kitābu al-mughribi [*fī al-lughati*] • ≈ al-Qismu al-awwalu min Kitābi muqaddimati al-adabi

{14} al-ma‘rūfu bi-Asmā‘i Jār Allāh al-‘Allāma • ≈ al-Qismu al-awwalu min Kitābi

{15} muqaddimati al-adabi al-ma‘rūfu bi-Asmā‘i Jār Allāh al-‘Allāma •

{16} ≈ Kitābun fī gharībi al-Qur‘āni wa-al-ḥadīthi ‘alā tartībi al-ḥurūfi [*fī al-lughati*] •

{17} ≈ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun min Kitābi al-‘ayni ‘alā naw‘in min tartībi al-ḥurūfi

{18} fī al-lughati • ≈ Kitābun ‘alā tartībi ḥurūfi al-tahajjī fī lughati al-fursi •

{19} ≈ Kitābu muṣarriḥati al-asmā‘i al-mutarjamu bi-al-fārisiyyati wa-al-turkiyyati li-l-Ḥalīmī -ṭāba

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{1} tharāhu- wa- ~ Kitābu al-af‘ali al-mutarjamu bi-al-fārisiyyati fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{2} ≈ Risālatu kalimātin ‘arabiyyatin mutarjamatīn bi-al-fārisiyyati wa-al-rūmiyyati [*ay al-yūnāniyyati*] wa-al-sarfiyyati •

{3} ≈ Kitābu tuḥfati al-hādiyyati al-mutarjamu bi-al-turkiyyati wa-al-rūmiyyati wa-al-afrañjiyyati

- {4} wa-ghayrihā fi lughati al-fursi wa- ~ Kitābu Īsāghūjī ‘alā al-lughati al-‘arabiyyati
- {5} al-mutarjamu bi-al-yūnāniyyati fi al-mantiqi wa- ~ Risālatu al-amthilati al-muṭṭari[da]ti al-mutarjamati
- {6} bi-al-fārisiyyati wa-ghayrihā wa- ~ Risālatun fi al-‘ulūmi al-ḥikmiyyati wa- ~ Risālatun
- {7} fi taṣḥīḥi asāmī al-ḥukamā’i al-yūnāniyyati wa- ~ Risālatun fi iṣṭilāḥātī ‘ulamā’i
- {8} al-hay’ati ‘alā al-lughati al-yūnāniyyati fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu tarājimi¹⁶⁸
- {9} al-a‘ājimi fi lughāti al-Qur’āni al-‘aẓīmi • ≈ Kitābun fi qirā’ati
- {10} al-ruhbāni bi-lughati al-yūnāni mutarjamun bi-al-‘arabiyyati • ≈ Risālatu kalimātin
- {11} ‘arabiyyatin mutarjamatin bi-al-fārisiyyati wa-al-rūmiyyati wa-al-sarfiyyati wa- ~ Kitābu Īsāghūjī
- {12} ‘alā al-lughati al-‘arabiyyati mutarjamun bi-al-yūnāniyyati fi al-mantiqi wa- ~ Risālatu al-amthilati
- {13} al-muṭṭaridati al-mutarjamati bi-lughatin ‘arabiyyatin¹⁶⁹ fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatu kalimātin
- {14} ‘arabiyyatin mutarjamatin bi-al-fārisiyyati wa- ~ Risālatun fi kalimātin ‘arabiyyatin mutarjamatin
- {15} bi-al-fārisiyyati fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu tarājimi lughāti al-Qur’āni
- {16} al-‘aẓīmi bi-al-fārisiyyati wa- ~ Kitābu al-hādī al-mutarjamu bi-al-fārisiyyati fi
- {17} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu lughati al-fursi al-mutarjamu bi-al-fārisiyyati •
- {18} ≈ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun fi gharībi al-kalāmi mawsūmun bi-Kifāyati al-mutaḥaffizi fi
- {19} al-lughati • ≈ Kitābu ḥalli mushkilāti lughati al-fursi ‘alā tartībi al-ḥurūfi •

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- {1} ≈ Kitābu mulḥaqāt-i Dānistan min al-lughati al-rūmiyyati wa-al-sarfiyyati [*wa-risālatu ḥikāyati Qirīsūs¹⁷⁰ bi-khaṭṭin ‘arabiyyin wa-ghayrihi wa-awrāqin fihā khuṭūṭun mukhtalifatin fi mujalladin wāḥidin, ṣaḥḥ*] •
- {2} ≈ Kitābu al-ṣiḥāḥi al-‘ajamiyyati fi lughati al-fursi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-kalimāti
- {3} al-mushkilati fi Kitābi al-sāmī fi al-asāmī fi al-lughati wa- ~ Risālatun min ‘ilmi
- {4} al-naḥwi bi-al-fārisiyyati wa- ~ Risālatun min ‘ilmi al-taṣrīfi bi-al-fārisiyyati fi mujalladin
- {5} wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābun fi al-mu‘arrabi min al-a‘jamī wa-yuqālu lahu Kitābu al-mu‘arrabi

¹⁶⁸ The manuscript has *tarājum*, also line {15} and elsewhere.

¹⁶⁹ Although there is a dot above the ‘ayn, there is a clear *shadda* above the yā’ and we have read it as ‘*arabiyyatin*’.

¹⁷⁰ Probably Croesus, the ancient king of Lydia.

- {6} fī al-lughati • ≈ Risālatu qaṣīdati Burda wa- ~ Kitābu miftāḥi al-adabi
 {7} fī lughati al-fursi ‘alā tartībi al-ḥurūfi wa- ~ Risālatu ma‘rifati iḍmāri fākihatin
 {8} min al-fawākīhi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu durarin bi-khaṭṭi mu‘allifihi al-Ḥalīmī
 {9} -ṭābā tharāhu- ‘alā tartībi al-ḥurūfi fī lughati al-fursi • ≈ Risālatun fī
 {10} ‘ilmi al-taṣrīfi wa- ~ Kitābu al-maṣādiri li-l-Zawzanī wa- ~ Kitābu al-faṣīḥi min
 {11} al-lughati wa- ~ Qaṣā’idu al-fuṣaḥā’i wa- ~ Risālatun manẓūmatun fī ‘ilmi al-badī’i
 {12} wa- ~ Qaṣīdatun fī al-‘arūḍi wa- ~ Kitābun manẓūmun fī al-‘arūḍi wa- ~ Kitābu al-kāfiyati
 {13} fī al-naḥwi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun munaqqahun fī al-lughati
 {14} wa- ~ Kitābu muntakhabi¹⁷¹ Maqāṣidi Abī ‘Ubayd al-Baghdādī ‘alā tartībi al-ḥurūfi
 {15} fī al-lughāti al-‘arabiyyati al-nabawiyyati fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-fā’iqi
 {16} li-l-‘Allāma al-Zamakhsharī fī mujalladayni lākin aḥadahumā ilā awākhirī kitābi al-ṣādi
 {17} wa-al-ākharu min awwali kitābi al-shīni ilā ākhiri al-kitābi •
 {18} ≈ al-Mujalladu al-thānī min Kitābi qānūni al-adabi fī al-lughati • ≈ Kitābu
 {19} tafsīri gharībi al-Qur’āni li-Abī Bakr al-Sijistānī fī al-lughati • ≈ Mujalladun min [*Kitābi*]

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- {1} ṣiḥāḥi al-Jawharī min bābi al-rā’i ilā ākhiri bābi al-shīni •
 {2} ≈ Mujalladun min Kitābi asāsi al-balāghati li-l-‘Allāma al-Zamakhsharī fī al-lughati •
 {3} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi gharībi al-Qur’āni ‘alā ḥurūfi al-mu‘jami min qibali al-lughati •
 {4} ≈ al-Mujalladu al-awwalu min Kitābi diwāni lughāti al-turki fī al-lughati al-turkiyyati •
 {5} ≈ Kitābu tafsīri gharībi al-Qur’āni bi-khaṭṭi mu‘allifihi Abī Bakr al-Rāzī -‘afā Allāhu ta‘ālā
 {6} ‘anhu- • ≈ Kitābu al-asmā’i ‘alā tartībi al-ḥurūfi wa- ~ Kitābu al-lughati al-fārisiyyati
 {7} ‘alā tartībi al-ḥurūfi wa-al-ḥarakāti wa- ~ Kitābu al-lughati al-turkiyyati al-mutarjamu
 bi-al-fārisiyyati
 {8} ‘alā tartībi al-ḥurūfi wa-al-ḥarakāti [wa-] ~ Risālatu al-amthilati al-taṣrīfiyyati bi-al-quyūdi
 {9} al-turkiyyati wa- ~ Risālatun fī maktūbātīn shar‘iyyatin wa- ~ Kitābu mirqāti al-adabi
 {10} al-manẓūmu wa-Kitābu tuḥfati ‘Alā’i al-manẓūmu wa- ~ Kitābu niṣābi al-ṣibyāni
 {11} al-manẓūmu wa- ~ Kitābu naṣībi al-fityāni al-manẓūmu wa- ~ Kitābu ‘uqūdi al-jawāhiri
 {12} [al-]manẓūmu ḥamd u thanā fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-asmā’i ‘alā

¹⁷¹ The manuscript has a *ḍamma* indicating the nominative case.

{13} tartībī al-ḥurūfī wa- ~ Kitābu al-lughati al-turkiyyati al-mutarjamu bi-al-‘arabiyyati wa- ~ Kitābu

{14} al-lughati al-fārisiyyati ‘alā tartībī al-ḥurūfī wa-al-ḥarakāti wa- ~ Kitābu al-lughati

{15} al-turkiyyati al-mutarjamu bi-al-fārisiyyati wa- ~ Kitābu niṣāb¹⁷² al-ṣibyāni wa- ~ Kitābu

{16} mirqāti al-adabi wa- ~ Kitābu tuḥfati ‘Alā’ī wa- ~ Kitābu naṣībī al-fityāni

{17} wa- ~ Kitābu al-amthilati al-mutarjamu bi-al-turkiyyati wa- ~ Risālatu ashkāli al-ḥisābi min

{18} al-siyāqati fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ~ Risālatu kanzi al-zawāhiri fī ma‘rifati

{19} al-jawāhiri wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-lughati al-fahlawiyyati fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

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{1} ~ Mujalladun thānin min Kitābi al-nihāyati fī gharībi al-ḥadīthi fī al-lughati • ~ Kitābu lisāni

{2} al-‘arabi fī al-lughati fī mujalladayni • ~ Kitābu al-gharībayni gharībi al-Qur’āni wa-

{3} gharībi al-sunnati li-Aḥmad al-Hirawī fī al-lughati fī mujalladayni • ~ Kitābu asmā’i

{4} al-adwiyati al-ṭibbiyyati fī al-lughati • ~ Kitābu tarājimi al-a‘ājimi fī al-lughati

{5} al-qur’āniyyati • ~ Kitābu al-ṣiḥāḥi al-‘ajamiyyati fī al-lughati al-fursiyyati • ~ Kitābu asāmī

{6} al-adwiyati bi-al-‘arabiyyati wa-al-fārisiyyati wa-al-turkiyyati wa-al-rūmiyyati ‘alā tartībī

{7} al-ḥurūfī fī al-lughati [*maṭlab*] • ~ Mujalladun awwalu min Kitābi al-nihāyati fī gharībi

{8} al-ḥadīthi fī al-lughati • ~ Mujalladun awwalu min Kitābi al-nihāyati [fī] gharībi

{9} al-ḥadīthi fī al-lughati • ~ Kitābu al-nihāyati fī gharībi al-ḥadīthi wa-al-athari fī

{10} al-lughati fī mujalladayni • ~ Kitābu al-nihāyati fī gharībi al-ḥadīthi fī al-lughati •

{11} ~ Kitābu taqwīmi al-lisāni min Kitābi adab al-kātibi fī al-lughati wa- ~ Kitābu al-abniyyati

{12} min Kitābi adabi al-kātibi fī al-lughati fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ~ Lughatu fursin ‘alā

{13} tartībī al-ḥurūfī • ~ Mukhtaṣarun fī al-lughati al-fursi ‘alā tartībī al-ḥurūfī •

{14} ~ Kitābu al-zāhiri fī ma‘ānī kalimāti al-nāsi fī al-‘ādāti wa-al-‘ibādāti

{15} min qibali al-lughati • ~ Kitābu jawāmi‘i al-‘ulūmi awwaluhu ‘ilmu al-lughati al-‘arabiyyati •

{16} ~ Risālatun fī aḥkāmi lafẓati kullin wa- ~ Risālatu niẓāmi al-gharībi fī al-lughati wa- ~ Sharḥu

{17} al-Nafḥati al-wardiyyati fī al-naḥwi wa- ~ Sharḥu Mulḥati al-i‘rābi wa- ~ Kitābu al-mufidi li-‘Awāmili

¹⁷² The manuscript has a *fatḥa* above the *nūn*.

{18} al-i'rābi wa- ~ al-Kāfiyatu fi al-naḥwi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-farqi

{19} bayna al-ḡādi wa-al-zā'i min qibali al-lughati • ≈ Risālatu tarjamati al-'ibriyyati

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{1} bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-lughati • ≈ Nuqūdu al-jumāni fi tafsīri lughāti al-Qur'āni

{2} wa- ~ Maṣādiru al-Zawzanī wa- ~ Kitābu al-hādī fi tafsīri ma'ānī al-adawāti

{3} bi-al-fārisiyyati wa- ~ Kitābu nuzhati al-ṭarfi fi 'ilmi al-ṣarfi wa- ~ Sharḥu al-Miṣbāḥi

{4} bi-al-fārisiyyati wa- ~ Sharḥu [al-] 'Izzī bi-al-fārisiyyati wa- ~ Qaṣīdatu Durayd fi mujalladin

{5} wāḥidin • ≈ Lughatun yūnāniyyatun ma'a khaṭṭin yūnāniyyin • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu

{6} min Qānūni al-adabi ilā tamāmi kitābi ṣād fi al-lughati • ≈ Kitābu

{7} al-mudhakkari wa-al-mu'annathi li-l-Qustarī min qibali al-lughati • ≈ 'Uqūdu al-zawāhiri

{8} fi 'ilmi matni al-lughati wa-'ilmi al-ishtiḡāqi wa-'ilmi al-ṣarfi • ≈ 'Uqūdu al-zawāhiri

{9} fi 'ilmi matni al-lughati wa-'ilmi al-ishtiḡāqi wa-'ilmi al-ṣarfi • ≈ Kitābun fi

{10} bayāni mawḍū'āti al-'ulūmi al-'arabiyyati wa-al-shar'iyyati wa-mabādihā wa-ghāyātiḥā

{11} minhā 'ilmu al-lughati [*maṭlab*] • ≈ Sharḥu al-asmā'i al-ḥusnā wa- ~ Sharḥu qaṣīdati Ka'b

{12} bin Zuhayr wa- ~ Muqaddimatu Kitābi fiqhi al-lughati wa-sirri al-'arabiyyati wa- ~ Ḥāshiyatu

{13} al-Muṭawwali wa- ~ Ḥāshiyatu al-Talwīḥi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu qun'ati

{14} al-arībi¹⁷³ fi tafsīri al-gharibi li-l-Maqdisī fi al-lughati • ≈ al-Qismu al-awwalu

{15} min Kitābi muqaddimati al-adabi al-ma'rūfu bi-Asmā'i Jār Allāh al-'Allāma

{16} fi al-lughati • ≈ al-Qismu al-awwalu min Kitābi muqaddimati al-adabi

{17} al-ma'rūfu bi-Asmā'i Jār Allāh al-'Allāma • ≈ Kitābun ka-al-sharḥi

{18} li-Kitābi abniyyati al-af'ali wa-qaṣīdatun mumayyizatun li-l-zā'i min al-ḡādi ma'a

{19} sharḥihā fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

[301 is blank]

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[1–4 are blank]

{5} Tafṣīlu kutubi 'ilmi al-ta'bīri wa- ~ Kutubi

¹⁷³ Although it looks like a *dāl* in *arīb*, it should be a *rā'*, see Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, S I, 689.

- {6} ‘ilmi al-firāsati wa- ~ Kutubi ‘ilmi al-kīmiyā’i wa- ~ Kutubi ‘ilmi al-aḥjāri wa-
 {7} ~ Kutubi al-ramli wa- ~ Kutubi al-fāli wa- ~ Kutubi ‘ilmi al-nayrinjāti¹⁷⁴ wa- ~ Kutubi
 {8} al-ṭilsimāti wa- ~ Kutubi al-sīmiyā’i wa- ~ Kutubi al-‘azā’imi
 {9} wa- ~ Kutubi ‘ilmi al-jafri wa- ~ Kutubi
 {10} al-ṣinā’āti al-‘ajībati
 {11} wa- ~ Kutubi al-ḥiyali
 {12} wa- ~ Kutubi al-siḥri
 {13} ≈ Kitābu al-Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn-zādah fi ‘ilmi al-ta’bīri • ≈ Kitābu al-Shaykh
 {14} Quṭb al-Dīn-zādah fi ‘ilmi al-ta’bīri •
 [15 is blank]
 {16} • ≈ Risālatun mushtamilatun ‘alā taḥqīqi al-ru’yā fi ‘ilmi al-ta’bīri • ≈ Kitābu kāmili
 {17} al-ta’bīri bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Kitābu kāmili al-ta’bīri bi-al-fārisiyyati •
 {18} ≈ Kitābu kāmili al-ta’bīri bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Kitābu kāmili al-ta’bīri •
 {19} ≈ Kitābu kāmili al-ta’bīri • ≈ Kitābu kāmili al-ta’bīri bi-al-fārisiyyati •

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[1–3 are blank]

- {4} ≈ Kitābu ta’bīrin sulṭāniyyin bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Kitābu ta’bīr-i sulṭānī
 {5} bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Kitābu ta’bīrin sulṭāniyyin bi-al-fārisiyyati •
 [6 is blank]
 {7} ≈ Kitābu al-mu’lami ‘alā ḥurūfi al-mu’jami bi-al-‘arabiyyati fi ‘ilmi al-ta’bīri •
 {8} ≈ Kitābu al-mu’lami ‘alā ḥurūfi al-mu’jami fi al-ta’bīri • ≈ Kitābu al-mu’lami ‘alā ḥurūfi
 {9} al-mu’jami fi al-ta’bīri •
 [10 is blank]
 {11} ≈ Kitābu al-Qādirī fi al-ta’bīri • ≈ Kitābu al-Nāṣirī fi tarjamati Kitābi
 {12} al-Qādirī fi al-ta’bīri • ≈ Kitābu durrati al-funūni fi ru’yati [*qurrati, ṣaḥḥ*] al-‘uyūni
 {13} fi al-ta’bīri • ≈ Kitābu rawḍati al-miski wa-al-‘abīri fi minhāji ‘ilmi
 {14} al-ta’bīri • ≈ Kitābun nafīsun bi-al-‘arabiyyati al-manẓūmati fi ‘ilmi al-ta’bīri •
 {15} ≈ Kitābu al-ta’bīri al-manẓūmi bi-al-fārisiyyati wa- ~ Risālatu al-ikhtilāji al-manẓūmatu

¹⁷⁴ The manuscript has an erased *kasra* (reading *nīrinjāt*, meant to be the Persian *nīrānjāt* “incantations”) in place of the *fatha* which remained.

{16} bi-al-fārisiyyati [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Kitābu mushkil-gushāy¹⁷⁵ fī al-taʿbīri bi-al-turkiyyati •

{17} ≈ Risālatu ramzi al-daqaʿīqi fī ʿilmi al-daqaʿīqi wa-huwa al-ʿilmu bi-al-ruʿyā al-ṣādiqati

{18} al-badaniyyati li-aḍʿafi al-ʿibādi al-ʿAṭūfi [-ʿuḫfiya ʿanhu-] • ≈ Kitābun muntakhabun fārisiyyun

{19} fī al-taʿbīri wa-risālatun fārisiyyatun fī al-fiqhi [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ al-Juzʿu al-awwalu

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{1} min al-Muntakhabi fī taʿbīri al-ruʿyā •

[2–8 are blank]

{9} ≈ Tarjamatu Kitābi Aristāṭālīs li-Ḥunayn¹⁷⁶ bin Ishāq fī ʿilmi al-firāsati •

{10} ≈ Risālatun bi-al-ʿarabiyyati fī ʿilmi al-firāsati • ≈ Risālatun bi-al-turkiyyati fī ʿilmi

{11} al-firāsati • ≈ Kitābu Falīmūn¹⁷⁷ al-Ḥakīm fī ʿilmi al-firāsati •

{12} ≈ Kitābu Falīmūn al-Ḥakīm fī ʿilmi al-firāsati • ≈ Kitābu Aflīmūn fī ʿilmi

{13} al-firāsati • ≈ Risālatun marqūmatun bi-al-Khulāṣati fī ʿilmi al-firāsati •

{14} ≈ Tuḥfatu al-mulūki min qibali al-mawāʿizi wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-firāsati [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] •

{15} ≈ Kitābu Falīmūn fī al-firāsati • ≈ Kitābu adillati al-firāsati bi-al-fārisiyyati •

{16} Risālatu ṣanʿati al-yadi min qibali al-firāsati wa- ~ Risālatu ṣanʿati al-yadi min

{17} qibali al-firāsati fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu qaṣīdati Ibn Sīnā wa- ~ Risālatun

{18} fī al-firāsati fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatu Nūr Bakhshi fī ʿilmi al-firāsati •

{19} ≈ Majmūʿatun awwaluhā Kitābu Aristāṭālīs fī al-firāsati wa- ~ Thānīhā Kitābu

[305]

{1} al-Imām al-Fakhr al-Rāzī fī al-firāsati fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati

{2} fī al-firāsati • ≈ Mukhtaṣarun ʿarabiyyun fī al-firāsati •

[3–11 are blank]

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Steingass (*A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* [London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1892]) under *mushkil-kushāʿi*, “problem-solver.”

¹⁷⁶ The manuscript has an erroneous definite article, reading *li-l-Ḥunayn*.

¹⁷⁷ Variant of Aflīmūn (Polemon of Laodicea, ca. AD 88–144); see Simon Swain, ed., *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul: Polemon's Physiognomy from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), e.g., chap. 7.

{12} ≈ Kitābu rutbati al-ḥakīmi fī al-kīmiyā'i wa- ~ Kitābu al-rawḍati fī al-kīmiyā'i wa-thamāniyatun

{13} wa-thalāthūna kitāban fī al-kīmiyā'i fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu uṣṭuqus al-uss¹⁷⁸

{14} fī al-kīmiyā'i wa- ~ Kitābu al-jumali fī al-kīmiyā'i fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{15} ≈ Kitābu bustāni al-ḥikmati bi-al-turkiyyati fī al-kīmiyā'i • ≈ Kitābu kanzi al-ḥikmati

{16} fī anwā'i a'māli al-kīmiyā'i • ≈ al-Quṭbu al-thānī min khātimati Kitābi

{17} durrati al-tāji fī al-i'tiqādi wa-arkāni al-islāmi wa- ~ Kitābu jawharnāmah

{18} wa- ~ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun fī 'ilmi al-kīmiyā'i fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-munqidhi

{19} wa- ~ Kīmiyā'-i sa'ādat bi-al-'arabiyyati wa- ~ Kitābu al-maḍnūni bihi 'alā ghayri ahlihi fī

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{1} al-kīmiyā'i wa- ~ Risālatu al-taqrībi fī ma'rifati al-tarkībi wa-huwa al-Maḍnūnu bihi

{2} 'alā [ghayri] ahlihi fī al-kīmiyā'i kulluhā li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- wa- ~ Rasā'ilu ukhrā

{3} fī al-riyāḍiyyāti fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-rumūzi al-dāllati 'alā

{4} al-kunūzi wa- ~ Kitābu shudhūri al-dhahabi fī al-kīmiyā'i wa- ~ Kitābu al-'ahdi

{5} li-Jābir al-Anṣārī fī al-kīmiyā'i wa- ~ Risālatu Hurmus fī al-kīmiyā'i

{6} wa- ~ Risālatu Rīsmūs¹⁷⁹ fī al-kīmiyā'i wa- ~ Kitābu al-raḥmati li-Jābir al-Anṣārī

{7} fī al-kīmiyā'i wa- ~ Kitābu mawāzīni al-aḥjāri wa- ~ Rasā'ilu ukhrā fī mujalladin

{8} wāḥidin • ≈ Majmū'atun min rasā'ili Ibn Sīnā awwaluhā Risālatu

{9} tārikhihi wa-fihristi kutubihi wa- ~ Fihā risālatun fī al-kīmiyā'i fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{10} ≈ Majmū'atun min rasā'ila fī al-kīmiyā'i • ≈ Majmū'atun min rasā'ila

{11} awwaluhā Risālatu Ibn Sīnā fī ḥudūthi al-ḥurūfi wa- ~ Thāniyatuhā Risālatu

{12} Ibn Sīnā fī al-kīmiyā'i fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

[13–19 are blank]

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{1} ≈ Kitābu ma'rifati al-aḥjāri wa-khawāṣṣihā • ≈ Kitābu azhāri al-afkāri

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Jābir ibn Ḥayyān, "The Kitāb Uṣṭuqus al-Uss," ed. and trans. Peter Ziris (PhD diss., New York University, 1979).

¹⁷⁹ Hermes, and Zosimos, *GAS*, 4:73ff.

- {2} fi jawāhiri al-aḥjāri • ≈ Risālatu jawharnāmah fi ‘ilmi al-aḥjāri •
- {3} ≈ Kitābu al-jamāhīri fi al-jawāhiri • ≈ ‘Uyūnu al-ḥaḡā’iqi fi ṣanā’i al-ḥiyali
- {4} al-‘ajībati wa- ~ Kitābu al-ṭibbi wa- ~ Rasā’ilu al-siḥri wa-‘ilmi al-nafasi wa-ghayrihi wa- ~ Kitābun
- {5} fi al-kīmiyā’i wa-risālatun fi ‘ilmi al-aḥjāri [*maṭlab*] • ≈ Kitābu jawharnāmah
- {6} bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Kitābu azhāri al-afkāri fi jawāhiri al-aḥjāri •
- {7} ≈ Tansukhnāmah-i ilkhānī li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fi ‘ilmi al-jawāhiri min al-aḥjāri •
- {8} ≈ Zahru al-basātīni fi al-ḥiyali wa-al-Ṣanā’i’u al-‘ajībati fi khawāṣṣi al-aḥjāri wa-
- {9} al-ashjāri fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-jawāhiri fi ‘ilmi al-aḥjāri wa-Kitābu
- {10} Abī al-Rayḥān •
- [11–13 are blank]
- {14} ≈ Fatḥu al-aḡfālī li-l-Zannātī fi al-ramli • ≈ Majmū‘atun min ‘iddati rasā’ila
- {15} fi al-ramli • ≈ Majmū‘atun min rasā’ila aktharuhā fi al-ramli •
- {16} ≈ Risālatun fārisiyyatun fi al-ramli • ≈ Taqwīmu al-ramli • ≈ Taqwīmu
- {17} al-ramli • ≈ Risālatun bi-al-turkiyyati fi al-ramli • ≈ Jadwalun bi-al-turkiyyati
- {18} fi al-ramli • ≈ Risālatun min qibali al-ramli wa- ~ Risālatun fi fālī al-Qur’āni
- {19} al-‘aẓīmi [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Thalāthu rasā’ila fi al-ramli wa- ~ Kanzu al-balāghati fi al-inshā’i [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] •

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- {1} ≈ Risālatun bi-al-‘arabiyyati fi al-ramli • ≈ Kitābu Idrīs al-nabī -‘alayhi
- {2} al-salāmu- fi aḥkāmi ṭulū’i shi’rā wa- ~ Risālatu bismi Allāhi wa- ~ Risālatun
- {3} fārisiyyatun manẓūmatun fi al-ramli • ≈ Kitābu ashkāli al-ramli •
- {4} ≈ Kitābun bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-ramli •
- {5} ≈ Rasā’ilu awwaluhā Fālu al-Qur’āni al-‘aẓīmi •
- {6} ≈ Majmū‘atun awwaluhā mukhtāru Rawḍati al-nāẓiri bi-al-manẓūmāti al-‘arabiyyati wa-al-fārisiyyati wa-fihā
- {7} Kitābu al-ikhtilāji bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati wa-ākhiruhā Risālatu al-fālī al-mu‘tabari
- {8} bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu Dāniyāl al-nabī -‘alayhi al-salāmu- •
- {9} ≈ Kitābu al-za’irajati al-khiṭā’iyyati fi al-fālī • ≈ Jām-i¹⁸⁰ sakhun-gūy bi-al-fārisiyyati

¹⁸⁰ The manuscript has vocalized this as *jāmu sakhun*.

- {10} fi al-fāli • ≈ Jām-i sakhun-gūy bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-fāli •
- {11} ≈ Kitābu al-mas'alati wa-al-ṭālī'i min qibali al-fāli • ≈ Risālatu aḥkāmī
- {12} al-sinīna wa-Kitābu al-fāli al-mu'tabari alladhī waḍa'ahu al-'ulamā'i li-Hārūn
- {13} al-Rashīd fi mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {14} ≈ Kitābu al-shāmili fi 'ilmi al-'azā'imi wa-al-nayranjāti • ≈ Kitābun bi-al-fārisiyyati
- {15} fi al-nayranjāti • ≈ Kitābu al-sirri al-maktūmi fi al-ṭilsimāti wa-al-nayranjāti •
- {16} ≈ Kitābu al-sirri al-maktūmi fi al-ṭilsimāti wa-al-nayranjāti • ≈ Kitābu al-sirri
- {17} al-maktūmi fi al-ṭilsimāti wa-al-nayranjāti • ≈ Kitābu al-sirri al-maktūmi fi
- {18} al-ṭilsimāti • ≈ Nuzhatu al-nufūsi fi ta'lifi al-shukhūṣi min qibali
- {19} al-nayranjāti wa- ~ Kitābu Hurmus alladhī tarjamahu Balīnās min qibali al-nayranjāti¹⁸¹ •

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- {1} ≈ Kitābu al-shāmili fi al-nayranjāti • ≈ Kitābu al-sirri al-maktūmi fi
- {2} al-ṭilsimāti wa-al-siḥriyyāti wa-al-'azā'imi • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Kitābi
- {3} al-sirri al-maktūmi fi al-ṭilsimāti • ≈ Kitābu tuḥfati al-gharā'ibi fi al-nīranji wa-
- {4} al-'ajā'ibi • ≈ Kitābu tuḥfati al-gharā'ibi fi al-nīranjāti wa-al-khawāṣṣi al-'ajībati •
- {5} ≈ Dhakhīratu al-Iskandar fi al-ṭilsimāti al-'ajībati wa-Kunnāshu al-khuffi tarjamatu Ishāq¹⁸² bin
- {6} Hunayn bi-al-'arabiyyati fi al-ṭibbi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {7} ≈ Kitābu al-nawāmīsi ay al-umūru al-'ajībatu wa- ~ Risālatu al-asmā'i al-khamsata [*'ashara fi mujalladin*] •
- {8} ≈ Kitābu 'uyūni al-ḥaqā'iqi fi al-a'māli al-'ajībati min qibali 'ilmi al-sīmiyā'i •
- {9} ≈ Mukhtaṣaru 'Uyūni al-ḥaqā'iqi fi al-a'māli al-'ajībati wa-al-ḥiyali min qibali 'ilmi al-sīmiyā'i •
- [10 is blank]
- {11} ≈ Kitābu sirri al-asrāri fi al-siḥriyyāti wa-al-'azā'imi • ≈ Sifru al-asrāri
- {12} fi 'ajā'ibi al-umūri wa-al-'azā'imi • ≈ Risālatun fi da'wati al-ra'si wa-
- {13} al-dhanabi fi al-'azā'imi •
- [14, 15 are blank]

¹⁸¹ Both spellings of *nayranjāt* in this line have a *kasra* under the *rā'* (cf. 4 {4}).

¹⁸² The manuscript has omitted the long /a/, reading *Ishāq*, which is the common Qur'anic orthography.

- {16} ≈ Risālatun fī kashfī al-ḍamā'iri wa-al-khafīyyāti min qibali al-'ulūmi al-jafriyyati •
 {17} ≈ Kitābu ṣayḥati al-būmi fī ḥawāḍithi al-rūmi min qibali 'ilmi al-jafri wa-al-wafqi •
 {18} ≈ Kitābu baṣṭi ḥurūfi al-jafri • ≈ Kitābu al-washyi al-maṣūni fī ma'rifati
 {19} 'ilmi al-khaṭṭi alladhī bayna al-kāfi wa-al-nūni fī al-'ulūmi al-ḥarfīyyati wa-'ilmi al-jafri •

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- {1} ≈ Risālatun fī 'ilmi al-jafri •
 [2 is blank]
 {3} ≈ Risālatu badā'i'i al-'amali fī ṣanā'i'i al-ḥiyali •
 {4} ≈ Kitābu Īrun¹⁸³ fī ḥiyali raf'i al-ashyā'i al-thaqīlati wa- ~ Rasā'ilu ukhrā fī
 {5} 'ajā'ibi ṣanā'i'i ālāti al-mā'i [fī mujalladin wāḥidin] • ≈ Madkhalu Babūs¹⁸⁴ fī al-ḥiyali ka-
 jarri al-athqālī •
 {6} ≈ Madkhalu Babūs fī al-ḥiyali ka-jarri al-athqālī • ≈ Majmū'atun fihā thalāthu
 {7} maqālātīn min Kitābi Īrun fī raf'i al-ashyā'i al-thaqīlati wa- ~ Fihā
 {8} Risālatu al-dawā'iri al-mutaḥarrikati min dhawātihā wa- ~ Fihā Risālatu 'amali al-sā'āti
 {9} allatī tarmī bi-al-banādiqi wa- ~ Fihā Risālatu jadāwili al-tawārīkhi wa-
 {10} ikhtiyārātī al-a'mālī bi-ḥasabi ittiṣālātī al-qamari wa- ~ Fihā Kitābu al-qirānāti
 {11} wa-ittiṣālātī al-kawākibi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābun muṣawwarun li-l-Ra'īs
 {12} al-Jazarī fī al-ṣanā'i'i al-'ajībati wa-al-ḥiyali • ≈ Kitābun fī al-ḥiyali wa-al-umūri
 {13} al-'ajībati fī 'amali ālāti al-mā'i • ≈ Kitābu bayāni al-ṣinā'āti [ay al-'ajībati] •
 {14} ≈ Kitābu Fīlun¹⁸⁵ fī al-ḥiyali al-'ajībati fī 'amali ālāti al-mā'i • ≈ Kitābu bayāni
 {15} al-ṣinā'āti [ay al-'ajībati] • ≈ Risālatu badā'i'i al-'amali fī ṣanā'i'i al-ḥiyali •
 {16} ≈ Thalāthu rasā'ila li-Mūristūs¹⁸⁶ fī ālāti al-ṣawti • ≈ Kitābu al-marāyā
 {17} al-muḥriqati •
 [18, 19 are blank]

[311]

- {1} ≈ Risālatun fī al-ghālībi wa-al-maghlūbi min al-mutaḥāribayni • ≈ Risālatun fī

¹⁸³ Heron [of Alexandria], vocalized as Ayrūn in the text.

¹⁸⁴ Pappus [of Alexandria], vocalized as Biyūs in the text.

¹⁸⁵ Philo [of Byzantium], vocalized as Falyūn in the text.

¹⁸⁶ For this vocalization, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition (henceforth, *EI2*), 12 vols. and index (Leiden: Brill, 1960–2004), "Mūristūs" (H. G. Farmer), 7:610–11. The manuscript has it vocalized as Mūristīs.

{2} al-ghālibī wa-al-maghlūbī min al-mutaḥāribayni • ≈ Sharḥu Mīrak li-ḥikmatī

{3} al-Hidāyati -wa- ~ Risālatu al-‘amali bi-al-kurati al-falakiyyati wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-mūsīqī wa-

{4} ~ Kitābun fī ma‘rifati al-ghālibī wa-al-maghlūbī min al-mutaḥāribayni fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{5} ≈ al-Durru al-maṭlūbu fī sirri al-ghālibī wa-al-maghlūbī wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-kharazātī

{6} al-khamṣi min al-jafri wa- ~ Risālatu jihādi al-mulūki ‘alā ṭarīqati aḥkāmi

{7} al-nujūmi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

[8–11 are blank]

*[fī al-umūri al-‘ajībatī]*¹⁸⁷

{12} ≈ Kitābu al-mu‘lami fī bayāni madhāhibi al-naṣārā • ≈ Tarjamatu al-baqiyyati min

{13} Kitābi Yamīṣṭūs al-wathanī fī madhāhibi al-awwalīna min ‘abadati al-aṣnāmi •

{14} ≈ Tarjamatu Kitābi Yamīṣṭūs al-wathanī tarjamatān thāniyatan fī madhāhibi ‘abadati al-aṣnāmi •

[15 is blank]

{16} ≈ Kitābu al-mukhtārī fī kashfi al-asrārī bi-al-‘arabiyyati •

[17–19 are blank]

[312 is blank]

[313]

[1–5 are blank]

{6} Tafṣīlu kutubi ‘ilmi al-nujūmi

{7} wa- ~ Kutubi ‘ilmi al-hay’ati wa- ~ Kutubi ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi

{8} • wa- ~ Kutubi ‘ilmi al-handasati wa- ~ Kutubi •

{9} • ‘ilmi al-mūsīqī wa- ~ Kutubi •

{10} • al-lahwi ka-al-shaṭranji •

{11} ≈ Kitābu al-qānūni al-mas‘ūdī fī ‘ilmi al-nujūmi • ≈ Kitābu al-qānūni

{12} al-mas‘ūdī fī ‘ilmi al-nujūmi • ≈ Kitābu madkhali al-nujūmi bi-al-fārisiyyati

{13} fī ‘ilmi al-nujūmi • ≈ Risālatun fī samti al-qiblati min qibali ‘ilmi al-nujūmi •

{14} ≈ Kitābu miftāḥi al-nujūmi bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Zījun khāqāniyyun fī takmīli

¹⁸⁷ Written vertically along the right margin between lines {12–14}.

{15} zîjin ilkhâniyyin fî al-nujûmi • ≈ Zîj-i Ulugh Beg fî al-nujûmi •

{16} ≈ Kitābu zîjin ilkhâniyyin fî al-nujûmi [*wa- ~ Kitābu athmāri wa-ashjāri fî al-nujûmi fî mujalladin wāḥidin, ṣaḥḥ*] • ≈ Zîjun mawḍū'un 'alā mā ṣaḥḥaḥahu al-Shaykh

{17} Abū al-Wafā' wa-aṣḥābuhu fî al-nujûmi • ≈ Zîj-i Ulugh Beg fî al-nujûmi •

{18} ≈ Zîj-i ilkhānī fî al-nujûmi • ≈ Zîj-i ilkhānī fî al-nujûmi • ≈ Zîj-i Ulugh Beg

{19} fî al-nujûmi • ≈ Kitābu zîj-i ilkhānī fî al-nujûmi al-marqūmu bi-annahu bi-khaṭṭi

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{1} muṣannifihi al-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī • ≈ Zîj-i mujmal li-Mawlānā Kūçek al-Amāsī

{2} fî al-nujûmi • ≈ Zîj-i Ulugh Beg fî al-nujûmi • ≈ Kitābu zîjin wa- ~ Risālatun

{3} fî al-ṭālī'i wa-aḥkāmi al-nujûmi [*fî mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Kitābu rawḍati al-munajjimīna wa- ~ Kitābu

{4} zîj-i ilkhānī fî al-nujûmi wa- ~ Fannu Uqlīdus¹⁸⁸ min Kitābi durrati al-tāji

{5} wa- ~ Kitābu aḥkāmi al-a'wāmi fî aḥkāmi al-nujûmi wa- ~ Burhānu al-kifāyati fî al-nujûmi

{6} wa-Tuḥfatu al-gharā'ibi fî mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Zîjun khāqāniyyun fî takmīli zîjin

{7} ilkhāniyyin fî al-nujûmi • ≈ Zîju Ulugh Beg fî al-nujûmi •

{8} ≈ Kitābu al-zîji al-jāmī'i li-Kūshiyār fî al-nujûmi wa- ~ Kitābu mujmali al-uṣūli

{9} fî aḥkāmi al-nujûmi li-Kūshiyār wa- ~ Risālatu Abī Ma'shar al-Balkhī fî ihtir[ā]qāti

{10} al-kawākibi fî mujalladin wāḥidin •

[11–19 are blank]

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[1–12 are blank]

{13} ≈ Kitābu kashfī ḥaqā'iqi zîj-i ilkhānī fî sharḥi Zîj-i ilkhānī li-Nizām

{14} al-Dīn fî al-nujûmi • ≈ Kitābu kashfī ḥaqā'iqi zîj-i ilkhānī fî

{15} sharḥi zîj-i ilkhānī fî al-nujûmi • ≈ Kashfu ḥaqā'iqi zîjin ilkhāniyyin

{16} fî sharḥi [Zîj-i] ilkhānī fî al-nujûmi • ≈ Sharḥu Zîj-i Ulugh Beg li-'Alī al-Qūshjī

{17} fî al-nujûmi • ≈ Sharḥu Zîj-i Ulugh Beg li-Mawlānā Mīrim Çelebi -sallamahu Allāhu ta'ālā-

{18} fî al-nujûmi • ≈ Sharḥu zîjin ilkhāniyyin fî al-nujûmi • ≈ Sharḥu zîjin ilkhāniyyin

{19} al-musammā bi-Kashfī Zîj-i ilkhānī fî al-nujûmi • ≈ Kashfu ḥaqā'iqi zîjin ilkhāniyyin

¹⁸⁸ Euclides [Euclid].

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{1} fi sharhi Zīj-i ilkhānī bi-khaṭṭi shārihihi fi al-nujūmi • ≈ Sharḥu Zīj-i ‘Alī

{2} al-Qūshjī -raḥimahu Allāhu ta‘ālā- bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-nujūmi •

[3–9 are blank]

[10] ≈ Tarjamatu Risālati al-jaybi bi-al-turkiyyati min qibali al-hay’ati wa-al-nujūmi •

{11} ≈ Kashfu al-raybi fi ‘amali al-jaybi min qibali al-hay’ati wa-al-nujūmi • ≈ Risālatu [al-] kāfiyati

{12} fi al-ḥisābi wa- ~ Risālatu sī faṣl bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-nujūmi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{13} ≈ Kitābu al-hidāyati fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati wa- ~ Sharḥu Kitābi al-Chaghminī fi al-hay’ati

{14} wa- ~ Sī faṣl li-Khwāja Naṣīr fi al-nujūmi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{15} ≈ Kifāyatu al-ta‘līmī fi al-nujūmi • ≈ Kitābu al-mukhtārī min kutubi al-ikhtiyārāti

{16} al-falakiyyati fi al-nujūmi • ≈ Kifāyatu al-ta‘līmī fi al-nujūmi •

{17} ≈ al-Kitābu al-bārī‘u fi aḥkāmi al-nujūmi • ≈ Kitābu Kūshiyār fi

{18} aḥkāmi al-nujūmi wa- ~ Tarjamatu Kitābi thamarati Baṭlamyūs bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-nujūmi [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] •

{19} ≈ Kitābu madkhali al-nujūmi wa- ~ Kitābu zubdati al-ramli wa- ~ Kitābu ṭālī‘i al-waqtī

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{1} fi al-nujūmi • ≈ Kitābu madkhali al-nujūmi wa- ~ Kitābu uṣūli al-malāḥimi min

{2} qibali al-nujūmi • ≈ Risālatu tashriḥi al-ālāti min qibali al-nujūmi •

{3} ≈ Kitābu tarjamati Kitābi ṣuwari al-kawākibi bi-al-fārisiyyati al-marqūmu bi-annahu

{4} bi-khaṭṭi mutarjimihi alladhī huwa al-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fi al-nujūmi • ≈ Risālatu wilādati

{5} Jam (Cem) -raḥimahu Allāhu- wa-huwa Ibn Meḥemmed Khān -ṭāba tharāhumā- fi al-nujūmi •

{6} ≈ Kitābu madkhalin manzūmin fi aḥkāmi al-nujūmi wa- ~ Risālatu sī faṣl fi al-nujūmi

{7} wa- ~ Risālatu al-uṣṭurlābi min qibali al-nujūmi fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{8} ≈ Kitābun fihi arba‘u maqālātīn fi aḥkāmi al-nujūmi wa- ~ Risālatu al-uṣṭurlābi

{9} min qibali al-nujūmi [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Mukhtaṣaru madkhalin ilā ‘ilmi aḥkāmi al-nujūmi wa-

{10} ~ Tarjamatu al-Mukhtaṣari al-madkhali ilā aḥkāmi al-nujūmi bi-al-fārisiyyati •

{11} ≈ Kitābu al-‘amali bi-al-uṣṭurlābi li-‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī wa- ~ Risālatun fi

{12} al-‘amali bi-al-uṣṭurlābi al-kurri li-Ḥāmid bin ‘Alī min qibali al-nujūmi fi

- {13} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu manhajī al-ṭullābi fī ‘amali al-uṣṭurlābi
 {14} min qibali al-nujūmi • ≈ Kitābu al-aṣli fī ‘ilmi al-nujūmi wa-sarā’iri al-asrāri
 {15} li-Abī Ma’shar al-Balkhī al-munajjimi • ≈ Mukhtaṣarun fī ma’rifati al-uṣṭurlābi
 {16} li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī min qibali al-nujūmi wa- ~ Risālatu al-bābi al-sābi‘i min
 {17} kitābi Qusṭā fī al-‘amali bi-al-kurati wa- ~ Rasā’ilu fī al-farqi bayna al-ḍādi
 {18} wa-al-zā’i min qibali ‘ilmi al-qirā’ati wa- ~ Rasā’ilu ukhrā fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
 {19} ≈ Sharḥu Bīst bāb fī ma’rifati uṣṭurlābi min qibali ‘ilmi al-nujūmi •

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- {1} ≈ Ikhtiyārātu al-aḥkāmi al-‘alā’iyyati fī al-nujūmi • ≈ Ikhtiyāru al-aḥkāmi
 {2} al-‘alā’iyyati fī al-nujūmi • ≈ Risālatu bīst bāb fī ma’rifati al-uṣṭurlābi
 {3} wa- ~ Risālatu sī faṣl fī al-nujūmi wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-rub‘i al-mujayyabi wa- ~ Risālatun
 {4} fī al-rub‘i min qibali al-nujūmi [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Kitābu jāmi‘i al-mabādī wa-al-ghāyāti
 {5} ma’a nuqṣāni al-fanni al-rābi‘i min al-ākhirī fī mujalladayni fī al-nujūmi •
 {6} ≈ Kitābu jāmi‘i al-mabādī wa-al-ghāyāti fī mujalladayni fī al-nujūmi •
 {7} ≈ Risālatu mūdihī al-awqāti fī al-nujūmi • ≈ Tuḥfatu al-fuqarā’i fī rub‘i
 {8} al-dā’irati min qibali al-nujūmi • ≈ Sharḥu Bīst bāb fī ma’rifati al-uṣṭurlābi
 {9} fī al-nujūmi wa- ~ Risālatun fī kayfiyyati al-‘amali bi-al-uṣṭurlābi al-kurri [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] •
 {10} ≈ Muḥmalu al-ikhtiyārāti fī al-nujūmi • ≈ Zubdatu al-hay’ati wa-Sī faṣl bi-al-fārisiyyati
 {11} fī al-nujūmi [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Kitābu al-ikhtiyārāti al-‘alā’iyyati fī al-nujūmi wa- ~ Kitābu
 {12} al-dalā’ili fī aḥkāmi al-nujūmi [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Risālatu tabyīni al-awqāti
 {13} fī ma’rifati waḍ‘i al-rukhāmāti min qibali al-nujūmi • ≈ Kitābu jāmi‘i
 {14} qawānīni ‘ilmi al-hay’ati wa- ~ Rasā’ilu min qibali al-nujūmi wa-ghayrihi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
 {15} ≈ Kitābu yawāqīti al-mawāqīti min qibali al-nujūmi • ≈ Kitābu al-mi’ati wa-al-‘ishrīna
 {16} fī ḥisābi al-ḍarbi min qibali al-nujūmi • ≈ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati
 {17} fī al-nujūmi wa-al-ṭibbi • ≈ Sharḥu al-ṣafā’ihī al-āfāqiyyati fī al-nujūmi •
 {18} ≈ Tarjamatu Kitābi thamarati Baṭlamyūs bi-al-fārisiyyati fī aḥkāmi al-nujūmi •
 {19} ≈ Kitābu al-tafhīmi fī al-nujūmi • ≈ Kitābu al-jadwali al-āfāqī fī

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- {1} al-nujūmi • ≈ Tarjamatu kitābi al-jadwali al-āfāqī bi-al-turkiyyati fī al-nujūmi •
- {2} ≈ Kitābu jadwali tashīli al-qamari wa-jadwali tashīli ‘uṭārīdi li-‘Imād al-Dīn
- {3} al-Bukhārī fī al-nujūmi • ≈ Kitābu al-mudhākarāti ‘an Abī Ma’shar al-Balkhī fī aḥkāmi
- {4} al-nujūmi • ≈ Kitābu walādati Iskandar bin ‘Umar Shaykh bin Amīr Taymūr
- {5} min qibali al-nujūmi • ≈ Kitābu mi’yār-i āftāb fī sharḥi Bist bāb
- {6} fī ma’rifati uṣṭurlābi fī al-nujūmi • ≈ Kitābu ṭālī’i wilādati Sulṭān
- {7} Meḥemmed bin Sulṭān Murād -ṭāba tharāhumā wa-ja’ala al-jannata mathwāhumā- min qibali al-nujūmi •
- {8} ≈ Kitābu Kūshiyār fī aḥkāmi al-nujūmi wa- ~ Kitābu burhāni hay’ati falakin wa- ~ Risālatāni
- {9} min qibali al-nujūmi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu Ikhwāni al-ṣafā[’i] fī
- {10} funūni al-‘ulūmi ka-al-riyāḍiyyāti mithla ‘ilmi al-‘adadi wa-al-handasati wa-al-nujūmi
- {11} wa-ghayrihā • ≈ Kitābu Ikhwāni al-ṣafā[’i] fī funūni al-‘ulūmi ka-al-riyāḍiyyāti
- {12} mithla ‘ilmi al-‘adadi wa-al-handasati wa-al-nujūmi wa-ghayrihā • ≈ Kitābu Ikhwāni
- {13} al-ṣafā[’i] fī funūni al-‘ulūmi ka-al-riyāḍiyyāti mithla ‘ilmi al-‘adadi wa-al-handasati
- {14} wa-al-nujūmi wa-ghayrihā • ≈ Kitābu Ikhwāni al-ṣafā[’i] fī thalāthi mujalladātin •
- {15} ≈ Risālatun fī kayfiyyati al-‘amali bi-al-uṣṭurlābi al-kurri li-kulli ‘arḍin fī al-nujūmi •
- {16} ≈ Kitābu al-‘amali bi-al-kurati fī al-nujūmi • ≈ Jāmi’u al-qismayni min al-riyāḍi
- {17} wa-al-ṭabī’ī fī al-nujūmi wa-al-ṭibb • ≈ Sharḥu Sī faṣl al-musammā bi-Muwaḍḍiḥi
- {18} al-rusūmi fī ‘ilmi al-nujūmi • ≈ Kitābu al-Ṣūfi fī al-‘amali bi-al-kurati wa- ~ Kitābun
- {19} fī ma’rifati al-uṣṭurlābi al-musattāḥi wa-kitābun fī al-‘amali bi-al-uṣṭurlābi al-kurri

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- {1} wa- ~ Riṣālatu al-uṣṭurlābi wa- ~ Kitābun fī al-‘amali bi-al-kurati wa- ~ Kitābu al-Bīrūnī
- {2} fī isti’ābi al-wujūhi al-mumkinati fī ṣan’ati al-uṣṭurlābi min qibali al-nujūmi
- {3} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Riṣālatu al-uṣṭurlābi al-musammā bi-al-Lubābi fī al-nujūmi •
- {4} Riṣālatu aḥkāmi ṭulū’i al-shi’rā naqlan ‘an Idrīs al-nabī -‘alayhi al-salāmu-
- {5} fī ‘ilmi al-nujūmi • ≈ Riṣālatu ma’rifati al-irtifā’i bi-ghayri al-uṣṭurlābi
- {6} fī al-nujūmi • ≈ Riṣālatu al-‘amali bi-al-kurati al-falakiyyati li-Qusṭā fī al-nujūmi wa-
- {7} ~ Riṣālatu al-uṣṭurlābi al-kurri wa- ~ Riṣālatu al-uṣṭurlābi wa-Riṣālatu al-‘amali
- {8} bi-al-rub’i al-mawḍū’i fihi al-muqanṭarātu fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-aḥkāmi

- {9} al-‘alā’iyyati bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-nujūmi • ≈ Bustānu al-ḥikmatī fī ikhtiyārāti
 {10} al-nujūmi • ≈ Kitābu al-tafhīmi fī al-nujūmi • ≈ Kitābu al-tafhīmi fī al-nujūmi •
 {11} ≈ Khamsu rasā’ila fī al-‘amali bi-al-rub’i wa- ~ Risālatu Qusṭā fī al-‘amali bi-al-kurati dhāti
 {12} al-kursī fī al-nujūmi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-‘amali bi-al-uṣṭurlābi li-l-Ṣūfī
 {13} wa- ~ Risālatu al-‘amali bi-al-kurati li-l-Shaykh al-Mu’ayyad fī al-nujūmi [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Kitābu al-tafhīmi
 {14} bi-al-‘arabiyyati fī al-nujūmi • ≈ Kitābu al-masā’ili li-l-Qaṣrānī fī ‘ilmi aḥkāmi
 {15} al-nujūmi • ≈ Kitābu al-masā’ili li-l-Qaṣrānī fī ‘ilmi aḥkāmi al-nujūmi •
 {16} ≈ Kitābu al-masā’ili li-l-Qaṣrānī fī ‘ilmi aḥkāmi al-nujūmi •
 {17} ≈ Kitābu al-masā’ili li-l-Qaṣrānī fī ‘ilmi aḥkāmi al-nujūmi • ≈ Sharḥu Thamarati
 {18} Baṭlamyūs fī aḥkāmi al-nujūmi • ≈ Kitāb al-ikhtiyārāti bi-al-‘arabiyyati
 {19} al-manẓūmati fī aḥkāmi al-nujūmi • ≈ Majmū’atu rasā’ili Ibn al-Haytham ba’ḍuhā

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- {1} fī samti al-qiblati wa-ba’ḍuhā fī khaṭṭi niṣfi al-nahāri wa-ba’ḍuhā fī irtifā’i
 {2} al-quṭbi min qibali al-nujūmi • ≈ Sī faṣl bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-nujūmi wa- ~ Madkhal-i
 {3} manẓūm fī al-nujūmi wa- ~ Rasā’ilu ukhrā fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Majmū’atun min rasā’ila
 {4} fī ‘amali al-ṣafihāti wa-‘amali al-uṣṭurlābi wa-ghayriḥā • ≈ Tarjamatu Risālati
 {5} al-ṣafā’ihī al-āfāqiyyati bi-al-turkiyyati min qibali al-nujūmi • ≈ Risālatu wilādati
 {6} Shāh-zādah-i¹⁸⁹ a’zam-i Meḥemmed bin Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn Sulṭān Bāyezīd Khān
 {7} -zādah Allāhu ta’āla sa’ādahumā fī al-dārayni- min qibali al-nujūmi •
 {8} ≈ Tarjamatu Thamarati Baṭlamyūs bi-al-fārisiyyati fī aḥkāmi al-nujūmi • ≈ Sharḥu Sī faṣl
 {9} fī al-nujūmi • ≈ Sī faṣl bi-al-‘arabiyyati fī al-nujūmi • ≈ Ṭālī’i wilādati
 {10} Meḥemmed Khān bin Murād Khān -ṭāba tharāhumā wa-ja’ala al-jannata mathwāhumā- min qibali
 {11} al-nujūmi • ≈ Kitābu Idrīs al-nabī -‘alayhi al-salāmu- fī aḥkāmi shi’rā
 {12} fī al-nujūmi • ≈ Sharḥu Bīst bāb fī al-uṣṭurlābi •
 {13} ≈ Risālatu baḥṭhi azlālī al-maqāyisi min qibali al-nujūmi • ≈ Kitābu al-azmāni
 {14} wa-al-shuhūri min qibali al-nujūmi • ≈ Risālatun fārisiyyatun fī al-uṣṭurlābi •

¹⁸⁹ The manuscript has a clear indication for the Persian *ezāfe* here; there is no *ezāfe* with the same name in 328 {1}.

- {15} ≈ Mukhtaşarun fî maʿrifati al-taqwîmi fî al-nujûmi • ≈ Kitâbun fârisiyyun maʿa
 {16} şuwari al-burûji wa-al-kawākibi fî al-nujûmi • ≈ Mukhtaşaru ʿAbd al-Raḥmān
 {17} al-Şûfî bi-al-fârisiyyati fî şuwari al-kawākibi • ≈ Kitābu bîst bâb
 {18} al-muḥashshâ fî al-nujûmi • ≈ Kitāb al-anwâʾi wa-al-azminati wa-maʿrifati aʿyāni
 {19} al-kawākibi fî al-nujûmi • ≈ Risālatun fî al-ʿamali bi-ashali âlatin min qibali al-nujûmi •

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- {1} ≈ Kitābu jadāwili al-tawārikhi wa-al-nujûmi • ≈ Risālatun fî ʿilmi al-uşṭurlābi
 {2} bi-al-ʿarabiyyati min qibali al-nujûmi • ≈ Kitābu al-istiʿābi fî ʿilmi al-uşṭurlābi
 {3} min qibali al-nujûmi • ≈ Tarjamatu Kitābi thamarati Baṭlamyūs fî aḥkāmi al-nujûmi
 {4} wa- ~ Kitābu Kūshiyār fî aḥkāmi al-nujûmi fî mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Majmūʿatun
 {5} min jadāwila awwaluhā jadwalu ṭabʿuhā burjahā min qibali al-nujûmi •
 {6} ≈ Muntakhabu Kitābi qirānāti Abī al-Maʿshar fî aḥkāmi al-nujûmi • ≈ Kitābu mujmali
 {7} al-uşṭulî fî aḥkāmi al-nujûmi • ≈ Risālatu al-uşṭurlābi al-zawraqī
 {8} min qibali al-nujûmi • ≈ Kitābu Idrīs al-nabī -ʿalayhi al-salāmu- fî
 {9} aḥkāmi ṭulūʾi shiʿrā fî aḥkāmi al-nujûmi • ≈ Risālatun fârisiyyatun
 {10} fî aḥkāmi al-nujûmi • ≈ Sharḥu Thamarati Baṭlamyūs fî aḥkāmi al-nujûmi •
 {11} ≈ Risālatun fî al-ḥisābi wa- ~ Kitābu al-shajaratî wa-al-thamarati fî aḥkāmi al-nujûmi [*fî mujalladin wāḥidin*] •
 {12} ≈ Majmūʿatun min rasāʾila fihā ~ Risālatu bîst bâb fî ʿamali al-uşṭurlābi fî
 {13} al-nujûmi wa- ~ Risālatun fî naẓmi Rashīd al-Dīn al-Waṭwāt fî ʿilmi al-ʿarūḍi •
 {14} ≈ Kitābu al-alwāḥi al-ʿimādiyyati fî al-ḥikmatî al-falsafiyyati wa- ~ Si faşl bi-al-ʿarabiyyati
 fî
 {15} al-nujûmi [*fî mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Risālatu al-maqālatî al-ḥādî ʿashara fî ʿamali
 al-uşṭurlābi
 {16} fî al-nujûmi • ≈ Risālatu Fattāḥî fî al-inshāʾi wa- ~ Risālatu al-ʿadadi bi-awḍāʾi
 {17} al-aşābiʾi wa- ~ Kitābu al-ʿamali bi-l-kurati fî al-nujûmi [*fî mujalladin wāḥidin*] •
 ≈ Muntakhabu Kitābi anwāri
 {18} al-jawāhiri fî manāzili al-qamari min qibali al-nujûmi wa- ~ Risālatun fî al-wafqi wa-
 ~ Risālatu
 {19} mukātabāt al-Shaykh Şadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī maʿa al-Naşir al-Ṭūsî [*fî mujalladin wāḥidin*] •

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- {1} ≈ Majmū‘atun min rasā’ila fi al-rub‘i min qibali al-nujūmi • ≈ Majmū‘atun awwaluhā
- {2} ḥalli shukūkin fi Kitāb-i Majistī fi al-hay’ati wa-ākhiruhā Sharḥu Sī faṣl fi
- {3} al-nujūmi • ≈ Majmū‘atun awwaluhā risālatun fi kayfiyyati al-irṣādi wa-fi
- {4} kayfiyyati ‘amali ālāti al-raṣadi wa-kayfiyyati isti‘mālihā min qibali al-nujūmi •
- {5} ≈ Majmū‘atun fi aḥkāmi al-nujūmi awwaluhā Kitābu Hurmus wa-huwa Idrīs al-nabī
- {6} -‘alayhi al-salāmu- wa-dhālika al-kitābu huwa al-ma‘rūfu bi-al-Tāji •
- {7} ≈ Majmū‘atun min rasā’ila fi aḥkāmi al-nujūmi wa-‘amali al-uṣṭurlābi wa-ghayrihi •
- {8} ≈ Muntakhabu Kitābi Abī Ma‘shar fi aḥkāmi al-nujūmi wa-ghayrihi min rasā’ili al-nujūmi •
- {9} ≈ Risālatun fi samti al-qiblāti min qibali al-hay’ati wa-al-nujūmi • ≈ Risālatun fi
- {10} al-hay’ati wa- ~ Risālatun fi al-darajī wa-al-daḡā’iqi fi al-nujūmi wa- ~ Risālatun fi
- {11} al-ḥisābi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu maqālāti Baṭlamyūs fi
- {12} al-qaḡā’i bi-al-nujūmi ‘alā al-ḡawādithi • ≈ Risālatun fi wilādati Sulṭān
- {13} Meḡemmed Khān bin Sulṭān Murād Khān -ṭayyaba Allāhu ta‘ālā tharāhumā- min qibali al-nujūmi •
- {14} ≈ Kitābu al-mi’ati wa-al-‘ishrīna fi ḥisābi al-ḡarbi min qibali al-nujūmi wa- ~ Risālatun
- {15} ‘alā ṭariqi al-su‘āli wa-al-jawābi fi al-nujūmi wa- ~ Rasā’ilu ukhrā fi mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {16} ≈ Sharḥu Sī faṣl bi-al-‘arabiyyati fi al-nūjūmi • ≈ Sharḥu Sī faṣl bi-al-‘arabiyyati
- {17} fi al-nūjūmi • ≈ Risālatun fi al-ālāti al-nujūmiyyati al-ghayri al-mashhūrati •
- {18} ≈ Kitābu Abī al-Rayḡhān al-Birūnī fi al-tafḡīmi li-awā’ili al-tanjīmi •
- {19} ≈ Risālatu tuḡfati al-faḡīri li-munajjimi Bālī fi rub‘i al-dā’irati •

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- {1} ≈ Kitābu jadwālin ‘uyyina fihi shuhūru al-kabīsati al-qamariyyati bi-sinīhā min qibali al-nujūmi •
- {2} ≈ Risālatun fi al-‘amali bi-al-basīṭati al-zilliyati fi al-nujūmi • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu
- {3} min tarjamati Kitābi Ikhwāni al-ṣafā’i bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-riyāḡdiyyāti
- {4} wa-ghayrihā • ≈ Mujalladun min Kitābi Ikhwāni al-ṣafā’i fi al-riyāḡdiyyāti
- {5} wa-ghayrihā • ≈ Risālatu al-‘amali bi-al-kurati dhāti al-kursī min qibali al-nujūmi •
- {6} ≈ Majmū‘atun min kutubin awwaluhā mukhtaṣaru Firdawsī al-ḡikmati wa- ~ Fihā Kitābu al-tabṣīrati

- {7} fī al-hay'ati wa- ~ Fihā Risālatu 'Alī bin 'Īsā fī al-uṣṭurlābi •
- {8} ≈ Majmū'atun min rasā'ila awwaluhā risālatun 'alā'īyyatun fī al-ḥisābi wa-thāniyatuhā
- {9} Risālatu al-muzhirāti fī al-'amali bi-al-muqanṭarāti wa-thālithuhā Risālatu kashfi
- {10} al-raybi fī al-'amali bi-al-jaybi • ≈ Risālatu al-'amali bi-al-kurati al-falakiyyati
- {11} min qibali al-nujūmi wa- ~ Kitābu da'āwā Uqlīdus min qibali al-handasati •
- {12} ≈ Kitābu al-ḥawāshī fī al-'ilmi al-riyāḍī • ≈ Risālatun min qibali al-nujūmi wa-
- {13} ~ Risālatun fī aḥkāmi al-nujūmi wa- ~ Kitābu al-shajarati wa-al-thamarati fī aḥkāmi al-nujūmi wa-
- {14} ~ Risālatu al-wafqī wa- ~ Kitābu al-ṣibyāni fī al-lughati fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {15} ≈ Kitābu Ibn Sīnā fī al-mantiqi wa-al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati wa- ~ Kitābu zubdati al-idrāki
- {16} fī al-hay'ati wa- ~ Risālatun fī 'ilmi aḥkāmi al-nujūmi wa- ~ Rasā'ilu ukhrā fī mujalladin
- {17} wāḥidin •
- [18, 19 are blank]

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[1-15 are blank]

- {16} ≈ Nihāyatu al-idrāki fī 'ilmi al-hay'ati • ≈ Kitābun fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābi
- {17} wa-Sharḥu al-Tadhkirati fī 'ilmi al-hay'ati fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu jahān-i¹⁹⁰
- {18} dānish bi-al-fārisiyyati tarjamatu al-Kifāyati fī 'ilmi al-hay'ati •
- {19} ≈ Kitābu al-tuḥfati al-shāhiyyati fī 'ilmi al-hay'ati • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu sharḥi al-Chaghminī

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- {1} fī 'ilmi al-hay'ati • ≈ Kitābu taḥrīri al-Majisṭī¹⁹¹ [*al-ma'rūfu bi-al-Majisṭī*] fī al-hay'ati • ≈ Kitābu faṣṣi
- {2} al-khātami fī hay'ati al-'ālamī fī al-hay'ati • ≈ Sharḥu al-Chaghminī fī 'ilmi al-hay'ati •
- {3} ≈ Risālatu al-kurati al-falakiyyati min qibali al-nujūmi • ≈ Kitābu Uqlīdus fī
- {4} al-handasati li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī • ≈ Kitābu Uqlīdus fī al-handasati •
- {5} ≈ Kitābu Abī al-Wafā' fīmā yaḥtāju ilayhi min a'māli al-handasati • ≈ Kitābu ṣuwari
- {6} al-kawākibi li-l-Ṣūfī min qibali al-handasati • ≈ Sharḥu Taḥrīri al-Majisṭī fī 'ilmi
- {7} al-hay'ati • ≈ Kitābu bayāni al-tadhkirati fī sharḥi al-Tadhkirati fī 'ilmi al-hay'ati •

¹⁹⁰ The manuscript has a *kasra*, reading *jihān*. In other places (e.g., 331 {12}) it is not noted.

¹⁹¹ Unclear if the manuscript vocalized it as *Mijastī*; the common reading is *Majisṭī* (Almagest [of Ptolemy]).

- {8} ≈ Sharḥu al-Chaghmīnī li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fī ‘ilmi al-hay’ati • ≈ Kitābu Uqlīdus
- {9} li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fī al-handasati • ≈ Sharḥu al-Tadhkirati fī ‘ilmi al-hay’ati •
- {10} ≈ Kitābu Uqlīdus fī al-handasati li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī • ≈ Kitābu nihāyati
- {11} al-idrāki fī dirāyati al-aflāki li-l-Shīrāzī fī al-hay’ati wa- ~ Sharḥu al-Risālati
- {12} ‘alā al-ḥarakati al-daḥrajati fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-tadhkirati fī ‘ilmi al-hay’ati •
- {13} ≈ Kitābu al-tadhkirati fī al-hay’ati wa- ~ Kitābu nihāyati al-idrāki fī al-hay’ati fī
- {14} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu al-Tadhkirati fī al-hay’ati • ≈ Nihāyatu al-idrāki
- {15} fī ‘ilmi al-hay’ati • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi al-Chaghmīnī li-l-Niksārī fī ‘ilmi
- {16} al-hay’ati • ≈ Risālatun mughniyatun¹⁹² fī ‘ilmi al-hay’ati wa- ~ Sharḥu al-Risālati
- {17} al-mughniyati wa- ~ Zubdatu al-hay’ati bi-al-fārisiyyati li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {18} ≈ Kitābu Uqlīdus li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fī al-handasati • ≈ Kitābu fa‘altu
- {19} fa-lā talum fī al-hay’ati • ≈ Tarjamatu al-Chaghmīnī bi-al-fārisiyyati fī ‘ilmi al-hay’ati •

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- {1} ≈ Kitāb-i jahān-i dānish bi-al-fārisiyyati fī ‘ilmi al-hay’ati • ≈ Kitābu fa‘altu
- {2} fa-lā talum fī ‘ilmi al-hay’ati • ≈ Kitābu al-tadhkirati fī al-hay’ati wa-sharḥu
- {3} al-Tadhkirati li-Niẓām al-Dīn fī al-hay’ati fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu al-Chaghmīnī fī
- {4} al-hay’ati wa-sharḥu al-Tadhkirati al-musammā bi-Bayāni al-Tadhkirati fī ‘ilmi al-hay’ati fī mujalladin
- {5} wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu al-Tadhkirati fī ‘ilmi al-hay’ati • ≈ Kitābu nihāyati al-idrāki
- {6} fī ‘ilmi al-hay’ati • ≈ Kitābu al-uṣūli al-aṣliyyati fī al-handasati •
- {7} ≈ Talkhiṣu al-makhrūṭāti fī al-handasati • ≈ Sharḥu al-Chaghmīnī li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf
- {8} fī al-hay’ati • ≈ Tarjamatu al-Chaghmīnī wa-sharḥihi bi-al-fārisiyyati fī ‘ilmi al-hay’ati •
- {9} ≈ Risālatun fī ‘ilmi al-hay’ati li-Mawlānā ‘Alī al-Qūshji [raḥimahū Allāhu] • ≈ Matnu ādābi
- {10} al-baḥṭhi fī ‘ilmi al-jadali wa- ~ Matnu al-Chaghmīnī fī ‘ilmi al-hay’ati fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {11} ≈ Tawḍīḥu al-tadhkirati fī sharḥi al-Tadhkirati fī ‘ilmi al-hay’ati • ≈ Risālatu Mawlānā

¹⁹² This is an alternative title for *Risālat al-Muʿniyya* by al-Ṭūsī, written (632/1235) for Muʿin al-Dīn Abū l-Shams, cf. F. J. Ragep, ed. and trans., *Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī’s Memoir on Astronomy (al-Tadhkira fī ‘ilm al-hay’a)* (New York: Springer, 1993), 65.

- {12} Qūshjī bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-hay'ati wa- ~ Risālatun fārisiyyatun fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābi
 {13} wa-sharḥu Ashkāli al-ta'sisi li-Qāḍī-zādah al-Rūmī fī al-handasati
 {14} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu Uqlīdus li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fī al-handasati
 {15} wa- ~ Sharḥu al-maqālati al-'āshirati min Kitābi Uqlīdus¹⁹³ li-l-Ahwāzī fī
 {16} al-handasati wa- ~ Risālatun fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
 {17} ≈ Ḥāshiyatu sharḥi Ashkāli al-ta'sisi li-Mawlānā al-marḥūmi Quṭb al-Dīn
 {18} Çelebi -ṭāba tharāhu- fī al-handasati • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu sharḥi al-Chaghmīnī fī al-hay'ati •
 {19} ≈ Kitābu al-tadhkirati fī al-hay'ati wa-sharḥu al-Tadhkirati li-Niẓām al-Dīn fī al-hay'ati
 [fī mujalladin wāḥidin] •

[328]

- {1} ≈ Kitābun fī al-hay'ati wa-sharḥu al-Chaghmīnī li-Qāḍī-zādah al-Rūmī fī al-hay'ati fī
 {2} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu al-Chaghmīnī li-Qāḍī-zādah al-Rūmī fī al-hay'ati •
 {3} ≈ Sharḥu al-Chaghmīnī li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fī al-hay'ati • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu sharḥi al-Ṭawālī'i
 {4} li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fī 'ilmi al-kalāmi wa-sharḥu al-Chaghmīnī li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fī
 al-hay'ati [fī mujalladin wāḥidin] •
 {5} ≈ Kitābu al-dawā'iri fī 'ilmi al-hay'ati • ≈ Sharḥu al-Tadhkirati li-Niẓām al-Dīn fī al-
 hay'ati •
 {6} ≈ Kitābu al-tabṣirati fī 'ilmi al-hay'ati • ≈ Risālatu fāl-i Qur'ān wa- ~ Kitāb-i jahān-i
 {7} dānish fī al-hay'ati wa- ~ Risālatun fārisiyyatun fī munāẓarati Baghdād wa-Iṣfahān
 {8} wa- ~ Risālatu munsha'āti al-Ṣāḥibi al-marḥūmi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Ithnāni min
 sharḥi
 {9} al-Tabṣirati bi-khaṭṭi mu'allifihi Muḥammad bin Mubārak-Shāh fī al-hay'ati fī mujalladin
 wāḥidin •
 {10} ≈ Fatḥu al-faṭḥiyyati fī sharḥi al-Faṭḥiyyati fī al-hay'ati • ≈ Mulakhkhaṣun li-l-Chaghmīnī
 fī
 {11} al-hay'ati • ≈ Kitābu al-mulakhkhaṣi al-mashhūru bi-Matni Chaghmīnī fī al-hay'ati •
 {12} ≈ Risālatu al-'amali bi-dhāti al-ḥalaqi fī 'ilmi al-hay'ati • ≈ Sharḥu kitābi
 {13} al-Chaghmīnī li-Qāḍī-zādah al-Rūmī fī 'ilmi al-hay'ati • ≈ Sharḥu kitābi
 {14} al-Chaghmīnī li-Qāḍī-zādah al-Rūmī fī al-hay'ati wa- ~ Risālatu al-'ishqi bi-al-fārisiyyati
 {15} wa- ~ al-Risālatu al-shamsiyyatu fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu kitābi

¹⁹³ The manuscript has an erroneous *kasra*, reading Uqlīdis (see also 328 {19}, 329 {4}, 331 {18}) unless the *kasra* is intended as a case ending and is placed prematurely.

{16} al-Chaghmīnī li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fī al-hay'ati wa- ~ Sharḥu kitābi al-Chaghmīnī fī al-hay'ati [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] •

{17} ≈ Kitābu 'umdati khūrazmshāhī fī al-hay'ati • ≈ Kitābu taḥrīr-i Majisṭī

{18} min qibali al-hay'ati • ≈ Sharḥu Taḥrīr-i Majisṭī fī 'ilmi al-hay'ati •

{19} ≈ Kitābu al-tajrīdī fī uṣūli al-handasati wa- ~ Kitābu Uqlīdis wa- ~ Kitābu al-kifāyati

[329]

{1} fī 'ilmi al-ḥisābi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu sharḥi Qāḍī-zādah li-l-Chaghmīnī

{2} fī al-hay'ati • ≈ Sharḥu Mulakhkhaṣi al-Chaghmīnī li-Qāḍī-zādah al-Rūmī fī al-hay'ati •

{3} ≈ Sharḥu Mulakhkhaṣi al-Chaghmīnī li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fī al-hay'ati • ≈ Thulthu jumalin min Kitābi

{4} durrati al-tāji fī al-manṭiqi wa-al-falsafati wa- ~ Tarjamatu Kitābi Uqlīdis min Kitābi

{5} durrati al-tāji fī al-handasati [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Kitābu al-tabṣirati fī 'ilmi al-hay'ati •

{6} ≈ Tarjamatu sharḥi al-Sayyid al-Sharīf li-Kitābi al-Chaghmīnī bi-al-turkiyyati fī al-hay'ati •

{7} ≈ Kitābu taḥrīri al-Majisṭī min qibali al-hay'ati • ≈ Taḥrīru Majisṭī min qibali al-hay'ati •

{8} ≈ Kitābu Uqlīdis li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fī al-handasati • ≈ Kitābu Uqlīdis

{9} li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fī al-handasati • ≈ Tawḍīḥu al-tadhkirati fī sharḥi al-Tadhkirati

{10} bi-khaṭṭi mu'allifihi Nizām al-Dīn fī al-hay'ati • ≈ Sharḥu al-Tadhkirati fī al-hay'ati •

{11} ≈ Sharḥu kitāb-i Majisṭī-yi Baṭlamyūs fī al-hay'ati wa- ~ Sharḥun ākharu lahu ayḍan fī al-hay'ati

{12} wa- ~ Risālatun fī kayfiyyati al-raṣadi bi-al-ālāti fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{13} ≈ Kitābu al-tabṣirati fī 'ilmi al-hay'ati • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu¹⁹⁴ sharḥi Mulakhkhaṣi al-Chaghmīnī fī

{14} al-hay'ati • ≈ Sharḥu Ashkāli al-ta'sīsi fī al-handasati • ≈ Sharḥu

{15} Taḥrīr-i Majisṭī al-musammā bi-Tafsīri al-Taḥrīri fī al-hay'ati • ≈ Zubdatu al-hay'ati

{16} fī 'ilmi al-hay'ati • ≈ Sharḥu Mulakhkhaṣi al-Chaghmīnī li-Qāḍī-zādah al-Rūmī fī

{17} 'ilmi al-hay'ati • ≈ Kitābu Thābit bin Qurra fī al-nisbati al-mu'allafati wa- ~ Sharḥu

{18} al-Shakli al-mulaqqabi bi-al-qatṭā'i min kitābi Majisṭī¹⁹⁵ fī al-hay'ati wa- ~ Risālatu

{19} Thābit bin Qurra fī al-shakli al-mulaqqabi bi-al-quṭā'i min kitābi Majisṭī fī al-hay'ati

¹⁹⁴ The manuscript has an erroneous *kasra* for the case ending.

¹⁹⁵ The manuscript has a *ḍamma* above the *qāf* in *qatṭā'*, reading *quṭā'*, and vocalizes Majisṭī as *Mujasṭī*.

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- {1} fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-tuḥfati al-shāhiyyati fi ‘ilmi al-hay’ati •
- {2} ≈ Kitābu al-tuḥfati al-shāhiyyati fi ‘ilmi al-hay’ati • ≈ Kitābu al-tuḥfati al-shāhiyyati
- {3} li-l-Quṭb al-Shīrāzī fi ‘ilmi al-hay’ati • ≈ Sharḥu al-Tadhkirati al-musammā bi-Tawḍīḥi
- {4} al-tadhkirati fi ‘ilmi al-hay’ati • ≈ Sharḥu al-Tadhkirati al-musammā bi-Tawḍīḥi al-tadhkirati
- {5} fi ‘ilmi al-hay’ati • ≈ Kitābu Uqlīdus li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fi al-handasati
- {6} wa- ~ Rasā’ilu muta’alliqatun bi-ba’di mawāḍi’i kitābi Uqlīdus fi al-handasati
- {7} fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu al-Tadhkirati fi ‘ilmi al-hay’ati •
- {8} ≈ Kitābu Ablūniyūs¹⁹⁶ fi al-makhrūṭati fi ‘ilmi al-handasati • ≈ Kitābu Ablūniyūs
- {9} fi al-makhrūṭati fi ‘ilmi al-handasati • ≈ Kitābu taḥrīr-i Majisṭī li-l-Naṣīr
- {10} al-Ṭūsī fi al-hay’ati • ≈ Sharḥu Mulakhkhaṣi al-Chaghminī li-Qāḍī-zādah
- {11} al-Rūmī fi al-hay’ati wa- ~ Rasā’ilu ukhrā fi mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {12} ≈ Kitābu al-tuḥfati al-shāhiyyati bi-al-‘arabiyyati fi ‘ilmi al-hay’ati • ≈ Majmū‘atun fiḥā kutubu
- {13} al-handasati wa-al-hay’ati wa-ghayrihimā • ≈ Kitābu taḥrīr-i Majisṭī li-l-Naṣīr
- {14} al-Ṭūsī fi al-hay’ati • ≈ Sharḥu Mulakhkhaṣi al-Chaghminī li-Qāḍī-zādah al-Rūmī
- {15} fi al-hay’ati • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu sharḥi Qāḍī-zādah al-Rūmī li-l-Chaghminī fi al-hay’ati •
- {16} ≈ Sharḥu Qāḍī-zādah al-Rūmī li-l-Chaghminī fi al-hay’ati • ≈ Sharḥu al-Tuḥfati al-shāhiyyati
- {17} fi ‘ilmi al-hay’ati • ≈ Kitābu al-tuḥfati al-shāhiyyati fi ‘ilmi al-hay’ati •
- {18} ≈ Sharḥu Ashkāli al-ta’sisi fi al-handasati • ≈ Sharḥu Mulakhkhaṣi al-Chaghminī
- {19} al-musammā bi-Ṭurari al-Mulakhkhaṣi fi al-hay’ati bi-khaṭṭi mu’allifihi • ≈ Sharḥu Mulakhkhaṣi al-Chaghminī

[331]

- {1} li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fi ‘ilmi al-hay’ati • ≈ Taḥrīr-i Majisṭī fi ‘ilmi al-hay’ati •
- {2} ≈ Kitābu al-tuḥfati al-shāhiyyati fi ‘ilmi al-hay’ati • ≈ Majmū‘atun min al-Mutawassitāti
- {3} wa-ghayrihā min qibali al-handasati wa-al-hay’ati • ≈ Ḥawāshī al-Tuḥfati al-shāhiyyati
- {4} fi al-hay’ati • ≈ Mulakhkhaṣu al-Chaghminī fi al-hay’ati wa-sharḥuhu li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf
- {5} fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatu Mawlānā ‘Alī al-Qūshjī bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-hay’ati •
- {6} • ≈ Sharḥu al-Qaṣīdati al-gharrā’i fi ḥarakāti al-aflāki min qibali al-hay’ati •

¹⁹⁶ Apollonius [of Perga].

- {7} ≈ al-Qaṣīdatu al-gharrā'u fi ḥarakāti al-aflāki min qibali al-hay'ati •
- {8} ≈ Kitābu Ablūniyūs fi al-makhrūṭāti taṣaffuḥi Abī al-Ḥusayn fi al-handasati •
- {9} ≈ Majmū'atun fihā Kitābu Uqlīdus li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fi al-handasati wa- ~ Rasā'ili
- {10} ukhrā fi al-handasati wa-ghayrihā fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Majmū'atun min
- {11} kutubi al-hay'ati wa-al-handasati awwaluhā Kitābu Ablūniyūs • ≈ Kitābu
- {12} talkhīṣi al-makhrūṭāti fi al-handasati • ≈ Kitābu jahān-i dānish fi
- {13} al-hay'ati • ≈ Sharḥu al-Tadhkirati bi-khaṭṭi al-shāriḥi fi al-hay'ati •
- {14} ≈ Risālatun fi al-tashwīqi ilā al-ḥayāti al-dā'imati wa- ~ Risālatu al-barkāri al-tāmmi
- {15} min qibali al-handasati [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Majmū'atun min rasā'ili Abī al-Futūḥ awwaluhā
- {16} fi al-shakli al-rābi'i fi al-mantiqi wa- ~ al-Bāqiyatu fi al-handasiyyāti •
- {17} ≈ Majmū'atun min al-Mutawassiṭāti wa-ghayrihā fi al-handasiyyāti • ≈ Majmū'atun fihā
- {18} Kitābu Uqlīdus wa-al-Mutawassiṭātu fi al-handasiyyāti wa- ~ Kitābu taḥrīri
- {19} al-Majisṭī fi al-hay'ati wa-al-Tadhkiratu fi al-hay'ati fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

[332]

- {1} ≈ Ikhtiyārātun muẓaffariyyatun fi al-hay'ati wa- ~ Mukhtaṣarun fi al-hay'ati wa- ~ Risālatun mughniyatun
- {2} fi al-hay'ati [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Matnu ashkāli al-ta'sisi fi al-handasati wa- ~ Sharḥu Ashkāli
- {3} al-ta'sisi li-Qāḍī-zādah al-Rūmī fi al-handasati wa- ~ Matnu ḥikmati al-hidāyati
- {4} fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ al-Risālatu al-mu'iniyyatu bi-al-fārisiyyati fi al-hay'ati •
- {5} ≈ Sharḥu al-Tuḥfati al-shāhiyyati fi al-hay'ati • ≈ Sharḥu al-Tuḥfati al-shāhiyyati
- {6} li-Mawlānā 'Alī al-Qūshjī bi-khaṭṭihi fi al-hay'ati • ≈ Sharḥu Ashkāli al-ta'sisi
- {7} fi al-handasati wa-sharḥu al-Chaghminī li-Qāḍī-zādah al-Rūmī fi al-hay'ati [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] •
- {8} ≈ Ḥāshiyatu sharḥi al-Chaghminī fi al-hay'ati • ≈ Majmū'atun min rasā'ila
- {9} fi al-handasati wa-ghayrihā • ≈ Risālatun 'arabiyyatun fi al-hay'ati •
- {10} ≈ Majmū'atun min rasā'ili Ibn al-Haytham wa- ~ Fihā Kitābu Ablūniyus fi al-makhrūṭāti
- {11} fi al-handasati • ≈ Risālatun fathīyyatun fi 'ilmi al-hay'ati wa- ~ Risālatun muḥammadiyyatun
- {12} fi 'ilmi al-ḥisābi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Talkhīṣu al-Makhrūṭāti fi al-handasati
- {13} wa- ~ Risālatu al-ḥisābi wa- ~ Kitābu mi'yāri al-ash'āri wa- ~ Kitābu zubdati al-hay'ati

{14} wa-rasā'ilu ukhrā fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābun 'ajībun fi al-hay'ati

{15} wa- ~ Risālatun ukhrā fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābun 'ajībun fi al-hay'ati

{16} wa- ~ Risālatun ukhrā fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

[17–19 are blank]

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[1–7 are blank]

{8} ≈ Kitābu asāsi al-qawā'idi fi uṣūli al-fawā'idi fi 'ilmi al-ḥisābi •

{9} ≈ Risālatun fārisiyyatun fi 'ilmi al-ḥisābi wa- ~ Kitābu ghunyati al-ḥussābi fi 'ilmi al-ḥisābi

{10} fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu asāsi al-qawā'idi fi sharḥi al-Fawā'idi al-bahā'iyyati

{11} fi 'ilmi al-ḥisābi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Ṣalāḥi fi 'ilmi al-ḥisābi •

{12} ≈ Kitābu al-īdāḥi fi sharḥi al-Fawā'idi al-bahā'iyyati fi 'ilmi al-ḥisābi •

{13} ≈ Kitāb al-bāhiri fi 'ilmi al-ḥisābi • ≈ Kitābu asāsi al-qawā'idi

{14} fi sharḥi al-Fawā'idi al-bahā'iyyati fi 'ilmi al-ḥisābi • ≈ Sharḥu risālatin fi

{15} 'ilmi al-ḥisābi • ≈ Kitābu al-kāfi fi 'ilmi al-ḥisābi wa- ~ Sharḥu al-Kāfi fi

{16} 'ilmi al-ḥisābi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu al-Shamsiyyati fi 'ilmi al-ḥisābi •

{17} ≈ Kitābu asāsi al-qawā'idi fi sharḥi al-Fawā'idi al-bahā'iyyati fi 'ilmi al-ḥisābi •

{18} ≈ Risālatun fārisiyyatun fi 'ilmi al-ḥisābi wa- ~ Tarjamatu Khwāja Ṣafī al-Dīn bi-al-fārisiyyati

{19} fi 'ilmi al-mūsīqī fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatun fi 'ilmi al-ḥisābi •

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{1} ≈ Risālatun fārisiyyatun fi 'ilmi al-ḥisābi • ≈ Sharḥu al-Shamsiyyati bi-al-fārisiyyati

{2} fi 'ilmi al-ḥisābi • ≈ Risālatu ajwibati Ibn Sīnā li-masā'ili Abī al-Rayḥān

{3} wa- ~ al-Risālatu al-'alā'iyyatu fi al-masā'ili al-ḥisābiyyati fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{4} ≈ al-Risālatu al-'alā'iyyatu fi al-ḥisābi • ≈ Kitābun bi-al-'arabiyyati fi al-ḥisābi •

{5} ≈ al-Risālatu al-shamsiyyatu fi al-ḥisābi wa- ~ Risālatun kāfiyatun fi al-ḥisābi fi

{6} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu al-Mukhtaṣari al-Ṣalāḥi fi al-ḥisābi •

{7} ≈ Risālatun fi al-ḥisābi • ≈ Iqnā'un fi al-misāḥati min qibali al-ḥisābi •

{8} ≈ al-Risālatu al-shamsiyyatu fi 'ilmi al-ḥisābi • ≈ Kitābu al-lubābi fi al-ḥisābi •

{9} ≈ Risālatun fārisiyyatun fi al-siyāqati min qibali 'ilmi al-ḥisābi •

{10} ≈ Kitābu miftāḥi al-ḥisābi fi 'ilmi al-ḥisābi • ≈ Sharḥun mukhtaṣarun fi

- {11} al-ḥisābi • ≈ Kitābu al-muʿjizāti al-najībiyyati fī sharḥi al-Risālati al-ʿalāʾiyyati
 {12} fī al-ḥisābi • ≈ Mushkil-gushāy-i ḥussāb fī ʿilmi al-ḥisābi •
 {13} ≈ Tarjamatu al-Risālati al-shamsiyyati bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-ḥisābi •
 {14} ≈ al-Risālatu al-niẓāmiyyatu fī al-ḥisābi • ≈ Kitābu idāḥi al-maqāṣidi
 {15} fī sharḥi al-Fawāʾidi al-bahāʾiyyati fī ʿilmi al-ḥisābi wa- ~ Sharḥu Mantīqi al-maṭālīʾi
 {16} li-l-ʿAllāma [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Majmūʿatun fihā Kitābu jāmiʿi uṣūli al-ḥisābi
 {17} wa- ~ Kitābu ʿumdati al-kuttābi • ≈ al-Risālatu al-ʿimādiyyatu fī al-ṭuruqi
 {18} al-ḥisābiyyati • ≈ Risālatu al-fawāʾidi al-bahāʾiyyati fī ʿilmi al-ḥisābi •
 {19} ≈ Mukhtaṣaru al-Ṣalāḥi fī al-ḥisābi wa- ~ Sharḥu Mukhtaṣari al-Ṣalāḥi fī al-ḥisābi

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- {1} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatu Abī Ṭāhir al-Sijāwandī¹⁹⁷ bi-al-ʿarabiyyati fī
 {2} al-ḥisābi • ≈ Miftāḥu al-muʿāmalāti fī ʿilmi al-ḥisābi •
 {3} ≈ Sharḥu Bahāʾiyyatin fī al-ḥisābi • ≈ Kitābu miftāḥi¹⁹⁸ al-ḥisābi •
 {4} ≈ Madkhalu Babūs¹⁹⁹ fī al-ḥiyali ka-jarri al-athqālī wa- ~ Kitābu ʿumdati al-ḥussābi
 wa- ~ Kitābu
 {5} quṣṭāsi al-muʿādalati fī ʿilmi al-jabri wa-al-muqābalati [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Risālatun
 fī maʿrifati
 {6} al-ḥisābi al-hindī • ≈ Risālatu al-jabri wa-al-muqābalati fī al-ḥisābi •
 {7} ≈ Risālatun min qibali al-hayʾati wa- ~ Risālatu Najm al-Milla wa-al-Dīn fī al-ḥisābi
 {8} al-hawāʾi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu ʿumdati al-ḥussābi fī ʿilmi al-ḥisābi •
 {9} ≈ al-Risālatu al-shamsiyyatu fī al-ḥisābi • ≈ Risālatun fārisiyyatun fī al-ḥisābi •
 [10–15 are blank]
 {16} ≈ al-Risālatu al-sharafiyyatu fī al-mūsīqī • ≈ Naqāwatu al-adwāri fī al-mūsīqī •
 {17} ≈ Maqāṣidu al-alḥāni li-ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Marāghī fī al-mūsīqī •
 {18} ≈ Risālatu Faṭḥ Allāh al-Shirwānī fī al-mūsīqī • ≈ al-Risālatu al-sharafiyyatu
 {19} fī al-mūsīqī • ≈ Sharḥu Kitābi al-adwāri bi-al-fārisiyyati li-ʿAbd al-Qādir

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- {1} fī al-mūsīqī • ≈ Sharḥu Kitābi al-adwāri bi-al-fārisiyyati li-ʿAbd al-Qādir

¹⁹⁷ In *El2* it is vocalized as al-Saḍjāwandī, Sirādj al-Dīn.

¹⁹⁸ The manuscript has a clear *ḍamma* as case ending.

¹⁹⁹ Pappus [of Alexandria].

- {2} al-Marāghī fī al-mūsīqī wa- ~ Kitābu fawā'id-i 'ishrati li-'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāghī
 {3} fī al-mūsīqī fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ~ Kitābu jāmi'i al-alḥāni li-'Abd al-Qādir
 {4} al-Marāghī fī al-mūsīqī • ~ Kitābu jāmi'i al-alḥāni li-'Abd al-Qādir
 {5} al-Marāghī fī al-mūsīqī • ~ Risālatu Faṭḥ Allāh al-Shirwānī fī al-mūsīqī •
 {6} ~ Majmū'atun min al-abyāti wa-ghayrihā ~ Fihā Kitābu 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāghī fī
 {7} al-mūsīqī • ~ Kitābu maqāṣidi al-alḥāni li-'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāghī fī
 {8} al-mūsīqī • ~ Kashfu al-humūmi wa-al-kurabi fī sharḥi ālati al-ṭarabi fī al-mūsīqī •
 {9} ~ Mukhtaṣarun bi-al-'arabiyyati fī al-mūsīqī • ~ Risālatun laḥniyyatun li-'Abd al-Qādir
 {10} al-Marāghī fī al-mūsīqī • ~ Risālatu²⁰⁰ al-fawā'idi al-'ashrati li-'Abd al-Qādir
 {11} al-Marāghī fī al-mūsīqī • ~ Kitābu Mawlānā Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Lādhīqī fī
 {12} al-mūsīqī • ~ Sharḥu al-Mukhtaṣari fī al-mūsīqī • ~ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati
 {13} fī al-mūsīqī • ~ Gharā'ibu al-adwāri fī al-mūsīqī • ~ Mukhtaṣaru Ṣafī al-Dīn
 {14} bi-al-'arabiyyati fī al-mūsīqī • ~ Tarjamatu Mukhtaṣari Ṣafī al-Dīn bi-al-fārisiyyati
 {15} fī al-mūsīqī • ~ Risālatun fathīyyatun li-Mawlānā Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Lādhīqī fī al-mūsīqī •
 {16} ~ Muwashshaḥu jāmi'i al-maqāmāti wa-ghayrihā min qibali al-mūsīqī •
 {17} ~ Mukhtaṣaru Ṣafī al-Dīn bi-al-'arabiyyati fī al-mūsīqī • ~ al-Risālatu al-sharafiyyatu
 {18} li-Ṣafī al-Dīn fī al-mūsīqī • ~ Nuqāwatu²⁰¹ al-adwār fī al-mūsīqī •
 {19} ~ Risālatun fārisiyyatun manẓūmatun fī ḥikāyatīn mūsīqiyyatīn wa-Adwāru al-mūsīqī
 [fī mujalladin wāḥidin] •

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- {1} ~ Mukhtaṣarun fī ma'rifati al-naghmi fī al-mūsīqī • ~ Kitābun fī al-malāhi wa-asmā'ihā
 {2} min qibali al-mūsīqī • ~ Gharā'ibu al-adwāri fī 'ilmi al-mūsīqī •
 {3} • ~ Kitābu 'Abd al-'Azīz bin 'Abd al-Qādir fī al-mūsīqī • ~ Zaynu al-alḥāni
 {4} bi-al-turkiyyati fī al-mūsīqī • ~ Kitābun²⁰² 'arabiyyun fī al-mūsīqī • ~ Risālatun
 {5} turkiyyatun fī al-mūsīqī •

[6–11 are blank]

²⁰⁰ Given with an indefinite nominate case in the manuscript, but it should be definite (*Risālatu*); see also 336 {16}, where it begins with an indefinite nominative but is followed, as if with a colon, by a noun in definite nominative, corrected in the transliteration.

²⁰¹ Both *nuqāwat al-adwār* and *naqāwat al-adwār* (335 {16}) mean the same, but the latter is the most commonly cited title.

²⁰² The manuscript has a *ḍamma*, reading *Kitābu*.

{12} ≈ Kitābu al-shaṭranjī li-l-Baṣrī • ≈ Kitābu al-shaṭranjī li-l-Baṣrī •

{13} ≈ Kitābu al-shaṭranjī • ≈ Kitābu al-shaṭranjī •

[14–19 are blank]

[338 is blank]

[339]

[1–8 are blank]

{9} Tafṣīlu kutubi al-ḥikmatī

{10} • al-islāmiyyati [*wa-hiya allatī tabḥathu fihā ‘alā qānūni al-shar‘i al-sharīfi al-nabawī*]
wa-kutubi ‘ilmi al-jadali •

{11} • wa-kutubi al-manṭiqi wa-kutubi •

{12} • al-ḥikmatī al-falsafiyyati •

{13} ≈ Matnu maṭālī‘i al-anwāri fī al-manṭiqi wa-al-ḥikmatī al-islāmiyyati •

{14} ≈ Sharḥu Mulakhkhaṣi al-Imām al-Rāzī al-musammā bi-al-Munaṣṣaṣi fī al-manṭiqi wa-al-ḥikmatī

{15} al-islāmiyyati • ≈ Kitābu al-asrāri al-khafiyyati fī al-ḥikmatī al-islāmiyyati •

{16} ≈ Sharḥu Mulakhkhaṣi al-Imām al-Rāzī al-musammā bi-al-Risālati al-fakhriyyati fī al-ḥikmatī

{17} al-islāmiyyati • ≈ Kitābu matni Mulakhkhaṣi al-Imām al-Rāzī fī al-manṭiqi

{18} wa-al-ḥikmatī al-islāmiyyati • ≈ Kashfu al-ḥaqā‘iqi fī al-manṭiqi wa-al-ḥikmatī

{19} al-falsafiyyati ma‘a al-ḥikmatī al-islāmiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu Mulakhkhaṣi al-Imām

[340]

{1} al-Rāzī al-musammā bi-al-Risālati al-fakhriyyati fī al-ḥikmatī al-islāmiyyati •

{2} ≈ Kitābu al-muḥākamāti bayna shurūḥi al-Ishārāti ‘alā ṭarīqati al-ḥaqqi min al-qawā‘idi

{3} al-islāmiyyati • ≈ Kitābu al-i‘tirāḍāti ‘alā sharḥi al-Imām al-Rāzī

{4} li-l-Ishārāti fī al-ḥikmatī al-islāmiyyati • ≈ Lawāmi‘u al-afkāri fī sharḥi

{5} Maṭālī‘i al-anwāri fī al-manṭiqi wa-al-ḥikmatī al-islāmiyyati • ≈ Maṭālī‘u al-anwāri

{6} fī al-manṭiqi wa-al-ḥikmatī al-islāmiyyati • ≈ Sirru al-dhabīḥati fī al-ḥikmatī

{7} al-islāmiyyati • ≈ Majmū‘atun min rasā‘ila fihā Risālatu al-Imām al-Fakhr

{8} al-Rāzī -quddisa sirruhu- fī al-ālāmi wa-al-ladhdhāti wa- ~ Risālatun lahu ayḍan fī

{9} tafsīri al-suwari al-arba‘i fī al-maṭālībi al-arba‘ati wa- ~ Risālatun lahu ayḍan fī

- {10} nafyi al-jihati kullun min hādhihi al-thalāthi min qibali al-ḥikmati al-islāmiyyati •
 {11} ≈ Kitābu ḥaqā'iqi al-khalā'iqi fi al-ḥikmati al-islāmiyyati wa-al-ma'ārifi al-ḥaqīqiyyati •
 [12–19 are blank]

[341]

- {1} ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi al-Maṭālī'i li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fi al-manṭiqi • ≈ Matnu maṭālī'i
 {2} al-anwāri fi al-manṭiqi faqaṭ • ≈ Sharḥu al-Shamsiyyati li-Mawlānā Sa'd al-Dīn
 {3} fi al-manṭiqi wa- ~ Sharḥu Ādābi al-baḥṭhi li-l-Bahishtī fi 'ilmi al-jadali wa- ~ Sharḥun
 {4} li-Ādābi al-baḥṭhi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatun shamsiyyatun fi al-manṭiqi wa-
 {5} Ḥāshiyatu al-Barda'ī 'alā sharḥi Ḥusām al-Kātī fi al-manṭiqi • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi
 {6} al-Maṭālī'i fi al-manṭiqi • ≈ Kitābu al-bayāni li-l-Urmawī fi al-manṭiqi wa-al-'ulūmi
 {7} al-ḥikmiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu al-Maṭālī'i li-l-Quṭb al-Rāzī fi al-manṭiqi •
 {8} ≈ Tarjamatu Sharḥi al-Maṭālī'i bi-al-fārisiyyati li-Mawlānā Tūsī fi al-manṭiqi •
 {9} ≈ Sharḥu manṭiqi Kitābi al-bayāni li-l-Sālimī • ≈ Kitābu manṭiqi al-bayāni •
 {10} ≈ Kitābu sharḥi manṭiqi al-Bayāni • ≈ Manṭiqu Kitābi al-najāti • ≈ Sharḥu al-Shamsiyyati
 {11} li-Sa'd al-Dīn fi al-manṭiqi • ≈ Kitābu jāmi'i al-daqa'iqi fi al-manṭiqi •
 {12} ≈ Sharḥu manṭiqi Kitābi al-bayāni li-Amīn al-Dīn al-Sālimī • ≈ Kitābu bayāni
 {13} al-ḥaqiqi²⁰³ fi al-manṭiqi • ≈ Kitābu kashfi al-asrāri fi al-manṭiqi •
 {14} ≈ Manṭiqu Kitābi al-mashārī'i wa-al-muṭārahāti • ≈ Sharḥu al-Risālati al-shamsiyyati
 {15} li-Mawlānā Mīrak fi al-manṭiqi • ≈ Manṭiqun fārisiyyun • ≈ Ḥāshiyatun 'alā sharḥi
 {16} al-Mas'ūd al-Rūmī fi 'ilmi al-jadali • ≈ Dānishnāmah bi-al-fārisiyyati
 {17} fi al-manṭiqi • ≈ Sharḥu al-Shamsiyyati al-musammā bi-Baḥri al-qawā'idi li-Quṭb al-Dīn
 fi
 {18} al-manṭiqi wa- ~ Risālatun fi al-shakli al-rābi'i fi al-manṭiqi • ≈ Sharḥu al-Shamsiyyati
 al-musammā
 {19} bi-Baḥri al-qawā'idi li-Quṭb al-Dīn fi al-manṭiqi • ≈ Sharḥu al-Shamsiyyati al-musammā

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- {1} bi-Baḥri al-qawā'idi li-Quṭb al-Dīn fi al-manṭiqi wa- ~ Risālatun fi al-shakli al-rābi'i fi
 {2} al-manṭiqi [fi mujalladin wāḥidin] • ≈ Kitābu tanwīri al-maṭālī'i fi mujāwabati al-ḥawāshī
 fi al-manṭiqi •

²⁰³ The manuscript has a *kasra* under the *ḥā'*, as if to read *ḥiqq*.

- {3} ≈ Sharḥu al-Risālati al-shamsiyyati bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-mantiqi • ≈ Tanwīru al-maṭālī'i
 {4} fī sharḥi mantiqi al-Maṭālī'i • ≈ Kitābu taqrībi al-Sultānī fī sharḥi
 {5} al-Burhānī fī 'ilmi al-jadali • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi Kashfi al-asrāri fī
 {6} al-mantiqi • ≈ Kitābu al-mantiqi al-kabīri • ≈ Sharḥu al-Maṭālī'i li-Quṭb
 {7} al-Dīn fī al-mantiqi • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi al-Maṭālī'i fī al-mantiqi •
 {8} ≈ Risālatun fī al-mantiqi wa-'ilmi al-jadali • ≈ Sharḥu al-Risālati al-shamsiyyati
 {9} al-musammā bi-al-Qawā'id al-jaliyyati fī al-mantiqi wa- ~ Sharḥu al-Risālati
 al-shamsiyyati
 {10} al-musammā bi-al-Mabāḥithi al-saniyyati fī al-mantiqi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
 {11} ≈ Kitābu asāsi al-iqtibāsi bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-mantiqi wa- ~ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyati
 {12} fī al-mantiqi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu asāsi al-iqtibāsi bi-al-fārisiyyati
 {13} fī al-mantiqi • ≈ Kitābu asāsi al-iqtibāsi bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-mantiqi •
 {14} ≈ Kitābu asāsi al-iqtibāsi bi-al-fārisiyyati li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fī al-mantiqi •
 {15} ≈ Asāsu al-iqtibāsi bi-al-fārisiyyati li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fī al-mantiqi •
 {16} ≈ Asāsu al-iqtibāsi bi-al-fārisiyyati li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fī al-mantiqi •
 {17} ≈ Asāsu al-iqtibāsi bi-al-fārisiyyati li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fī al-mantiqi •
 {18} ≈ Kitābu asāsi al-iqtibāsi bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-mantiqi • ≈ Kitābu al-mubīni
 {19} fī sharḥi al-matīni fī al-mantiqi • ≈ Sharḥu al-Shamsiyyati li-Quṭb al-Dīn fī

[343]

- {1} al-mantiqi • ≈ Nihāyatu Sayri al-afkāri fī sharḥi Kashfi al-asrāri fī
 {2} al-mantiqi wa- ~ Ḥawāshī Sharḥi al-Maṭālī'i fī al-mantiqi wa- ~ Riṣālatu dawā'iri al-'arūḍi
 {3} wa- ~ Kitābu al-badī'i fī al-'arūḍi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu asāsi
 {4} al-iqtibāsi bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-mantiqi wa- ~ Kitābu akhlāqi nāṣiri min qibali
 {5} al-naṣiḥati fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu asāsi al-iqtibāsi bi-al-fārisiyyati
 {6} fī al-mantiqi • ≈ Kitābu al-muqāwamāti fī al-mantiqi wa-al-ḥikmiyyāti •
 {7} ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi al-Maṭālī'i li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf fī al-mantiqi • ≈ Sharḥu
 al-Muqaddimati
 {8} al-burhāniyyati fī 'ilmi al-naẓari ay 'ilmi al-jadali wa- ~ Sharḥu Kitābi al-mansha'i fī
 {9} 'ilmi al-jadali fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Mantīqu Kitābi al-shifā[']i li-Ibn Sīnā •
 {10} ≈ Mantīqu Kitābi al-shifā[']i li-Ibn Sīnā • ≈ Mantīqu Kitābi al-shifā[']i li-Ibn •
 {11} Sīnā • ≈ Sharḥu Ādābi al-baḥṭhi fī 'ilmi al-jadali •

- {12} ≈ Quṣṭāsu al-afkāri fī al-manṭiqi • ≈ al-Kitābu al-mu‘tabaru fī arba‘i mujalladātin
 {13} fī al-manṭiqi wa-al-ḥikmati • ≈ Tarjamatu Sharḥi manṭiq al-maṭālī‘i li-Mawlānā al-Ṭūsī
 {14} -raḥimahu Allāhu ta‘ālā- • ≈ Manṭiqu al-Ishārāti • ≈ Sharḥu Abī al-Naṣr
 {15} al-Fārābī li-Kitābi Aristūṭālīs fī al-qiyāsāti al-manṭiqiyyati •
 {16} ≈ Kitābu al-baṣā‘iri al-naṣīriyyati fī al-manṭiqi • ≈ Kitābu al-baṣā‘iri al-naṣīriyyati
 {17} fī al-manṭiqi wa-Sharḥu alfāzi Aristūṭālīs fī kitābi al-maḥṣūlātī
 {18} fī al-manṭiqi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi al-Maṭālī‘i li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf
 {19} fī al-manṭiqi • ≈ Rasā‘ilu Ibn Sīnā fī al-manṭiqi wa-ghayrihi •

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- {1} ≈ Kitābun fārisiyyun fī al-manṭiqi • ≈ Qismu Burhāni manṭiqi al-Shifā‘i
 {2} li-Ibn Sīnā • ≈ Kitābu lawāmi‘i al-asrāri fī sharḥi Maṭālī‘i al-anwāri
 {3} fī al-manṭiqi wa- ~ Sharḥu Ashkāli al-ta‘sisī fī al-handasati fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
 {4} ≈ Zubdatu al-bayāni bi-al-turkiyyati fī al-manṭiqi • ≈ Kitābu al-baṣā‘iri al-naṣīriyyati
 {5} li-l-Imām Ibn Sahlān fī al-manṭiqi • ≈ Tarjamatu sharḥi Quṭb al-Dīn
 {6} li-manṭiqi al-Maṭālī‘i bi-al-fārisiyyati li-Mawlānā al-Ṭūsī -raḥimahu Allāhu ta‘ālā- •
 {7} ≈ Kitābu Aristūṭālīs naqalahu ilā al-‘arabiyyati Ishāq bin Ḥunayn fī al-manṭiqi •
 {8} ≈ Sharḥu Īsāghūjī li-l-Ḥusām al-Kātī wa- ~ Sharḥu Īsāghūjī li-Mawlānā al-Fanārī
 {9} wa- ~ Risālatun fī taḥqīqi ma‘nā al-taṣawwuri wa-al-taṣdīqi wa- ~ Risālatun fī taḥqīqi
 {10} al-kulliyyāti wa- ~ Risālatun fī taḥqīqi al-maḥṣūrāti wa- ~ Risālatun fī taḥqīqi al-māhiyati
 {11} wa-al-ḥaqīqati fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-mūjazi li-Ibn Sīnā fī
 {12} al-manṭiqi wa- ~ Risālatun fī aḥwālī al-nubuwwati wa- ~ Risālatu mubāḥathāti al-Naṣīr
 {13} al-Ṭūsī ma‘a al-Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī fī al-wujūdi wa- ~ Risālatu Ibn
 {14} Sīnā fī al-hindubā‘i²⁰⁴ fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Ḥāshiyatun ‘alā ḥāshiyati al-Sayyid
 {15} al-Sharīf ‘alā Sharḥi al-Maṭālī‘i fī al-manṭiqi • ≈ Sharḥu manṭiqi al-Maṭālī‘i
 {16} al-musammā bi-Lawāmi‘i al-asrāri • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi manṭiqi al-Maṭālī‘i
 {17} li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf • ≈ Kitābu al-lawāmi‘i fī al-manṭiqi wa- [huwa, ṣaḥḥ] mukhtaṣaru
 Kitābi
 {18} al-maṭālī‘i li-mu‘allifihi • ≈ Risālatun fī imtinā‘i al-dawri fī al-iktisābi

²⁰⁴ More commonly *hindabā‘* (E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* [London: Williams & Norgate, 1863], s.v.; Steingass) or *hindibā‘* (Steingass).

{19} min qibali al-manṭiqi • ≈ Kitābu al-asrāri al-khafīyyati fī al-manṭiqi wa-al-‘ulūmi

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- {1} al-ḥikmiyyati • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-Qusṭāsi li-mu‘allifihī fī al-manṭiqi •
- {2} ≈ Majmū‘atun min rasā’ila fī ‘ilmi al-jadali wa-al-khilāfi ya’nī ‘ilmi al-munāẓarati
- {3} ≈ Qusṭāsu al-afkāri fī al-manṭiqi • ~ Risālatun fī ma’nā al-ṭasawwuri wa-
- {4} al-ṭaṣdīqi wa- ~ Risālatu ṭaḥqīqi al-kullīyyāti wa-Risālatu ḥarfīyyatin sharīfiyyatin
- {5} wa- ~ Ḥāshiyatu ḥāshiyati Sharḥi al-Maṭālī‘i fī al-manṭiqi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {6} ≈ Dānishnāmah-i ‘alā’i li-Ibn Sīnā bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-manṭiqi •
- {7} ≈ Sharḥu Khulāṣati al-durari fī al-manṭiqi • ≈ Sharḥu Īsāghūjī bi-al-fārisiyyati
- {8} fī al-manṭiqi • ≈ Ḥāshiyatun ‘alā Sharḥi al-Risālati al-shamsiyyati wa-‘alā ḥawāshihī
- {9} al-sharīfati al-sharīfiyyati • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu al-Sayyid al-Sharīf ‘alā al-sharḥi al-Quṭbī
- {10} li-l-Shamsiyyati fī al-manṭiqi • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu ‘Imād ‘alā Ḥāshiyati al-Sayyid al-Sharīf
- {11} li-Sharḥi al-Shamsiyyati fī al-manṭiqi • ≈ Ḥāshiyatun ‘alā Ḥāshiyati al-Sayyid al-Sharīf
- {12} li-Sharḥi al-Maṭālī‘i fī al-manṭiqi • ≈ Matnu ādābi al-baḥṭhi fī ‘ilmi al-jadali •
- {13} ≈ Sharḥu Jannati abkāri al-afkāri bi-khaṭṭi mu‘allifihimā fī al-manṭiqi •
- {14} ≈ Risālatun fī daf‘i al-i‘tirāḍi ‘alā Sharḥi al-Shamsiyyati fī al-manṭiqi wa- ~ Ḥāshiyatu
- {15} Sharḥi al-Shamsiyyati wa-al-‘Awāmilu fī al-naḥwi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {16} ≈ Risālatu al-as‘ilati al-mūradati ‘alā naw‘ay kitābi al-Imām al-mawsūmi
- {17} bi-al-Ma‘ālimi fī al-manṭiqi wa-al-ḥikmati • ≈ Tarjamatu Risālati al-Sayyid al-Sharīf
- {18} fī al-manṭiqi bi-al-‘arabiyyati • ≈ Majmū‘atun fī awā’ilihā rasā’ilu al-Fārābī
- {19} wa-fī awākhirihā Risālatu al-waḍ‘i wa-Risālatu ṭaḥqīqi al-ṣūratī al-dihniyyati

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- {1} bi-tamthīli al-mir’āt li-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf min qibali al-manṭiqi fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {2} ≈ Sharḥu Quṭb al-Dīn al-Gilānī li-Ādābi al-baḥṭhi fī ‘ilmi al-jadali •
- {3} ≈ Sharḥu Nāẓiri al-‘ayni fī al-manṭiqi wa- ~ Sharḥu Ādābi al-baḥṭhi fī ‘ilmi al-jadali fī
- {4} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Mukhtaṣarun fārisiyyun fī al-manṭiqi • ≈ Sharḥu Urjūzati
- {5} Ibn Sīnā fī al-manṭiqi • ≈ Risālatun fī ṭaḥqīqi al-kullīyyāti fī al-manṭiqi
- {6} wa-Risālatu al-waḍ‘i li-‘Aḍud al-Dīn fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu
- {7} Īsāghūjī li-l-Ḥusām al-Kātī wa-Ḥāshiyatu al-Mutawassiṭi fī al-naḥwi wa- ~ Sharḥu

- {8} Īsāghūjī li-l-Fanārī fī al-maṭṭiqī fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu
- {9} Īsāghūjī li-l-Ḥusām al-Kātī fī al-maṭṭiqī • ≈ Risālatu masā'ili
- {10} Kistrā wa- ~ Ḥāshiyatun 'alā dībājati al-sharḥi al-Sa'dī li-l-Shamsiyyati fī al-maṭṭiqī •
- {11} ≈ Risālatun fī al-ma'ārifi wa- ~ Risālatu taḥqīqī al-kulliyyāti fī al-maṭṭiqī wa- ~ Risālatu
- {12} al-waḍ'ī fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu kitābin fī al-maṭṭiqī wa- ~ Kitābu al-mulakhkhaṣi
- {13} li-l-Imām al-Rāzī fī al-maṭṭiqī [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Risālatun fī al-burhāni al-Sullamī wa-
- {14} ~ Risālatun fī al-zāwiyati wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-arba'ina ḥadīthan wa- ~ Risālatun
- {15} fī anna al-juz'ī al-ḥaqīqī lā yuḥmalu 'alā shay'in min qibali al-maṭṭiqī fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {16} ≈ Majmū'atun fihā risālatun fī sīrati Ibn Sīnā ay fī tārikhihi wa-fihā Kitābu
- {17} al-ḥudūdi lahu wa-ākhiruhā Risālatu al-Ṭabarī fī al-maṭṭiqī •
- {18} ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi al-Risālati al-shamsiyyati bi-daf'i al-i'tirāḍāti 'anhu fī
- {19} al-maṭṭiqī wa- ~ Ḥāshiyatu al-Mukhtaṣari fī 'ilmi al-ma'ānī wa- ~ Sharḥu al-Lubābi fī al-naḥwi

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- {1} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Majmū'atun awwaluhā Naḥwu al-qulūbi fī al-naḥwi wa- ~ Fihā
- {2} Ādābu al-baḥṭhi wa-Sharḥu al-Bahishtī li-Ādābi al-baḥṭhi fī 'ilmi al-jadali •
- {3} ≈ Majmū'atun min rasā'ila awwaluhā Kitābu al-'ilmi wa-al-nuṭqi min qibali al-maṭṭiqī wa-thāniyatuhā
- {4} Risālatu zajri al-nafsi li-Idrīs al-nabī -'alayhi al-salāmu- •
- {5} ≈ Sharḥu dībājati al-sharḥi al-Sa'dī wa-Sharḥu dībājati al-Shamsiyyati wa- ~ Sharḥu
- {6} al-Risālati al-shamsiyyati li-Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī -quddisa sirruhu- fī al-taṣawwūrāti
- {7} wa-al-taṣdīqāti fī al-maṭṭiqī fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Majmū'atun min rasā'ila
- {8} awwaluhā al-Irshādu al-'amīdiyyu min qibali 'ilmi al-jadali wa-thāniyatuhā al-Qawādiḥu
- {9} al-jadaliyyatu wa-thālithatuhā Fuṣūlun fī 'ilmi al-jadali • ≈ Majmū'atun min
- {10} rasā'ila awwaluhā Ādābu al-baḥṭhi fī 'ilmi al-jadali wa-thāniyatuhā Maṭṭiqu al-hidāyati
- {11} wa-thālithatuhā Ḥikmatu al-hidāyati • ≈ Majmū'atun min rasā'ila fihā Sharḥu
- {12} Ādābi al-baḥṭhi li-l-Mas'ūd al-Rūmī fī al-jadali wa-Sharḥu Ādābi al-baḥṭhi
- {13} li-Sirāj al-Dīn al-Zanjānī fī 'ilmi al-jadali • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi
- {14} al-Maṭālī'ī li-'Alī al-Shīrāzī fī al-maṭṭiqī • ≈ Kashfu al-asrāri fī al-maṭṭiqī •

{15} ≈ Sharḥu Ādābi al-baḥṭhi fī ‘ilmi al-jadali • ≈ Matnu Īsāghūjī fī al-manṭiqi

{16} wa-Riṣālatu al-hidāyati fī al-manṭiqi wa-Matnu ḥikmati al-hidāyati wa-rasā’ilu al-Suhrawardī

{17} fī al-ḥikmiyyāti al-falsafiyyati fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

[18, 19 are blank]

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[1–10 are blank]

{11} Matnu ishāratin li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Matnu ishāratin

{12} li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Matnu ishāratin li-Ibn Sīnā

{13} fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Matnu ishāratin li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •

{14} ≈ Matnu ishāratin li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Matnu ishāratin

{15} li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Matnu ishāratin li-Ibn Sīnā

{16} fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati wa-rasā’ilu ukhrā fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

{17} ≈ Matnu ishāratin li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Matnu ishāratin

{18} li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati wa- ~ Kitābu tahāfuti al-falāsifati

{19} li-l-Imām al-Ghazālī fī ibṭālī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati wa- ~ Kitābu ḥikmati al-ishrāqi

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{1} li-l-Suhrawardī al-maqtūli wa- ~ Kitābu miftāḥi al-ghaybi li-l-Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn

{2} al-Qūnawī fī al-taṣawwufi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Matnu al-ishārati fī

{3} al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Matnu al-ishārati fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •

{4} ≈ Nazmu al-namaṭi al-thāmini wa-al-tāsi’i wa-al-‘āshiri min Kitābi al-ishārati fī al-ḥikmati

{5} al-falsafiyyati •

[6, 7 are blank]

{8} • ≈ Tarjamatu Kitābi al-ishārati bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •

{9} ≈ Tarjamatu al-ishārati bi-al-fārisiyyati fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •

{10} ≈ Sharḥu Ishāratin li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu

{11} Ishāratin li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu Ishāratin

{12} li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu Ishāratin li-l-Naṣīr

{13} al-Ṭūsī fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu Ishāratin li-l-Imām al-Rāzī

{14} -quddisa sirruhu- fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu Ishāratin li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī

- {15} fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu Ishārātin li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fi al-ḥikmati
 {16} al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu Ishārātin li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •
 {17} ≈ Sharḥu Ishārātin li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •
 {18} ≈ Sharḥu Ishārātin li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu
 {19} Ishārātin li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu ṭabīʿiyyāti

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- {1} Ishārātin fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu al-Ishārāti li-l-Imām al-Rāzī
 {2} -quddisa sirruhu- fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu Ishārātin fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •
 {3} ≈ Sharḥu Ishārātin li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu
 {4} Ishārātin li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu Ishārātin
 {5} li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu Ishārātin
 {6} li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu al-Ishārāti
 {7} li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu al-Ishārāti
 {8} al-musammā bi-Bashārāti al-Ishārāti fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu al-Ishārāti
 {9} li-l-Urmawī fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu al-Ishārāti li-l-Naṣīr
 {10} al-Ṭūsī fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu al-Ishārāti li-l-Naṣīr
 {11} al-Ṭūsī fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu ṭabīʿiyyāti al-Ishārāti
 {12} fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Ṭabīʿiyyātu Sharḥi al-Ishārāti wa-ilāhiyyātuhu
 {13} li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu al-Ishārāti
 {14} li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī wa- ~ Kitābu muḥākamāti Quṭb al-Dīn wa-al-Milla fi sharḥi Sharḥi
 {15} al-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī li-Kitābi al-ishārāti fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati fi mujalladin wāḥidin •
 {16} ≈ Kitābu muḥākamāti Quṭb al-Milla wa-al-Dīn fi sharḥi Sharḥi al-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī li-Kitābi
 {17} al-ishārāti fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu ṭabīʿiyyāti Ishārātin li-l-Muʾayyad
 {18} al-Nakhjawānī fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Tarjamatu al-Ishārāti bi-al-fārisiyyati
 {19} fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Kitābu muḥākamāti Quṭb al-Milla wa-al-Dīn fi sharḥi

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- {1} Sharḥi al-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī li-Kitābi al-ishārāti fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Kitābu
 {2} muḥākamāti Quṭb al-Milla wa-al-Dīn fi sharḥi Sharḥi al-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī li-Kitābi al-ishārāti
 {3} fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi al-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī li-l-Ishārāt li-l-Naṣīr

- {4} al-Ḥillī fī al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyatī •
- {5} ≈ Kitābu al-shifā[']i li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-manṭiqī wa-al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyatī •
- {6} ≈ Kitābu al-shifā'i li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-manṭiqī wa-al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyatī •
- {7} ≈ Ilāhiyyātu Kitābi al-shifā[']i li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyatī •
- {8} ≈ Ṭabī'īyyātu Kitābi al-shifā'i wa-ilāhiyyātu Kitābi al-shifā'i li-Ibn Sīnā fī
- {9} al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyatī • ≈ Kitābu al-shifā'i li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-manṭiqī wa-
- {10} al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyatī • ≈ Kitābu al-shifā'i li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-manṭiqī wa-
- {11} al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyatī • ≈ al-Fannu al-awwalu fī al-handasatī wa-al-fannu al-thānī
- {12} fī al-hay'atī min riḡāḡiyyātī Kitābi al-shifā'i li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-falsafīyyatī •
- {13} ≈ Manṭiqīyyātu Kitābi al-shifā[']i wa-ṭabī'īyyātu Kitābi al-shifā[']i wa-ilāhiyyātu
- {14} Kitābi al-shifā[']i li-Ibn Sīnā • ≈ Ṭabī'īyyātu Kitābi al-shifā'i
- {15} li-Ibn Sīnā • ≈ Ṭabī'īyyātu Kitābi al-shifā'i wa-ilāhiyyātu Kitābi
- {16} al-shifā[']i li-Ibn Sīnā • ≈ Ṭabī'īyyātu Kitābi al-shifā'i li-Ibn Sīnā
- {17} bi-nuqṣānī al-akhīrī • ≈ Kitābu al-shifā'i li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-manṭiqī wa-
- {18} wa- [sic] al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyatī • ≈ Manṭiqīyyātu Kitābi al-shifā'i wa-ṭabī'īyyātu
- {19} Kitābi al-shifā'i wa-ilāhiyyātu Kitābi al-shifā'i li-Ibn Sīnā •

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- {1} ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Kitābi al-shifā'i li-Ibn Sīnā ilā ākhīrī al-samā'i al-ṭabī'ī •
- {2} ≈ Ilāhiyyātu Kitābi al-shifā'i li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyatī •
- {3} ≈ al-Fannu al-rābī'u min al-jumlatī al-ūlā fī al-manṭiqī min Kitābi al-shifā'i fī al-qiyāsi •
- [4–6 are blank]
- {7} ≈ Kitābu al-najātī li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-manṭiqī wa-al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyatī • ≈ Kitābu
- {8} kashfī al-ḥaqā'iqī fī al-manṭiqī wa-takhṭī'atī al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyatī •
- {9} ≈ Tarjamatu Kitābi mujmalī al-ḥikmatī bi-al-fārisīyyatī fī al-ḥikmiyyātī al-falsafīyyatī •
- {10} ≈ Matnu hidāyatī fī al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyatī • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Mawlānā-zādah
- {11} 'alā al-Hidāyatī fī al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyatī • ≈ Sharḡu qismi al-manṭiqī min
- {12} al-mukhtaṣari al-mawsūmi bi-al-Hidāyatī wa-Sharḡu Mawlānā-zādah 'alā mā siwā al-manṭiqī
- {13} min al-Hidāyatī fī al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyatī fī mujalladin wāḡidīn • ≈ Risālatun
- {14} bi-al-fārisīyyatī fī al-manṭiqī wa-al-ḥikmatī al-falsafīyyatī • ≈ Sharḡu Talwīḡātī

- {15} al-Suhrawardī fī al-manṭiqi wa-al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Kitābu al-najāti
- {16} li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-manṭiqi wa-al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu ilāhiyyāti
- {17} Talwihāti al-Suhrawardī • ≈ Sharḥu ṭabīʿiyyāti Talwihāti al-Suhrawardī
- {18} fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Ṭabīʿiyyātu al-Talwihāti wa-ilāhiyyātu
- {19} al-Talwihāti li-l-Suhrawardī maʿa sharḥihā fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati fī

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- {1} mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu Talwihāti al-Suhrawardī fī al-manṭiqi wa-al-ḥikmati
- {2} al-falsafiyyati al-māʿilati ilā al-ḥaqqi • ≈ Kitābu sharḥi al-uṣūli wa-al-jumali
- {3} alladhī huwa ka-al-Sharḥi li-Kitābi al-ishārāti fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •
- {4} ≈ Majmūʿatun fihā kutubu al-Suhrawardī fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati al-māʿilati ilā
- {5} al-ḥaqqi • ≈ Kitābu al-taʿliqāti fī sharḥi al-Talwihāti fī al-manṭiqi
- {6} wa-al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati al-māʿilati ilā al-ḥaqqi • ≈ Kitābun mukhtaṣarun li-Ibn Kammūna
- {7} fī al-ḥikmati wa- ~ Risālatun fī al-burhāni al-gharībi fī al-tawḥīdi lahu ayḍan wa- ~ Kitābu
- {8} al-ḥikmati al-jadīdati lahu ayḍan [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Kitābu al-ḥikmati al-jadīdati li-Ibn Kammūna
- {9} tilmīdhi²⁰⁵ al-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī • ≈ Kitābun min awāʿili Sharḥi Ishāratin li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī
- {10} fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Ṭabīʿiyyātu Sharḥi Ishārāt[in] li-l-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī
- {11} fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Kitābu muḥākamāti Quṭb al-Milla wa-al-Dīn
- {12} fī sharḥi Sharḥi al-Naṣīr al-Ṭūsī li-Kitābi al-ishārāti fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •
- {13} ≈ Sharḥu Lamaḥāti al-Suhrawardī li-l-Imām al-Hamadānī fī al-ḥikmati •
- {14} ≈ Sharḥu Lamaḥāti al-Suhrawardī li-l-Imām al-Hamadānī fī al-ḥikmati • ≈ Lamaḥātu
- {15} al-Suhrawardī fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Kitābu al-mashārīʿi
- {16} wa-al-muṭāraḥāti li-l-Suhrawardī fī al-manṭiqi wa-al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •
- {17} ≈ Kitābu al-mashārīʿi wa-al-muṭāraḥāti li-l-Suhrawardī fī al-manṭiqi wa-al-ḥikmati
- {18} al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Kitābu al-mashārīʿi wa-al-muṭāraḥāti li-l-Suhrawardī
- {19} fī al-manṭiqi wa-al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Talwihātu al-Suhrawardī

205 The manuscript has a *fathā* above the *tā*, reading *talmīdh*.

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{1} fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati ma'a ~ Kitābi al-muqāwamāti lahu aydan fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{2} ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmati al-ishrāqī li-l-'Allāma al-Shīrāzī fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •

{3} ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmati al-ishrāqī li-l-'Allāma al-Shīrāzī fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •

{4} ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmati al-ishrāqī li-l-'Allāma al-Shīrāzī fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •

{5} ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmati al-ishrāqī li-l-'Allāma al-Shīrāzī fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •

{6} ≈ Talwīḥātu al-Suhrawardī fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmati

{7} al-ishrāqī li-l-'Allāma al-Shīrāzī fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •

{8} ≈ Sharḥu Kitābi al-najāti fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu al-Talwīḥāti

{9} bi-khaṭṭi al-shāriḥi fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu Ibn Kammūna

{10} li-l-Talwīḥāti fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmati al-'ayni fi

{11} al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu al-'Ayni fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •

{12} ≈ Sharḥu 'Uyūni al-ḥikmati li-l-Imām al-Rāzī fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •

{13} ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmati al-'ayni fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmati

{14} al-'ayni li-l-'Allāma Ibn Mubārak Shāh fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •

{15} ≈ Sharḥu 'Uyūni al-ḥikmati li-l-Imāmi al-Rāzī -quddisa sirruhu- fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •

{16} ≈ Sharḥu 'Uyūni al-ḥikmati li-l-Imāmi al-Rāzī fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •

{17} ≈ Sharḥu Dāwud al-Qayṣarī li-l-Fuṣūṣi fi al-taṣawwufi wa-Matnu ḥikmati

{18} al-'ayni wa- ~ Sharḥu Ḥikmati al-'ayni li-l-'Allāma Ibn Mubārak Shāh fi al-ḥikmati

{19} al-falsafiyyati fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmati al-'ayni li-l-'Allāma

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{1} Ibn Mubārak Shāh fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati wa- ~ Sharḥu Muqaddimati al-Nasafi

{2} fi 'ilmi al-jadali wa- ~ Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi al-Tajrīdi li-l-Ḥillī fi 'ilmi al-kalāmi wa-

{3} ~ Rasā'ilu ukhrā fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-fawā'id fi sharḥi Ḥikmati

{4} 'ayni al-qawā'id fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Kitābu al-talwīḥāti

{5} wa- ~ Kitābu al-muqāwamāti wa- ~ Kitābu al-lamaḥāti wa- ~ Kitābu ḥikmati al-ishrāqī

{6} kulluhā li-l-Suhrawardī al-maqtūli fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{7} ≈ Īdāḥu al-maqāṣidi fi sharḥi Ḥikmati al-'ayni fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •

{8} ≈ Talwīḥātu al-Suhrawardī fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmati

- {9} al-ishrāqi li-l-Quṭb al-‘Allāma al-Shīrāzī fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •
- {10} ≈ Matnu ḥikmati al-ishrāqi fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu al-Talwīḥāti
- {11} li-Ibn Kammūna fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmati al-ishrāqi fī
- {12} al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Ḥikmatu al-ishrāqi li-l-Suhrawardī fī
- {13} al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Ḥikmatu al-ishrāqi li-l-Suhrawardī fī al-ḥikmati
- {14} al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Ḥikmatu al-ishrāqi wa- ~ Kitābu al-alwāḥi wa- ~ Kitābu
- {15} hayākili al-nūri wa- ~ Kitābu al-wāridāti fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Ḥikmatu al-ishrāqi
- {16} li-l-Suhrawardī fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Riyāḍiyyātu kitābin
- {17} li-Ibn Sīnā • ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmati al-‘ayni li-l-‘Allāma bin Mubārak Shāh²⁰⁶
- {18} fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmati al-‘ayni li-l-‘Allāma bin Mubārak
- {19} Shāh fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu Kitābi al-najāti fī al-manṭiqi wa-

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- {1} wa- [sic] al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Tarjamatu Sharḥi Ḥikmati al-‘ayni bi-al-fārisiyyati
- {2} fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmati al-ishrāqi li-l-Quṭb al-‘Allāma
- {3} al-Shīrāzī fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Thalāthu rasā’ila li-Ibn Sīnā fī
- {4} al-mabda’i wa-al-ma’ādi al-falsafi • ≈ Kitābu al-mabda’i wa-al-ma’ādi li-Ibn Sīnā
- {5} wa- ~ Risālatu al-jawābāti al-‘ashri li-Ibn Sīnā fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmati
- {6} al-‘ayni li-l-‘Allāma Ibn Mubārak Shāh fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •
- {7} ≈ Tarjamatu Kitābi Aristāṭālīs bi-al-‘arabiyyati fī al-ḥikmati • ≈ Kitābu al-ḥikmati
- {8} al-rashīdiyyati fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Risālatu Ibn Sīnā fī al-mabda’i
- {9} wa-al-ma’ādi al-falsafi • ≈ Kitābu al-mabda’i wa-al-ma’ādi al-falsafi li-Ibn Sīnā
- {10} wa- ~ Kitābu al-baṣā’iri al-naṣīriyyati fī al-manṭiqi fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Matnu
- {11} al-hidāyati li-Athīr al-Dīn fī al-manṭiqi wa-al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu
- {12} Ḥikmati al-hidāyati • ≈ Kitābu al-fuṣūli al-ashrafiyyati fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •
- {13} ≈ Majmū’atu rasā’ili Ibn Sīnā fī al-manṭiqi wa-al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati wa-al-ṭibbi
- {14} wa-ghayrihā • ≈ Majmū’atun min rasā’ili Ibn Sīnā fī al-manṭiqi wa-al-ḥikmati
- {15} al-falsafiyyati wa-al-ṭibbi wa-ghayrihā • ≈ Kitābu jāmi’i al-ḥikmatayni •
- {16} ≈ Kitābu al-ishārāti fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati wa- ~ Kitābu al-ta’līqāti li-Ibn
- {17} Sīnā wa- ~ Rasā’ilu ukhrā ka-Risālati al-adwiyati al-qalbiyyati fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

²⁰⁶ Here, Mubārakshāh is linked.

{18} ≈ Tarjamatu Kitābi mujmali al-ḥikmati bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Kitābu al-mabāḥithi

{19} al-mashriqiyyati li-l-Imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī fi al-ḥikmati • ≈ Kitābu

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{1} al-mabāḥithi al-mashriqiyyati li-l-Imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī fi al-ḥikmati •

{2} ≈ Kitābu al-mabāḥithi al-mashriqiyyati li-l-Imām al-Rāzī fi al-ḥikmati • ≈ Kitābu

{3} al-mabāḥithi al-mashriqiyyati li-l-Imām al-Rāzī fi al-ḥikmati • ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmati

{4} al-‘ayni al-musammā bi-Īdāḥi al-maqāṣidi • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi Ḥikmati al-‘ayni •

{5} ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi Ḥikmati al-‘ayni • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Sharḥi Ḥikmati al-‘ayni •

{6} ≈ Kitābu al-ta‘līqāti wa- ~ Kitābu al-mubāḥathāti li-Ibn Sīnā fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati

{7} wa- ~ Rasā’ilu ukhrā fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-ḥikmati al-mashriqiyyati

{8} li-Ibn Sīnā • ≈ Kitābu Sharḥi Ḥikmati al-hidāyati li-Mawlānā Mīrak wa-

{9} ~ Sharḥu Ḥikmati al-hidāyati li-Muḥammad bin Sharīf al-Ḥusaynī fi mujalladin wāḥidin •

{10} ≈ Kitābu al-mabda’i wa-al-ma’ādi li-Ibn Sīnā fi al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •

{11} ≈ Tarjamatu Kitābi mujmali al-ḥikmati bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Tarjamatu Kitābi mujmali al-ḥikmati

{12} bi-al-fārisiyyati • ≈ Kitābu al-talwīḥāti wa- ~ Kitābu lawāḥiqi al-talwīḥāti

{13} wa- ~ Kitābu al-lamaḥāti wa- ~ Rasā’ilu ukhrā kulluhā li-l-Suhrawardī fi al-ḥikmati

{14} al-falsafiyyati [*fi mujalladin wāḥidin*] • ≈ Sharḥu Talwīḥāti al-Suhrawardī fi al-ḥikmati.²⁰⁷

{15} al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Risālatu al-jihati fi al-ḥikmati • ≈ Risālatun fi

{16} al-ilāhiyyāti wa-al-ṭabī’iyyāti fi al-ḥikmati • ≈ Kitābu al-mabāḥithi al-mashriqiyyati

{17} li-l-Imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī fi al-ḥikmati • ≈ Kitābu al-mabāḥithi al-mashriqiyyati

{18} li-l-Imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī fi al-ḥikmati • ≈ Ta’dilu al-mi’yāri fi sharḥi

{19} Tanzīli al-afkāri fi al-manṭiqi wa-al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati [*maṭlab*] • ≈ Kitābu al-‘ilali

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{1} fi sirri al-ṭabī’ati fi al-ḥikmati al-‘ajībati • ≈ Thalāthu rasā’ila ithnāni minhā li-l-Naṣīr

{2} al-Ṭūsī min qibali al-ḥikmati • ≈ Kitābu al-ḥikmati li-l-Imāmi al-Mas’ūdī bi-al-fārisiyyati •

{3} ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmati al-hidāyati li-Ibn Mubārak Shāh wa- ~ Risālatu al-niẓam fi ‘ilmi al-ḥisābi

²⁰⁷ An erroneous triple dot, as the entry is not yet finished.

- {4} wa- ~ Rasā'ilu ukhrā fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-talwīḥāti wa- ~ Kitābu
- {5} al-muqāwamāti wa- ~ Kitābu al-lamahāti wa- ~ Kitābu ḥikmatī al-ishrāqī kulluhā li-l-Suhrawardī
- {6} al-maqtūlī fī al-ḥikmatī al-falsafiyyatī fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-hidāyatī
- {7} li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikmatī al-falsafiyyatī • ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmatī al-hidāyatī li-Amīrak •
- {8} ≈ Majmū'atun min rasā'ili Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikmiyyātī • ≈ Sharḥu Khuṭbatī Ibn Sīnā
- {9} bi-al-fārisiyyatī min qibālī al-ḥikmatī • ≈ Sharḥu Khuṭbatī Ibn Sīnā bi-al-fārisiyyatī
- {10} min qibālī al-ḥikmatī • ≈ Majmū'atun min rasā'ili Abī Naṣr al-Fārābī fī
- {11} al-falsafiyyātī • ≈ Kitābu al-nihāyatī fī sharḥi Ḥikmatī al-hidāyatī •
- {12} ≈ Kitābu al-najāti li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikmatī al-falsafiyyatī • ≈ Kitābu al-najāti
- {13} wa- ~ Kitābu 'uyūnī al-ḥikmatī wa- ~ Kitābu al-ishārātī wa- ~ Kitābu al-adwiyatī
- {14} al-qalbiyyatī wa- ~ Tafsīru sūratī al-ihklāṣi wa- ~ [sic] al-Mu'awwidhatayni wa- ~ Rasā'ilu ukhrā
- {15} kulluhā li-Ibn Sīnā fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatu al-jabri wa-al-qadari
- {16} min qibālī 'ilmi al-kalāmi wa- ~ Sharḥu Iṣṭilāḥātī al-mashāyikhī fī al-taṣawwufi wa-
- {17} ~ al-Risālatu al-nayrūziyyatī fī al-ḥurūfī al-muqaṭṭa'ātī fī awā'ili al-suwarī 'alā
- {18} zu'mi Ibn Sīnā min qibālī al-ḥikmatī wa- ~ al-Risālatu al-musammātu bi-al-Fayḍi al-ilāhī fī
- {19} mithli al-karāmātī²⁰⁸ wa-al-mu'jizātī 'alā zu'mi Ibn Sīnā min qibālī al-ḥikmatī fī mujalladin wāḥidin •

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- {1} ≈ Risālatun bi-al-fārisiyyatī fī al-ḥikmatī al-falsafiyyatī • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu sharḥi al-Naṣīr
- {2} al-Ṭūsī li-l-Ishārātī fī al-ḥikmatī al-falsafiyyatī • ≈ Risālatu Ibn Sīnā
- {3} fī al-ṣalātī min qibālī al-ḥikmatī al-falsafiyyatī • ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmatī al-'ayni •
- {4} ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmatī al-hidāyatī li-Mawlānā-zādah • ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmatī al-hidāyatī •
- {5} ≈ al-Qadru alladhī wujida min al-Ḥikmatī al-mashriqiyyatī li-Ibn Sīnā • ≈ Kitābun mansūbun
- {6} ilā al-Imām al-Ghazālī -quddisa sirruhu- fī al-ḥikmatī mawsūmun bi-al-Maqāṣidi •
- {7} ≈ Kitābu bin²⁰⁹ al-Haytham fī al-manāẓiri min qibālī al-ḥikmatī • ≈ Kitābu bin al-Haytham
- {8} fī al-manāẓiri min qibālī al-ḥikmatī fī sittī mujalladātīn • ≈ Tanqīḥu al-manāẓiri •
- [maṭlab]

²⁰⁸ The manuscript has a *kasra* under the *kāf*, reading *kirāmāt*.

²⁰⁹ The manuscript has elided the *alif*, reading *Kitābu bni l-Haytham*.

- {9} ≈ Risālatun fī al-muthuli al-aflātūniyyati min qibali al-ḥikmati • ≈ Kitābu tanqīḥi
- {10} al-manāẓiri min qibali al-ḥikmati • [maṭlab] ≈ Kitābu al-‘ilali li-Balīnūs²¹⁰ min qibali al-ḥikmati al-‘ajībati •
- {11} ≈ Kitābu al-hidāyati wa-al-tibyāni fī al-ḥikmiyyāti • ≈ Majmū‘atun min rasā’ila
- {12} awwaluhā ‘Uyūnu al-ḥikmati li-Ibn Sīnā • ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmati al-‘ayni li-Ibn Mubārak
- {13} Shāh al-Bukhārī • ≈ Nihāyatun²¹¹ fī Sharḥi Ḥikmati al-hidāyati • ≈ Kitābu
- {14} al-ḥudūdi li-Ibn Sīnā wa- ~ Kitābu al-lamaḥāti li-l-Suhrawardī fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati •
- {15} ≈ Majmū‘atun min rasā’ili Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikmiyyāti fī awwalihā risālatun fī sirati
- {16} Ibn Sīnā wa-fihristi kutubihī al-muṣannafati • ≈ Majmū‘atun min rasā’ila
- {17} fī al-ḥikmiyyāti fī awwalihā risālatāni li-Ibn Kammūna • ≈ Kitābāni li-Ibn Kammūna
- {18} fī al-ḥikmiyyāti al-falsafiyyati wa- ~ Qaṣīdatu al-Ṭībī -quddisa sirruhu- bi-al-‘arabiyyati [fī mujalladin wāḥidin] •
- {19} ≈ Fuṣūlu Sulṭānī min qibali al-ḥikmati • ≈ Kitābu al-ta’līqāti fī

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- {1} al-ḥikmiyyāti al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Kitābu al-mabāḥithi al-mashriqiyyati li-l-Imām
- {2} al-Rāzī fī al-ḥikmati • ≈ Majmū‘atun fihā al-rasā’ilu al-muta‘alliqatu bi-l-‘tirāḍi
- {3} al-Sayyid al-Sharīf ‘alā wujūdi al-jihati li-Mawālī al-Rūm -raḥimahum Allāhu ta‘ālā- fī
- {4} al-ḥikmati • ≈ Kitābu Aflātūn al-musammā bi-Ṭaymāwus²¹² fī al-ḥikmiyyāti wa- ~ Risālatu
- {5} maqālāti Aflātūn fī al-siyāsati [ay al-madaniyyati] [fī mujalladin wāḥidin] • ≈ Mujalladun akhīrun min Kitābi al-najāti li-Ibn
- {6} Sīnā • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Sharḥi Ibn Kammūna li-l-Talwīḥāti fī al-ḥikmati
- {7} al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Sharḥi ‘Uyūni al-ḥikmati li-l-Imām al-Rāzī
- {8} fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Mujalladun awwalu min Kitābi al-shajarati al-ilāhiyyati fī
- {9} aqsāmi al-ḥikmati • ≈ Mujalladun akhīrun min al-Kitābi al-mu‘tabari li-Awḥad al-Zamān
- {10} Abī al-Barakāt al-Yahūdī fī al-ṭabī‘iyyāti wa-al-ilāhiyyāti al-ḥikmiyyati •
- {11} ≈ Tanzīlu al-afkāri fī al-manṭiqi wa-al-‘ulūmi al-ḥikmiyyati • ≈ Risālatun fī al-nafsi
- {12} min qibali al-ḥikmati • ≈ Sharḥu Hayākili al-nūri li-Manṣūr al-Ḥusaynī fī
- {13} al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Kitābu al-fawzi al-aṣghari fī al-ḥikmiyyāti •

²¹⁰ Apollonius [of Tyana].

²¹¹ The manuscript does not have nunation.

²¹² The *Timaeus* by Plato; most often *Ṭimāwus*.

- {14} ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmatī al-hidāyati • ≈ Kitābu al-awsaṭi li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-mantiqi
 {15} wa- ~ Kitābu al-burhāni fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-alwāḥi al-‘imādiyyati
 {16} fī al-ḥikmatī • ≈ Risālatu al-ṣalāti li-Ibn Sīnā wa- ~ Risālatu al-arzāqi
 {17} lahu ayḍan min qibali al-ḥikmatī al-falsafiyyati wa- ~ Rasā’ilu ukhrā fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
 {18} ≈ al-Risālatu al-ḥikmiyyatu • ≈ Risālatun bi-al-‘arabiyyati fī al-mantiqi wa-al-ṭabī‘iyyāti
 {19} wa-al-ilāhiyyāti • ≈ Kitābu al-baṣā’iri fī ‘ilmi al-manāziri fī al-ḥikmatī •

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- {1} ≈ Sharḥu Risālati Ḥayy bin Yaqzān²¹³ ‘alā ṭarīqati al-lughazi allati hiya li-Ibn Sīnā wa-
 {2} al-Sharḥu li-Abī Manṣūr al-Ḥusayn fī al-ḥikmatī al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Kitābu
 {3} al-ta’līqāti fī al-ḥikmiyyāti • ≈ Risālatu al-Fārābī fī al-ḥikmatī
 {4} al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Ḥāshiyatu Mawlānā-zādah ‘alā Sharḥi Ḥikmatī al-hidāyati •
 {5} [maṭlab] ≈ Kitābu Balīnūs al-musammā bi-Kitābi al-‘ilali min qibali al-ḥikmatī [ay al-
 ‘ajbati] • ≈ Majmū‘atun
 {6} min kutubi al-‘ulūmi awwaluhā Risālatu kalimāti al-taṣawwufi li-l-Suhrawardī
 {7} wa-thāniyatuhā Kitābu al-alwāḥi al-‘imādiyyati li-l-Suhrawardī fī al-ḥikmatī
 al-falsafiyyati •
 {8} ≈ Majmū‘atun min rasā’ili al-ḥikmiyyāti wa-ghayrihā • ≈ Majmū‘atun min kutubi al-
 ḥikmiyyāti
 {9} wa-ghayrihā • ≈ Majmū‘atun min rasā’ili Abī [al-Naṣr] al-Fārābī fī al-ḥikmiyyāti
 {10} al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu Risālati Ḥayy bin Yaqzān li-Ibn Sīnā wa- ~ Sharḥu
 {11} Abī Manṣūr wa- ~ Risālatu al-ṭayri li-Ibn Sīnā wa- ~ Risālatu al-ajrāmi al-‘ulwiyyati
 {12} li-Ibn Sīnā wa- ~ Kitābu ḥudūthi al-ḥurūfi li-Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikmiyyāti
 {13} al-falsafiyyati wa- ~ Rasā’ilu ukhrā li-Aristāṭālīs wa-Aflāṭūn wa-ghayrihimā
 {14} fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatāni li-Abī al-Naṣr al-Fārābī fī al-ḥikmiyyāti
 {15} ~ Risālatun fī thalāthi mabāḥitha fī al-ḥikmiyyāti wa- ~ Tarjamatu Mawlānā al-Jāmī li-
 abyāti
 {16} Ibn al-Fāriḍ fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Risālatun fī al-ḥikmatī al-ilāhiyyati •
 {17} ≈ Majmū‘atun min rasā’ili Abī al-Naṣr al-Fārābī fī al-ḥikmiyyāti •
 {18} ≈ al-Fawzu al-aṣgharu li-Abī ‘Alī Miskawayh fī al-ḥikmatī al-falsafiyyati wa- ~ Risālatun

²¹³ The manuscript has a *ḍād* in place of *zā* erroneously; correctly written in line {10}.

{19} fi aḥwālī al-‘aqli li-Ibn Sīnā fi al-ḥikmatī al-falsafiyyati [*fī mujalladin wāḥidin*] •
 ≈ Risālatu qaws-i

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- {1} quzah wa- ~ al-Hālātī li-Qāḍī-zādah al-Rūmī fi al-ḥikmatī • ≈ Risālatu al-manāẓiri
- {2} min qibālī al-ḥikmatī • ≈ Tanzīlu al-afkāri fi al-ḥikmiyyāti • ≈ Risālatu al-Naṣīr
- {3} al-Ṭūsī fi al-nufūsi al-arḍiyyati fi al-ḥikmatī • ≈ Kitābu al-lamaḥāti
- {4} li-l-Suhrawardī fi al-ḥikmatī al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Majmū‘atun min rasā’ila
- {5} fi al-ḥikmiyyāti wa-ghayrihā • ≈ Majmū‘atun min rasā’ili Ibn Sīnā fi al-ḥikmiyyāti
- {6} ākhiruhā Kitābu al-shukūki al-mas‘ūdiyyu fi Kitābi al-ishārāti •
- {7} ≈ Risālatun fi al-mabda’i wa-al-ma‘ādi ‘alā ṭarīqati al-ḥikmatī al-islāmiyyati wa-
 ~ Risālatāni
- {8} ukhrayāni fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Anwāru al-afkāri fi al-ḥikmatī • ≈ Majmū‘atun
- {9} awwaluhā Kitābu al-ishārāti li-Ibn Sīnā fi al-ḥikmatī al-falsafiyyati wa-ākhiruhā
- {10} risālatun fi ‘ilmi al-‘arūḍi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Majmū‘atun min rasā’ila
- {11} awwaluhā Risālatu al-ṣalāti li-Ibn Sīnā fi al-ḥikmatī al-falsafiyyati •
- {12} ≈ Majmū‘atun fi al-rasā’ili al-muta‘alliqati bi-ithbāti wājibi al-wujūdi -ta‘ālā wa-
 taqaddasa-
- {13} wa- ~ al-Rasā’ili al-muta‘alliqati bi-al-nafsi min qibālī al-ḥikmatī fi mujalladin wāḥidin •
- {14} ≈ Majmū‘atun awwaluhā Risālatu madārijī al-wujūdi li-l-Ḥakīm al-Maraqī fi al-nafsi fi
- {15} al-ḥikmatī • ≈ Majmū‘atun min rasā’ili Ibn Sīnā fi al-ḥikmatī al-falsafiyyati
- {16} awwaluhā al-Mūjazu fi al-mantiqi wa-ākhiruhā Risālatu sīrati Ibn Sīnā wa-fihristi
- {17} kutubihi fi mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Sharḥu Kitābi Ḥayy bin Yaqzān bi-al-fārisiyyati
- {18} min qibālī al-ḥikmatī al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Majmū‘atun awwaluhā Nuqūshu khawātīmi
 al-ḥukamā’i
- {19} wa-ādābihim wa-ijtimā’ātihim • ≈ Majmū‘atun min rasā’ila fi al-ḥikmiyyāti

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- {1} wa-ghayrihā • ≈ Majmū‘atun awwaluhā Risālatu al-ajwibati [*min*] al-as’ilati wa-
- {2} thāniyatuhā Ījāzu al-ḥikmatī • ≈ Majmū‘atun min rasā’ila fi al-ḥikmatī
- {3} al-falsafiyyati wa-ghayrihā • ≈ Sharḥu Ḥikmatī al-ishrāqi li-l-‘Allāma al-Shīrāzī
- {4} fi al-ḥikmatī al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Sharḥu al-namaṭu al-tāsī‘u min al-Ishārāti
- {5} wa-Tuḥfah-i shāhī bi-al-fārisiyyati fi ma‘rifati al-uṣṭurlābi wa-Madkhalun manẓūmun

- {6} fī al-nujūmi wa-risālatun fārisiyyatun fī al-ramli wa-Sharḥu al-qaṣīdati al-mansūbati
 {7} ilā Ibn Sīnā fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati fī mujalladin wāḥidin • ≈ Kitābu al-nihāyati
 {8} fī sharḥi al-Hidāyati fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Zubdatu al-naqḍi fī sharḥi
 {9} al-Ishārāti li-l-Imām Najm al-Hudā al-Nakhjawānī • ≈ Kitābu al-ishārāti
 {10} wa-Kitābu ḥikmati al-ishrāqi fī al-ḥikmati al-falsafiyyati • ≈ Kitābu al-ishārāti
 {11} li-Ibn Sīnā wa-risālatun fī al-ḥikmiyyāti wa-Kitābu al-jumānati al-ilāhiyyati bi-al-
 ‘arabiyyati
 {12} al-manẓūmati fī al-ḥikmiyyāti al-falsafiyyati fī mujalladin wāḥidin •
 [13–19 are blank]

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[1–8 are blank]

{9} Tafṣīlu al-kutubi al-mutarjamati

{10} • min al-Tawriyati [Tawrāti] wa-al-Zabūri wa-al-Injīli •

{11} ≈ Tarjamatu al-Tawriyati [Tawrāti] bi-al-‘arabiyyati • ≈ Tarjamatu al-Tawriyati [Tawrāti]
 bi-al-fārisiyyati •

{12} ≈ Tarjamatu al-suwari min al-Zabūri bi-al-‘arabiyyati • ≈ Kitābu mazāmīri Dāwud

{13} al-nabī -‘alayhi al-salāmu- bi-al-‘arabiyyati • ≈ Kitābu mazāmīri Dāwud al-nabī

{14} -‘alayhi al-salāmu- bi-al-‘arabiyyati • ≈ Tarjamatu al-Injīli bi-al-‘arabiyyati ‘alā mā

{15} katabahu arba‘atun min al-ḥawāriyyīna • ≈ Injīlun fārisiyyun wa-huwa

{16} Injīlu Mattā wa-Marqus wa-Lūqā wa-Yuḥannā • ≈ Tarjamatu Injīli Mattā

{17} bi-al-fārisiyyati wa-tarjamatu Injīli Marqus bi-al-fārisiyyati wa-tarjamatu Injīli

{18} Lūqā bi-al-fārisiyyati wa-tarjamatu Injīli Yuḥannā bi-al-fārisiyyati •

{19} ≈ Tarjamatu al-Injīli bi-al-‘arabiyyati • ≈ Arba‘u anājīli bi-al-‘arabiyyati al-manẓūmati

[365]

{1} wa-bi-al-fārisiyyati al-manẓūmati • ≈ Zabūrun mutarjamun bi-al-‘arabiyyati •

[2–19 are blank]

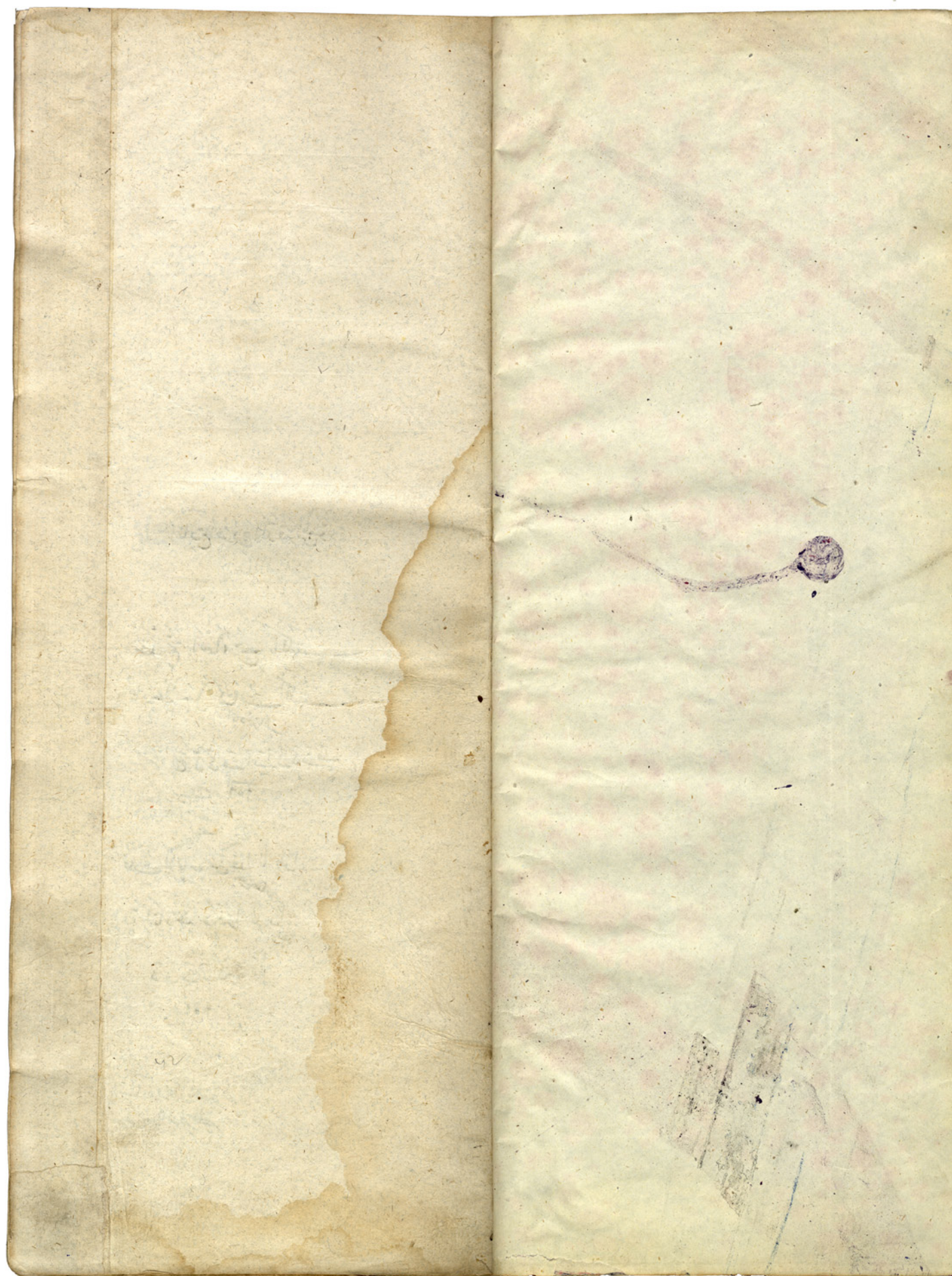
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Toruk, F.

59.





تاريخ خروج الدفتر المسودة
الى هذا البياض

قد تم اسماء جميع الكتب
تاريخه جل كتاب الكتب
ادد في الكتاب

هـ ل ك ت آ ب ك ك ت ب
١٠١

أخبر
قلت لانامه من عدا نا ظرا
ان لنا ربح دفتر لا برب
دوت راكاتب را
١٠١

انشاء وحرر الحفي
مولف هذا الدفتر الخطير

تفصيل لكتب الفقه وكتب مناقب الأئمة

تفصيل لكتب التصوف وكتب

النصائح والمواعظ وكتب مناقب
الشايخ والأولياء قدس سرهم
وكتب علماء الاخلاق

تفصيل لكتب الطب البتية وما يتعلق

بالطب بجملة من الجمات ككتب
الشعور وكتب الفلاحة

تفصيل لكتب السير والتواريخ وكتب

آداب الحرب وكتب امور اليااسة والسلطنة
والسياسة وكتب الفروض والبيطرة يعنى
نامه وكتب باز نامه وكتب سك
نامه وكتب عجايب
الخلوقات وكتب
صم لا عالم

تَقْصِيْدُ كُلِّ الدَّوَابِّ الْعَرَبِيَّةِ الْكُتُبُ

النُّظُمِ بِالْعَرَبِيَّةِ وَكُتُبُ النُّظْمِ وَالْكَتُبُ

الْمُجَعَّةُ وَكُتُبُ الْأَمْثَالِ وَكُتُبُ التَّرْسُلِ وَالْإِنْشَاءِ

وَالسِّيَاقَةِ وَالْأَرْقَامِ وَكُتُبُ

عِلْمِ الْعَرُوضِ وَعِلْمِ الْقَوَافِي

وَالشَّعْرِ وَالْمَعْنَى

تَقْصِيْدُ كُلِّ الدَّوَابِّ الْفَارْسِيَّةِ

وَالْكَتُبُ النَّظْمِ بِالْفَارْسِيَّةِ

تَقْصِيْدُ كُلِّ الدَّوَابِّ التُّرْكِيَّةِ وَالْعُزْلِيَّةِ

وَالْكَتُبُ النَّظْمِ بِالْتُّرْكِيَّةِ وَالْعُزْلِيَّةِ

تَقْصِيْدُ كُلِّ كُتُبِ عِلْمِ الْعَرَفَانِي

تَقْصِيْدُ كُلِّ كُتُبِ عِلْمِ الصَّرْفِ وَالنَّحْوِ

تَقْصِيْدُ كُلِّ كُتُبِ اللُّغَةِ

وَالْعَرَبِيَّةِ وَالْفَارْسِيَّةِ وَغَيْرِهَا

تَقْصِيْدُ كُلِّ كُتُبِ عِلْمِ التَّعْبِيرِ وَكُتُبُ

عِلْمِ الْفَرَاسَةِ وَكُتُبُ عِلْمِ الْكَيْمِيَاءِ وَكُتُبُ عِلْمِ

الْأَحْجَادِ وَكُتُبُ الرَّمَلِ وَكُتُبُ الْفَعَالِ وَكُتُبُ

عِلْمِ النَّبَاتِ وَكُتُبُ الطَّلَسْمَاتِ

وَكُتُبُ السِّيَمَاءِ وَكُتُبُ الْعَزَائِمِ

وَكُتُبُ عِلْمِ الْجَفْرِ وَكُتُبُ

الْإِنْعَانَاتِ الْعَجِيْبَةِ

وَكُتُبُ الْحِيلِ

وَكُتُبُ السُّعْرِ

تَقْصِيْدُ كُلِّ كُتُبِ عِلْمِ الْخَوْصِ

وَكُتُبُ عِلْمِ الْهَيْئَةِ وَكُتُبُ عِلْمِ الْحِسَابِ

وَكُتُبُ عِلْمِ الْهَنْدَسَةِ وَكُتُبُ

عِلْمِ الْمَوْسِيقِي وَكُتُبُ

الْأَلْهَوِ كَالشَّطْرَجِ

تَقْصِيْدُ كُلِّ كُتُبِ الْحِكْمَةِ الْأِسْلَامِيَّةِ

وَكُتُبُ عِلْمِ الْجَدْرِ وَكُتُبُ

النَّحْطِ وَكُتُبُ لُغَةِ الْفَلَسَفِيَّةِ

تفصیل ————— **الکتاب المترجمہ**
من التعمیرۃ والذبور والانیل

قانون الدتہ وشادہ

یہ قانون ہو کہ کتابدہن ہر جملہ کہ برقی یہ دخی زیادہ
اولا کہ انوک مخزن بر اول دفتردہ اول جملہ بر تفصیل
دخی اول نور ^{سینا شعلہ} لکن کاہ اولور کہ بر کتابن اکی جہہ اولور
برجہستہ نقل بر فتنہ و برجہستہ نظر فن آخر دہ دخی اولور
بدایہ الہدایہ کی کہ آنہ م مسائل تصوف و ارد دہ مسائل
علم فقہ و ارد دہ پس بونک کی کتابک کاہ اولور دایم
برجہتی کفر لکڑ بر فتنہ دخی اولور کاہ اولور کہ ہر بر

جہت کہ مقصودا ولد غنہ بنا ہر بر فتنہ استنک احتمال اجلد
بعض نسخہ بر فتنہ و بعض آخر اول بر آخر فتنہ دخی اولور
مثلا بدایہ الہدایہ کی کہ مام غرا لخصرتہ منسوب بر بعض
نسخہ سی علم تصوف و بعض نسخہ سی علم فقہ دہ دخی اولور
یہ قانون دخی بود کہ بر جلد دہ متعدد کتابن اولسہ ہر
قٹی کتاب کہ زیادہ معتبر دہ و مطلوب اولستہ احتمال
زیادہ دہ یہ خود قلیل الوجود کتابن اکا نظر ادب
اول جلد اول کتاب مذکور کہ فن نوک کتابری جملہ
سند دخی اولور ^{سینا شعلہ} لکن کاہ اولور کہ اول جلد دہ
اولن متعدد کتابن مذکور کتابن غیر سی دخی اول
کتاب مذکور کی مطلوبیت و قلة وجود دہ معتبر اولور
پس بونک کی ایلحق اختیار مخرج دہ اتفاق بر جلد دخی
اولسہ کہ اول متعدد کتابن یعنی آنہ دخی اولسہ
جایز کہ اول کتاب مذکور کہ غیر اولان کہ اول
دخی انک کی معتبر اولہ اکا نظر ادب اول کتاب سبیلہ
استثنا دیو اخیال و رلد کی اجلد انوک فن نوک
کابری جملہ سند دخی اولسہ یعنی بعض نسخہ آنہ و
بعض نسخہ بونن دخی اولسہ یہ قانون دخی بود کہ
ہر اسم کتاب کہ دفتردہ بر اسلوب خاص و زرنہ واقع

اُولَئِكَ كَابُكَ مَقْلَبَتَيْنِ دَخِي ظَهَرَتَيْنِ بَعِينَتِهِ اُولَئِكَ
 اسْلُوبُ خَاصٍ اَوْ زِيَادَتُهُ وَقَعَ اُولَئِكَ مَثَلًا بِرُكَايَتِ كِتَابِ
 الْاِحْيَاءِ عِبَانٍ يَزِيدُ لَسَهَ دَفْتَرَدَهَ دَخِي بَعِينَتِهِ اَيْلَهَ يَزِيدُ
 اَكْرَ كَابَتَيْنِ كِتَابِ اِحْيَاءِ اَلْعُلُومِ اَلَّذِيْنَ وَقَعَ اُولَسَهَ دَفْتَرَدَهَ
 دَخِي بَعِينَتِهِ اَيْلَهَ يَزِيدُ اَكْرَ كَابَتَيْنِ كِتَابِ اِحْيَاءِ اَلْعُلُومِ وَقَعَ
 اُولَسَهَ دَفْتَرَدَهَ دَخِي بَعِينَتِهِ اَيْلَهَ يَزِيدُ اَكْرَ كَابَتَيْنِ اِحْيَاءِ
 اَلْعُلُومِ وَقَعَ اُولَسَهَ لَفْظُ كَابَسُوْرَ دَفْتَرَدَهَ دَخِي بَعِينَتِهِ
 اَيْلَهَ يَزِيدُ اَكْرَ كَابَتَيْنِ اِحْيَاءِ وَقَعَ اُولَسَهَ لَفْظُ كَابَسُوْرَ
 لَفْظُ اَلْعُلُومِ سُوْرَ دَفْتَرَدَهَ دَخِي بَعِينَتِهِ اَيْلَهَ يَزِيدُ اَلْاَمْكَلُ
 نَدَرَهَ اَيْلَهَ وَيَا خُودَ سَهْوِيْلَهَ اُولَهَ ^{من الشواذ} لَكِنْ كَابُكَ جِلْدُ
 مُعَدِّدٍ اُولَسَهَ خَطُ دَفْتَرِ خَطِ كَابَهَ ضَرْوِيْ مُعَايِرٍ اُولُ
 مَثَلًا دَفْتَرَدَهَ كِتَابِ اَلْهَدَايَةِ فِيْ جِلْدَيْنِ يَزِيدُ لَسَهَ هَرَجِلْدُ
 ظَهَرَتَيْنِ بِخَطِ اُولُ لَكِنْ هَرَبِرِيْ اُولُ خَطُكَ دَفْتَرَدَهَ
 خَطُهُ مُعَايِرُ دُرِّ مَثَلًا جِلْدُ اَوَّلُ لَ الْجِلْدُ الْاَوَّلُ مِنْ كِتَابِ
 اَلْهَدَايَةِ يَزِيدُ جِلْدُ ثَانِيَتَيْنِ الْجِلْدُ الثَّانِي مِنْ كِتَابِ اَلْهَدَايَةِ
 يَزِيدُ اَلْفَ لَا مَرِ اَيْلَهَ كَهْ عَهْدُ خَارِجِيْ اِيْجُونُ دُرِّ زِيَادَتُهُ
 لَفْظُ جِلْدُ مَذْكُوْرُ دُرِّ نِكْرَهَ اُولَدِيْ خَالَتَيْنِ فِيْ جِلْدَيْنِ
 لَفْظُكَ خُصِيْتَيْنِ لَا مَرَقِيْفٍ اُولُ مُنْكَرٌ مَذْكُوْرًا وَلَسَهَ
 اِشَارَتُهُ دُرِّ اَمَّا جِلْدُ لَفْظُ دَفْتَرَدَهَ دَخِي وَظَهَرُ كَابَتَيْنِ

مُعْرِفٌ يَزِيدُ لَسَهَ مُنْكَرٌ يَزِيدُ لَسَهَ مَثَلًا جِلْدُ مِنْ كِتَابِ اَلْهَدَايَةِ
 يَزِيدُ لَسَهَ بُوْرُ جِلْدُ دُرِّ غَيْرِ جِلْدَاتٍ مُرْتَبِطَهَ يُوقَدُّ دِمَكْ
 اُولُورُ ^{من الشواذ} لَكِنْ كَاهُ اُولُورُ كَهْ نَدَرَهَ اَيْلَهَ لَفْظُ جِلْدُ مُعْرِفٌ
 يَزِيدُ دَفْتَرَدَهَ دَخِي وَهْمُ كَابَتَيْنِ مَثَلًا لَ الْجِلْدُ الثَّانِي يَكِي
 دَخِي الْجِلْدُ الْاٰخِرُ مِنْ اَلْهَدَايَةِ يَكِي بُوْرُكَ يَكِي نَكْ دَخِي غَيْرِي
 جِلْدَاتٍ مُرْتَبِطَهَ بُوْرُ لَمُشْدُرِّ نَتَهَ كَهْ مُنْكَرًا وَلَدِيْ وَقَتِ
 اَيْلَهَ يَدِيْ بِرَقَانُوْنِ دَخِي بُوْرُ كَهْ كُتُبُ مَنَظُوْمَهَ عَرَبِيَهَ
 هَرَقْدَنَ دَوَاوِيْنَ عَرَبِيَهَ دَهَ دَرَجِ اُولَسَهَ وَكُتُبُ مَنَظُوْمَهَ
 قَارِسِيَهَ هَرَقْدَنَ دَوَاوِيْنَ قَارِسِيَهَ دَرَجِ اُولَسَهَ ^{من الشواذ} كُتُبُ
 مَنَظُوْمَهَ تُرْكِيَهَ هَرَقْدَنَ دَوَاوِيْنَ تُرْكِيَهَ دَرَجِ اُولَسَهَ
 مَشُوْرَاتِنِ دَرَجِ اُولَسَهَ لَكِنْ كَاهُ اُولُورُ كَابُ مَنَظُوْمَهَ
 قَشُوْرُكَ كَابُ اَرَا سَتَدَ عَايَتِ مُعْتَبَرًا اُولُورُ كَاهُ رَكْنُ قَدُّ
 كِيْنُ بُوْرُكَ كِيْبُ كَابُ كُتُبُ مَشُوْرَهَ فَتَنَ دَرَجِ اُولُورُ قَصِيْعَتَيْنِ
 شَاهِيْ كِيْبُ عِلْمِ قَرَاتِنِ وَدَخِي مَعْلُوْمُ اَوَّلَا كَهْ شُرُوْحُ قَصَايِدِ
 وَشُرُوْحُ كُتُبِ مَنَظُوْمَهَ شُوْلُ جِهَتِيْلَهَ كَهْ مَقْصُوْدُ اَصْلِيْ كَابُ
 مَنَظُوْمَهَ دُرِّ مَنَظُوْمَاتِنِ دَرَجِ اُولَسَهَ وَدَخِي شُوْلُ
 جِهَتِيْلَهَ كَهْ شُوْلُ كُتُبُ مَشُوْرَهَ دُرِّ كُتُبُ مَشُوْرَهَ دَهَ دَرَجِ
 اُولُورُ وَلِكُلِّ وَجْهَةٍ هُوَ مُوَلِّبًا وَدَخِي مَعْلُوْمُ
 اَوَّلَا كَهْ كَاهُ اُولُورُ كَهْ بِرُكَايَتِ مُسَجَّعَتَيْنِ بَعْضُ نَحْوِيْ

مُبْجَعَاتَن دَنج اُولُون بَعْضِ نُسْخَه سِي كُتْدُو قَشُونُك
 كَابَلَرِن دَنج اُولُون نَثَرَالَلَوِي كِيي اَكْثَرِي مُبْجَعَاتَن
 دَنج اُولُون بَعْضِ نُسْخَه سِي كُتْب نَصَائِحَن دَنج اُولُون
 كُتْب نَصَائِح اَرَايَسَن اِسْتَمْتَك اِحْقَال اُولَد غِيغُون لَكِن بُوْجِه
 اُولُو غَايَتَن آزْدُر نَادِرْدُر بِر قَانُون دَنجِي بُوْدُر
 هَرْخَط كِه ظَهَرِ كَابَن يَه خُوْد مَقْبَلَن يَار لَشْدُر دَقْرَدَه
 يَانَطِق اُولُونُك فَوْقَه مِدَاد اَحْمَر اِيْلَه بَت يَار لَدِي وَلَخُونَه
 هَم مِدَاد اَحْمَر اِيْلَه اَوْج صِفَر وَضَع اُولُون لَكِن بِر كَاب اِي
 مَجْلَدَه اُولُسَه دَقْرَدَه يَارَن كَابَن يَار لَه صَوْرَ خَطَن
 مُعَايِر اُولُو مَعْيَنَد مُعَايِر اُولُو مَثَلَا دَقْرَدَه كَاب اِيْلَه
 فِي مَجْلَدِي يَار لَه اُولُون بَت اَحْمَر وَآخِرِن وَآخِرِي مَجْلَدِن
 اَلْمَجْلَد اَلشَافِي يَار لَه وَكَذَلِكَ اِذَا كَر اَلْمَجْلَدَات مَنَ اَلْقَوَائِن
 اَلدَقْرِيَةِ
قَانُون مَخْرَن كُتْب
 اُولَدُر كِه هَرْ مَخْرَنُك اُوْزَرِن دَقْرَدَه فِهْرِيْت اُولَان
 تَقَاوِيلِ بَعِيْتَه يَار لَه وَدَنجِي هَرْ تَقْصِيْلَه اُولَان كَابَلَرُك
 تَقَايِيْسِي اَلْحَوْن بِر مَكَان وَغَيْر تَقَايِيْسِي اَلْحَوْن بِر مَكَان آخَر
 تَعْيِيْن اُولُون اُوْزَرِن تَقَايِيْس مَخْرَن اِيْدِي يَا غَيْر تَقَايِيْس
 مَخْرَن اِيْدِي يَار لَه تَا كِه هَرْ مَخْرَن اُولُن كَشَشَه جَقْر اِيْدِن
 بِر يَرَنه قَار شَمِيَه كُتْب اِسْلَامِيْنُك دِي عَايِي دِيْن رِعَايِيْتَه تَا جَعْدَد

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي عَمَّرَ نَظَامَ الْأَنْبَاءِ بِعَدْلِ السَّلَاطِينِ
 وَدَبَّرَ الْأُمُورَ مِنْ فَوْقِ السَّمَوَاتِ إِلَى خِزْيَةِ الْأَرْضِينَ
 وَجَعَلَ الْعِلْمَ عِمَادًا لِلدِّينِ وَالْكِتَابَ عِمَادًا لِلْعِلْمِ وَالْيَقِينَ
 وَالصَّلَاةَ عِمَادًا عَلَى مَجْمَعِ عُلُومِ الْأَوَّلِينَ وَالْآخِرِينَ
 بِمَا فِي الصُّحُفِ الْأُولَى وَكُتُبِ الرُّسُلِينَ **مُحَمَّدٍ خَاتَمِ**
كَافَّةِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَفَذَوْقَ عَامَّةِ الْأَوَّلِيَاءِ وَالْآخِرِيَاءِ
 وَعَلَى الَّذِينَ هُمْ جُوهَرُ الْإِسْلَامِ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَأَصْحَابِهِ
الْكَلِمَةِ وَبَعْدُ فَإِنَّ السُّلْطَانَ الْأَعْلَمَ
 وَالْحَانَ الْأَعْظَمَ عَدِيَّ الزَّمَانِ وَمُهَذِّبَ الدُّوَانِ
 صَمَامِ الْبَحْرَيْنِ وَقَمَّامِ الْبَرَيْنِ سَيِّدَ الْقِيَّاصَةِ
 وَسَنَدَ الْأَكَاثِرَةِ قَاطِعَ الطُّغَاةِ وَقَامِعَ الْبُغَاةِ
 قَالِعَ الْيَهُودِ وَدَافِعَ الْمُتَمَرِّدِينَ نَاصِرَ الشَّرَائِعِ الْفَاضِلِ
 وَتَاهِرَ الْمَشَارِقِ الْبَاطِلَةِ عَوْنِ الْعُلَمَاءِ وَصَوْتِ
 الصُّلَحَاءِ قَذْفِ أَصْحَابِ النُّفُوسِ الْقُدْسِيَّةِ وَعَدَّةِ
 أَرْبَابِ الرِّيَاسَاتِ الْأَنْبِيَّةِ شَمْسِ الْجَمَالِ وَسَمَاءِ
 الْجَلَالِ قُطْبِ دَوَائِرِ الْكَمَالِ الْعِلْمِيَّةِ وَأَوْجِ

سَمَوَاتِ الْمَنَاقِبِ الْعَلِيَّةِ سُلْطَانِ السَّلَاطِينِ وَقِبْلَةِ
 الْحَقَائِقِ سُلْطَانِ **يَا يُزِيدُ خَانَ** بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ خَانَ بْنِ مُرَادِ خَانَ
 ابْنِ السُّلْطَانِ مُحَمَّدِ خَانَ بْنِ يَلْدَرِيمِ يَا يُزِيدُ خَانَ ابْنِ الْفَقِيرِ
 مُرَادِ خَانَ بْنِ أَوْرَخَانَ بْنِ عُثْمَانَ خَانَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى
 عَنْهُمْ وَاحْصَنَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى إِلَهُنَا إِيَّاهُمْ بِرِعَايَةِ
 كُتُبِ عُلُومِهِ الَّذِينَ أَمَرَ عَبْدًا مِنْ عِبِيدِهِ بِتَعْيِينِ أَسْمَاءِ كُتُبِ خَزَائِنِهِ
 الْعَامَّةِ وَتَقْيِينِ كُلِّ كِتَابٍ خُصُوصِيَّةً فَهُوَ كِتَابٌ عَلَى طُرُوسِهَا
 وَعَلَى جُلُودِهَا وَبُكْتِهَا فِي الدَّفْتَرِ كِتَابٌ يُؤْفَقُ لِمَا فِي الظُّهُورِ
 وَالْجُلُودِ مِنَ الْأَسْمَاءِ وَالْأَوْصَافِ مِنْ غَيْرِ تَغْيِيرٍ يُوجِبُهُ مِنَ
الْوُجُوعِ الْمُنَوَّيَّةِ لِلْخَطِيئَةِ فَإِنَّ الْخَطِيئَةَ أَجْدَرُهَا قَدْ
الْوُجُوعِ بِأَدْرَ الْعَبْدِ الْخَفِيرِ إِلَى امْتِنَالِ أَمْرِ الْعَالِي
 فَاتَمَّ أَمْرُ مَوْلَاهُ بِتَوْفِيقِ اللَّهِ الْكَبِيرِ تَعَالَى فِي بَإِجْزَائِهِ سَنَةً ثَانٍ

تَقْصِيْدُ الْمَصَاحِفِ الْعَرَبِيَّةِ

مَصْحَفٌ عَزِيْزٌ خَطُّ يَاقُوتٍ مَصْحَفٌ عَزِيْزٌ خَطُّ يَاقُوتٍ
 مَصْحَفٌ عَزِيْزٌ خَطُّ أَرْغُونٍ مَصْحَفٌ عَزِيْزٌ خَطُّ أَرْغُونٍ
 مَصْحَفٌ عَزِيْزٌ خَطُّ ابْنِ الشَّيْخِ مَصْحَفٌ عَزِيْزٌ خَطُّ ابْنِ الشَّيْخِ
 مَصْحَفٌ عَزِيْزٌ خَطُّ ابْنِ الشَّيْخِ مَصْحَفٌ عَزِيْزٌ خَطُّ ابْنِ الشَّيْخِ
 مَصْحَفٌ عَزِيْزٌ خَطُّ ابْنِ الشَّيْخِ مَصْحَفٌ عَزِيْزٌ خَطُّ ابْنِ الشَّيْخِ
 مَصْحَفٌ عَزِيْزٌ خَطُّ ابْنِ الشَّيْخِ مَصْحَفٌ عَزِيْزٌ خَطُّ ابْنِ الشَّيْخِ
 مَصْحَفٌ عَزِيْزٌ خَطُّ ابْنِ الشَّيْخِ مَصْحَفٌ عَزِيْزٌ خَطُّ ابْنِ الشَّيْخِ

قَامَ بِتَقْيِينِ رَأْسِ الْقُدْرَةِ
 وَتَقْيِينِ رَأْسِ الْقُدْرَةِ
 وَتَقْيِينِ رَأْسِ الْقُدْرَةِ
 وَتَقْيِينِ رَأْسِ الْقُدْرَةِ

مصحف عزي على قطعة تمام السمرقندي مصحف عزي على قطعة السمرقندي
 مصحف عزي على قطعة بي اصغر من ربع الدمشقي
 مصحف عزي على قطعة نصف السمرقندي مصحف عزي على قطعة النقطة والاعلى
 مصحف عزي على قطعة نصف السمرقندي مصحف عزي على قطعة السمرقندي
 مصحف عزي على قطعة السمرقندي مصحف عزي على قطعة السمرقندي
 مصحف عزي على قطعة نفيس في آخر فاب القرآن
 مصحف عزي على قطعة فضل الله مصحف عزي على قطعة الدمشقي
 مصحف عزي على قطعة الحاميل مصحف عزي على قطعة الحاميل
 مصحف عزي على قطعة الحاميل في آخر فاب القرآن
 مصحف عزي على قطعة نفيس كتب لولاة السلطان عز نصره
 مصحف عزي على قطعة احمد المصري مرمون فيه الى القرات
 مصحف عزي على قطعة تمام الدمشقي مصحف عزي على قطعة ربع الدمشقي
 مصحف عزي على قطعة نصف السمرقندي مصحف عزي على قطعة نفيس على قطعة
 مصحف عزي في اوائل سطوح صنع المتقابلة
 مصحف عزي على قطعة ربع الدمشقي مصحف عزي في اوائل سطوح صنع المتقابلة
 مصحف عزي صغير الحجم خط يوسف سليمان مصحف عزي صغير الحجم خط يوسف سليمان
 مصحف عزي صغير الحجم خط محمد بن ادرسي مصحف عزي على قطعة ربع الدمشقي
 مصحف عزي على قطعة اللطيف على قطعة ربع الدمشقي مصحف عزي صغير الحجم على
 مصحف عزي على قطعة تمام السمرقندي من هذا يد سولي مصر

مصحف عزي في غاية صغر الحجم على هيئة التثنية في آخر فاب القرآن
 مصحف عزي في غاية صغر الحجم على هيئة التثنية
 مصحف عزي في غاية صغر الحجم على هيئة التثنية مع غلاف ذهبي
 مصحف عزي على قطعة السمرقندي مصحف عزي على قطعة كوفي
 ختم القرآن العظيم في الحاميل المملوكي المستدير بغلاف فضة
 ختم القرآن العظيم في الحاميل المملوكي المستدير
 ختم القرآن العظيم في ورقة طولها مقدار شبر ونصف شبر
 وعرضها مقدار شبر اجزاء القرآن العظيم ثلثون مجلدا في غلاف
 اجزاء القرآن العظيم ثلثون مجلدا في غلاف اجزاء القرآن العظيم ثلثون
 مجلدا في غلاف اجزاء القرآن العظيم ثلثون مجلدا الا واحد في غلاف
 مصحف عزي على قطعة الدمشقي مصحف عزي على قطعة السمرقندي
 خط ارفعون الكاملي

خط ارفعون

مَجْلَدٌ يَسُورُ مِنَ الْقُرْآنِ الْعَظِيمِ نَخْطٌ كُوفِيٌّ ۞ مَجْلَدٌ يَسُورُ مِنَ الْقُرْآنِ
 الْعَظِيمِ نَخْطٌ كُوفِيٌّ ۞ سُورَةُ الْأَنْعَامِ أَحَدُ أَرْبَعُونَ مَجْلَدًا فِي صَنْدٍ
 ۞ سُورَةُ الْأَنْعَامِ أَحَدُ أَرْبَعُونَ مَجْلَدًا فِي صَنْدٍ وَفِي ۞ الْجُزْءِ الْأَخِيرِ
 مِنَ الْقُرْآنِ الْعَظِيمِ ۞ سُورَةُ الْأَنْعَامِ نَخْطٌ يَاهُوتُ ۞ الْجُزْءِ الْأَخِيرِ
 مِنَ الْقُرْآنِ الْعَظِيمِ ۞ بَيْتُ الْحَمْدِ ۞ بَيْتُ الْحَمْدِ ۞ سُورَةُ

تَقْصِيرٌ لِكُتُبِ الْقَاسِيَةِ وَكُتُبِ عِلْمِ الْقِرَاءَةِ

تَقْصِيرٌ كَبِيرٌ يَسْمَى بِفَتْحِ الْعَبِيدِ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞ تَقْصِيرٌ كَبِيرٌ

مَسْمُومَاتٍ فِي الْغَيْبِ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞ تَقْسِيرُ كَبِيرٍ مَسْمُومَاتٍ فِي الْغَيْبِ
 فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞ كِتَابُ التَّقْسِيرِ الْكَبِيرِ لِلْإِمَامِ الْحَجَّاجِ الرَّائِي
 قَدْ سَمِعَ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞ الْمَجْلَدُ الْآخِرُ مِنَ التَّقْسِيرِ الْكَبِيرِ وَلَمْ يُوجَدْ
 سِوَا الْمَجْلَدَاتِ ۞ تَقْسِيرُ كَبِيرٍ فِي مَجْلَدَيْنِ ۞ تَقْسِيرُ كَبِيرٍ فِي أَرْبَعِ
 مَجْلَدَاتٍ ۞ كِتَابُ كَشَافٍ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞ كِتَابُ الْكَشَافِ فِي
 مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞ كَشَافٍ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞ كَشَافٍ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞
 كَشَافٍ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞ كِتَابُ الْكَشَافِ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞
 كَشَافٍ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞ كَشَافٍ فِي أَرْبَعِ مَجْلَدَاتٍ ۞
 كَشَافٍ فِي مَجْلَدَيْنِ لَكِنْ كِتَابُهُ أَحَدُ الْمَجْلَدَيْنِ غَيْرُ كِتَابَةِ الْآخَرِ ۞
 كَشَافٍ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞ كِتَابُ الْكَشَافِ فِي مَجْلَدَيْنِ مَجْلَدَانِ
 وَمَجْلَدَانِ ثَلَاثَ وَلَمْ يُوجَدْ مَجْلَدٌ أَوَّلُ مِنْهُ ۞ كِتَابُ الْكَشَافِ
 فِي التَّقْسِيرِ فِي مَجْلَدٍ ۞ كِتَابُ كَشَفِ الْكَشَافِ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞
 كِتَابُ كَشَفِ الْكَشَافِ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞ كِتَابُ كَشَفِ الْكَشَافِ
 فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞ كِتَابُ كَشَفِ الْكَشَافِ فِي التَّقْسِيرِ ۞
 النِّصْفُ الْآخِرُ مِنَ الْكَشَافِ وَلَمْ يُوجَدْ النِّصْفُ الْأَوَّلُ ۞
 كِتَابُ حَاشِيَةِ الْكَشَافِ لِسَلَامِ الدِّينِ الْمُؤَسَّسِ كَشَفِ الْكَشَافِ
 فِي التَّقْسِيرِ ۞ حَاشِيَةُ شَرْحِ الْكَشَافِ فِي التَّقْسِيرِ ۞ حَاشِيَةُ
 كَشَافٍ لِمَوْلَانَا سَعْدِ الدِّينِ ۞ حَاشِيَةُ كَشَافٍ
 لِمَوْلَانَا سَعْدِ الدِّينِ ۞ كِتَابُ حَاشِيَةِ الْكَشَافِ لِمَوْلَانَا سَعْدِ

سَعْدِ الدِّينِ ۞ مَجْلَدٌ وَاحِدٌ مِنْ حَاشِيَةِ الْكَشَافِ لِسَعْدِ الدِّينِ
 مِنْ سُورَةِ النَّسَاءِ إِلَى وَسْطِ سُورَةِ يُوسُفَ ۞ كِتَابُ حَاشِيَةِ
 حَاشِيَةِ سَعْدِ الدِّينِ لِلْكَشَافِ ۞ كِتَابُ حَاشِيَةِ الْكَشَافِ
 لِسَعْدِ الدِّينِ فِي التَّقْسِيرِ ۞ كِتَابُ حَاشِيَةِ الْكَشَافِ مِنْ سُورَةِ
 ص إِلَى سُورَةِ الْفَتْحِ لِسَعْدِ الدِّينِ ۞ كِتَابُ حَاشِيَةِ الْكَشَافِ
 لِلْسَّيِّدِ ۞ كِتَابُ حَاشِيَةِ الْكَشَافِ لِلْسَّيِّدِ ۞ حَاشِيَةُ
 الْكَشَافِ لِلْسَّيِّدِ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ ۞ كِتَابُ حَاشِيَةِ كَشَافِ لِلْسَّيِّدِ ۞
 كِتَابُ حَاشِيَةِ الْكَشَافِ وَحَاشِيَةُ شَرْحِ عَصْدِ الدِّينِ لِلْسَّيِّدِ رَحِمَهُ
 اللَّهُ رَحِمَهُ وَاسِعَهُ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞ كِتَابُ
 حَاشِيَةِ الْكَشَافِ لِلْسَّيِّدِ الشَّرِيفِ ۞ كِتَابُ حَاشِيَةِ السَّيِّدِ
 عَلَى الْكَشَافِ فِي التَّقْسِيرِ ۞ حَاشِيَةُ الْكَشَافِ لِلْسَّيِّدِ الشَّرِيفِ
 فِي التَّقْسِيرِ ۞ حَاشِيَةُ كَشَافِ لِلْسَّيِّدِ الشَّرِيفِ فِي التَّقْسِيرِ ۞
 حَاشِيَةُ السَّيِّدِ الشَّرِيفِ عَلَى الْكَشَافِ فِي التَّقْسِيرِ وَحَاشِيَةُ السَّيِّدِ
 الشَّرِيفِ عَلَى شَرْحِ الْعَصْدِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞
 رِسَالَةٌ فِي مَدْحِ سُلْطَانِ السَّلَاطِينِ وَرِسَالَةٌ الْإِعْتِرَاضَاتِ عَلَى
 حَاشِيَةِ السَّيِّدِ الشَّرِيفِ عَلَى الْكَشَافِ ۞ حَاشِيَةُ الْكَشَافِ لِمَوْلَانَا
 مُحَمَّدِ الدِّينِ الشَّهْرِ غُطِبَ رَأْدَهُ ۞ كِتَابُ حَاشِيَةِ كَشَافٍ لِمَوْلَانَا
 عَبْدَ الْكَبِيرِ فِي الزَّهْرَاوَيْنِ ۞ كِتَابُ تَوْضِيحِ مُشْكَلاتِ الْكَشَافِ
 الْمَجْلَدُ الْأَوَّلُ مِنْ مِقْتَعِ الْكُفْرِ الْمُتَعَبِّ مِنَ الْكَشَافِ ۞ كِتَابُ

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الموسوم بالوجيز . كتاب التفسير في أربع مجلدات

كتاب التفسير في التفسير . ثلاث مجلدات من تفسير القاساني
ولم يوجد مجلد ثان منه

كتاب جواهر القرآن للإمام الغزالي من قبل التفسير . كتاب جواهر

القرآن لجنة الإسلام الغزالي من قبل التفسير . رسالة في تفسير

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كتاب التفسير الموسوم بدلائل التنزيل . كتاب التفسير الموسوم

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كتاب غاية الأمان في تفسير الكلام الرباني . كتاب غاية الأمان

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كتاب تفسير الكواشي في مجلد . النصف الأول من تفسير الكواشي

ولم يوجد النصف الأخير . كتاب عيون التفسير المعروف

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كتاب أسئلة القرآن من قبل التفسير . كتاب أسباب نزول

القرآن الكريم من قبل التفسير . كتاب تأويلات إرمي

الماتريدي في ثلاث مجلدات إلى آخر سورة الزعد . ثلاث مجلدات

من تأويلات إرمي مضمون الماتريدي في التفسير ولم يوجد سائر المجلدات

المجلد الأول المجلد الثاني والمجلد الثالث من شرح تأويلات إرمي

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حاشية الكشاف للطبري في مجلدين ولم يوجد سائر المجلدات

رسالة في تفسير بعض آيات الحج . النصف الأول من كتاب التفسير

الفارسي ولم يوجد النصف الأخير . كتاب أسئلة القرآن للرازي

من قبل التفسير . كتاب التفسير من سورة الملك إلى آخر القرآن

كتاب ترجمة تفسير الطبري بالفارسية للزهراوين . كتاب تفسير

الفاخر لمولانا الفارسي . كتاب أسئلة وأجوبة على كتب التفسير

كتاب في تفسير الآيات ونبي صفات الله تعالى لمولانا أفضل الدين

زاده رحمه الله . كتاب أسئلة القرآن للرازي من قبل التفسير

كتاب خلاصة الفاتحة في التفسير . نسخة ومضمون من قبل

التفسير . رسالة في تفسير سورة الإخلاص والعتودتين ورسالة في

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كتاب أسئلة القرآن والحديث من قبل التفسير . كتاب في دقائق

بعض السور من قبل التفسير . كتاب تفسير الفاتحة لبعض المشايخ

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سورة الزعد بالفارسية . مجلد أول من كتاب أنوار الحقائق

في التفسير . كتاب لطائف الأشاوت لصاحب الرسالة العشرية

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 بيان الاستعانة بالمسئلة لغز المولي علي بن مولانا بجان سله
 الله من قبل التفسير . رسالة في خواص الاستعانة والتسمية
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 اشترى من المؤمنين أنفسهم وأموالهم الآية في التفسير . كتاب
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 قبل التفسير . كتاب اعراب إلى البقاء من قبل التفسير .
 كتاب مختصر في تفسير القرآن . كتاب في فنون السبعة
 اوله التفسير من قومه بكتاب اقليم التكاليم . مجموعة من
 الكتب اوله ايجاد البيان في التفسير . ترجمة الاخوان في
 في تفسير قوله تعالى قالوا لوط انا مرسل ربك إلى آخره .
 رسالة في كشف قطب العارفين عبد الرحمن قدس برهم عن قوله
 تعالى الله ولي الذين آمنوا يخرجهم من الظلمات إلى النور من
 قبل التفسير . رسالة في قوله تعالى الله ولي الذين آمنوا
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 تفسير سورة العنكبوت ورسالة تفسير قوله تعالى يا ايها الذين آمنوا

اصبروا وصابروا الآية من قبل التفسير . ترجمة الاصحاب
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 كتاب الروضة الفاتحة في تفسير الفاتحة . كتاب في
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 ورسالة في مكارم الاخلاق وكتاب مناسك الحج ورسالة
 في الاوند ورسالة الوجود لابن سينا ورسالة في احوال
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 المشايخ لصدر الدين الفتوي من قبل التفسير وكتاب في الصوف في
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 عليها والمختلف فيها من قبل التفسير . كتاب اسئلة القرآن
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من قبل التفسير . تفسير البحر الذي كبراً . رسالة في
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خان بن محمد خان زبد نص ورسالة في التفسير في مجلد واحد
كتاب في تفسير الفاتحة للفتاوى .

كتاب ترجمة قصيدة الشاطبي بالعامية المتطورة في علم القراءة
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القراءة . كتاب العبقري في شرح للجعفري في علم القراءة
كتاب غفر الخمر في شرح الذرة المعروفة باللامية في علم القراءة .
كتاب شريف في طبقات القراء السبعة تقع الله تعالى بهم
كتاب المبسوط في علم القراءة . رسالة في التجويد وعلم القراءة
كتاب حلية العبد في علم القراءة . كتاب مسلك القراء
في شرح ابیات ابن الجزري رحمه الله تعالى في علم القراءة .
كتاب لوازم العرب في شرح فوائد الدرر في علم القراءة وكتاب

كشف الاسرار في علم القراءة للكنز في مجلد واحد . كتاب
فارسي في علم القراءة والقصص الاخيار من كتاب المبسوط
في علم القراءة . كتاب السرا المكتوم للشيخ في علم القراءة
قصيدة الشاطبي في علم القراءة . كتاب في اعراب
القرآن ووجوه القراءات مشهور باعراب ابي البقاء .
كتاب الدرر المضيئة في شرح قصيدة الشاطبي في علم القراءة .
قصيدة مسماة بحزب القراءة في علم القراءة . رسالة تركية
في علم القراءة ورسالة تفسير بعض السور بالتركية . مجموعة
من رسائل اوليها نظم الشيخ الجزري في علم القراءة وثانيها
رسالة النظر التركي في علم القراءة وثالثها زينة القاري و
رابعها قواعد القرآن .

تَقْصِي — لَكْتُ الْأَحَادِيثَ وَكُتِبَ اسْمَاءُ الْعَالِ

وَأَنسَابِهِمْ وَكُتُبُ مَنَاقِبِ أَصْحَابِ الْحَدِيثِ وَكُتُبُ شَمَائِلِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ

كتاب صحيح البخاري في الحديث . كتاب صحيح البخاري في الحديث

فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۚ كِتَابُ صَيْحِ الْبَخَّارِيِّ فِي الْحَدِيثِ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۚ

کتاب صحیح البخاری فی الحديث فی مجلد واحد . کتاب صحیح البخاری

فِي الْحَدِيثِ فِي مُجَلَّدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞ كِتَابُ صَحِيحِ الْبُخَارِيِّ فِي الْحَدِيثِ فِي مُجَلَّدٍ

وَلِإِذَا كَانَ كِتَابُ صَاحِبِ الْخَارِئِ فِي الْحَدِيثِ فِي مُعَلِّدٍ وَلِإِذَا كَانَ كِتَابُ

صحيح البخاري في الحديث كتاب صحيح البخاري في الحديث في مجلد

وَاحِدٌ ۖ كِتَابٌ صَحِيحٌ الْبَخَارِيُّ فِي الْحَدِيثِ فِي مُجَلَّدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۖ

كتاب صحيح البخاري في الحديث في مجلد واحد كتاب صحيح البخاري

فِي الْحَدِيثِ فِي مُجَلَّدٍ وَلِإِحْدٍ ٥ كِتَابِ صِيحِ الْخَارِجِيِّ فِي الْحَدِيثِ

في مجلد واحد كتاب صحيح البخاري في الحديث في مجلد واحد

كتاب صحيح البخاري في الحديث في مجلد واحد

الْحَارِثِي فِي الْحَدِيثِ فِي مُجَلَّدٍ وَاحِدٍ ٢٠٠ كِتَابُ صَيْغِ الْحَارِثِي فِي

الْحَدِيثُ فِي مُجَلَّدٍ وَاحِدٍ مَاتَا كِتَابُ صَحِيحِ الْبُخَارِيِّ فِي الْحَدِيثِ فِي مُجَلَّدٍ

وَاحِدٌ ۝ كِتَابٌ صَحِيحٌ الْخَارِئِي فِي الْحَدِيثِ فِي مُجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۝ كِتَابٌ

صَحِيحُ الْخَارِئِي فِي الْحَدِيثِ فِي مُجَلَّدٍ وَاحِدٍ ٥٠٠ كِتَابُ صَحِيحِ الْخَارِئِي فِي

الحديث في مجلد واحد كتاب صحيح البخاري في الحديث في اربع

مجلدات ۱۰۰ کتاب صحیح البخاری فی الحديث فی سبع مجلدات

وَقَدْ كَانَ فِي الْأَصْلِ ثَمَانِي مَجْلَدَاتٍ فَجُعِلَ الْمَجْلَدُ الْأَوَّلُ وَالثَّانِي فِي جُلْدٍ

وَاحِدٍ فَصَارَ سَبْعُ مَجَلَّاتٍ . كِتَابُ صَمِيعِ الْخَارِ فِي الْحَدِيثِ فِي

ثاني مجلدات في الحديث . . . مجلد اول من كتاب جمع البخاري

فِي الْحَدِيثِ ١٢٠ النِّصْفُ الْأَوَّلُ مِنْ كِتَابِ صَاحِبِ الْغَرَارِيِّ فِي الْحَدِيثِ

مجلد من كتاب صحيح البخاري في الحديث كتاب الكوكب الذي

فِي اختصار صحيح البخاري في الحديث . جلد رابع من صحيح البخاري

فِي الْحَدِيثِ

شرح صيغ البخاري للكرمانى في الحديث ٥٥ شرح صيغ البخاري للكرمانى

فِي مُجَلَّدَيْنِ لِلَّهِ ۖ شَرَحَ صَحِيحَ الْخَارِجِيِّ لِلْكَلْبِيِّ هَاتَيْنِ فِي مُجَلَّدَيْنِ فِي الْحَدِيثِ

شرح صحيح البخاري للكرواني في أربع مجلدات الحديث

لَكُمْ مَانِي فِي أَرْبَعِ مُجَلَّدَاتٍ الْجَدِثِ ۖ شَرَحَ صَحِيحَ الْخَارِجِيِّ لِلَّهِ مَانِي فِي

ثَلَاثُ مُجَلَّدَاتٍ وَلِلْهَدْيِ ^{بَابُ} مُجَلَّدٍ أَوَّلُ مِنْ شَرْحِ صَمِيحِ الْبُخَارِيِّ لِلْكَرَامَاتِ

فِي الْحَدِيثِ ٥٠ مَجْلَدَانِ ثَالِثٌ وَرَابِعٌ مِنْ شَرْحِ صَحِيحِ الْبُخَارِيِّ

لِلْكَرْمَانِي فِي الْحَدِيثِ ۞ مَجْلَدَانِ مِنْ شَرْحِ صَيْحِ الْخَارِي لِلْكَرْمَانِي

فِي الْحَدِيثِ ٤٠ مُجَلَّدٌ آخِرٌ مِنْ شَرْحِ صَحِيحِ الْبُخَارِيِّ لِلْكَرْمَانِيِّ فِي

الْحَدِيثُ . كتاب الكواثر الجارية في شرح صحيح البخاري للكواثر في
 في الحديث . كتاب التفتيح في شرح صحيح البخاري . فتح الباري
 في شرح صحيح البخاري في عشر مجلدات المعنون باب الحجر . كتاب بركة النور
 مختصر صحيح البخاري في الحديث في مجلدين . كتاب ضوء السائر
 في شرح صحيح البخاري في الحديث . مجلد ثالث من بركة النور
 في شرح كتاب جمع التهاية وهو مختصر صحيح البخاري في الحديث وكتاب
 الرأى في مجلد واحد .

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 وخاتمة في علم الحديث . شرح كتاب الأربعين حديثاً بالعربية .
 كتاب الحكم الرواية عن سيد المرسلين محمد وعلى أمير المؤمنين في الحديث
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مَنْظُومَةٌ وَدَعَوَاتُ الْآيَامِ فِي الْحَوَاشِي **•** **•** كِتَابُ قَاعِ الْأَصُولِ

فِي عِلْمِ حَدِيثِ الرَّسُولِ **•** **•** شَرْحُ أَحَادِيثٍ عِدَّةٍ سَبْعَةٌ وَعِشْرُونَ

بِصُدْرَ الَّذِينَ الْقَوِيُّ **•** **•** كِتَابُ الْجَوْهَرِ الْفَرِيدِ فِي شَرْحِ الْحَدِيثِ الَّذِي

ذَكَرَهُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عِنْدَ سَوَابِ جِبْرِيلَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ

نُحْطُ شَارِحِهِ عَلَى الْكَلِيِّ **•** **•** مَجْمُوعَةٌ مِنَ الْكُتُبِ الْعَتِيقَةِ مَوْسُومَةٌ بِالْفَتْحَةِ

الْفَجِيئَةِ الْأَوَّلِيَّةِ فِي أَنْوَاعِ الْفُنُونِ كُلِّهِدِيثٍ وَغَيْرِهِ **•** **•** مَجْلَدٌ مِنْ مَجْمُوعِ

الزَّوَادِقِ فِي الْحَدِيثِ **•** **•** بَابُ عَاشِرِينَ مِنْ مَوَاطِعِ اللَّوْكَ وَرِسَالَةٌ

الْأَرْبَعِينَ حَدِيثًا فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ **•** **•** رِسَالَةٌ فِي الْحَدِيثِ وَالِدَعَاءِ عَلَى

تَرْتِيبِ الْحُرُوفِ لِسُلْطَانِ السَّلَاطِينَ سُلْطَانِ بَايَزِيدِ خَانِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ خَانِ

زَيْدِ تِ سَعَادَتِهِمَا فِي الدَّارَيْنِ مَوْسُومَةٌ بِكِتَابِ اخْتِسَارِ الْفُرْصَةِ لِقِرَاءَةِ

لِلْحَدِيثِ بِرُصْصِهِ **•** **•** كِتَابُ الْهَيْئَةِ الْمُنْفُطِ فِي شَرْحِ الْأَحَادِيثِ الْعَشِيرَةِ

لُفْةً لِمَا قَانَ فِي شَرْحِ الْأَرْبَعِينَ حَدِيثًا بِالْفَارِسِيَّةِ النَّظْمِ **•** **•**

مَجْمُوعَةٌ مِنْ رِسَائِلِ الْفُنُونِ الْمُتَلَفَةِ أَوَّلُهَا مَجْمُوعَةٌ مِنَ الْأَحَادِيثِ **•** **•**

رِسَالَةُ الْأَرْبَعِينَ حَدِيثًا **•** **•**

كِتَابُ شَمَائِلِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ **•** **•** كِتَابُ شَمَائِلِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ

كِتَابُ جَوَاهِرِ الْعُقَدَيْنِ فِي فَضْلِ الشَّرَفَيْنِ شَرَفِ الْعِلْمِ الْحَقِيِّ وَشَرَفِ

النَّبِيِّ الْعَلِيِّ مِنْ قِبَلِ الْأَحَادِيثِ **•** **•** كِتَابُ فِي شَمَائِلِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ

وَسَلَّمَ **•** **•** كِتَابُ تَذَكُّرَةِ الْفَضَائِلِ فِي تَرْجُمَةِ الشَّمَائِلِ بِالْفَارِسِيَّةِ **•** **•**

كِتَابُ شَمَائِلِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ **•** **•** كِتَابُ الْأَرْبَعِينَ فِي مَعْرِفَةِ

النَّبِيِّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَأَوْلَادِهِ وَاصْحَابِهِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ **•** **•** كِتَابُ

تَقْرِيبِ التَّهْذِيبِ فِي أَسْمَاءِ الرِّجَالِ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْحَدِيثِ **•** **•** كِتَابُ

مُخْتَصَرِ تَهْذِيبِ الْكَمَالِ فِي أَسْمَاءِ الرِّجَالِ لِأَهْلِ الْحَدِيثِ فِي أَرْبَعِ مَجْلَدَاتٍ **•** **•**

كِتَابُ أَسْمَاءِ الرِّجَالِ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْحَدِيثِ **•** **•** كِتَابُ أَسْمَاءِ الرِّجَالِ مِنْ أَهْلِ

الْحَدِيثِ **•** **•** كِتَابُ أَسْمَاءِ الرِّجَالِ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْحَدِيثِ **•** **•**

كِتَابُ سِلَاحِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فِي تَقَاصِيلِ الْأَدْعِيَةِ الْمَأْنُونَةِ مِنْ قِبَلِ الْحَدِيثِ **•** **•**

كِتَابُ خَفَاةِ الدَّارَيْنِ فِي الْأَدْعِيَةِ الْمَأْنُونَةِ بِالْأَحَادِيثِ **•** **•** كِتَابُ

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مَعَ أَوْلَادِهِ رِضْوَانُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِمْ أَجْمَعِينَ **•** **•**

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 كِتَابُ شَرْعَةِ الْإِسْلَامِ فِي الْحَدِيثِ . . . كِتَابُ مَوْسُومِ شَرْعَةِ الْإِسْلَامِ
 فِي الْحَدِيثِ . . .

كِتَابُ شَرْحِ شَرْعَةِ الْإِسْلَامِ لَوْلَانَا الْمَعْرُوفِ بِابْنِ سَيِّدِ عِلٍّ فِي الْحَدِيثِ ^{زَادَهُ}
 شَرْحُ شَرْعَةِ الْإِسْلَامِ لِسَيِّدِ عِلٍّ زَادَهُ فِي الْحَدِيثِ . . . كِتَابُ
 شَهَابِ الْأَخْبَارِ فِي الْحَدِيثِ . . . كِتَابُ شَهَابِ الْأَخْبَارِ فِي الْحَدِيثِ
 مَجْمَعُ الزَّوَايِدِ وَمَنْبَعُ الْفَوَايِدِ فِي الْحَدِيثِ فِي سِتِّ مَجْلَدَاتٍ . . .
 كِتَابُ الْكَاشِفِ عَنْ حَقَائِقِ السُّنَنِ ^{إِلَى} . . . كِتَابُ الْفَوَايِدِ مِنَ الْعُلُومِ

المتفرقة في الحديث وعينه . كتاب مختصر من الأحاديث .
 الصحيحة في رياضات النفوس وتهذيب الأخلاق للنووي .
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 الأخبار في الحديث . كتاب شهاب الأخبار للقضاة في الحديث .
 كتاب الاستيعاب في الحديث في ست مجلدات . كتاب مختصر
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 الفقه للنووي . كتاب الأذكار مع تفاسير علم الحديث ودقائق
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 الإجتihad في فضل الجهاد بالأحاديث . كتاب زبدة الجوامع
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 في فضائل الصلوة وغيرها بأحاديث . كتاب زهرة السلطان
 لحائفة محمد بن مراد خان في فضل الجهاد بالأحاديث . الجزء
 الأول من كتاب جمع الأخبار وتذكر أوّل الأبواب في
 الأحاديث . مجلد أول من كتاب صنوع الصنوع في ذكر
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 قصيدة السخاوي مع شرحها في علم التوحيد وكتاب ابن الصلاح
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كتاب متن المواقف في علم الكلام . كتاب جواهر الكلام
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كتاب شرح التجريد لشمس الدين الاصفهاني الموسوم بتشديد القواعد
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كتاب حاشية السيد الشريف على شرح شمس الدين الاصفهاني للتحريد
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كتاب حاشية النصير الحلي على شرح التحريد للاصفهاني في علم الكلام
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كتاب متن طوابع الانوار في علم الكلام . كتاب متن الطوابع الانوار
في علم الكلام . كتاب متن الطوابع للبيضاوي في علم الكلام والفقن
الثالث من الطول في البديع في المعاني في مجلد واحد . كتاب
النور الطالع مختصر الطوابع في علم الكلام . مجموعة من كتب
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كتاب شرح طوابع الانوار ل محمد باقر المعروف باميرك في علم الكلام
كتاب شرح الطوابع في علم الكلام . كتاب مطالع الانتظار في

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الطوابع في علم الكلام . كتاب شرح الطوابع في علم الكلام .
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كتاب حاشية شرح العبري للطوابع في علم الكلام . كتاب حاشية
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كتاب متن العقائد في علم الكلام ورسالة آداب البحث وقسمالة
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كتاب نظم متن العقائد ل محمد ومولانا تاج زاده في علم الكلام .

كتاب شرح العقائد لسعد الدين في علم الكلام . كتاب شرح
العقائد لسعد الدين في علم الكلام . كتاب شرح العقائد في

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كتاب متن الهداية في الحكمة في مجلد واحد **كتاب شرح العقائد**
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للشعبي في علم الكلام **كتاب التهديد في علم الكلام** وكتاب في علم الكلام
وشرح يقول العبد في علم الكلام وكتاب العقائد في علم الكلام وكتاب في علم
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كتاب محكي النظر للإمام الغزالي وكتاب معيار العلم للإمام
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في شرح الأسماء والصفات في علم الكلام في مجلد واحد **كتاب**

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 الفقهية في مجموعة من رسائل اولها كتاب التفرقة بين الزندقة
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 مسئلة القدر مرقمة بالله لولا ناعب في علم الكلام . كتاب الاجوبة
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 كتاب شح كتاب النصير المحلى لاجل الكاشي في علم الكلام . رسالة
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وَعِلْمُ الْفِقْهِ وَعِلْمُ الْأَصُولِ الْمُتَّبِعِ فِي الْخِلَافَاتِ وَعِلْمُ الْأَصُولِ
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والحكمة ٥٥ مجموعة من رسائل في المنطق والجدل والعروض
 وأخرها الرسالة القدسية للإمام الغزالي قدس سره في علم الكلام
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تَقْصِيْبُ كُلِّ كِتَابٍ لِأَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ

كِتَابُ التَّوْضِيْحِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ . . . كِتَابُ التَّوْضِيْحِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ
 كِتَابُ التَّوْضِيْحِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ . . . كِتَابُ التَّوْضِيْحِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ
 كِتَابُ التَّوْضِيْحِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ . . . كِتَابُ التَّوْضِيْحِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ
 كِتَابُ التَّوْضِيْحِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ . . . كِتَابُ التَّوْضِيْحِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ
 كِتَابُ التَّوْضِيْحِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ . . .

كِتَابُ التَّلَوِيْحِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ . . . كِتَابُ التَّلَوِيْحِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ
 كِتَابُ التَّلَوِيْحِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ . . . كِتَابُ التَّلَوِيْحِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ
 كِتَابُ التَّلَوِيْحِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ . . . كِتَابُ التَّلَوِيْحِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ
 كِتَابُ التَّلَوِيْحِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ . . . كِتَابُ التَّلَوِيْحِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ
 فِي شَرْحِ التَّوْضِيْحِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ وَشَرْحِ الْعُقُوبِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ
 فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ . . . كِتَابُ التَّلَوِيْحِ حَاشِيَةُ التَّوْضِيْحِ لِمَوْلَانَا سَعْدِ
 التَّقَاتِي فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ . . . كِتَابُ التَّلَوِيْحِ فِي شَرْحِ التَّوْضِيْحِ
 فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ . . .

كِتَابُ حَاشِيَةِ التَّلَوِيْحِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ . . . كِتَابُ حَاشِيَةِ التَّلَوِيْحِ
 فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ . . . كِتَابُ حَاشِيَةِ التَّلَوِيْحِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ . . .
 كِتَابُ حَاشِيَةِ التَّلَوِيْحِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ . . . كِتَابُ حَاشِيَةِ التَّلَوِيْحِ
 لِمَوْلَانَا خُسْرُو فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ . . . كِتَابُ حَاشِيَةِ التَّلَوِيْحِ لِمَوْلَانَا
 ابْنِ حُصَامِ الدِّينِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ . . . كِتَابُ حَاشِيَةِ التَّلَوِيْحِ وَ
 حَاشِيَةُ التَّلَوِيْحِ وَشَرْحُ آدَابِ الْحَثِّ وَرِسَالَةُ الصَّلَاةِ وَحَاشِيَةُ
 شَرْحِ الشَّيْبَانِيِّ لِلسَّيِّدِ وَمَنْ خُلَاصَةُ فِي الْحَدِيثِ وَحَاشِيَةُ شَرْحِ عُلَيْفِ
 الْمِفْتَاحِ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ . . . كِتَابُ الذُّخْرِ فِي رَدِّ مَذْهَبِ الْفَلَاحِ
 وَحَاشِيَةُ التَّلَوِيْحِ وَحَاشِيَةُ حَاشِيَةِ السَّيِّدِ عَلَى شَرْحِ الْحَقْفَرِيِّ فِي أَصُولِ
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كِتَابُ فُصُولِ الْبَدَائِعِ لِلْفَتَاوِي رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ . . .
 كِتَابُ فُصُولِ الْبَدَائِعِ فِي أَصُولِ الْفِقْهِ . . . كِتَابُ فُصُولِ الْبَدَائِعِ

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كتاب حاشية شرح عصدا الدين لسعد الدين في أصول الفقه .

كتاب حاشية شرح عصدا الدين لسعد الدين في أصول الفقه .

كتاب حاشية على شرح المختصر العسدي للسيد الشريف في أصول الفقه

كتاب حاشية شرح عصدا الدين للسيد الشريف في أصول الفقه .

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 على حاشية شرح العضد في أصول الفقه . حاشية شرح العضد
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 كتاب البردوي في أصول الفقه . كتاب البردوي في أصول الفقه
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على شرح المطالع وحاشية التلويح لابن سعد التتائي في أصول
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رسالة مقدمة علم الكلام وكتاب مبادئ الوصول إلى علم الأصول
في أصول الفقه .

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا

الذي كنا في ضلال عنه

والذي كنا في غمض

عن الحق والهدى

والذي كنا في ضلال

عن الحق والهدى

والذي كنا في ضلال

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عن الحق والهدى

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا

الذي كنا في ضلال عنه

والذي كنا في غمض

عن الحق والهدى

والذي كنا في ضلال

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عن الحق والهدى

والذي كنا في ضلال

عن الحق والهدى

تَقْصِيْ لَكْتُ الْفَقِيْهَ وَكُتِبَ مِنْ اَيِّمَةِ

كتاب إِبْدَائِيَةِ إِيمَانِ الْمَهْدِيَةِ الَّتِي أَلَمَّهَا صَاحِبُ الْهَدَايَةِ
كتاب بَدَائِيَةِ الْمُتَبَيَّنِّ فِي الْقَفْرِ

كِتَابُ الْإِهْدَايَةِ فِي شَرْحِ الْبِدَايَةِ فِي مُجَلَّدَيْنِ ۞ كِتَابُ الْإِهْدَايَةِ فِي
 شَرْحِ الْبِدَايَةِ فِي مُجَلَّدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞ كِتَابُ الْإِهْدَايَةِ فِي شَرْحِ الْبِدَايَةِ فِي
 مُجَلَّدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞ كِتَابُ الْإِهْدَايَةِ فِي شَرْحِ الْبِدَايَةِ فِي مُجَلَّدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞
 كِتَابُ الْإِهْدَايَةِ فِي شَرْحِ الْبِدَايَةِ فِي مُجَلَّدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞ كِتَابُ الْإِهْدَايَةِ فِي
 شَرْحِ الْبِدَايَةِ الْمَرْقُومِ بِأَنَّهُ خَطُّ مَوْلَا نَاصِرِ شَاهِ الْإِسْلَامِ ۞

كِتَابُ الْهِدَايَةِ فِي تَرْجُومَةِ الْإِدَانَةِ فِي الْفِقْهِ ۞ كِتَابُ الْهِدَايَةِ فِي
 الْفِقْهِ ۞ مَجْلَدٌ صَغِيرٌ مِنْ كِتَابِ الْهِدَايَةِ مَرْفُوعٌ فِيهِ بِأَنَّ جَمِيعَ حَوَاشِيهِ
 وَأَعْلَامِ مَنْتَهَى نَقْطَةِ السَّيِّدِ الشَّرِيفِ الْخَيْرِ الْجُمُعَانِيِّ تَحْسُنُ فِي الْفِقْهِ ۞

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جامع الصغير لمام محمد مختصر الكرمي فصول السردوشون فصول عمادية

محکمہ علمی ادبی

كتاب الإنجاية في شرح الهداية في مجلد واحد . كتاب الإنجاية في شرح
الهداية في مجلد واحد . كتاب غاية البيان في شرح الهداية .

فِي سِتِّ جُلْدَاتٍ ۝ ١٠ ۝ كِتَابُ نَبَايَةِ الْإِكْهَائِيَةِ فِي شَرْحِ الْهِدَايَةِ فِي جُلْدٍ
كِتَابُ شَرْحِ الْهِدَايَةِ الْمَرْكُومِ بِأَنَّهُ لِلْخَبَرِيِّ ۝ ١١ ۝ كِتَابُ شَرْحِ الْهِدَايَةِ بِقَوْلِهِ
بِأَنَّهُ لِلْخَبَرِيِّ ۝ ١٢ ۝ كِتَابُ نَبَايَةِ الْإِكْهَائِيَةِ فِي شَرْحِ الْهِدَايَةِ فِي جُلْدٍ
جُلْدِ أَوَّلٍ مِنْ نَبَايَةِ الْإِكْهَائِيَةِ فِي شَرْحِ الْهِدَايَةِ ۝ ١٣ ۝ كِتَابُ الْإِكْهَائِيَةِ فِي
شَرْحِ الْهِدَايَةِ فِي جُلْدَيْنِ ۝ ١٤ ۝ كِتَابُ الْعَنَائَةِ فِي شَرْحِ الْهِدَايَةِ فِي ثَلَاثِ
جُلْدَاتٍ ۝ ١٥ ۝ كِتَابُ حَوَاشِي الْهِدَايَةِ فِي الْفِقْهِ ۝ ١٦ ۝

كِتَابُ الْوَقَايَةِ فِي الْمَقَامِ كِتَابُ الْوَقَايَةِ فِي الْمَقَامِ كِتَابُ
 الْوَقَايَةِ فِي الْمَقَامِ كِتَابُ الْوَقَايَةِ فِي الْمَقَامِ كِتَابُ الْوَقَايَةِ
 فِي الْمَقَامِ

كِتَابُ صَدْرِ الشَّرِيعَةِ فِي تَرْجُحِ الْوَقَايَةِ فِي الْفِقْهِ ۝ كِتَابُ صَدْرِ الشَّرِيعَةِ
 فِي تَرْجُحِ الْوَقَايَةِ فِي الْفِقْهِ ۝ صَدْرِ الشَّرِيعَةِ فِي تَرْجُحِ الْوَقَايَةِ فِي
 الْفِقْهِ ۝ كِتَابُ صَدْرِ الشَّرِيعَةِ فِي تَرْجُحِ الْعَمَلِيَّاتِ فِي الْفِقْهِ ۝ كِتَابُ
 صَدْرِ الشَّرِيعَةِ فِي تَرْجُحِ الْوَقَايَةِ فِي الْفِقْهِ ۝ كِتَابُ صَدْرِ الشَّرِيعَةِ
 فِي تَرْجُحِ الْوَقَايَةِ فِي الْفِقْهِ ۝ كِتَابُ صَدْرِ الشَّرِيعَةِ فِي الْفِقْهِ ۝

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مجلداته فيه كتاب الطهارة وكتاب الصلوة وتلك مجلدات

منها بعضها مرتبط مع البعض الآخر فأول ما في هذه الكتب
الاجمع عن الشهادات وآخر ما فيها كتاب الأكرار وخمس مجلدات
منها بعضها مرتبط مع البعض الآخر فأول ما في هذه الكتب
العناق وآخر ما فيها كتاب الإجازات ومجلد منها غير مرتبط
بما قبله وهو آخر مجلداته ففيه كتاب الشروط ولم يوجد سائر
مجلداته

كتاب الخط بسائل الكتب المنسوب إلى الشيخ في مجلد واحد
كتاب الخط بسائل الكتب المنسوب إلى الشيخ في مجلدين لكن
لا توافي بين مجلديهما

كتاب شرح مختصر مبسوط محمد بن الحسن رحمه الله لشيخ الأئمة السجدة
في مجلدين في الفقه مجلد أول من شرح مختصر مبسوط محمد

بن الحسن رحمه الله لشيخ الأئمة السرخسي في الفقه مجلد ثان من
شرح مبسوط محمد بن الحسن رحمه الله لشيخ الأئمة السرخسي في الفقه
مجلد ثان من شرح مبسوط محمد بن الحسن رحمه الله لشيخ الأئمة السرخسي
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الكبير في الفقه في مجلدين لا توافق بين جلدَيْهما

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الكبير في الفقه

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مجلد واحد كتاب مختصر عجيب في الفقه يعرف من اسلوبه علم

العروض والتواخي والعقوبات في كتاب مختصر عجيب في

الفقه يعرف من اسلوبه علم العروض والتواخي والخي والقول في

كتاب مختصر عجيب في الفقه يعرف من اسلوبه علم العروض والتواخي والعقوبات في كتاب التعرف لمذهب التصوف في مجلد واحد

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دُبَّحَ الْحَقِيقَ فِي شَرْحِ النَّصُوفِ فِي النَّصُوفِ . كتاب في الأذكار
 والدَّعَوَاتِ اسْمُهُ حَيْلَةُ الْإِبْرَارِ مِنْ قِبَلِ النَّصُوفِ . كتاب منهُج
 الدَّسَادِ مِنْ قِبَلِ الْفَقْهِ وَالنَّصُوفِ . كتاب عَمَدِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَى
 بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ كَرَّمَ اللَّهُ وَجْهَهُ إِلَى مَالِكِ بْنِ الْأَشْجَرِ فِي النَّصِيحَةِ مِنْ قِبَلِ
 النَّصُوفِ . كتاب كَشَفِ الْكُفْرِ لِلْمَاءَةِ السَّيِّئَةِ الْعَالِمَةِ الْبَرَانِيَّةِ
 فِي النَّصُوفِ وَكَتَابُ شَرْحِ أَشْهَادِ الْقُدْسِيَّةِ إِلَى الشَّيْخِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ
 الْعَرَفِيِّ لِبَيْتِ الْمَاءَةِ الْعَالِمَةِ أَيْضًا فِي النَّصُوفِ فِي مُجَلَّدٍ وَاحِدٍ .
 كتاب مَقَامَاتِ الشَّيْخِ الْمَعْرُوفِ بِتَقْنِي بَدِيعِ طَابَ ثَرَاهُ مِنْ قِبَلِ النَّصُوفِ .
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 كتاب مِنْهَاجِ الْوُضُوءِ فِي النَّصِيحَةِ مِنْ قِبَلِ النَّصُوفِ . كتاب الْفَحَا
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 فِي مُجَلَّدٍ وَاحِدٍ . كتاب مَقْصِدِ السَّائِرِينَ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى فِي النَّصُوفِ .
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 فِي الْوُجُودِ فِي النَّصُوفِ وَرَسَالَةٌ بِالْعَرَبِيَّةِ فِي الْوُجُودِ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ **١٠١**
 فَصِيحَةٌ بَرْدَةٌ وَتَذَادُّ الْعَادِيَيْنِ فِي النَّصُوفِ وَرَسَالَةٌ ابْنِ سِينَا فِي ثَلَاثٍ
 الْبَاطِلِ وَرَسَالَةٌ فِي أَوَائِلِ وَأَضْعِ الْمَحْدَثَاتِ وَأَيْضًا مَحْجَةُ الْعِلَاجِ فِي
 الطَّبِّ وَرَسَالَةٌ فِي الْإِنشَاءِ وَرَسَالَةٌ فِي عِلْمِ كَيْفِ الْقَعْمِ وَرَسَالَةٌ فِي شَرْحِ
 أَوَائِلِ الْمُتَوَلَّى وَرَسَالَةٌ فِي الذُّوْجِ الْإِنْسَانِيِّ وَالْحَيَوِيِّ وَكُتِبَ أَيْضًا لِعِشَا
 فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ **١٠٢** كِتَابُ خَفَةِ الْوَاهِبِ فِي النَّصُوفِ وَرَسَالَةٌ فِي
 الْأَصْطِلَاحَاتِ الصُّوفِيَّةِ فِي النَّصُوفِ وَرَسَالَةٌ فِي شَرْحِ الْبَيْتَيْنِ أَوَّلُهُمَا كَمَا
 حُرُوفًا عَادِيَاتٍ مُنْقَلَةٍ وَرَسَالَةٌ فِي شَرْحِ الْبَيْتَيْنِ أَوَّلُهُمَا كَحُرُوفًا عَالِيَةً
 لَمْ تُنْقَلْ فِي النَّصُوفِ وَكُتِبَ الْقَبْرُ لِلْإِمَامِ مُحَمَّدٍ الْغَزَالِيِّ فِي النَّصُوفِ فِي
 مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ **١٠٣** كِتَابُ خَمْسَةِ مِنْ حَقَائِقِ مَوْلَا خُذَاوَنْدَكَارَ تَزِيدِي فِي
 النَّصُوفِ وَكُتِبَ الْبَحْرُ الْأَرْبَعِينَ مِنْ حَقَائِقِهِ فِي النَّصُوفِ وَرَسَالَةٌ فِي
 بَعْضِ مَتَابِقِهِ وَالْأَرْبَعُونَ حَدِيثًا وَأَيَّاتٍ كَثِيرَةً مُتَوَعِّجَةً مِنْ حَقَائِقِهِ فِي
 النَّصُوفِ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ **١٠٤** كِتَابُ كَشْفِ الْحَقَائِقِ فِي النَّصُوفِ **١٠٥**
 مَتَابَعَةٌ مَسْنُوءَةٌ إِلَى الشَّيْخِ شَهَابِ الدِّينِ الْمُقْتُولِ وَشَرْحُ الْمَتَابَعَةِ وَرَسَالَةٌ
 مَسْمُوءَةٌ بِالطَّوَانِ الذَّهَبِ لِلْعَلَامَةِ الزَّيْغَشَرِيِّ فِي النَّصَائِجِ الْمَعَالَمِ الْمَائِيَّةِ
 الْمَسْمُوءَةِ بِالطَّيْنِ الذَّهَبِ فِي النَّصَائِجِ وَكُتِبَ فِي النَّصَائِجِ لِلْعَلَامَةِ الرَّحْمَنِ
 وَرَسَالَةٌ فِي النَّصَائِجِ لِلْعَلَامَةِ الزَّيْغَشَرِيِّ وَرَسَالَةٌ مَوْسُوءَةٌ بِالْمُجَانَّةِ
 مَنُطُوءَةٌ لِابْنِ سِينَا فِي الْحِكْمَةِ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ **١٠٦** كِتَابُ الْإِسْرَاءِ فِي

الشَّيْخِ مُحَمَّدِ الدِّينِ الْعَرَبِيِّ وَكُتِبَ الْبَطْلِيُّوسُ فِي الْحِكْمَةِ وَكَلَامَاتُ الْإِسْلَامِيِّ
 وَرَسَالَةٌ الْطَّيْرِ الْمَسْنُوءَةِ إِلَى ابْنِ سِينَا وَرَسَالَةٌ الْطَّيْرِ الْمَسْنُوءَةِ إِلَى أَحْمَدَ بْنِ
 وَرَسَالَةٌ الْطَّيْرِ الْمَسْنُوءَةِ إِلَى الْإِمَامِ الْغَزَالِيِّ طَابَ ثَرَاهُ مِنْ قَبْلِ النَّصُوفِ
 فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ **١٠٧** رَسَالَةٌ شَرْحِ النَّظَرِ فِي الْأَلْفَاظِ الصُّوفِيَّةِ وَرَسَالَةٌ
 فِي الْأَلْفَاظِ الصُّوفِيَّةِ وَرَسَالَةٌ مُسْتَلْزِمَةُ السَّمْعِ وَمَتَابَعَةُ السَّابِقِينَ وَشَرْحُ
 مَتَابَعَةِ السَّابِقِينَ فِي النَّصُوفِ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ **١٠٨** كِتَابُ مَقْصِدِ أَقْصَى
 فِي النَّصُوفِ وَرَسَالَةٌ فِي عِلْمِ الْمَعَارِفِ وَرَسَالَةُ الْمَعَارِفِ فِي النَّصُوفِ وَأَيْضًا
 الْعَشَاقُ فِي الْأَصْطِلَاحَاتِ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ **١٠٩** كِتَابُ الْأَنْوَالِ الْعَادِيَّةِ
 فِي الْحِكْمَةِ وَهِيَ كُلُّ الْغَنَاءِ لِلْمُسْتَوْدِقِ مِنْ قَبْلِ الْحِكْمَةِ وَرَسَالَةٌ الْإِيمَانِ مِنْ قَبْلِ
 الْحِكْمَةِ وَكُتِبَ فِي الْأَصْطِلَاحَاتِ الْعِلْمِيَّةِ وَكُتِبَ لِلدُّوْدِ لِابْنِ سِينَا فِي
 فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ **١١٠** نَقُوشُ فَصُوصِ الْحِكْمِ فِي النَّصُوفِ وَكُتِبَ الْجَلَدُ وَ
 الْجَالِي فِي النَّصُوفِ وَرَسَالَةُ الْمَعَارِفِ فِي النَّصُوفِ وَحَلِيَّةُ الْإِبْدَالِ فِي
 النَّصُوفِ وَرَسَالَةٌ فِي إِشَارَاتِ الْحُرُوفِ فِي النَّصُوفِ وَرَسَالَةٌ فِي
 الْأَصْطِلَاحَاتِ الصُّوفِيَّةِ وَرَسَالَةٌ فِي الْأَصْطِلَاحَاتِ مِنْ قَبْلِ النَّصُوفِ
 فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ **١١١** شَرْحُ فَصُوصِ الْحِكْمِ فِي النَّصُوفِ وَكُتِبَ تَفْسِيرُ كَلَامِ اللَّهِ
 وَتَاوِيلُ الْآيَاتِ وَرَسَالَةٌ لَوَائِحِ فِي النَّصُوفِ وَشَرْحُ بَيْتِ مَوْلَا نَاخِدَاوَنْدَكَارَ
 فِي النَّصُوفِ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ **١١٢** كِتَابُ الْعِبَادَةِ وَكُتِبَ الشَّاهِدُ وَالْمُشَاهِدُ
 وَكُتِبَ مَوْقُوفَاتُ الرَّاغِبِ وَشَرْحُ الْأَسْمَاءِ الْحُسْنَى مِنَ الْفَتْحَاتِ الْكَلِمَةِ
 لِلشَّيْخِ مُحَمَّدِ الدِّينِ الْعَرَبِيِّ فِي النَّصُوفِ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ **١١٣** كِتَابُ فِي الْحِكْمَةِ

ورسالة في اصطلاحات الصوفية وكتاب اوصاف الاشراق في التصوف
 ورسالة في اسرار النقطة في التصوف ورسالة في التصوف ورسالة في المعنى
 ورسالة مؤسومة بجمع مختصر في علم العروض ورسالة في علم القوافي ورسالة
 في معرفة الجواهر المعدنية في مجلد واحد **٥** تلك رسائل في التصوف وكتاب
 في شرح معاني نقش الصوف في التصوف ورسالة اللوح في التصوف في مجلد
 واحد **٥** رسالة الطير للإمام الغزالي من قبل التصوف وست رسائل
 في الحكمة في مجلد واحد **٥** كتاب الجليات في التصوف وشرح الزلزال
 في شرح الفاظ المتداول بين آداب الأحوال وكتاب في أحوال
 الحروف وكتاب معارج الالباب في كشف الافراد والاقطاب من قبل
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 التصوف ورسالة تفصيل اهل البدع ورسالة غاية الامكان في
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 العاشقين ورسالة نظور ابن الفارض في التصوف وعشر رسائل من قبل
 التصوف في مجلد واحد **٥** تلك كتابا اكثرها للشيخ محي الدين العربي
 في التصوف في مجلد واحد **٥** كتاب في لغات القرآن ورسالة شرح
 الاتماء الحسين ورسالة الهامير لجم الدين الكباري في التصوف وكتاب
 كشف الاسرار في التصوف وكتاب اوصاف الاشراق في التصوف وكتاب

فريد مشهور من مقالات علي بن ابي طالب رضى الله عنه وكتاب نثر اللآلئ
 من كتابات علي بن ابي طالب رضى الله عنه وكتاب في اللغة ورسالة في
 آداب الخط وكتاب قانون السعادت في صناعة الحاسبات في مجلد واحد
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أَنَّى كَرَّمَ رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَنْهُ وَكَتَابَ فَصْلَ الْخَطَابِ فِي شَرْحِ كَلِمَاتِ عَمْرِو اللَّهِ
وَكِتَابَ الْإِيمَانِ فِي شَرْحِ كَلِمَاتِ عُمَانَ رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَنْهُ وَكَتَابَ مَطْلُوبِ
كُلِّ طَالِبٍ فِي شَرْحِ كَلِمَاتِ عَلِيِّ رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَنْهُ كُلِّهَا مِنْ قَبْلِ النَّصُوفِ فِي مَجْلَدٍ
وَلَوْدٍ **٥٥** كِتَابَ لَطَائِفِ الْعَارِفِ فِي وَطَائِفِ شَهْرِ أَسْتَنْةٍ مِنْ قَبْلِ
رِسَالَةِ فِي النَّصُوفِ وَاسْتَلْبِيبِ التَّوْحِيدِ **٥٦** كِتَابَ مَنَاقِبِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ السَّقَاتِي
قُدْسِ بَرْنِ **٥٧** كِتَابَ بَدَايَةِ الْهَدَايَةِ لِلْأَمَامِ الْعَزَلِيِّ مِنْ قَبْلِ النَّصُوفِ
وَالْفَتِيهِ **٥٨** كِتَابَ مَنَازِلِ السَّائِرِينَ فِي النَّصُوفِ **٥٩** كِتَابَ لَعَنَاتِ
جَامِي فِي شَرْحِ الْقَصِيدَةِ الْمَعِيَةِ لِابْنِ الْفَارِضِ فِي النَّصُوفِ **٦٠** كِتَابُ
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اللَّهِ عَنْهُ بِالْفَارِسِيَّةِ وَرِسَالَةُ تَوْتِ تَامِهِ عَلَى رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ عَنْهُ وَكَتَابَ لَعَنَاتِ
عَرَفِي فِي النَّصُوفِ وَرِسَالَتَايَا غَيْرَهَا فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَلَوْدٍ **٦٢** كِتَابُ مَخَارِجِ الْحُكْمِ فِي
الْفَضَائِلِ وَالْبَشِيمِ مِنْ قَبْلِ النَّصُوفِ **٦٣** كِتَابُ فَضَائِلِ شَهْرِ رَمَضَانَ مِنْ قَبْلِ
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تَرْجَمَةِ صَدِّقِهِ عَلَى كَرَمِهِ وَجْهِهِ بِالْعَرَبِيَّةِ وَالْفَارِسِيَّةِ الْمُنْقُوشَةِ وَالْمَنْقُوشَةِ
مِنْ قَبْلِ النَّصُوفِ **٦٦** مَكْتُوبُ الشَّيْخِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ الْعَرَفِيِّ إِلَى الْخَلِيفَةِ الْأَزَادِيِّ
مِنْ قَبْلِ النَّصُوفِ وَرِسَالَةُ قِسْمَةِ الذَّبِيعِ السَّكُونِ نَقْلًا عَنْ بَطْلِيوسٍ فِي مَجْلَدٍ
وَاحِدٍ **٦٧** رِسَالَةُ لَوْجَائِبِ الْقُلُوبِ مِنْ قَبْلِ النَّصُوفِ **٦٨** رِسَالَةُ حُجَّتِي
عَلَى كَرَمِ اللَّهِ وَجْهِهِ فِي النَّصُوفِ **٦٩** رِسَالَةُ فِي فَضَائِلِ بَعْضِ الْأَحْوَالِ
نَحْطُ غَرِيبٍ مِنْ قَبْلِ النَّصُوفِ **٧٠** مَتْنُ جَاوِدَانَ خَرَدِي فِي النَّصَائِحِ

وَرِسَالَةُ الْأَحَادِيثِ وَرِسَالَةُ مُتَابَعَةِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْأَنْصَارِيِّ بِالْعَادِ
فِي النَّصُوفِ **٧١** رِسَالَةُ تَفْصِيلِ النِّشَائِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِ النَّصُوفِ **٧٢**
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النَّصُوفِ **٧٦** قُرَّةُ الْعُيُونِ مِنْ قَبْلِ الْوَعَائِظِ **٧٧** كِتَابُ مِرْصَادِ الْعِبَادِ
بِالْفَارِسِيَّةِ فِي النَّصُوفِ **٧٨** كِتَابُ مَخَارِجِ الْحُكْمِ وَالْآدَابِ مِنْ قَبْلِ
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فِي الْمَوَاسِمِ الْعَامَةِ مِنَ الْوَطَائِفِ مِنْ قَبْلِ النَّصِيحَةِ **٨٢** كِتَابُ آدَابِ
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كِتَابُ أَطْبَاقِ الذَّهَبِ فِي النَّصُوفِ **٨٧** رِسَالَةُ قُرَّةِ الْعَيْنِ فِي
الْأَمْثَالِ مِنْ قَبْلِ النَّصِيحَةِ وَعَوَامِلُ فِي الْحَقِّ وَمَصْبَاحُ فِي الْخَوَافِي
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هِيَةُ لَفَاقِي بِالْعُفُولِيَّةِ فِي النَّصِيحَةِ وَالنَّصُوفِ وَرِسَالَةُ حُرُوفِ
السَّرَايِنِ عَلَى نَوْعٍ مِنْ خُطُوطِهِمْ وَهُوَ الَّذِي كَتَبَ الْإِنْجِيلَ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ

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 الصوف للشيخ الاكبر في التصوف في مجلد واحد ٨٦ كشف الاسرار
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 شرح رباي ابي الخير حوراً بنظائر يكاد مضافاً من قبل التصوف
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 كتاب شرح الاسماء الحسنى وكتاب الجليات في التصوف وكتاب
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 علم الكلام في مجلد واحد ٩٠ كتاب تقوية الهماد في فضل الهماد في
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 الشيخ عن القضاة من قبل المواعظ . . . كتاب السياسة الملكية في
 الاخلاق الموضحة . . . رسالة الاخلاق الحيد بالفارسية . . .
 منتخب من كتاب جاوران خرد في النضاج . . . محاسن الشيم ترجمة
 سراج الملوك بالفارسية ورسالة اشراف الساعة وراحة الانسان
 في المواعظ . . . كتاب الحكم الرومانية في الحكم اليونانية في المواعظ
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 ترجمة الارواح في التصوف . . . كتاب القلايد في النضاج المستعارة
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 للجاي . . . ثلث رسائل للامير السيد المهدى في التصوف . . . كتاب
 القلايد في النضاج المستعارة ورسالة كاعدنامه في مجلد واحد . . .
 رسالة اوصاف الاشرف ورسالة في المواب الثلث الصوفية ورسالة
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 وغيرهما في مجلد واحد . . . مجموعة اولها رسالة في التصوف
 واخرها بستان المقلوب . . . عين القلايد من قبل النضاج و
 رسالة في التصوف في مجلد واحد . . . كتاب عكسار من قبل
 النضاج ورسالة في النضاج والمحاضرات في مجلد واحد . . .
 مجموعة من رسائل بالتركية والفارسية في مناقب السيد احمد

الكبير قدس سر . . . مجموعة من الكتابات المتفرقة اكثرها من قبل
 المواعظ . . . مجموعة من رسائل في الحكيمات الفلسفية وغيرها وفيها
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 رسالة النغ والقسية للامام الغزالي قدس سر من قبل النص
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 الاربعة في مجلد واحد . . . مجموعة اولها شرح الالفاظ الصوفية
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 مجموعة من رسائل اولها رسالة فارسية في التصوف . . .
 رسالة بالفارسية في التصوف . . . كتاب مؤسوس اسرار

للامام الرافعي طاب ثراه من قبل النصاب . كتاب مؤسسه
 بسرار التزليل للامام الرافعي طاب ثراه وقدس سر من قبل
 النصاب . رسالة في النصيحة . رسالة مؤنس العشاق من
 قبل التصوف . رسالة القلوب بالركية من قبل التصوف .
 رسالة فريض الله وبواربعة وخمسون فريضة من قبل التصوف
 كتاب فتح العيون من قبل الموعظ وحدايق الحقائق في علم النعم
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 والاخلاق لابي علي بن سينا رحمه الله ورسالة مكاتبة مع ابي سعيد
 كتاب المنقذ من الضلال ورسالة العلق وكتاب المصنوع به الي
 غير اهله وكتاب الفرق بين الزندقة والايمان كلها بحجة الاسلام
 الغزالي قدس سر من قبل التصوف في مجلد واحد . كتاب بالفارسية
 من قبل النصاب . تفتيح نامه ستان پاشا المرحوم من قبل الموعظ
 كتاب اللطائف في نصاب الملوك وغيرهم . كتاب عبد الرحيم
 مما سمعه من والده في التصوف ورسالة الفرق بين علم الشريعة
 والحقيقة ورسالة الشيرازي في التصوف في مجلد واحد .
 كتاب الفروق ومائة واربعة وستون فرقا للشع الزمدي
 قدس سر من قبل التصوف . كتاب اللواعظ في التصوف في مجلد واحد
 لواعظ في شرح القصيدة القيمة الحزينة الفارسية لولانا جاي في

التصوف . ديوان ابن الفارض في التصوف وكتاب منظر
 العباد في التصوف في مجلد واحد . فتح العيون من قبل الموعظ
 كتاب بالفارسية في المعارف الصوفية . كتاب سلوان
 المطاع في الموعظ . كتاب سراج الملوك في الموعظ . رسالة
 الجلال لادريس البلسني في التصوف . كتاب سلوان المطاع
 في الموعظ . كتاب ربيع الابرار للعلامة الرخشري في النصاب
 والطرايف . كتاب العقد الغردي في النصاب والفضائل .
 مجموعة فيها مشكاة الانوار لحجة الاسلام الغزالي قدس سر في النصف
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 الآداب في علم الاخلاق . كتاب التصفية في علم الاخلاق .
 كتاب البر المسبوك في تصحيف الملوك وهو ترجمة كتاب الامام
 الغزالي بالعربية من الفارسية . الرسالة الشريفة بخط
 ديواني بالفارسية في التصوف . نزهة الارواح في النصف
 كتاب اعلام الهدى في التصوف وكتاب آداب المريدين في
 التصوف في مجلد واحد . كتاب نواید السلوك في فضائل
 الملوك في الموعظ . مجموعة في اولها مختصر الفارسية
 في التصوف وفيها رسائل في الورق والفتوح من قبل النصاب .
 كتاب الحكم الرومانية والحكم اليونانية جمعه ابو الفرج في النصاب
 منهاج العابدين للامام الغزالي قدس سر في التصوف .

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مشارب الآذواق في شرح ميمية ابن الفارض في التصوف

أخلص الخالص في التصوف قلندر نامد من قبل النصائح
كتاب الآداب الملقب بنجادان خرد في النصائح ولكم أذواق

من كتاب وهو المعروف بالسامع مختصر الأبرار للشيخ العرفي قدس
سرم جلادت غير مرتبة من قبل التواريخ والنصائح ترجمه كشف

الأسرار على لسان الطيور والأزهار من قبل المواعظ والاعتبار

كتاب الصعاف في التصوف عين الشارب الطاهر للجندي في

التصوف كتاب الذريعة في مكارم الأخلاق والنصائح

شرح آيات مولانا جلال الدين ورسالة شرح معنى في الهام في

التصوف كتاب اللغات في شرح لغات عراق في التصوف

كتاب أرسطاطاليس في نصيحة الإسكندر رسالة مترجمة

بالفارسية من كتاب أرسطاطاليس في نصيحة الإسكندر ذي القرنين

رسالة عبد اللطيف قدس سرم في الطريقة الصوفية الزينية

كتاب الآداب الملكية والأخلاق الاختيارية رسالة العقل

والعلم والعدل في النصائح رسالة نصائح الحكماء رسالة

نصائح الحكماء بالفارسية رسالة بفرام شاهية من قبل

الفنجة كتاب الرد للجميل على صريح الإنجيل وكتاب شفاء

العليل فيما وقع في القومية والإنجيل وكتاب التأويلات وكتاب

المنقذ وكتاب المصنوع به على غير أهله وكتاب الفتح في فتح الزرع

وكتاب حلية الأبدان كلها للإمام الغزالي قدس سرم من قبل التصوف

شرح رباعي خوراندان كازم على طريقة التصوف دفينه كتاب

النوشر وان في النصائح أخلاق ناصري في النصائح كتاب الآداب

الملوكية والأخلاق الاختيارية كشف أسرار القومية باللغة

العربية في النصائح رسالة درويشية من قبل التصوف

رسالة سرانية من القومية مترجمة بالعربية من قبل النصائح

رسالة غوثية في التصوف كشف الأسرار على حكم الطيور

والأزهار من قبل النصائح راحة الإنسان في النصيحة

رسالة من كلمات الأنبياء عليه السلام وغيرهم في النصائح

ورسالة بزرجمهر كتاب فتاحي من قبل النصائح كتاب

الحاضرات في بعلدين من قبل النصائح كتاب بالتركية من قبل

النصائح رسالة نفيسة في التصوف رسالة شريفة

بالفارسية في التصوف ششستان للفتاحي من قبل

النصائح رسالة محمد بن عماد السبحاني في النصائح مجموعة

من رسائل نهارد رسالة في اثبات نبوة رسولنا محمد عليه الصلوة

والسلام ومنها رسالة جواهر الكلام في النصائح وكتاب نكت

الوزراء وكتاب معاني النفس في النصائح في مجلد واحد

سرفلي بالتركية للجندي في التصوف شرح رباعيات

مولانا جلال الدين الدواني بالفارسية من قبل النصائح

قصيدة النصور بولد الهدي رحمة الله تعالى في النصاب
رسالة تخط موعلي ورسالة جامه ان في النصور
كتاب اطواق الذهب للزحدرى ورسالة مائة مقالة على أسلوبه في
التيعة المسجعة وبندنامه نو شروان في رسالة اطواق الذهب
للزحدرى في النسيحة ورسالة الحسن في اللغة في رسالة في شرح
آيات فارسية ورسالة لولا ناجاي في بيان معنى في من قبل
النصور في رسالة فارسية نفيسة في النصور مجموعة
من رسائل اولها تحفة الملوك بالفارسية للإمام الغزالي قدس سره
في النصاب نهاية الرتبة في طلب الحسنة في نصاب المحتسب
رسالة شرح ما امر به أمير المؤمنين علي بن ابي طالب رضي الله عنه
مالك بن الحوث الاشتر في النصاب كتاب عظيم الشأن في النصاب
مؤلفه بأنه لولا ناجالاد الذين قدس سره رسالة فضيلة
الهادي بالركية من قبل النصاب تحسن رسائل ثابتهما رسالة
تعليم التعلم في مجلد واحد طرب نامه من قبل النصاب
كتاب التدبيرات الالهية في اصلاح المملكة الانسانية في النصور
وشرح الاربعين حديثا على طريقة النصور ببندنامه نو شروان
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عراق الموسوم بفضن اللغات في النصور مختار من كلام الحكماء
الالهية الاكابر من قبل النصاب ربيع الازهار مختصر ربيع

الابرار من قبل النصاب كنف الاسرار على حكم الطيور والازهار
من قبل النصاب كتاب الذريعة الى مدارك الشريعة وكتاب تفصيل
النشأتين كلاهما للشيخ الراغب في النصاب فصلح الشيخ محي الدين
العزبي قدس سره رسالة منظومة بالعربية في النطق والجماعة
الالهية لابن سينا ورسالة مائة مقالة في النصاب ورسائل اخرى
وسيلة التابيت في النصاب المتعلقة بتحرير الشعر مجموعة اولها
قصة الخبير وثابتهما رسالة العلق النفيس للنصير به للإمام الغزالي
قدس سره في النصاب رسالة مجيب السائلين للحج في النصور
كتاب اسرار الانوار الالهية للإمام الغزالي قدس سره في النصور
ورسالة في تفصيل النشأتين ورسالة بصرى البتدي وتذكر النشأة
في النصور في مجلد واحد كتاب الفقه بالفارسية المنظومة
وكتاب المدخل المنظور في الجهر وشرح الفراء اللامية في النصور
نقوش فصوص خواتم الحكماء وآدابهم من قبل النصاب رايض
القلوب في العلوم المتعددة اولها النصور رسالة
صغير يمين في النصور ورسالة اخرى كتاب نثر اللآلئ
من كلامه على كلامه الله وجهه على ترتيب الحروف من قبل النصور
رسالة نثر اللآلئ من كلامه على كلامه الله وجهه على ترتيب الحروف من قبل
النسيحة والنصور رسالة مائة من النشأة مترجمة عن
من قبل النصاب رسالة في احوال الصائمين لمحمد بن قطب

الذين الان ينفى رسالة فيها بيان عدد الكتب المصنفة المنسوبة
إلى الشيخ يحيى الذين العربى طاب ثراه وهذه الرسالة للشيخ المذكور
أيضاً من قبل التصوف . كتاب الوصايا للشيخ يحيى الذين العربى من
الفتوحات المكية وكتاب مواقع الخير للشيخ المذكور في
التحقيق من قبل التصوف في مجلد واحد .

كتاب تذكرة الأولياء قدس سرهم المنظومة المعروف بوطي بامه .
كتاب تذكرة الأولياء قدس سرهم . كتاب نغبات الأنس في
تذكرة الأولياء قدس سرهم . رسالة تذكرة إبراهيم بن آدم
قدس سرهم . كتاب تذكرة الأولياء بالفارسية قدس سرهم .
كتاب تذكرة الأولياء بالفارسية قدس سرهم . كتاب
تذكرة الأولياء المستنغبات الأنس للحاجي . تذكرة الأولياء

بِالْفَارِسِيَّةِ ۞ تَذَكُّرُ الْأَوَّلِيَّاتِ ۞ بِالْفَارِسِيَّةِ قُدْسٌ مِنْهُ ۞
مَنَاقِبُ قُطْبِ الْأَوَّلِيَّاتِ بِهَاءِ الدِّينِ قُدْسٌ مِنْهُ ۞

تَقْضِي ۞
وَمَا يَعْلَمُ بِالطَّبِيعَةِ مِنَ الْهَيَاةِ كَلِمَاتُ السُّمُورِ ۞
لِالْكُتُبِ الطَّبِيعِيَّةِ ۞
كَتَابُ طِبِّ النَّبِيِّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ ۞ كِتَابُ رَوْضِ الْإِنْسَانِ ۞
فِي الطَّبِّ النَّبَوِيِّ وَرِسَالَةُ دُخْرِ الْعُطْشَانِ فِي الطَّبِّ النَّبَوِيِّ وَرِسَالَةُ
حِفْظِ الْأَبْدَانِ فِي الطَّبِّ كُلِّهَا مِنْ كَالِيفَاتِ أَصْعَفِ الْعِبَادِ الْعَطْشَانِ ۞
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والعراس في آحوال الجماع من قبل الطب رسالة في ماهية

السقم في الطب والرسالة السيفية في الادوية الملكية و

رسالة في الدوار وست رسائل كلها لابن جميع في الطب في مجلد

كتاب الوصلة الى الحبيب في الطب والطب من قبل الطب

كتاب الترقى في العطر المعروف بعطر نامه من قبل الطب

كتاب الوصلة الى الحبيب في وصف الطببات والطب من قبل

الطب كتاب الترقى في العطر من قبل الطب

تصريح في شرح التلويح في الطب

كتاب مختصر معني في معرفة الامراض والاسباب والعلاجات

واللذات في الطب حية الحيوان من قبل الطب

كتاب حية الحيوان من قبل الطب كتاب حية الحيوان من قبل

الطب كتاب حية الحيوان من قبل الطب كتاب حية

الحيوان من قبل الطب كتاب حية الحيوان من قبل الطب

كتاب حية الحيوان من قبل اللغة والفقه والطب كتاب

حية الحيوان من قبل اللغة والفقه والطب كتاب

نافع الطب بالفسادية كتاب تقويم الصحة بالاسباب

السيئة في الطب كتاب تقويم الصحة بالاسباب السيئة

في الطب كتاب تقويم الصحة بالاسباب السيئة في الطب

كتاب ترجمة تقويم الابدان بالفسادية في الطب تقويم

الابدان في الطب وتقويم الصحة بالاسباب السيئة في الطب

واقاباد بن منتخب في مجلد واحد تقويم الابدان في الطب

كتاب تقويم الابدان في الطب وكتاب تقويم الصحة بالاسباب

السيئة في الطب في مجلد واحد كتاب تقويم الابدان في

الطب كتاب مختصر مرقوم بصيد الحاطن في الطب

وكتاب التلخيص في الطب في مجلد واحد كتاب مختصر مرقوم

بصيد الحاطن في الطب كتاب مصالح الابدان والانس

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 علماء بغداد

مجموعة من الطرقات أكثرها من قبل التواريخ وفيها الرجوع ذكر فيها
جميع الخلفاء الراشدين بعد النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم

كتاب تحقيق الصرح في فضل المدينة وأهلها من قبل التواريخ

كتاب تواريخ مكة وكتاب فضيلة بيت المقدس وكتاب مناسك الحج
وكتاب كشف المحجب في مجلد واحد

القدس والشام في التواريخ مختصر من تواريخ مكة شرفها الله

تقالي رسالة في فضيلة مكة ومجاورتها ورسالة في طرب

بنايها وعمرها من قبل التواريخ ورسالة في التصوف في مجلد واحد

مثير القرام في فضائل القدس والشام ورسالة في أحوال بيت المقدس

في التواريخ وكتاب السبعيات في المواعظ كتاب المختصر في تاريخ

مكة المشرقة والعصيدة الذهبية في مجلد واحد

مجلد في الفتوح الشامية بالعربية للواقدي في التواريخ

كتاب فتوح الشام بالعربية في التواريخ كتاب فتح الشام

بالعربية في التواريخ مجلد في الفتوح الشامية بالتركية في

التواريخ مجلد في الفتوح الشامية بالتركية في التواريخ

قصه بطل غاذي بالتركية في التواريخ قصه لبيد المسلم

بالتركية في التواريخ

قصه جلوس سلطان السلاطين سلطان بايزيد خان أعانه المستعان

بالتركية فتح ولاية قرم بغداد في يد سلطان السلاطين

سلطان بايزيد خان بن محمد خان زاد الله تعالى سعاده في الدار

في التواريخ تواريخ سلطان محمد بن مراد خان مع ذكر سلطته

سلطان السلاطين سلطان بايزيد خان خلعت خلافة

رسالة في تواريخ السلاطين العثمانية إلى تاريخ سلطنة سلطان

السلاطين سلطان بايزيد خان بن محمد خان خلعت خلافتهم

دارستان كل ومل مع تاريخ سلطنة سلطان السلاطين سلطان

بايزيد خان بن محمد خان خلعت خلافتهم رسالة في تواريخ

السلاطين العثمانية أبد الله تعالى خلافتهم رسالة فتح

اسكندرية بأمر سلطان محمد خان طاب ثراه في التواريخ

كتاب بجهة التواريخ الذي ذكر فيه تواريخ بعض السلاطين العثمانية

خلعت خلافتهم كتاب بجهة التواريخ كتاب بجهة التواريخ

إلى السلاطين العثمانية أبقاهم الله تعالى إلى يوم الدين رسالة

فتح قسطنطينية في التواريخ بجهة التواريخ كادسي

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 محمد بن مرادخان من آل عثمان قدس الله تعالى ارواحهم الطيبات
 رسالة تهنئة عيد ورسالة فتح سلطان محمد بن مرادخان طاب ثراه
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 التواريخ .

كتاب الكامل في التاريخ لابن الأثير في اثنى عشر مجلدا
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مَنْحَبُ تَلَاغِ الْمَأْثُرِ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ . . . كِتَابُ تَلَاغِ الْمَأْثُرِ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ
وَكِتَابُ بَدَائِعِ الْأَزْمَانِ فِي وَقَائِعِ كِرْمَانَ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ وَكِتَابُ الْمُنْقِذِ
وَمَجْمُوعَةُ فِي الْقَصَائِدِ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ . . . كِتَابُ تَلَاغِ الْمَأْثُرِ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ
كِتَابُ تَلَاغِ الْمَأْثُرِ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ . . . مَجْلَدُ الْخَيْرَيْنِ كِتَابُ تَلَاغِ الْمَأْثُرِ فِي
التَّوَارِيخِ . . . كِتَابُ تَلَاغِ الْمَأْثُرِ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ . . . كِتَابُ تَلَاغِ الْمَأْثُرِ فِي
التَّوَارِيخِ . . .

كِتَابُ تَوَارِيخِ طَبَرِي . . . كِتَابُ التَّوَارِيخِ بِالْفَارَسِيَّةِ لِلطَّبَرِيِّ
كِتَابُ التَّوَارِيخِ بِالْفَارَسِيَّةِ لِلطَّبَرِيِّ . . . تَوَارِيخُ الطَّبَرِيِّ بِالْفَارَسِيَّةِ

. . . كِتَابُ مَسْنُوعِي نِظَامِ التَّوَارِيخِ . . .

نِظَامُ التَّوَارِيخِ . . . كِتَابُ نِظَامِ التَّوَارِيخِ وَكِتَابُ مَجْمَعِ الْأَنْسَابِ
فِي التَّوَارِيخِ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ . . . كِتَابُ نِظَامِ التَّوَارِيخِ . . . كِتَابُ

نِظَامُ التَّوَارِيخِ . . . كِتَابُ نِظَامِ التَّوَارِيخِ بِالْفَارَسِيَّةِ . . . كِتَابُ
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كِتَابُ تَنْسُخِ نَامَةِ الْخَانِي فِي عِلْمِ الْأَحْجَادِ وَكِتَابُ نِظَامِ التَّوَارِيخِ فِي
مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ . . .

كِتَابُ تَوَارِيخِ الْعُتْبِيِّ الْمَلَقْتُ كِتَابُ الْعُتْبِيِّ وَرِسَالَةُ فِي شَرْحِ مَا شُكِّلَ
مِنْ الْفَاطِ كِتَابُ الْعُتْبِيِّ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ . . . كِتَابُ تَوَارِيخِ الْعُتْبِيِّ
بِالْعَرَبِيَّةِ . . . كِتَابُ تَوَارِيخِ الْعُتْبِيِّ . . . كِتَابُ تَرْجُمَةِ كِتَابِ الْعُتْبِيِّ
بِالْفَارَسِيَّةِ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ . . . كِتَابُ تَرْجُمَةِ كِتَابِ الْعُتْبِيِّ بِالْفَارَسِيَّةِ
فِي التَّوَارِيخِ . . . كِتَابُ تَرْجُمَةِ الْعُتْبِيِّ بِالْفَارَسِيَّةِ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ . . .
كِتَابُ تَرْجُمَةِ تَوَارِيخِ الْعُتْبِيِّ بِالْفَارَسِيَّةِ . . . كِتَابُ تَوَارِيخِ الْعُتْبِيِّ
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 الدِّينِ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ ١٠٠ حَقَّةُ الْفَقِيرِ إِلَى صَاحِبِ السَّرِيَّةِ فِي عِلْمِ التَّوَارِيخِ ١٠٠
 عُمْدَةُ الْحِكَايَاتِ بِالْعَرَبِيَّةِ مِنْ قَبْلِ التَّوَارِيخِ ١٠٠ مِرَاةُ الْخَنَانِ فِي
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 مِنْ قَبْلِ التَّوَارِيخِ ١٠٠ كِتَابُ تَوَارِيخِ مُلُوكِ الْعَجَمِ بِالْعَرَبِيَّةِ ١٠٠
 كِتَابُ تَوَارِيخِ بَعْضِ الْمُلُوكِ بِالْفَارَسِيَّةِ ١٠٠ مَجَلَّدٌ مِنْ كِتَابِ عَرَبِيٍّ
 مَسْمُومٍ بِكَلِمَةِ الدَّرِيَّةِ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ ١٠٠ مَجَلَّدٌ مِنْ تَوَارِيخِ مُلُوكِ الْعَرَبِ
 وَمَا لَكُمُ ١٠٠ سِلَاحُ الْمُلُوكِ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ ١٠٠ كِتَابُ قُوْتِ الْأَرْوَاحِ
 بِالْعَرَبِيَّةِ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ ١٠٠ كِتَابُ الْفَتْحِ الْقُسُوفِيِّ فِي الْفَتْحِ الْقُدُسِيِّ فِي
 التَّوَارِيخِ ١٠٠ كِتَابُ تَوَارِيخِ سُلْطَانِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَكِتَابٌ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ وَكِتَابٌ
 فِي التَّوَارِيخِ فِي مَجَلَّدٍ وَاحِدٍ ١٠٠ تَوَارِيخُ حَقَّةِ الْمُلُوكِ ١٠٠ كِتَابُ
 الْقَتْلِ مَعَ قِصَّةِ السَّيِّبِ وَقِصَّةِ الْخَنَادِرِ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ ١٠٠ كِتَابُ نِصْحَتِ
 تَامَةِ الْمُوقِرِ بِقَابُوسَ تَامَةٍ ١٠٠ كِتَابُ فَائِزَةِ الْخَلَفَاءِ وَمُعَاكَمَةِ
 الطُّرُقَاءِ فِي مَجَلَّدَيْنِ ١٠٠ تَوَارِيخُ فَارَسِيَّةٌ فِي الْقَابِ الْوُزَرَاءِ ١٠٠
 كِتَابُ نِصْحَةِ الشَّيْخِ مُحَمَّدٍ الدِّينِ الْعَرَبِيِّ لِسُلْطَانِ سَجَرَ وَكِتَابُ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ
 رَازٍ فِي مَجَلَّدٍ وَاحِدٍ ١٠٠ كِتَابُ سِيرِ الْمُلُوكِ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ ١٠٠
 كِتَابُ سَكْرَدَانَ السُّلْطَانِ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ ١٠٠ كِتَابُ الْحَقَّةِ فِي النَّصَائِحِ
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٩٠ كِتَابُ فِتَا الْقُلُوبِ فِي الْمَضَافِ وَالْمُنَسِّبِ فِي الْأَمْثَالِ مِنْ قَبْلِ التَّوَارِيخِ
 كِتَابُ تَوَارِيخِ نَبَا كَتَبِي ١٠٠ كِتَابُ نَوْدُوز تَامَةٍ مِنْ قَبْلِ التَّوَارِيخِ وَكِتَابٌ
 قُرَّةُ الْعُيُونِ فِي الْأَمْثَالِ وَالْحِكَايَاتِ فِي مَجَلَّدٍ وَاحِدٍ ١٠٠ مَجَلَّدٌ آخِرٌ مِنْ
 كِتَابِ تَرْجُمَةِ كِتَابِ الْغُرُودِ سَمَى بِالْعَرَبِيَّةِ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ ١٠٠
 كِتَابُ الْفَرَجِ بَعْدَ الشَّدَةِ مِنْ قَبْلِ التَّوَارِيخِ ١٠٠ قِصَّةُ الْقَاضِي وَالْقَصْرِ
 فِي التَّوَارِيخِ ١٠٠ مَجَلَّدَانِ أَوَّلُ وَثَانٍ مِنْ قِصَّةِ حَمَزٍ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ ١٠٠
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 الْمَجَلَّدِ الثَّانِي مَقَالَةٌ دُسْتُرُ مَعْلُومَاتٍ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ ١٠٠ الْكِتَابُ الْجَامِعُ
 فِي التَّوَارِيخِ ١٠٠ كِتَابُ جَامِئِ تَامَةٍ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ ١٠٠
 كِتَابُ الْوُدُجِ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ ١٠٠ كِتَابُ حُسْنِ وَدَلِيلِ التَّوَارِيخِ ١٠٠
 كِتَابُ أَلْفِ لَيْلَةٍ فِي خَمْسِ مَجَلَّدَاتٍ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ ١٠٠ مَجَلَّدُ أَوَّلُ مِنْ
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 كِتَابُ مَجْمَعِ الْوَادِرِ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ وَغَيْرِهَا ١٠٠ كِتَابُ الدَّقِيقِ الْمُنِصَّةِ
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 فِي عِلْمِ التَّوَارِيخِ ١٠٠ كِتَابُ صَحَائِفِ اللَّطَائِفِ فِي أَنْوَاعِ الْعُلُومِ وَالتَّوَارِيخِ
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 والكتب المنظومة بالعربية وكتب الخطيب والكتب

المسجعة وكتب الامثال وكتب الرسائل والانشاء
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 رسالة الامثال البغدادية على ترتيب الحروف النسيبي .
 رسالة شوقية لولا بحسام زاده في الانشاء . ابحار الافكار
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كتاب في شربها في الحكمة

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مجلد آخر من كتاب العقد في علم الادب فيه كتاب الجملة الثانية

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من كتاب العقد فيه بقية الدقة الثانية وبعض الجوهر الثانية

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مجلد اول من كتاب العقد في علم الادب فيه كتاب اللؤلؤة

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من كتاب العقد في علم الادب فيه كتاب المرجانة وكتاب الياقوتة

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مجلد رابع من كتاب العقد في علم الادب

مجلد رابع من كتاب العقد في علم الادب

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الشعرية الاحياء في علم حل معاني البديع البرزوي وانيس
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 القافية ^{مجلد واحد} . قصيدة سلطان المصنعة ومنشآت الوحيد التبريزي
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مجموعة أولها خفة الصدور في الحساب وأواخرها روضة
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 تنجيم البلاغة في صنائع الشعرية . شرح قصيدة الحلي على
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 معيار جمالي في علم الشعر ولغة الفرس . رسالة قصيدة
 مشتملة على صنائع الشعرية . بدائع الرصيعات بالعربية
 والفارسية وبكاز الافكار في الرسائل والأشعار لبريد
 الدين الطواط .

تَفْصِيْلُ كُلِّ الدَّوَاوِينِ الْفَاسِيَةِ

مَا وَالْكَتَبِ الْمَنْظُومَةِ بِأَلْفِ مِائَةِ مِائَةٍ

کتابُ الْمُشَوَّيِّ لجلالِ الدِّينِ الرُّومِيِّ قُدْسِ سِرِّهِ

المشوّقي جلال الدين الرومي قدس سره ما كتاب المشوّقي جلال

الَّذِينَ أَدْرَأْتُمْ قُدْسَهُمْ ۚ كِتَابُ الْمُتَوَكِّلِينَ ۚ جَلَّالَ الْدِّينِ الرَّؤُوفِ

قُدْسِ سِرٍّ ۞ كِتَابُ الْمَشْنَوِي لِجَلَالِ الدِّينِ الرَّوْمِيِّ قُدْسِ سِرٍّ ۞

کتاب المثنوی جلّال الدین الرومی قدس سره

کتاب المثنوی لجلال الدین الرومی قدس سره

جَلالِ الدِّينِ الرَّؤُوفِ قَدُسُ سِرِّهِ ۞ كِتَابُ الْمُتَوَكِّلِ جَلالِ الدِّينِ

الرُّومِيَّةُ كِتَابُ الْمُنَوَّرِ كِتَابُ الْمُنَوَّرِ لِجَلَالِ الدِّينِ

الحمد لله الذي جعلنا من هذه الدنيا داراً فانية

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

سَمَاءُ وَلَهَا ابْنٌ يُدْعَى ابْنُ سَمَاءَ وَابْنُ سَمَاءَ ابْنُ سَمَاءَ

تاریخ انیسویں صدی کے یوں بیان ہے (شمالی و جنوبی) کہ

مجلسه در روز پنجشنبه ۱۳۰۲

وَمِنْهَا مَا لَمْ يَكُنْ فِيهَا مِنْ قَبْلُ

الروي قدس سره . كتاب المتنوي لجلال الدين الروي
 قدس سره . كتاب المتنوي لجلال الدين الروي قدس سره
 سره . كتاب المتنوي لجلال الدين الروي قدس سره
 كتاب المتنوي لجلال الدين الروي قدس سره ومنطق الطير
 وأسرار نامه وانتخاب مختار نامه وكتابات شيخ سعدى في
 مجلد واحد . كتاب المتنوي لمولانا جلال الدين الروي
 قدس سره . كتاب المتنوي وكتاب سته عطار وكتاب
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 كتاب منتخب المتنوي . كتاب منتخب المتنوي للايمير قاسم
 كتاب جواهر مولوي منتخب متنوي واختيارات اشعار فضلاء في
 مجلد واحد . كتاب انتخاب متنوي . ديوان مولانا
 جلال الدين الذي في بعض غزلياته اسوشس تبريزي .
 كتاب المتنوي . متنوي .

مجلد اول . كتاب جواهر الاسرار في شرح المتنوي .
 ديوان سلطان ولد . ديوان سلطان ولد . كتاب
 سلطان ولد بن جلال الدين الروي .
 كتاب كليات عطار وبعي عشر كتب في مجلد واحد . كتاب
 جواهر الذات للشيخ العطار . كتاب سته عطار .
 منطق الطير . كتاب كل وخسرو الذي يقال له كل وهرمز
 ايضا . كما اشترا منه للعطار . كتاب مصيدت نامه للعطار .
 كتاب الهوى منه للعطار . كتاب الهوى منه للعطار .
 كتاب منطق الطير للعطار . نظوجايت خسرو كل للعطار
 المعروف خسرو نامه . كتاب انتخاب منطق الطير .
 كتاب فيه كليات اشعار عطار وسرى نامه حسيني وديوان ترائي
 واشعار متفرقة لافاضل الشعراء في مجلد واحد . مجموعة
 رسائل فيها منصور نامه شيخ عطار وترجيع بند مير قاسم و
 كلشن راز بالفارسيه وده باب كاتبي في مجلد واحد .
 ديوان عطار . جواهر الذات للشيخ العطار قدس سره .
 كتاب بعض كليات عطار . كتاب خمسة عطار .
 رسالة ترجيعات افاضل الشعراء وروشنائي نامه للسنياني
 ولبيل نامه لعطار ونظم حكايت كل ولبيل لعطار واسرار نامه

لِعَطَار فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞ كِتَابُ انْتِخَابِ مَنْطِقِ الطَّيْرِ ۞

رِسَالَةٌ دَهْ قَاعِدَةٍ وَرِسَالَةٌ اخْتِيَارَاتِ مَنْطِقِ الطَّيْرِ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ ۞

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 نظير ليلى ومجنون بالفارسية لخسرو الدهلوي .
 كتاب قران سعديين .

ديوان عراقي وديوان اوحدي ^{عليه} . كتاب خمسة اشرف
 كتاب كليات شرف الراي . ديوان خاقاني .
 دواوين الفضلاء وقصايدهم وغزلياتهم مكتوبة اسماءهم
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 ديوان مقالات واشعار معري . ديوان فتح . ديوان

المرحوم شيخ وفائي الصوف . ديوان شامي .
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 ديوان مغربي ورسالة في كليات علم التوحيد ورسالة اخري
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كَابُ خُرَشِيدٍ وَنَاهِيدٍ بِالْفَارِسِيَّةِ الْمُتَّوَمَّةِ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ ۞
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 فِي دَقَائِقِ الْأَشْعَارِ ۞ كَابُ عِشْقِ نَامَةِ الْمُشْتَرِيهِمْ مَشْتَرِي
 كَابُ فَرْهَادِ نَامَةِ عَارِفِ نَظْمِ مُؤَلِّفِهِ ۞ كَابُ فَرْهَادِ نَامَةِ
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۝ نَقَرَتْجُهُ ۝

صَدَّكَ عَلَى كَرَامَةِ اللَّهِ وَجْهَهُ ۝ نَقَرَتْجُهُ صَدَّكَ عَلَى كَرَامَةِ اللَّهِ

وَجْهَهُ ۝ نَقَرَتْجُهُ صَدَّكَ عَلَى كَرَامَةِ اللَّهِ وَجْهَهُ ۝ نَقَرَتْجُهُ

صَدَّكَ عَلَى كَرَامَةِ اللَّهِ وَجْهَهُ ۝

تَقْصِيْدُ
لِالْفَارِسِيِّينَ
وَالْمَغُولِيَّةِ وَالْكَتَبِ الْمَنْظُومَةِ
بِالْتُرْكِيَّةِ وَالْمَغُولِيَّةِ

دِيَوَانُ أَحْمَدِ پاشَا وَجُوعَةُ الْأَشْعَارِ التُّرْكِيَّةِ ^{عَلِيٍّ} دِيَوَانُ أَحْمَدِ
پاشَا بِالتُّرْكِيَّةِ

دِيَوَانُ أَحْمَدِي دِيَوَانُ أَحْمَدِي دِيَوَانُ أَحْمَدِي
دِيَوَانُ لُطْفِي دِيَوَانُ حَقِّي بِالتُّرْكِيَّةِ دِيَوَانُ حَقِّي بِالْفَارِسِيَّةِ
وَالْتُّرْكِيَّةِ دِيَوَانُ مَبَارَكِ بِالتُّرْكِيَّةِ فِي الصُّوْفِ

دِيَوَانُ مُنِيرِي بِالْفَارِسِيَّةِ وَالتُّرْكِيَّةِ دِيَوَانُ رُوشَنِي
بِالتُّرْكِيَّةِ دِيَوَانُ صَفِي بِالتُّرْكِيَّةِ دِيَوَانُ عَلِي بِالتُّرْكِيَّةِ
دِيَوَانُ كَاتِبِي بِالتُّرْكِيَّةِ

دِيَوَانُ نَوَائِي دِيَوَانُ نَوَائِي دِيَوَانُ نَوَائِي
دِيَوَانُ نَوَائِي دِيَوَانُ فَوَائِي بِالْمَغُولِيَّةِ خَمْسَةُ نَوَائِي
بِالْمَغُولِيَّةِ خَمْسَةُ نَوَائِي بِالْمَغُولِيَّةِ

دِيَوَانُ سَيْفِ سَرَايِي بِالْمَغُولِيَّةِ دِيَوَانُ لُطْفِي بِالْمَغُولِيَّةِ
دِيَوَانُ لُطْفِي بِالْمَغُولِيَّةِ وَدِيَوَانُ كَذَا بِالْمَغُولِيَّةِ فِي مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ
دِيَوَانُ مِيْرَهْدَايَةِ بِالْمَغُولِيَّةِ دِيَوَانُ لُطْفِي بِالْمَغُولِيَّةِ

مَجْمُوعَةُ خَطِّ تَرْكِي مَجْمُوعَةُ مِنْ أَشْعَارِ الشُّعْرَاءِ بِالتُّرْكِيَّةِ
جَرِيدَتِ مَجْمُوعَةِ الْأَشْعَارِ التُّرْكِيَّةِ مَجْمُوعَةُ خَطِّ تَرْكِي قَدِيرِي

مَجْمُوعَةُ النُّظَائِرِ بِالرُّكْبَةِ الْمُنْظُومَةِ ❦

رِسَالَةٌ فِي أَحْكَامِ الْخُسُوفِ وَالْكَسُوفِ بِالرُّكْبَةِ الْمُنْظُومَةِ ❦

كِتَابُ خُفَّةِ الْمُؤْمِنِ بِالرُّكْبَةِ الْمُنْظُومَةِ ❦ عِبْرَتُ نَامَةِ بِالرُّكْبَةِ

الْمُنْظُومَةِ ❦ تَرْجُمَةُ مَثْنَى الْعَقَائِدِ بِالرُّكْبَةِ الْمُنْظُومَةِ فِي عِلْمِ الْكَلَامِ ❦

دُرُجُ النَّصَائِجِ لِعَبْدِ الرَّحِيمِ بِالرُّكْبَةِ الْمُنْظُومَةِ ❦ كِتَابُ سَارِ

الْعُرْفَانِ لِلشَّيْخِ وَقَا بِالرُّكْبَةِ الْمُنْظُومَةِ فِي التَّصَوُّفِ ❦

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بِالرُّكْبَةِ الْمُنْظُومَةِ لِلشَّيْخِ وَقَا قُدُسِ سِرِّ ❦ رِسَالَةُ مَنْظُومَاتِ

وَصَائِلِي بِالرُّكْبَةِ ❦ دَاسْتَانُ عَشَاقِ نَامَةِ بِالرُّكْبَةِ الْمُنْظُومَةِ ❦

قِصَّةُ حَمْنِ بِالرُّكْبَةِ الْمُنْظُومَةِ ❦ مَشْرِائَاتُ أَقْبِيَتْ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ بِالرُّكْبَةِ

مَنْظُومَاتِ رُوشَنِي بِالرُّكْبَةِ ❦ كِتَابُ مَهْمَا وَهَائُونِ بِالرُّكْبَةِ

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كِتَابُ الْإِرْشَادِ بِالرُّكْبَةِ الْمُنْظُومَةِ فِي التَّصَوُّفِ ❦ رِسَالَةُ تَرْكِيَّةِ

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التَّصَوُّفِ ❦ كِتَابُ تَرْجُمَةِ وَصَايَا شَيْخِ وَقَا قُدُسِ سِرِّ بِالرُّكْبَةِ

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فِي التَّوَارِيخِ ❦ نَفْيَا دَاسْتَانِ بِالرُّكْبَةِ الْمُنْظُومَةِ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ ❦

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بِالرُّكْبَةِ الْمُنْظُومَةِ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ ❦ دَاسْتَانُ خُرَشِيدِ وَفَرَحشَادِ

بِالرُّكْبَةِ الْمُنْظُومَةِ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ ❦ كِتَابُ حُسْرُ وَشِيرِي بِالرُّكْبَةِ

الْمُنْظُومَةِ فِي التَّوَارِيخِ ❦ كِتَابُ مِهْمَا وَمُشْتَرَى بِالرُّكْبَةِ الْمُنْظُومَةِ

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لِلْبَلَاغِيِّ ❦

رِسَالَةُ بِاللُّغَةِ الْمُغُولِيَّةِ الْمُنْظُومَةِ وَالْخَطِّ الْمُغُولِيِّ مِنْ قَبْلِ النَّصَائِجِ

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حاشية شرح المفتاح في علم المعاني . حاشية
شرح المفتاح في علم المعاني . حاشية
شرح المفتاح لولا نا بلد زادنا علاه الدين رحمه الله
في علم المعاني .

متن التلخيص في علم المعاني . متن التلخيص في
علم المعاني . كتاب تلخيص المفتاح في علم المعاني و
كتاب الباب في النحو وكتاب لب الالباب في
النحو ورسالة الزمخشري في العروض في مجلد واحد
كتاب تلخيص المفتاح في المعاني . كتاب
تلخيص المفتاح في علم المعاني .
كتاب تلخيص المفتاح في علم المعاني .

كتاب تلخيص المفتاح في المعاني . كتاب تلخيص المفتاح في
المعاني . كتاب تلخيص المفتاح في علم المعاني . كتاب
تلخيص المفتاح في علم المعاني . كتاب تلخيص المفتاح في المعاني
كتاب تلخيص المفتاح في علم المعاني . كتاب تلخيص المفتاح
في المعاني وكتاب منهاج الوصول الى علم الاصول في مجلد واحد
كتاب تلخيص المفتاح في علم المعاني . كتاب نظم تلخيص المفتاح
الموسوم خلاصة الاماني في المعاني وكتاب نظم الكافية الموسوم
بالوافية وكتاب منظوم في علم النحو وكتاب عقود الجواهر في
التصريف وكتاب منظوم في التصريف وكتاب منظوم في التصريف
في مجلد واحد .

كتاب شرح تلخيص المفتاح المعروف بطول في علم المعاني .
كتاب شرح تلخيص المفتاح المعروف بطول في علم المعاني .
كتاب شرح تلخيص المفتاح المعروف بطول في علم المعاني .
كتاب شرح تلخيص المفتاح المعروف بطول في المعاني .
كتاب شرح تلخيص المفتاح المعروف بطول في المعاني .
كتاب شرح نظم تلخيص المفتاح المسمى خلاصة الاماني لتلخيص المعاني
مطول في شرح تلخيص المفتاح في علم المعاني . مطول شرح
التلخيص في المعاني .

كتاب مختصر شرح تلخيص المفتاح في المعاني . كتاب مختصر
 شرح تلخيص المفتاح في المعاني . كتاب مختصر شرح تلخيص
 المفتاح في المعاني . كتاب مختصر شرح تلخيص المفتاح في
 المعاني . كتاب ترجمة مختصر شرح تلخيص المفتاح بالفارسية
 في علم المعاني .

كتاب الإيضاح في المعاني . كتاب الإيضاح في علم المعاني
 كتاب الإيضاح في المعاني .
 كتاب شرح الإيضاح في المعاني . كتاب شرح آيات الإيضاح
 في علم المعاني . شرح إيضاح المعاني لولانا جمال الدين
 الأقراني في علم المعاني .

١٧٥ كتاب حاشية المطول لولانا خسر وفي المعاني . كتاب حاشية
 المطول في علم المعاني . كتاب حاشية المطول لولانا خسر
 في المعاني . كتاب حاشية المطول في المعاني .
 كتاب حاشية المطول في المعاني . كتاب حاشية المطول
 على البيان لولانا الكرماسقي في المعاني . كتاب حاشية المطول
 لولانا زاده الخطاي في المعاني . كتاب حاشية المطول
 لولانا زاده الخطاي في المعاني . كتاب حاشية المختصر
 لولانا زاده الخطاي في المعاني . كتاب حاشية المطول
 لولانا زاده الخطاي في المعاني . كتاب مختصر حاشية
 المطول لولانا الكرماسقي في المعاني . كتاب حاشية
 حاشية السيد الشريف على المطول في المعاني . كتاب حاشية
 المطول للسيد الشريف في المعاني . كتاب حاشية المطول
 للسيد الشريف في المعاني . كتاب حاشية المطول للسيد الشريف
 في المعاني . كتاب حاشية المطول للسيد الشريف في المعاني
 كتاب حاشية المطول في المعاني . حاشية المطول
 للسيد الشريف في علم المعاني . حاشية السيد الشريف على
 المطول في علم المعاني . رسالة شرح ديباجة الحاوي ورسالة
 شرح ديباجة المتوسط وحاشية المختصر لولانا زاده الخطاي
 في المعاني وكتاب المآب في شرح الآداب في علم الجدل وكتاب

الأجوبة لشرح النونية في النطق في مجلد واحد

كتاب الغوايد الغياثية في المعاني كتاب الغوايد الغياثية
في المعاني وكتاب شرح الغوايد الغياثية في علم المعاني في مجلد واحد
كتاب الغوايد الغياثية في المعاني

كتاب حاشية شرح الغوايد الغياثية في المعاني

كتاب نهاية الإيجاز في دراية الإيجاز في المعاني كتاب

البتيان في شرح التبيين لولانا الكرماسقي في المعاني

كتاب المختار لولانا الكرماسقي في المعاني كتاب المختار

لولانا الكرماسقي في المعاني كتاب المثل السائر في علم المعاني

درج الغرايد في علم البدع كتاب في علم البلاغة وكتاب عقود

المواهر في التصريف ونهاية الإيجاز في علم البلاغة دلائل

الإيجاز في علم البلاغة

تفصيل كل كتيب علم الصرف والنحو

كتاب شرح قسم التصريف من كتاب مفتاح السكاكي
 كتاب الشافية الذي صنعه ابن الحاجب وكتاب شرح الشافية
 لأحمد الجار بردي في التصريف في مجلد واحد
 في التصريف كتاب الشافية في التصريف
 كتاب الشافية في التصريف وكتاب كفاية الإرب في التصريف
 ورسالة منظومة في الاسماء السماعية وكتاب كشف
 الدقائق في شرح الرسالة الزينية في النحو في مجلد واحد

كتاب شرح كتاب الشافية الذي صنفه ابن الحاجب في التصريف
 كتاب شرح كتاب الشافية الذي صنفه ابن الحاجب للرقي في
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 كتاب الصافية في شرح الشافية ليوسف بن عبد الملك وكتاب
 رواج الادراج في شرح المراح ليوسف بن عبد الملك وكتاب
 المضبوط في شرح المقصود ليوسف بن عبد الملك في التصريف
 كتاب شرح الشافية للجاربردي في التصريف
 كتاب شرح كتاب الشافية الذي صنفه ابن الحاجب لاحمد
 الجاربردي في التصريف كتاب شرح كتاب الشافية
 الذي صنفه ابن الحاجب لاحمد الجاربردي في التصريف
 كتاب شرح الشافية للجاربردي في التصريف

كتاب المقصود وكتاب عزى وكتاب المراح في التصريف
 مجلد واحد كتاب عزى في التصريف وكتاب مراح
 في التصريف وكتاب الانودج في النحو وكتاب الكافية في النحو
 وكتاب تلخيص المفتاح في علم المعاني في مجلد واحد
 كتاب عزى في التصريف وشرح ابيات علي بن ابي طالب رضي الله
 عنه في مجلد واحد كتاب عزى في التصريف وكتاب المصباح
 في النحو وكتاب الجمل في المنطق وكتاب تلخيص المفتاح في علم المعاني
 وقصيدة معروفة يقول العبد في علم الكلام وكتاب العروض
 للانذلسي في مجلد واحد

كتاب شرح المراح في التصريف كتاب المصنف في شرح
 تصريف ابي عثمان بكر بن محمد المازني لابي الفتح بن جني في
 التصريف كتاب شرح عزى وكتاب شرح الانودج
 في النحو في مجلد واحد كتاب شرح المراح في التصريف

كتاب شرح المراح في التصريف . كتاب شرح المراح وكتاب

شرح المختصر في التصريف في مجلد واحد . كتاب شرح عزى

في التصريف . كتاب شرح عزى بالفتاوى رسيته .

كتاب شرح عزى بالفتاوى رسيته في التصريف . كتاب شرح

عزى في التصريف . كتاب ترجمه شرح عزى بالتركية لمحمد بن

الخطيب الأذقي . كتاب شرح عزى في التصريف وكتاب

الفتاوى . كتاب شرح المختصر المعروف بعزى للفتاوى ناني .

كتاب تأسيس القواعد في شرح أساس الصرف في علم التصريف .

رسالة بالفتاوى رسيته في التصريف ورسالة بالفتاوى رسيته في التصريف

ورسالة بالفتاوى رسيته في المنطق في مجلد واحد .

رسالة بالفتاوى رسيته في التصريف ورسالة بالفتاوى رسيته في التصريف

ورسالة بالفتاوى رسيته في المنطق في مجلد واحد .

كتاب أمثلة في التصريف وكتاب الأعراب عن قواعد الأعراب

المعروف بقواعد أعراب في النحو ورسالة بالفتاوى رسيته في التصريف

في مجلد واحد .

كتاب الكافية في النحو . كتاب الكافية مع شرح في

حواشيه في النحو . كتاب الكافية في النحو وشرح أيضا

في المنطق وحاشية كتاب الوافية المعروف بالتوسيط في النحو

في مجلد واحد . كتاب الكافية في النحو وكتاب المختصر

في الصرف في مجلد واحد . كتاب الكافية في النحو وكتاب

من العقائد في علم الكلام في مجلد واحد . كتاب الكافية

في النحو وكتاب المصباح في النحو وكتاب المعامل في النحو وكتاب

المراح في التصريف وكتاب عزى في التصريف وكتاب المختصر في

التصريف في مجلد واحد .

كتاب شرح الكافية في النحو . كتاب شرح الكافية

بِالْفَارِسِيَّةِ وَكُتِبَ الْأَمثلةُ فِي شَرْحِ الْكَافِيَةِ فِي النُّسخِ فِي مَجْلَدٍ
وَاحِدٍ. كُتِبَ كَشْفُ الْوَاقِفَةِ فِي شَرْحِ الْكَافِيَةِ لِلْحَلَقِيِّ فِي
النُّسخِ. كُتِبَ مَنَائِعُ الْعُرَاءِ فِي شَرْحِ الْكَافِيَةِ فِي النُّسخِ.
كُتِبَ شَرْحُ الْكَافِيَةِ فِي النُّسخِ. كُتِبَ شَرْحُ الْكَافِيَةِ لِلرَّضِيِّ
فِي النُّسخِ. كُتِبَ شَرْحُ الْكَافِيَةِ لِلرَّضِيِّ فِي النُّسخِ.
كُتِبَ شَرْحُ الْكَافِيَةِ لِلرَّضِيِّ فِي النُّسخِ. كُتِبَ شَرْحُ الْكَافِيَةِ
لِلرَّضِيِّ فِي النُّسخِ. كُتِبَ شَرْحُ الْكَافِيَةِ لِلرَّضِيِّ فِي النُّسخِ.
كُتِبَ شَرْحُ الْكَافِيَةِ لِلرَّضِيِّ فِي النُّسخِ. كُتِبَ شَرْحُ الْكَافِيَةِ
لِلرَّضِيِّ فِي النُّسخِ. كُتِبَ الْوَاقِفَةُ فِي شَرْحِ الْكَافِيَةِ الْمَعْرُوفِ
بِتَوْسِطِ النُّسخِ. كُتِبَ الْوَاقِفَةُ فِي شَرْحِ الْكَافِيَةِ الْمَعْرُوفِ
بِتَوْسِطِ النُّسخِ. كُتِبَ الْوَاقِفَةُ فِي شَرْحِ الْكَافِيَةِ الْمَعْرُوفِ
بِتَوْسِطِ النُّسخِ. كُتِبَ شَرْحُ الْوَاقِفَةِ فِي عِلْمِ الْحِسَابِ وَرِيسَالَةٍ
كَاشَفَتِ الشُّكُوكَ الْعَلَائِيَّةَ وَحَاشِيَةً لَهَا الْوَاقِفَةُ الْمَعْرُوفُ بِتَوْسِطِ
فِي النُّسخِ. كُتِبَ شَرْحُ الْكَافِيَةِ لِلسَّيِّدِ الشَّرِيفِ بِالْفَارِسِيَّةِ
فِي النُّسخِ. كُتِبَ شَرْحُ الْكَافِيَةِ لِلْحَبِيبِيِّ. كُتِبَ
شَرْحُ الْكَافِيَةِ لِلْحَبِيبِيِّ. كُتِبَ شَرْحُ الْكَافِيَةِ لِلْحَبِيبِيِّ.
كُتِبَ شَرْحُ الْكَافِيَةِ لِلْبَغْدَادِيِّ فِي النُّسخِ. كُتِبَ شَرْحُ الْكَافِيَةِ
الْمَوْسُومُ بِالْكَبِيرِ فِي النُّسخِ. كُتِبَ الشَّامِلُ فِي شَرْحِ الْكَافِيَةِ

بِالْفَارِسِيَّةِ فِي النُّسخِ. كُتِبَ شَرْحُ الْكَافِيَةِ لِلصَّنِّفِيِّ فِي النُّسخِ.
كُتِبَ شَرْحُ الْكَافِيَةِ فِي النُّسخِ. كُتِبَ شَرْحُ الْكَافِيَةِ لِلرَّضِيِّ الْمَعْرُوفِ
بِالنُّسخِ الرَّضِيِّ وَرِيسَالَةِ السَّيِّدِ الشَّرِيفِ الْجَرِيحِيِّ طَابَ تَرَاهُ فِي النُّسخِ وَلَوْ
يُوجَدُ لِلْمَجْلَدِ الْأَوَّلِ. كُتِبَ أَعْرَابُ الْكَافِيَةِ فِي النُّسخِ. كُتِبَ
أَعْرَابُ الْكَافِيَةِ فِي النُّسخِ. رِيسَالَةُ غَرَقِ الْمَنْطِقِ وَحَاشِيَةٍ كُتِبَ
الْوَاقِفَةُ الْمَعْرُوفُ بِالْمُتَوَسِّطِ وَكُتِبَ شَرْحُ الْأَنْوَادِ فِي النُّسخِ فِي
مَجْلَدٍ وَاحِدٍ. حَاشِيَةُ مُتَوَسِّطِ السَّيِّدِ فِي النُّسخِ.
كُتِبَ الْمُفَصَّلُ لِلرَّضِيِّ فِي النُّسخِ. كُتِبَ الْمُفَصَّلُ لِلرَّضِيِّ
فِي النُّسخِ. كُتِبَ الْمُفَصَّلُ فِي النُّسخِ. كُتِبَ الْمُفَصَّلُ فِي النُّسخِ.
كُتِبَ الْمُفَصَّلُ فِي النُّسخِ. كُتِبَ الْمُفَصَّلُ فِي النُّسخِ. كُتِبَ الْمُفَصَّلُ فِي النُّسخِ.
مَجْلَدًا أَوَّلًا مِنْ كُتِبَ الْمُفَصَّلُ فِي النُّسخِ.

كتاب المجلد في شرح المفضل في النحو . كتاب المجلد في شرح
 المفضل في النحو . كتاب المجلد في شرح المفضل في النحو .
 كتاب المجلد في شرح المفضل في النحو . كتاب شرح المفضل
 لابي محمد الخوانساري في النحو . كتاب شرح المفضل للموسم
 بالايضاح . كتاب شرح المفضل الموسوم بالايضاح في النحو
 كتاب شرح المفضل الموسوم بالايضاح في النحو . كتاب شرح
 المفضل الموسوم بالايضاح . كتاب شرح ابيات المفضل
 كتاب شرح ابيات المفضل . كتاب شرح المفضل الموسوم
 بالايضاح وحاشية شرح تلخيص الفتح للسيد الشريف في علم
 المعاني وشرح ابيات المفضل ورسالة في تحقيق مباحث الكل
 والرسالة الفريفة في المنطق ورسالة المذكر والمؤن وحاشية
 شرح تلخيص الفتح لغير السيد الشريف في علم المعاني في مجلد واحد
 كتاب شرح المفضل لابن يعيش في النحو في مجلد واحد
 ثلث مجلدات من كتاب شرح المفضل لابن يعيش مجلد اول
 ومجلد ثالث ومجلد رابع ولم يوجد المجلد الثاني
 المجلد الثاني من شرح المفضل المسبوق بالمستشهد في النحو ولم
 يوجد سائر المجلدات . المجلد الاخير من شرح المفضل

النحو ولم يوجد غير ابتداء من الحروف المشبهة بالفعل .

كتاب الاقليد في شرح المفضل في النحو .

كتاب الايضاح لابي علي الفارسي في النحو . كتاب شرح الا
 في النحو . كتاب شرح الايضاح وكتاب ايضاح شواهد الا
 في النحو في مجلد واحد .

كتاب سيبويه في النحو . كتاب سيبويه في النحو .

كتاب شرح كتاب سيبويه لابي سعيد في النحو . كتاب شرح
 كتاب سيبويه لابي سعيد في النحو . كتاب شرح ابيات
 كتاب سيبويه للشيخ ابي جعفر في النحو . كتاب شرح كتاب
 سيبويه لابي محمد السيرافي في النحو . كتاب شرح ابيات
 كتاب سيبويه لابي محمد السيرافي في النحو .

كتاب لب الالباب في النحو . كتاب لب الالباب في
النحو .

كتاب شرح لب الالباب في النحو المعروف بسيد عبد الله في
النحو . كتاب شرح لب الالباب المعروف بسيد عبد الله
في النحو . كتاب شرح لب الالباب المعروف بسيد عبد
الله في النحو .

كتاب شرح الباب للزوني في النحو .
كتاب شرح الباب للزوني في النحو . كتاب شرح الباب
للزوني في النحو . كتاب شرح الباب للقطب الفارسي في
كتاب شرح الباب للقطب الفارسي في النحو . كتاب شرح
الكتاب للقطب الفارسي في النحو . كتاب شرح الكتاب
للقطب الفارسي في النحو . كتاب شرح الكتاب في النحو
كتاب شرح الكتاب في النحو . شرح الباب في النحو .

كتاب شرح الانودج في النحو . كتاب الارشاد في شرح الارشاد
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في النحو . رسالة شرح ايساغوجي في المنطق وكتاب شرح كتاب
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الرسالة العاصمية في علم الحساب وكتاب ترجمة الزيد في علم الهيئة
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 المسمى بارتداد السالك الى محل الفية ابن مالك في النحو
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 مقدمة في لغز الاعراب الواقع في ابيات على ترتيب حروف الهجاء
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كتاب صحاح الجوهري في اللغة العربية في مجلد واحد .

كتاب صحاح الجوهري في اللغة العربية في مجلد واحد .

كتاب صحاح الجوهري في اللغة العربية في مجلد واحد .

كتاب مختصر صحاح الجوهري المترجم بالفارسية .

كتاب صحاح الجوهري في اللغة العربية في مجلد واحد .

كتاب مختار الصحاح في اللغة العربية . كتاب الصراح في اللغة

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كتاب مقدمة الادب في اللغة المترجم بالفارسية وبالتركية

كتاب مقدمة الادب في اللغة المترجم بالفارسية وبالتركية

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كتاب مجمع الامثال وكتاب مرقوم بان اسمه الدن الفاضل

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 كتاب الفائق للعلامة الزخشرى في مجلدين . المجلد الأول
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 كتاب في اللغة العربية
 كتاب في اللغة العربية

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مجلد ثانٍ من كتاب النهاية في غريب الحديث في اللغة . كتاب لسان
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بيان موضوعات العلوم العربية والشرعية ومبادئها وغاياتها
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تَقْصِيْدُ لِكُتُبِ عَلِيٍّ التَّعْيِيْرِ وَكُتُبُ
 عَلِيٍّ الْفَرَاسَةِ وَكُتُبُ عَلِيٍّ الْكَيْبِ وَكُتُبُ عَلِيٍّ الْأَنْجَارِ وَ
 كُتُبُ الرَّهْلِ وَكُتُبُ الْفَالِ وَكُتُبُ عَلِيٍّ النَّيْجَاتِ وَكُتُبُ
 الطَّلَسَاتِ وَكُتُبُ السِّيَاءِ وَكُتُبُ الْغَزَائِمِ
 وَكُتُبُ عَلِيٍّ الْبَقَرِ وَكُتُبُ

الصَّنَاعَاتِ الْمُجَيَّبَةِ

وَكُتُبُ الْحَيْلِ

وَكُتُبُ السَّيْرِ

كِتَابُ الشَّيْخِ قُطْبِ الدِّينِ زَادَهُ فِي عِلْمِ التَّعْيِيرِ ٥ كِتَابُ الشَّيْخِ
 قُطْبِ الدِّينِ زَادَهُ فِي عِلْمِ التَّعْيِيرِ ٥

رِسَالَةُ مُشْتَمِلَةٌ عَلَى حَقِيقَةِ الرُّوَا فِي عِلْمِ التَّعْيِيرِ ٥ كِتَابُ كَامِلِ

التَّعْيِيرِ بِالْفَارَسِيَّةِ ٥ كِتَابُ كَامِلِ التَّعْيِيرِ بِالْفَارَسِيَّةِ ٥

كِتَابُ كَامِلِ التَّعْيِيرِ بِالْفَارَسِيَّةِ ٥ كِتَابُ كَامِلِ التَّعْيِيرِ ٥

كِتَابُ كَامِلِ التَّعْيِيرِ ٥ كِتَابُ كَامِلِ التَّعْيِيرِ بِالْفَارَسِيَّةِ ٥

كتاب تغيير سلطان في الفارسية . كتاب تغيير سلطان في
الفارسية . كتاب تغيير سلطان في الفارسية .

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كتاب التعبير المتطور بالفارسية ورسالة الاختلاج المتطورة
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من النخب في تغيير الروا .

ترجمة كتاب أرسطاطاليس للحسين بن اسحاق في علم الفراسة .
رسالة بالعربية في علم الفراسة . رسالة بالتركية في علم
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فِي النُّجُومِ ٥٥ كِتَابٌ مَدْخُلُ النُّجُومِ وَكِتَابُ أَصُولِ الْمَلَاحِمِ مِنْ
 قَبْلِ النُّجُومِ ٥٥ رِسَالَةٌ تُشْرِحُ الْأَلَمَاتِ مِنْ قَبْلِ النُّجُومِ ٥٥
 كِتَابٌ تُرْجِمُهُ كِتَابُ صُورِ الْكَلْبِ بِالْفَارِسِيَّةِ الْمَرْقُومَةُ بِأَنَّهُ
 نَخْطٌ مُتَرَجِّمٌ الَّذِي هُوَ النَّصِيرُ الطُّوسِيُّ فِي النُّجُومِ ٥٥ رِسَالَةٌ وَلَا
 يَجُوزُ حَمْدُ اللَّهِ وَهُوَ ابْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ خَانِ طَابَتْ أَرْحَامُهُ فِي النُّجُومِ ٥٥
 كِتَابٌ مَدْخُلُ مَنْظُومٍ فِي أَحْكَامِ النُّجُومِ وَرِسَالَةٌ فِي فَصْلِ فِي النُّجُومِ
 وَرِسَالَةٌ الْأُسْطُولَابِ مِنْ قَبْلِ النُّجُومِ فِي مُجَلَّدٍ وَاحِدٍ ٥٥
 كِتَابٌ فِيهِ أَرْبَعُ مَقَالَاتٍ فِي أَحْكَامِ النُّجُومِ وَرِسَالَةٌ الْأُسْطُولَابِ
 مِنْ قَبْلِ النُّجُومِ ٥٥ مَخْتَصَرُ مَدْخُلِ طَبِيعَةِ أَحْكَامِ النُّجُومِ وَ
 تُرْجِمُهُ الْمُخْتَصَرُ الْمَدْخُلُ إِلَى أَحْكَامِ النُّجُومِ بِالْفَارِسِيَّةِ ٥٥
 كِتَابُ الْعَمَلِ بِالْأُسْطُولَابِ لِعَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ الصُّوفِيِّ وَرِسَالَةٌ فِي
 الْعَمَلِ بِالْأُسْطُولَابِ الْكُرِّيِّ لِجَامِدِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ مِنْ قَبْلِ النُّجُومِ فِي
 مُجَلَّدٍ وَاحِدٍ ٥٥ كِتَابُ مَنَهِجِ الطُّلَّابِ فِي عَمَلِ الْأُسْطُولَابِ
 مِنْ قَبْلِ النُّجُومِ ٥٥ كِتَابُ الْأَصْلِيَّةِ فِي عِلْمِ النُّجُومِ وَسِرِّهَا
 لِأَبِي مَعْشَرٍ الْبَلْخِي النَّجَافِيِّ ٥٥ مَخْتَصَرٌ فِي مَعْرِفَةِ الْأُسْطُولَابِ
 لِلنَّصِيرِ الطُّوسِيِّ مِنْ قَبْلِ النُّجُومِ وَرِسَالَةُ الْبَابِ السَّاعِ مِنْ
 كِتَابِ قُسْطَا فِي الْعَمَلِ بِالْكَوْكَبِ وَرِسَالَتَانِ فِي الْفَرْقِ بَيْنَ الضَّادِ
 وَالْقَاءِ مِنْ قَبْلِ عِلْمِ الْقَوَامَةِ وَرِسَالَتَانِ أُخْرَى فِي مُجَلَّدٍ وَاحِدٍ ٥٥
 شَرْحُ بَيْتِ الْبَابِ فِي مَعْرِفَةِ أُسْطُولَابِ مِنْ قَبْلِ عِلْمِ النُّجُومِ ٥٥

١٥٦ اخْتِيَارَاتُ الْأَحْكَامِ الْعَلَايِيَّةِ فِي النُّجُومِ ٥٥ اخْتِيَارَاتُ الْأَحْكَامِ
 الْعَلَايِيَّةِ فِي النُّجُومِ ٥٥ رِسَالَةٌ بَيِّنَتْ بَابَ فِي مَعْرِفَةِ الْأُسْطُولَابِ
 وَرِسَالَةٌ فِي فَصْلِ فِي النُّجُومِ وَرِسَالَةٌ فِي الرَّبْعِ الْحَبِيبِ وَرِسَالَةٌ
 فِي الرَّبْعِ مِنْ قَبْلِ النُّجُومِ ٥٥ كِتَابُ جَامِعِ الْمُبَادِي وَالْعَايَاتِ
 مَعَ نَقْصَانِ الْقَنْ أَرْبَعٍ مِنَ الْآخِرِ فِي مُجَلَّدَيْنِ فِي النُّجُومِ ٥٥
 كِتَابُ جَامِعِ الْمُبَادِي وَالْعَايَاتِ فِي مُجَلَّدَيْنِ فِي النُّجُومِ ٥٥
 رِسَالَةٌ مُوضِحَةُ الْأَوْقَاتِ فِي النُّجُومِ ٥٥ خَفَةُ الْفُقَاءِ فِي رُبْعِ
 الدَّائِرَةِ مِنْ قَبْلِ النُّجُومِ ٥٥ شَرْحُ بَيْتِ الْبَابِ فِي مَعْرِفَةِ الْأُسْطُولَابِ
 فِي النُّجُومِ وَرِسَالَةٌ فِي كَيْفِيَّةِ الْعَمَلِ بِالْأُسْطُولَابِ الْكُرِّيِّ ٥٥
 مَجْمُوعُ اخْتِيَارَاتِ فِي النُّجُومِ ٥٥ زَيْنَةُ الْهَيْئَةِ وَسَمِيُّ فَصْلُ بِالْفَارِسِيَّةِ
 فِي النُّجُومِ ٥٥ كِتَابُ اخْتِيَارَاتِ الْعَلَايِيَّةِ فِي النُّجُومِ وَكِتَابُ
 الدَّلَائِلِ فِي أَحْكَامِ النُّجُومِ ٥٥ رِسَالَةٌ تَبَيَّنُ الْأَوْقَاتِ
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 قَوَانِينِ عِلْمِ الْهَيْئَةِ وَرِسَالَتَانِ مِنْ قَبْلِ النُّجُومِ وَعَيْنٌ فِي مُجَلَّدٍ وَاحِدٍ
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لِكُتُبِ الْحِكْمَةِ
الْإِسْلَامِيَّةِ وَكُتُبِ عِلْمِ الْجَدَلِ
وَكُتُبِ الْمُنَظِقِ وَكُتُبِ
الْحِكْمَةِ الْفَلَسَفِيَّةِ

مَتْنِ مَطَالِعِ الْأَنْوَارِ فِي الْمُنَظِقِ وَالْحِكْمَةِ الْإِسْلَامِيَّةِ
شَرْحُ مَلْخَصِ الْإِمَامِ الرَّازِيِّ الْمُسَمَّى بِالتَّقْصِيْدِ فِي الْمُنَظِقِ وَالْحِكْمَةِ
الْإِسْلَامِيَّةِ كِتَابُ الْأَسْرَارِ الْخَفِيَّةِ فِي الْحِكْمَةِ الْإِسْلَامِيَّةِ
شَرْحُ مَلْخَصِ الْإِمَامِ الرَّازِيِّ الْمُسَمَّى بِالرِّسَالَةِ الْغَرِيْبَةِ فِي الْحِكْمَةِ
الْإِسْلَامِيَّةِ كِتَابُ مَتْنِ مَلْخَصِ الْإِمَامِ الرَّازِيِّ فِي الْمُنَظِقِ
وَالْحِكْمَةِ الْإِسْلَامِيَّةِ كَشَفُ الْحَقَائِقِ فِي الْمُنَظِقِ وَالْحِكْمَةِ
الْفَلَسَفِيَّةِ مَعَ الْحِكْمَةِ الْإِسْلَامِيَّةِ شَرْحُ مَلْخَصِ الْإِمَامِ

الرَّازِيِّ الْمُسَمَّى بِالرِّسَالَةِ الْغَرِيْبَةِ فِي الْحِكْمَةِ الْإِسْلَامِيَّةِ
كِتَابُ الْحَاكِمَاتِ بَيْنَ شُرُوحِ الْأَشَارَاتِ عَلَى طَرِيقَةِ الْحَقِّ مِنَ النُّوَارِ
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لِلْأَشَارَاتِ فِي الْحِكْمَةِ الْإِسْلَامِيَّةِ كَوَامِلُ الْأَفْكَارِ فِي شَرْحِ
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ابن مبارك شاه في الحكمة الفلسفية وشرح مقدمة السفي
 في علم الجدال وحاشية شرح التجريد للعيني في علم الكلام و
 رسائل اخرى في مجلد واحد كتاب الفوائد في شرح حكمة
 عين القواعد في الحكمة الفلسفية كتاب التلويحات
 وكتاب المقامات وكتاب المحامات وكتاب حكمة الاشراق
 كلها للسهروردي المقتول في الحكمة الفلسفية في مجلد واحد
 ايضاح المقاصد في شرح حكمة العين في الحكمة الفلسفية
 تلويحات السهروردي في الحكمة الفلسفية شرح حكمة
 الاشراق للقطب العلامة الشيرازي في الحكمة الفلسفية
 متن حكمة الاشراق في الحكمة الفلسفية شرح التلويحات
 لابن كونه في الحكمة الفلسفية شرح حكمة الاشراق في
 الحكمة الفلسفية حكمة الاشراق للسهروردي في
 الحكمة الفلسفية حكمة الاشراق للسهروردي في الحكمة
 الفلسفية حكمة الاشراق وكتاب الالواح وكتاب
 هياكل النور وكتاب الواردات في مجلد واحد حكمة الاشراق
 للسهروردي في الحكمة الفلسفية رياضيات كتاب
 لابن سينا شرح حكمة العين للعلامة بن مبارك كشاه
 في الحكمة الفلسفية شرح حكمة العين للعلامة بن مبارك
 شاه في الحكمة الفلسفية شرح كتاب النجاة في المنطق و

الحكمة الفلسفية ترجمه شرح حكمة العين بالفارسية
 في الحكمة الفلسفية شرح حكمة الاشراق للقطب العلامة
 الشيرازي في الحكمة الفلسفية ثلث رسائل لابن سينا في
 البدء والمعاد الفلسفي كتاب البدء والمعاد لابن سينا
 ورسالة الجوابات العشر لابن سينا في مجلد واحد شرح حكمة
 العين للعلامة ابن مبارك شاه في الحكمة الفلسفية
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 الرشيدية في الحكمة الفلسفية رسالة ابن سينا في البدء
 والمعاد الفلسفي كتاب البدء والمعاد الفلسفي لابن سينا
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 الهداية لافندي الدين في المنطق والحكمة الفلسفية شرح
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 مجموعة رسائل ابن سينا في المنطق والحكمة الفلسفية والطب
 وغيرها مجموعة من رسائل ابن سينا في المنطق والحكمة
 الفلسفية والطب وغيرها كتاب جامع الحكيم
 كتاب الاشارات في الحكمة الفلسفية وكتاب التعليقات لابن
 سينا ورسائل اخرى كرسالة الادوية العقلية في مجلد واحد
 ترجمه كتاب مجمل الحكمة بالفارسية كتاب المباحث
 المشرقية للامار غفر الذين التارزي في الحكمة كتاب

الباحث المشرقية للإمام خرازمي الرازي في الحكمة
 كتاب الباحث المشرقية للإمام الرازي في الحكمة كتاب
 الباحث المشرقية للإمام الرازي في الحكمة شرح حكمة
 العيني الشهي إِبْرَاهِيمَ الْقَاصِدُ حاشية شرح حكمة العيني
 حاشية شرح حكمة العيني حاشية شرح حكمة العيني
 كتاب التعليقات وكتاب الباحث لابن سينا في الحكمة الفلسفية
 ورسائل أخرى في مجلد واحد كتاب الحكمة المشرقية
 لابن سينا كتاب شرح حكمة الهداية لولاء ناصيرك
 شرح حكمة الهداية لمحمد بن شريف الحسيني في مجلد واحد
 كتاب المبدأ والمعاد لابن سينا في الحكمة الفلسفية
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 بالفارسية كتاب التلويحات وكتاب لواحق التلويحات
 وكتاب الحيات ورسائل أخرى كلها للسهروردی في الحكمة
 الفلسفية في شرح تلويحات السهروردی في الحكمة
 الفلسفية رسالة الجملة في الحكمة رسالة في
 الآليات والطبيعات في الحكمة كتاب الباحث المشرقية
 للإمام خرازمي الرازي في الحكمة كتاب الباحث المشرقية
 للإمام خرازمي الرازي في الحكمة تعديل المبدأ في شرح
 تنزيل الأفكار في المنطق والحكمة الفلسفية كتاب العمل

في الطبيعة في الحكمة العجيبة ثلث رسائل اثنان منها بالنصير
 الطوسي من قبل الحكمة كتاب الحكمة للإمام السعدي بالقاهرة
 شرح حكمة الهداية لابن مبارك سناه ورسالة النظام في علم الحما
 ورسائل أخرى في مجلد واحد كتاب التلويحات وكتاب
 المقامات وكتاب الحيات وكتاب حكمة الاشراق كلها للسهروردی
 القول في الحكمة الفلسفية في مجلد واحد كتاب الهداية
 لابن سينا في الحكمة الفلسفية شرح حكمة الهداية للعيني
 مجموعة من رسائل ابن سينا في الحكمة شرح خطبة ابن سينا
 بالفارسية من قبل الحكمة شرح خطبة ابن سينا بالفارسية
 من قبل الحكمة مجموعة من رسائل أبي نصر الفارابي في
 الفلسفيات كتاب النهاية في شرح حكمة الهداية
 كتاب النجاة لابن سينا في الحكمة الفلسفية كتاب النجاة
 وكتاب عيون الحكمة وكتاب الاشارات وكتاب الادوية
 القلبية وتفسير سورة الاخلاص والعودتين ورسائل أخرى
 كلها لابن سينا في مجلد واحد رسالة الجبر والقدر
 من قبل علم الكلاوم وشرح اصطلاحات المشايخ في التصوف و
 الرسالة النيرة وزينة في الحروف المقطعات في اوابل السور على
 زعم ابن سينا من قبل الحكمة والرسالة السماة بالفيض الاتقي في
 مثل الكلمات والحجرات على زعم ابن سينا من قبل الحكمة في مجلد واحد

رسالة بالفارسية في الحكمة الفلسفية . حاشية شرح النصير
 الطوسي للإشارات في الحكمة الفلسفية . رسالة ابن سينا
 في الصلوة من قبل الحكمة الفلسفية . شرح حكمة العين .
 شرح حكمة الهداية لمولانا زاده . شرح حكمة الهداية .
 القدر الذي وجد من الحكمة الشرقية لابن سينا . كتاب منسوب
 إلى الامام الغزالي قدس من الحكمة توسع المقاصد .
 كتاب بن الهيثم في المناظر من قبل الحكمة . كتاب بن الهيثم
 في المناظر من قبل الحكمة في ست مجلدات . تنقيح المناظر .
 رسالة في المثال الاطلائية من قبل الحكمة . كتاب تنقيح
 المناظر من قبل الحكمة . كتاب العلل لبلينيوس من قبل الحكمة .
 كتاب الهداية والنبات في الحكيمات . مجموعة من رسائل
 اولها عنوان الحكمة لابن سينا . شرح حكمة العين لابن مباد
 شاه البخاري . نهاية في شرح حكمة الهداية . كتاب
 الحدود لابن سينا وكتاب المحامات للسهروردي في الحكمة الفلسفية .
 مجموعة من رسائل ابن سينا في الحكيمات في اولها رسالة في سيرة
 ابن سينا ومهرت كتبه المصنفة . مجموعة من رسائل
 في الحكيمات في اولها رسالتان لابن كونه . كتابان لابن كونه
 في الحكيمات الفلسفية وقصيدة الطيبي قدس من بحر العربية .
 فصول سلفاني من قبل الحكمة . كتاب التعليقات في

الحكيمات الفلسفية . كتاب الباعث المشرقة للامام
 الرازي في الحكمة . مجموعة منها الرسائل المتعلقة باعراض
 السيد الشريف على وجود الجهة لولاي الروم رحمهم الله تعالى في
 الحكمة . كتاب افلاطون المسمى بطيماوس في الحكيمات ورسالة
 مقالة افلاطون في السياسة . مجلد آخر من كتاب الجواهر لابن
 سينا . مجلد اول من شرح ابن كونه للتوحيات في الحكمة
 الفلسفية . مجلد اول من شرح عنوان الحكمة للامام الرازي
 في الحكمة الفلسفية . مجلد اول من كتاب النجعة الالهية في
 اقسام الحكمة . مجلد آخر من الكتاب المعتبر لا يوجد الزمان
 ابي البركات اليهودي في الطبيعيات والالهييات للحكمة .
 تنزيل الافكار في المنطق والعلوم للحكمة . رسالة في النفس
 من قبل الحكمة . شرح هيكل النور لمصطفى الحسيني في
 الحكمة الفلسفية . كتاب الغفر الاصغر في الحكيمات .
 شرح حكمة الهداية . كتاب الاوسط لابن سينا في المنطق
 وكتاب البرهان في مجلد واحد . كتاب الالواح العبادية
 في الحكمة . رسالة الصلوة لابن سينا ورسالة الارزاق
 له ايضا من قبل الحكمة الفلسفية ورسائل اخري في مجلد واحد .
 الرسالة للحكمة . رسالة بالعربية في المنطق والطبيعيات
 والالهييات . كتاب البصائر في علم المناظر في الحكمة .

شرح رسالة يحيى بن يقطين على طريقة الفخر التي يحيى لابن سينا و
 الشرح لأبي منصور الحسين في الحكمة الفلسفية كتاب
 التعليقات في الحكيمات رسالة الفارابي في الحكمة
 الفلسفية حاشية مؤلفا نأده على شرح حكمة الهداية
 كتاب بلنوس المسمى بكتاب العمل من قبل الحكمة مجموعة
 من كتب العلماؤها رسالة كلمات الصوف للسهروردي
 وكتابتها كتاب الألواح العبادية للسهروردي في الحكمة الفلسفية
 مجموعة من رسائل الحكيمات وغيرها مجموعة من كتب الحكيمات
 وغيرها مجموعة من رسائل أبي الفارابي في الحكيمات
 الفلسفية شرح رسالة يحيى بن يقطين لابن سينا وشرح
 أبي منصور ورسالة الطير لابن سينا ورسالة الأجر والعلوية
 لابن سينا وكتاب حدوث الحروف لابن سينا في الحكيمات
 الفلسفية ورسائل أخرى لا رسطا على ليس وأفلوطين وغيرها
 في مجلد واحد رسالة لابي النصر الفارابي في الحكيمات
 رسالة في تلك مباحث الحكيمات وترجمة مؤلفا الفارابي
 ابن الفارابي في مجلد واحد رسالة في الحكمة الإلهية
 مجموعة من رسائل أبي النصر الفارابي في الحكيمات
 الفؤاد الأصغر لأبي علي مشكويه في الحكمة الفلسفية ورسالة
 في أحوال العقل لابن سينا في الحكمة الفلسفية رسالة قوس

شرح وآلهامه لفتاوى نأده الرومي في الحكمة رسالة المناظر
 من قبل الحكمة تنزيل الأفكار في الحكيمات رسالة أنفريد
 الطوسي في النفوس الارضية في الحكمة كتاب اللغات
 للسهروردي في الحكمة الفلسفية مجموعة من رسائل
 في الحكيمات وغيرها مجموعة من رسائل ابن سينا في الحكيمات
 آخرها كتاب الشكوك السعوردي في كتاب الإشارات
 رسالة في البدء والعاد على طريقة الحكمة الإسلامية ورسالة
 الخريان في مجلد واحد أنوار الأفكار في الحكمة مجموعة
 أولها كتاب الإشارات لابن سينا في الحكمة الفلسفية وآخرها
 رسالة في علم العرف في مجلد واحد مجموعة من رسائل
 أولها رسالة الصلوة لابن سينا في الحكمة الفلسفية
 مجموعة في الرسائل المتعلقة بآيات واجب الوجود تعالى وقد
 والرسائل المتعلقة بالنفس من قبل الحكمة في مجلد واحد
 مجموعة أولها رسالة مدارج الوجود للحكم المرقيني في النفس في
 الحكمة مجموعة من رسائل ابن سينا في الحكمة الفلسفية
 أولها الموجز في النطق وآخرها رسالة بسير ابن سينا وفهرست
 كتبه في مجلد واحد شرح كتاب يحيى بن يقطين بالفارابي
 من قبل الحكمة الفلسفية مجموعة أولها نقوش خواص الحكماء
 وآدابهم واجتماعاتهم مجموعة من رسائل في الحكيمات

وغيرها . مجموعته أهل رسالة الأجوبة للإسئلة و
 ثابتهما الجاذ الحكمة . مجموعته من رسائل في الحكمة
 الفلسفية وغيرها . شرح حكمة الإشراق للعلامة الشيرازي
 في الحكمة الفلسفية . شرح النقط التاسع من الإشارات
 وخفة شامى بالفارسية في معرفة الأسطرلاب ومدخل منظر
 في الفجر ورسالة فارسية في الرمل وشرح القصيدة المنسوبة
 إلى ابن سينا في الحكمة الفلسفية في مجلد واحد . كتاب النهاية
 في شرح الهداية في الحكمة الفلسفية . زبدة النقص في شرح
 الإشارات للإمام رجب الهدى الخوارزمي . كتاب الإشارات
 وكتاب حكمة الإشراق في الحكمة الفلسفية . كتاب الإشارات
 لابن سينا ورسالة في الحكيمات وكتاب الجملة الإلهية بالعربية
 المنظومة في الحكيمات الفلسفية في مجلد واحد .

تفصيل لكتب الترجمة

من التوراة والزبور والإنجيل .

ترجمة التوراة بالعربية . ترجمة التوراة بالفارسية .
 ترجمة السور من الزبور بالعربية . كتاب من أمير داود
 النبي عليه السلام بالعربية . كتاب من أمير داود النبي
 عليه السلام بالعربية . ترجمة الإنجيل بالعربية على ما
 كتبه أربعة من الخواريين . الإنجيل فارسي وهو
 إنجيل متى ومرقس ولوقا ويوحنا . ترجمة الإنجيل متى
 بالفارسية وترجمة الإنجيل مرقس بالفارسية وترجمة الإنجيل
 لوقا بالفارسية وترجمة الإنجيل يوحنا بالفارسية .
 ترجمة الإنجيل بالعربية . أربع أناجيل بالعربية المنظومة

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Torok F. 59.

10.

Török. F.

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